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FEDWA MALTI-DOUGLAS
Editor in Chief

Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas
EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

Fedwa Malti-Douglas, Editor in Chief

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Preface

Although the vast amount of media attention devoted to sex may make it seem more important than ever, in some ways sex is actually less important today than ever before. In the developed world, there has been a trend away from the wide-open spaces of agrarian settings and toward overcrowded cities, which means that most couples no longer have an urgent need to reproduce to provide offspring to take care of them when they get older. With fewer fields to till, infant mortality reduced, and improved health care allowing people to work for many more years, having a large number of children is no longer the standard method of retirement planning. So although at one time the ability to limit pregnancies would have had catastrophic results, today's birth rates reflect this new reality, be it voluntarily as in Europe, or involuntarily as in China. And now, with artificial insemination, we don't even need the sex act to make babies. So if we humans were ever to lose the ability to have sex at some point in the future (heaven forbid!), these new technologies would allow our kind to continue to inhabit the earth for as long as the earth was inhabitable.

But whereas sex has lost its importance in its primary sense, it has grown in importance in another, keeping people together as couples, leading to its current state where we humans are having more sex than ever before. I don't need a study to prove that because one reason for this increase is simply the fact that we're living longer, and so each of us is having more sex than did past generations over the course of our longer lifetimes. But the added leisure time in our modern societies also frees us to put more focus on sex, so while the sex act has been decoupled somewhat from its original purpose, it remains very much at the center of our daily lives.

Many of these changes have taken place over generations, but there have been significant changes with regard to sex that have occurred in only the past half century or so. I'll even take some credit for one or two of those. One significant change is that so many more women know now that they should be enjoying sex rather than just putting up with it in order to have a family. In my lectures, I often make reference to a Victorian mother who, when telling her about-to-be-married daughter about the birds and bees, would say, "Lie back and think of England." But while those dark ages continue for too many women, millions of others have made the transition to being sexually fulfilled by acquiring the knowledge needed to have orgasms, and the independence to demand them from their partners. So the pleasure that comes from engaging in sexual relations, which has historically been more important for one gender than the other, can be shared now by both men and women equally. And one could say that this happened just in time, because as the reproductive role of sex lessens, its role in keeping parents together has become more important.

It has always been important for children to have two parents for their survival, but historically, children were given adult roles much earlier than they are today. In order to support a child through the college years, parents must find ways of cementing their relationship over a much longer period of time. And sex is an important part of the glue that keeps partners together. That is not to say that many divorced couples do not send their children to college, but it becomes much more of a financial burden if the funds have to come from two separate households. So as the reproductive aspects of sex have been sinking in importance, it is the pleasurable aspects for both males and females that have been rising to the top. This is especially true in societies where women have increasingly been able to support themselves. When women were financially dependent on their partners, they had less leverage when it came to asking for sexual satisfaction. But now that women can survive when living alone, the sexual aspects of a marriage, for both partners, play a more important role in their combined desire to remain a functioning couple.

This encyclopedia is not only about the sexual act, but also about gender, which traditionally stood for males and females but these days may be open to further interpretations, as sexual orientation may not necessarily follow one path linked to the physical attributes of male and female.

Just as sex has changed in its importance over the last half century, so has gender. Not that long ago everyone's place in the world was determined, to some degree, by their gender. Every year that goes by, that becomes less and less true, and so conversely, as with sex, knowing about gender becomes more and more important. If all the old assumptions are wrong, then we all have a duty to learn about the new possibilities. And to do that, you need as up-to-date a road map as you can find, and that is exactly what you will find inside these many pages.

When I first went on the radio and used words like *penis* and *vagina*, people were shocked. Today there is hardly a word in the English language that would shock anyone. And yet so many people, young and old, have shocking lacunae in their knowledge of sex and gender. I want to commend Macmillan and Fedwa Malti-Douglas for putting this magnificent set of volumes together, and I hope that the result will be that when it comes out, that gap in knowledge will become somewhat smaller.

Dr. Ruth Westheimer
September 2007

Introduction

NEED FOR THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

No issues are more debated today than those that swirl around the subjects of sex and gender; in debates that often seem to generate more heat than light. In this area of rapid social change, and equally rapid progress in scientific knowledge and understanding, the necessity of a comprehensive encyclopedia of sex and gender is overwhelming. The need is critical for a reference work that covers in detail the territory from biology to culture (by way of the social sciences and the humanities), that examines our swiftly changing present in the light of new understandings of our past, and one that places all these debates in a global perspective.

"Sex" and "gender." Two words that can have a powerful effect, whether taken separately or together, on those who encounter them. They, and the discussions around them, may be anathema to some. These subjects may be taboo for others. There are still many who, under the guise of a defense of traditional mores, believe that by shutting their eyes and ears (while loudly opening their mouths) they can stop the results of centuries of social evolution. To those who think that sex, in all its variety, is a subject best not talked about (lest talking lead to action), the *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* stands as a challenge. Closets are not healthy places; and where there are problems, as there are in all aspects of human life, they are best confronted in the open, not buried behind walls of ignorance and denial. Fortunately, the voices of censorship are losing their power as a swiftly growing segment of the population embraces knowledge of sex and gender, seeing in this knowledge a mode of liberation and a recognition that the topics treated under the rubrics of sex and gender have been central to all world cultures from the beginning of time. Perhaps had the snake in the Garden of Eden not tempted Eve, she might not have tempted Adam to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Once that door was opened, it could not be closed. Whatever else it may imply, this ancient story transmits two basic truths: the relation of sex and knowledge, and the fact that we cannot go back.

Now, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, it seems timely and appropriate to produce an *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender*. It has been over half a century since the publication of Dr. Alfred Kinsey's groundbreaking and controversial studies of sexuality in the human male and the human female. Much ink has been spilled over what constitutes sex and sexuality. And it seems that we, as human animals, have barely begun to imagine the ramifications of the still unfolding area of sex. Our human emotions are being put to the test by the rapidly expanding areas of technology. *Can We Fall in Love with a Machine?* was the title of a multi-media exhibit at the Wood Street Galleries in Pittsburgh in 2006.

SCOPE AND CONTENTS: WHAT IS SEX AND GENDER?

Our task is not made easier by the fact that the word "gender" (especially as distinguished from sex) has a distinct relationship to the English language. In French, for example, when one wishes to express the idea of masculine and feminine social roles, one is thrown back on the word for sex. A similar situation pertains with Arabic. All this is because gender, as it is used in this encyclopedia, is a recent construct in English. The English term "gender" used to refer to a linguistic category of masculine and feminine. But grammatical gender in English can be misleading, explaining why the jump from grammar to human behavior is easier in English than in other languages. English grammatical gender encourages the blurring of boundaries. For, in English we have natural or biological gender. Nouns with a male or female sex (e.g., he, she, mother, father, ewe, ram) carry the appropriate grammatical gender. Nouns deemed sexless (e.g., table, cloud) are neuter. Grammatical gender carries sexual information. Not so in other languages. In most, grammatical gender is merely a division of nouns into categories. While a few terms may have been pulled towards biological sex (e.g., *le père*, *la mère*), the overwhelming majority of nouns is classified according to morphology, not content. A famous example is that the German term for a young woman, Fräulein, is grammatically neuter not feminine. Did Americans who developed the new thinking about gender merely exploit the resources of their language or did the particularities of their language influence the creation of their categories?

As will become clear from this encyclopedia, gender is a crucial term for the way in which societies organize sexual categories, sexual roles, sexual behavior, sexual identification, and so on. Gender Studies has appeared as an avatar, or more correctly an evolution, from Women's Studies. That is, a disciplinary area still practiced today (and as such a major intellectual force in this encyclopedia) and has traditionally concentrated on women's history, the status, image, and role of women in various societies, cultural forms, etc. Gender Studies is more englobing and its paradigms are at the same time more flexible and more complex than those traditionally associated with the discipline of Women's Studies. To take but one example: scholars and scientists have become aware that even biology (not to speak of society) is not so simply dichotomous as we used to think it was, i.e. the male sex with its attendant chromosomes or the female sex, also with its attendant chromosomes. Science has broadened our universe, at the same time as it has complicated it. Now we must include a category of intersex, in which human chromosomes are not identical to those of the male and female of the species but rather represent a mixture of the two. Intersex individuals are not fertile, and therefore cannot propagate themselves. But they can live normal sexual lives, with some phenotypically females free of the menses that plague women for a large part of their existence.

Science, biology, and technology have also permitted something that might well have been surprising to nineteenth and early twentieth scientists and physicians. Even Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, might raise his eyebrows at bodily transformations that have become part and parcel of our gendered universe. When Donald McCloskey, a prominent economist, decided to change his sexual identity through surgery and hormonal treatments from male to female, in other words to become what we today consider a transsexual individual, his family had him arrested for insanity. Today, Donald lives happily as Deirdre and retains her position as a prominent social scientist.

It is younger generations of individuals, those in their teens and twenties, who have led the revolution to change sexual mores, at the same time transforming gender into a much more elastic category. A masculine young woman, already sporting short hair and dressed in blue jeans, may one day decide to no longer play what was left of the female role that society had assigned to her, and instead adopt the identity of a male with a simple first-name change. I experienced this personally in my office and had to constantly apologize to the male when

I called him by his previous female name. He laughed it off, adding that everyone gets him confused.

Gender confusion. This is not identical to hermaphroditism, in which a person possesses some combination of male and female genitalia and secondary sexual characteristics. Hermaphrodites have existed for as long as humans have. It is simply that in earlier centuries medicine, lacking the combination we possess today of biological and technological means, relegated the unusual physical types to their own categories. The great French historian, Michel Foucault, who has done so much to make us rethink our ideas about sexuality, isolated and popularized the account of a young French hermaphrodite, whose story has even become a film.

The unusual (and the perverse) have always been part and parcel of our ideas on sex and gender. Prominent authors like Jean Genet and artists like Andy Warhol played on the edges of that world. And let us not forget Sado-Masochism, named after the famous Marquis de Sade and the physician Sacher-Masoch. And while many have traditionally combined the exotic with the sexually forbidden, today's world with its lightning-fast modes of communication and transportation can easily move a pedophile from California to East Asia where he can fulfill his fantasies at a far lower cost and less danger than in his home country. What is sometimes referred to today as "sex tourism" is an enormous industry, part of the new globalized face of the far older commercialization of sex.

Yet, even the term "sex" is not without its ambiguities. To start with, it has two basic meanings. Sex is biological: the divisions of individuals in a species into two distinct groups such that one from each group must come together and exchange genetic material to create the next generation. Sexual reproduction is an elegant and creative way of multiplying the genetic variation needed for evolution. It is no surprise, therefore, that with the exception of benighted creatures at the lowest rungs of the evolutionary ladder, sex makes the world go around. The sexes, therefore, are biological categories dividing most animals, humans included.

But sex is also an act or acts, specifically those necessary to accomplish sexual reproduction. Again, not so simple. Many human cultures have classified as sexual, acts which of themselves do not lead to reproduction. The fact that some of these acts may have been characterized as more or less proper, shameful, or even unnatural does not change their assimilation to sexual practices. A recent American scandal makes a fine example. For the purposes of Paula Jones's suit against President William Jefferson Clinton, the court adopted the so-called Jones definition of sexual acts, a definition that included lots of non-procreative activities. President Clinton tried to evade the charge of perjury by claiming that what he indulged in with Monica Lewinsky did not constitute sex according to the Jones definition. Few found his explanation credible. But there was a sense to his more general argument that he had not had sex with Monica Lewinsky if one did not include fellatio (in which by everyone's definition the couple engaged) as constituting having sex. Sexual acts, both narrowly and broadly construed, are a major focus of this encyclopedia.

The first definition of sex, that which creates the biological categories of male and female, stands in a paradigmatic relationship with gender. That is, these concepts can replace one another and are, indeed, often confused. After all, do they not both refer to males and females, the masculine and feminine? If sex refers to the biological basis of this distinction, gender refers to the innumerable cultural traits that have grown up around the original biological reality, and which historically have varied from place to place, culture to culture, and epoch to epoch. Perhaps the main reason for developing the concept of gender was to create an analytical distance from biology, often mistakenly called "nature" (it is a mistake because culture is natural for human beings). The space between biological sex, on the one hand, and gender, on the other, has cut the idea of gender loose from the original dichotomy of male and female. The degree to which gender roles or gendered behavior are social constructs and the degree to which they reflect biological realities or predispositions remains highly controversial and the subject of ongoing debate and research.

To say that gender partakes of cultural constructs means that it operates within the symbolic realm. Religions are among our most potent definers of the symbolic order. They are also labelers and regulators of behavior. Should it be a surprise then that debates about gender (which combines symbolism and action) are so often cast in religious terms? Accordingly, also, religious doctrines, religious texts and figures, play a large role in the *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender*.

WHY NOW? OR HOW WE CAME TO THIS POINT

Why this sudden concern with sex and gender? Is it just the unhealthy obsession of a society too rich and bored? Our debates about sex and gender do not come out of nowhere. They reflect the culmination of a series of converging technological, economic, social, and intellectual movements. The most basic background lies in demography, specifically what has commonly been called the demographic transition. Generalizing broadly, through most of human history, high birth rates were met by high death rates. Women had many children, the majority of whom died in the first three years of life (and many women died in childbirth). Population was stagnant or grew only slowly. Beginning in the eighteenth-century in Europe, due largely to improved agriculture and transportation, this situation changed, more children survived, and with a high birth rate and low death rate, population shot up dramatically. Finally, in the third phase, women stopped having so many children and, with low birth rate matching a low death rate, populations began to stabilize. Most of the globe is now in this third phase. This has had two fundamental consequences, one on sex and the other on gender roles. With low fertility, birth control is common and sex is no longer tied as closely to reproduction. The separation of sex from reproduction has recently increased with new reproductive technologies like in vitro fertilization. Lower birth rates also mean that women no longer spend most of their existences bearing and nurturing young children. Hence, they can do more things with their lives and, hence, the movements for women's emancipation from traditional gender-defined roles.

The attack on traditional gender roles was strengthened by the related process of the industrial revolution. Industrialism, which replaces human and animal power with inanimate sources of energy, decreases the importance of physical strength in economic activity. The greater physical strength of males, a traditional support of gender differentiation, has become less and less important.

The new more flexible relations between sex, reproduction, and gender have become strikingly visible in contemporary America. The daughter of the otherwise quite conservative Vice-President of the United States announced the happy event of her impending motherhood. Except that she was having this child in the context of her on-going lesbian relationship with her partner. The source of the sperm and its physical trajectory were discretely kept private.

Clearly, the case of Vice-President Cheney's daughter reflects a host of changes in social attitudes. The first of these, in time, and perhaps also in logic, is a reevaluation of the status of women. By the end of the eighteenth century, daring social thinkers were beginning to argue that the winds of emancipation and equality blowing across the Atlantic world should extend to women. Two major women's demands (developed throughout the two succeeding centuries) were: 1) political equality, especially the suffrage, and 2) access to most traditionally male forms of employment. Women's suffrage is now a given in all the world's democracies; and the last barrier, access to the highest political offices, is crumbling.

Women have always worked, both inside and outside the home. What they sought in the nineteenth and increasingly in the twentieth centuries was access beyond traditional women's work. World Wars I and II, with the men folk in arms and the need for economic mobilization for total war, brought women many new job opportunities. Rosie the Riveter may have been sent home when the fighting finished, but she was not forgotten. Middle- and upper-class women struggled to enter the professions from which an increasingly antiquated idea of women's intellectual capacity still too-often barred them.

Like other emancipatory movements, that for women spawned a doctrine which was an explanation of its history, a justification of its claims, and an elaboration of its hopes: feminism. As with similar political-intellectual systems, feminism has adapted to changing times, taken on new ambitions (from sexual freedom to ecology), and developed divergent and sometimes conflicting schools. Yet, even for those who decry them, the fundamental conceptions of feminism have become an integral part of all our thinking on matters relating to sex and gender. In the process, feminism has also linked to topics that intersect with gender, like racism, militarism, and attitudes to the body.

To the growing numbers of women in the knowledge-production-and-transmission-business, aka the professoriate, it was obvious that traditional curricula tended to ignore half the human race, that is, women. From this perceived lack, Women's Studies was born. Women's Studies works to restore women's place in history, economics, literature, and the arts. This academic field has shone a bright light not only on the activities of women but also on the image of women and the conceptions of women held by the dominant patriarchal society.

One of the things that Women's Studies scholars and feminists swiftly discovered (both through their research and the resistance they encountered in their professional careers) was that roles for and attitudes to women were inextricably tied to attitudes to masculinity vs. femininity (that is, gender) and to sexuality and the body. It would not be possible to liberate women, many began to feel, without also liberating attitudes to sexuality and the body. In the process, Women's Studies has given birth to Gender Studies.

Liberating sex involves understanding it, and is tributary to the modern scientific field of sexology, from Krafft-Ebing to Kinsey and their successors. The psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud, because of its emphasis on the primacy of the sexual drive, has also contributed mightily to the recognition and exploration of the role of sexuality in modern life. Between the sexual revolution of the 1970s and the renewed push associated with second-wave feminism, other groups oppressed by the traditional patriarchal order of sex and gender also demanded dignity and equality. The HIV-AIDS epidemic helped force male homosexuality out of the closet and contributed to the main-streaming of gay culture. Other sexual minorities followed suit: lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites, intersex individuals, transgendered individuals, etc. As the law struggles to catch up, we deal with the gay marriage debate. Again, it is the family of Vice-President Cheney that best manifests the contemporary American paradox. Not only is his daughter in a same-sex relationship but his wife included a lesbian love scene in a novel. Yet Cheney belongs to an administration that says it wants a constitutional amendment prohibiting the recognition of gay marriage. The best index that an idea is gaining ground is the number of individuals who vociferously object to it. Same-sex marriage, in one form or another, is being incorporated into a growing number of legal systems outside the United States. The trio of sex, marriage, and reproduction (always more inseparable in the symbolic realm than in actual practice) is dissolving. New forms and new connections are replacing it.

As we reevaluate our attitudes, we become aware of their mutability and we look back through our own traditions to see how they have changed and how they have evolved. Was the Ancient World a paradise of homosexuality or did the Greeks and Romans follow rules that are foreign both to our Judeo-Christian heritage and to our most liberated aspirations? Was original Christianity patriarchal? If it was, does it need to remain so? This debate has probably advanced farthest in Christianity and Judaism but it has penetrated, to a greater or lesser degree, into other religious traditions. All this is part of sex and gender.

TIME AND SPACE: THE PARAMETERS OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Since we reproduce sexually and organize our cultures through gender, it is hard to imagine an aspect of human life that is not in some way touched by sex and gender. To the challenge of this inherent breadth, the editors of this encyclopedia have added two others. The first concerns time. The *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* recognizes that our attitudes to sex and gender, our practices, were not born yesterday. The examination of our past not only helps us understand our present, it also shows us that even our own traditions often contained more variety than we dared to imagine.

The second challenge is space, or in human terms, the enormous variety of cultures across the globe. Since the *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* is written in English and is being published within contemporary Western culture (to which it seeks to make a contribution), it is only natural that the greatest attention be directed to Western culture, its history, and its current controversies. Yet, a reference work limited to the West would give a seriously truncated vision of sex and gender. Globalization is drawing the world swiftly together. The West itself has historically and continues in the present to borrow from other cultures, as it is itself a major player in the emerging world systems of sex and gender. Hence, while the West receives more space than its percentage of the world population would presently allow, the *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* will also serve as a reference guide to non-Western cultures.

These challenges of time and space guided the selection of the editorial team. The associate editors were chosen first of all for their expertise in sex and gender and their distinction and maturity as scholars, writers, and teachers. Beyond this, each editor was chosen for broader expertise in time, space and discipline. Jamsheed Choksy combines both the Middle East and South Asia with a chronological spread from the ancient world to the present. Judith Roof brings together the more traditional with the digital arts as well as biology and the law. Francesca Canadé Sautman ranges from the Middle Ages to the present and adds Africa to Europe. To better cover the civilizations of the Far East, we added two consultants, Liana Hong Zhou and Sumie Jones, with expertise in China and Japan. Together this editorial team chose many other scholars, scientists, and practitioners who composed the articles.

AUDIENCE AND ORGANIZATION

Today the audience for an *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* must go beyond the scholars, teachers, and students whom one would expect and for which its scientific expertise is a requisite. The encyclopedia is also designed to be a tool for people who are not experts in or students of sex and gender. With all the changes and debates going on about proper roles and forms of sexuality, with all the rapid evolution in our ideas of gender-appropriate behavior (indeed of what constitutes gender) there is a great need among members of the educated general public for a reliable dispassionate guide to the minefields of sex and gender. In preparing the *Encyclopedia* we have been as mindful of this larger public as well as the more scholastic one. But knowledge is more than a practical necessity. It is also a form of personal growth and of entertainment. The *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* is also directed to educated general readers interested in learning more about areas that affect their lives.

The *Encyclopedia* serves its audiences through a combination of articles that range from several thousand to several hundred words in length. This range of length permits us to present both extended essays on topics of general interest (from sports to sexuality or the history of art) and shorter pieces that explain specialized terms or illuminate particular practices. Entries are also devoted to personalities, though only dead ones, in keeping with a wise Macmillan policy. Individuals have been chosen not for their general importance (this is not a biographical dictionary), but for their contributions (whether by their work, their theories or their example) to the evolution of sex and gender. Figures chosen range from Sappho to Sade, from Foruq Farrokhzad to D.H. Lawrence, from Peter-Paul Rubens to Frida Kahlo. There are 239 black and white illustrations that supplement the articles with works of art, portraits of historical figures and representations of social or political activities.

Controversy is inherent in many of the topics treated in the encyclopedia, from homosexuality and Christianity, to bondage, pornography and pedophilia. Entries explore theories linking hot button issues like sexuality, race, and violence. The editorial board asked its contributors only to distinguish between theory or opinion and accepted knowledge, and, where appropriate to note differing points of view. With the assistance of the staff of Macmillan, the editorial board has worked with the authors to create a sufficient consistency of style and presentation. Yet, these are signed articles for whose contents the authors take responsibility. The editorial board has not wished to blanch out completely the personality of the authors or the originality of their contributions. Points of view are held in balance, but they survive. To do otherwise would be to give a misleading view of the state of knowledge on sex and gender. If there is an underlying assumption it is in favor of openness, to subjects as well as opinions.

To make the *Encyclopedia* accessible to expert and general reader alike, the entries are organized in alphabetical order. As sex and gender affect each other, so do many of the entries in the *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* raise issues treated in other entries. We hope that the reader will explore the interconnections between topics. The list of related entries can be a guide. But it cannot cover all connections. Here, we direct readers to the index. Another form of interconnections (or of browsing) can be achieved with the help of the list of entries by topics.

In the last analysis, all writing, like all art, is selection. There will be some whose thirst for knowledge may not be slaked. But I can only hope that the bibliographies following each article will help the reader to go further. This encyclopedia is meant to open the gates of knowledge, to create pathways to new areas of inquiry. Sex and gender are exciting topics, in every sense of the word. We hope the reader will find the *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* not only useful and illuminating but entertaining as well.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would be remiss if I did not begin by thanking the Vice-President of the American Council of Learned Societies, Steve Wheatley, as the person responsible for my being Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender*. At an annual meeting of the ACLS, he pointed me out to Nathalie Duval as the one to undertake such an encyclopedia. Nathalie and I met and discussed the project, about which I was very excited. My first task was to choose Associate Editors, and I have never regretted the choice I made. Jamsheed Choksy, Judith Roof, and Francesca Canadé Sautman have consistently displayed not just the expertise for which I chose them but also the wisdom and patience necessary for the myriad decisions, negotiations, and compromises involved in a multi-year, multi-volume, collective project. A dinner in New York brought us together with Nathalie Duval and Monica Hubbard. Nathalie Duval and Monica Hubbard were invaluable catalysts as the editors shared ideas and goals for the encyclopedia, a task that led to the compilation of topics. That meeting was followed by several get-togethers with Nathalie Duval in New York during which we honed the items and areas to be included. At one such meeting, Nathalie and I decided to add consultants for China and Japan. There could not have been more ideal candidates for those positions than Sumie Jones, an expert on Japanese sexuality, and Liana Zhou, the Director of the Library at the Kinsey Institute for the Study of Sexuality and Reproduction at Indiana University, Bloomington. It seemed fitting that such an encyclopedia should emanate from the university in which Dr. Alfred Kinsey, one of the world's leading sexologists, had courageously undertaken his research on sexuality in the human male and female. My gratitude also goes to the Museum of Sex in New York, where I met curators who enriched the encyclopedia through their insights and contacts.

The dauntless energy of the Associate Editors and Consultants, when combined with the patience and guidance of Deirdre Blanchfield at Thomson Gale, drove the project forward. Hélène Potter was always there as a guiding light, arranging a meeting with the prominent Dr. Ruth Westheimer at which Dr. Ruth generously agreed to pen a Preface for the encyclopedia. It was when Jennifer Stock actually sent me the illustrations for the four volumes that the encyclopedia became alive. Without the endless energy and support of all these individuals, this encyclopedia would not exist. I cannot express in words the depth of my gratitude to them. In Bloomington, my Research Assistant, Whitney Jones Olson,

proved to be a pillar of strength. A poet and writer, she was sensitive to the nuances and meanings of the articles I myself wrote.

As the months and years passed, my own intellectual world was greatly broadened as I read the entries included in the four volumes. It is to the authors of these entries that I also express my sincere appreciation. Their patience with sometimes having to edit and reedit their contributions was exemplary. Like a guardian angel, Allen Douglas helped keep me focused during moments of uncertainty and frustration. He, along with my feline companions—those who saw the beginning of the project and those who witnessed its completion—contributed an emotional support without which I would not have been able to see the encyclopedia to fruition.

Fedwa Malti-Douglas

Editor in Chief

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CHASTITY BELT
FRIGIDITY
HITE REPORT
MISTRESS
NUDIST CAMPS

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YIN AND YANG

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MENOPAUSE
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RAPE
SEXUAL REVOLUTION

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GODDESSES, EARTH
GODDESSES, MOTHER

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JEWISH WOMEN'S LEAGUE
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JUDITH
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GENDER ROLES: III. CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDING
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SEXUAL ABUSE

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SODOMY, REPRESSION OF

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MARRIAGE, SPIRITUAL

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GENDER ROLES: II. HISTORY
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CONTRACEPTION: II. BELIEFS AND MYTHS
CONTRACEPTION: III. METHODS
ERECTILE TISSUE
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ARTISTS, WOMEN
AUTOMOBILES
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BONAPARTE, MARIE
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SEXUAL TENSION
SNUFF FILMS
SODOMY LAWS
SVENGALI
TIRESIAS
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UTERUS
VAGINA
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BIJOUX INDISCRETS
BOSCH, HIERONYMUS
CANON, REVISING THE
FAIRY TALES
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LESBIAN-LIKE
MARGINALIA IN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS
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QUEENS, POWER AND SEXUALITY
ROUGH MUSIC
SAME-SEX LOVE AND SEX, TERMINOLOGY
SPORTS
SUFFRAGE
TEMPTATION OF SAINT-ANTHONY (IMAGE)
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CONTRACEPTION: IV. RELATION TO SEXUAL PRACTICES AND GENDER ROLES
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HORMONES: I. OVERVIEW
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HYSTERECTOMY
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PERFORMANCE ENHANCERS
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SEXUAL FANTASY
SLANG, SEXUAL
SWINGING
TOMBOY
TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN
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MUSIC
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PRESLEY, ELVIS
ROCK AND ROLL

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CHINA: II. MODERN
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SHAMANISM

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SEX MANUALS, JAPAN

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Thematic Outline

The following classification of articles arranged thematically gives an overview of the variety of entries and the breadth of subjects treated in the encyclopedia. Along with the index and the alphabetic arrangement of the encyclopedia, the thematic outline should aid in the location of topics. It is our hope that it will do more, that it will direct the reader to articles that may not have been the object of a search, and that it will facilitate a kind of browsing that invites the reader to discover new articles, new topics, related, perhaps tangentially, to those originally sought.

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Blaxploitation Films
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Miller, Henry
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Honor Crimes
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Mail-Order Brides
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ABORTION, LEGAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

Beginning with its 1973 decision in *Roe* v. *Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court in large measure has defined the contours of the debate over the status of abortion. That landmark decision struck down a 1854 Texas law that criminalized abortion except when necessary to save the woman's life. The Court, by a seven-to-two margin, held that the Texas law violated a woman's fundamental right to decide whether to continue a pregnancy free of governmental interference before the point of fetal viability (i.e., the capacity to live if born). On the same day the Court also struck down a more "modern" 1968 Georgia abortion law that prohibited most abortions but lifted criminal penalties in limited circumstances.

THE COURT DECISIONS

Although the Court ruled that the Constitution places substantial aspects of reproductive liberty beyond the reach of government, abortion continues to play a prominent role in electoral and legislative politics. Literally hundreds of abortion restrictions have been litigated in state and federal courts. *Roe* has inspired mass celebrations, marches, and protests. Some abortion opponents have resorted to violence and even murder. Abortion politics also has affected a range of other issues, from pregnancy prevention policies at home and abroad to scientific research involving stem cells.

Of course, the legal, political, and social ferment and the practice of abortion did not begin with *Roe*. *Roe* cannot be viewed apart from the preceding decades of activism, controversy, and change over not only abortion but also contraception and, more broadly, the status of women. At the time of *Roe* the Court was just beginning to recognize the right of women to constitutional protection from sex discrimination and social and political movements were beginning to lessen barriers to women's equality.

In light of the nascent state of sex equality, it is not surprising that the Court premised *Roe* on the fundamental right to privacy found in the guarantee of liberty in the Fifth and Fourteenth amendments rather than in the constitutional guarantee of equal protection (which the Court soon afterward interpreted to protect against sex discrimination). The *Roe* Court built upon earlier decisions in which it held unconstitutional state laws that criminalized the use of contraception (*Griswold* v. *Connecticut* in 1965) or ordered forcible sterilization as punishment for certain felonies (*Skinner* v. *Oklahoma* in 1942). The Court rejected the argument that the Constitution protects a right to life from the moment a sperm fertilizes an egg or that the government may prohibit abortion to protect the embryo or fetus in the first stages of pregnancy. Instead, the Court declared the right of women throughout the United States to decide when and whether to have children, free from the risks illegal abortions posed to their health, future fertility, and lives.

THE POLITICAL EFFECTS

The political effect of *Roe* was to energize opponents of legal abortion while reassuring most supporters that the courts would protect reproductive liberty. Until 1989 the courts invalidated most governmental efforts to restrict abortion, with the notable exceptions of restrictions on public funding and mandatory parental notice and consent laws. Within a decade the two major political parties had divided on abortion (though some individuals break

Bork Testifies at Confirmation Hearing. *Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork testifies at his confirmation hearing in 1987. Bork was not confirmed, in large part because of his oppostion to abortion.* CNP/GETTY IMAGES.

with their parties on this issue), with the Democratic Party supporting *Roe* and the Republican Party calling for its overruling and the appointment of federal judges specifically to accomplish that end.

In the 1980s President Reagan replaced three of the seven justices in the *Roe* majority. The issue of reproductive liberty and privacy proved extremely consequential in the last of Reagan's Supreme Court appointments, as prochoice Americans began to realize that *Roe* was at risk. Reagan first nominated Robert Bork, but the Senate narrowly refused to confirm him, in significant part because of his opposition to any judicially protected right to reproductive liberty, including the right of married couples to use contraception protected in *Griswold* v. *Connecticut*. Since Bork's rejection abortion has remained a contested issue in Supreme Court appointments. Nominees routinely attempt to avoid disclosing their views on *Roe* while communicating support for the Court's decision in *Griswold*.

By 1992 President George Herbert Walker Bush had made two more Republican appointments to the Supreme Court. Prochoice Americans became more engaged in activism and politics as the Court seemed to be on the verge of overruling *Roe*. The Court surprised all sides in *Planned Parenthood* v. *Casey* by reaffirming, five to four, a narrowed version of *Roe*. (If Bork had been confirmed, he almost certainly would have cast the fifth vote needed to overrule *Roe*.) The *Casey* Court announced that it would continue to invalidate the most onerous abortion restrictions, including husband notification requirements and outright bans. However, the Court no longer would protect a "fundamental right" to reproductive choice and, under a far less protective "undue burden" standard, would uphold many more governmental restrictions.

State legislatures responded to *Casey* by substantially increasing antiabortion legislation. Congress also became more involved in restricting abortion, contrary to many abortion opponents' pre-*Casey* position that abortion regulation is the prerogative of state governments. Public opinion polls over the years show majority support for choice and *Roe*, but the degree of support varies significantly with the way the question is phrased. Elected officials typically are far more antichoice than are their constituents.

At the outset of the twenty-first century *Casey* remained the prevailing law and the Court by a narrow margin continued to provide some level of meaningful protection. Genuine reproductive choice, though, has been precarious and, for a growing number of women, nonexistent. Abortion services are less available in the United States than at any time since *Roe*, and antichoice organizations openly pursue an incremental strategy to create "abortion-free" states, including legal restrictions that the courts now uphold, diminished abortion training in medical schools, and harassment and violence directed at abortion providers at home and at work. As in the years before *Roe*, the women who suffer most from legal and practical obstacles to safe abortion services are those who live hundreds of miles from the nearest provider and lack the resources and ability to travel.

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Dawn Johnsen

ABORTION, MEDICAL ISSUES

Scholars have shown that for every society for which some recorded history exists, there is evidence of abortion. Indeed after an exhaustive review of materials from three hundred fifty ancient and pre-industrial societies, the anthropologist George Devereux (1954) concluded, "There is every indication that abortion is an absolutely universal phenomenon, and that it is impossible even to construct an imaginary social system in which no women would ever feel at least compelled to abort" (p. 98). One of the earliest known medical texts, attributed to the Chinese Emperor Shen Nung (2737–2696 BCE), refers to mercury as a substance that will "cause abortion." The Ebers Papyrus of Egypt (1550–1500 BCE) contains several prescriptions for abortion, including one that combined acacia leaves and the plant colocynth, both of which have been shown in laboratory tests to have certain anti-fertility properties.

In both classical Greece and Rome, abortion was apparently widely practiced and highly visible. Most abortions were attempted through herbal preparations, but archaeological evidence indicates that in the Greco-Roman era, there were several types of vaginal specula, as well as an apparatus designed to irrigate the intrauterine cavity. Specific instruction in abortion through instrumentation is found in the writings of the tenth century Persian physician Al-Rasi (Joffe 1999).

MODERN METHODS OF ABORTION

Despite this striking record of early understandings of abortion techniques, this knowledge appeared to be willfully forgotten as abortion became increasingly controversial. For the next several centuries the medical profession, for the most part, ignored abortion, with the procedure being offered by some physicians only to a select few patients, while other women attempted self-abortions or received them from the hands of nonphysicians with varying skill levels. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the medical profession began to rediscover and refine what had been known to practitioners centuries earlier (Joffe 1999).

Dilation and Curettage (D&C) and Vacuum Aspiration In 1842, the modern curette (from the French verb, *curer*, "to cleanse") was adapted for use in the uterus, and dilators (for opening the cervix) were developed by the German physician Alfred Hegar in the 1870s. *Dilatation and curettage*, or, as it is commonly known, "D&C," became the leading form of abortion as practiced by physicians.

The D&C method of performing first trimester abortions eventually was replaced in most of the developed world by the *vacuum suction machine*, also known as the vacuum *aspiration method*. This method is greatly preferred by practitioners because it replaces the "sharp curettage" of the D&C and causes less blood loss and injury. In the developing world, however, because of a lack of training opportunities and equipment, vacuum aspiration has been slower to replace the D&C method.

Early Abortion Methods: Medication Abortion and Manual Vacuum Aspiration Several important advances in abortion technology took place toward the end of the twentieth century, developments which both allow abortions to be delivered earlier in pregnancy than conventional vacuum aspiration, and in the case of women in the developing world, more accessibly. The first was the discovery of *mifepristone* (formerly known as "RU-486" or the "abortion pill"), by a team of French scientists led by Etienne Baulieu. This pill, when taken with another medication, *misoprostol*, is highly effective in terminating abortions for up to eight or nine weeks. Because administration of this form of abortion does not require specialized surgical training, it can be dispensed by a wider variety of providers, and in a greater range of medical settings than aspiration abortion. Since its introduction in France in 1988, tens of millions of women worldwide have had mifepristone abortions.

Another form of medication abortion is use of the drug *methotrexate* in combination with misoprostol. Methotrexate is a drug that is primarily used in cancer treatment and for several other purposes. Although most abortion providers prefer mifepristone because of its faster action and higher success rate, methotrexate is also effective for terminating ectopic pregnancies, while mifepristone is not.

The use of misoprostol (the second drug in the mifeptristone regime) alone is an additional form of medication abortion that is seeing increasing usage, particularly in the developing world where abortion remains illegal. Known primarily by its most common trade name, Cytotec, this is an ulcer medication that can be bought over the counter in many areas; in women who are pregnant, the drug causes the uterus to contract and begin a miscarriage. Gynuity Health Projects, a non-governmental organization specializing in reproductive health, has taken the lead in disseminating guidelines on the most effective use of misoprostol alone (Gynuity Health Projects 2007).

Finally, the late 1990s saw the reintroduction into abortion providing circles of the *MVA*, or *Manual Vacuum Aspirator*. This handheld device can be used very early in pregnancy, as soon as a pregnancy is confirmed (while conventional vacuum aspiration is typically not performed until about six or seven weeks after a missed period). Another advantage, pertinent to the developing world, is that the MVA is not dependent on a source of electricity.

Later Abortions The major form of second trimester abortion as practiced in the United States and parts of Europe is a procedure called *dilatation and evacuation* (*D&E*). This procedure is often a two-day process. *Laminaria*, a seaweed preparation, or a similar manufactured preparation, is inserted into the woman's cervix to help it dilate. A substance, *digoxin*, is used by many physicians to cause fetal demise, and then the fetus is surgically removed. A rarely used variation of the D&E is "*intact dilatation and extraction*" in which the fetus is removed intact, after partial (passage through the birth canal) vaginal delivery. Intact D&Es (sensationalized by abortion opponents in the United States as "partial birth abortions") accounts for less than one percent of all abortions performed in the United States (Finer and Henshaw 2003) and are typically performed to preserve the pregnant woman's health.

RISKS OF ABORTION

When performed by trained providers, abortion is one of the safest of all medical procedures. After the legalization of abortion in the United States in 1973, the risk of death associated with abortion fell to less than 0.6 per 100,000 procedures, leading the Council of Scientific Affairs of the American Medical Association to conclude that the risk of death from abortion was less than one tenth as large as the risk from dying in childbirth (Council on Scientific Affairs, AMA 1992).

Of the approximately seven hundred thousand mifepristone abortions that have taken place in the United States since 2000, there have been only four deaths associated with a rare *C. Sordellii* infection, and one from an additional infection, leading to an approximate mortality rate of 1/140,000 total infection deaths. The *C. Sordellii* infections continue to puzzle researchers and have been associated with other reproductive events as well, including births and miscarriages, and it is unclear as of this writing whether mifepristone or misoprostal had any role in causing these deaths (Winikoff 2006).

For those women in the developing world, however, who do not have access to safe abortion, the situation is very different. The World Health Organization estimates that some sixty-eight thousand women die each year from unsafe abortions and many thousands more are severely injured (Ahman and Shah 2004).

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Carole Joffe

ABSTINENCE

Across times and cultures, individuals and groups of sexually mature people have been culturally defined and socially positioned as celibates on the basis of temporary or long-term abstinence from certain types of sex. This abstinence may vary in relation to *volition* (it can be elected or imposed) and *temporality* (it can be temporary or permanent), but it always is related to the sociocultural significance of the body and its sexuality (Sobo and Bell 2001).

ECONOMIES OF ABSTINENCE

Although people of any age or sexual orientation can be abstinent, in the United States and European culture "abstinence" typically refers to the specifically *heterosexual* activities of biologically mature persons. This is due partly to the relationship between sex and reproduction, which is embedded in a political economy of kinship.

Kinship systems often require absolute celibacy in certain categories of persons to preserve symbolic capital (e.g., honor and purity) that is essential for the status of the family as a whole. Requiring female virginity before marriage is an example. The relationship among the symbolic value of virginity, regulation of reproduction, and the flow of material resources explains why most societies that impose sexual abstinence on adolescent girls prescribe a dowry system. A girl is not only a potential wife but an heiress who is expected to attract a good mate. Abstinence prevents the girl from becoming pregnant with an inappropriate suitor who will be able to press claims on her, her child, her future children, and her dowry (Schlegel 2001).

Along these lines, prosperous families in medieval Europe gained if females retired to convents after being widowed. Allowing a widow to enter a convent and make a vow of abstinence entailed a "small immediate loss to her husband's lineage but a large gain in resources in the long run by preventing remarriage and the possibility of conflict of interest between her former husband's kin" (Hager 1992, p. 392).

Abstinence can benefit kin directly by allowing them to reproduce. In bio-evolutionary theory this is called "inclusive fitness." In humans, mechanisms of kin recognition can be manipulated to this end. Forms of institutionalized celibacy such as monasticism use this tactic by introducing metaphorical kin terms (e.g., brother) and using visual cues such as uniforms and hairstyles to encourage what evolutionary biologists call "false phenotypic matches," meaning they "look the same" or as if they were immediately related. This can motivate adherence to vows of abstinence (Qirko 2001).

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Abstinence does not only benefit others. It assists individuals in achieving personal and culturally recommended goals and thus is a potent ingredient in identity construction. This is clear in contexts in which sexuality is associated with a discourse of purity and pollution, for example, in cases in which "each sex is a danger to the other through contact with sexual fluids" (Douglas 1966, p. 3). Avoiding such contact helps one maintain purity and thus reinforces one's social standing and sense of self.

Additionally, when people subscribe to a hydraulic model of sexual energy, in which forces not expressed in one way will be expressed in another, they may practice abstinence to save energy for other identity-related pursuits. For example, self-help literature that promotes the "biomoral" benefits of male celibacy (*brahamcarya*) in northern India, such as increased wisdom, stamina, and personal power, has a wide circulation (Alter 1997). Other examples connecting abstinence to identity formation include the Vatican's claim that permanent celibacy confers spiritual gifts that are important to the priestliness of the clergy.

CHARISMA AND CONTROL

Control of sexual energy commonly is regarded as an important technique for the generation and maintenance of socially beneficial shamanic or spiritual powers. As a result of her abstinence, a celibate spinster (*celibe*) in rural Mexico may ignore everyday female behavioral imperatives and occupy special ceremonial roles that provide "a link between the communal ritual of adult males and the familial ritual of adult females" (Arnold 1978, p. 53).

Interpretations of celibacy often involve speculation about its effect on the disposition of celibate persons or institutions. Celibacy often is construed as a source of charismatic authority. For example, Max Weber notes that "the permanent abstinence of charismatic priests and religious virtuosi derives primarily from the view that chastity, as a highly extraordinary type of behavior, is a symptom of charismatic qualities and a source of valuable ecstatic abilities" (Weber 1978, p. 603).

Weber describes two fundamental positions that promote celibacy as an instrument of salvation. The first is "mystical flight from the world" (p. 603). The other is asceticism, which represents sex as inimical to "rational, ascetic alertness, self control and the planning of life" (p. 604). The two perspectives often are combined, operating simultaneously to generate hostility towards sexual conduct and related social intermingling.

COMMENTARY AND CRITIQUE

Abstinent individuals and groups often comment on the nature of social life and what it means to be human. For example, celibacy (and concomitant communal living) in Shaker communities indicated a complex critique of asymmetrical property relations and related gender inequalities in the surrounding context of emergent capitalism (Collins 2001).

Those who propagate the biomoral value of *brahamcarya* in northern India also engage in a critique of modernity. They believe that "postcolonial India is enslaved by its 'freedom' to develop and Westernize;

enslaved not so much to sex itself—although certainly that—as to the idea that power is a function of potency, and virility the coefficient of modernization" (Alter 1994, p. 57). Modern *brahamcarya* represents an attempt to diffuse the celibate ideal throughout the body politic, whereas Shaker and other forms of celibacy in the United States in the nineteenth century were practiced more often by people who opted out of the body politic.

COMPLEX CONFIGURATIONS

Celibacy always is enacted as part of a complex configuration of ongoing negotiations regarding socio-cultural values, in which stakes are claimed and positions recalculated as events unfold. Out of those negotiations come patterned gains and losses. The religious celibate forswears sex but gains sacred status and/or economic support while helping his or her community. The Balkan "sworn virgin" relinquishes her female gender to become a man, gaining access to resources for her family and access to traditionally male occupations with higher social status (Gremaux 1994). In these ways sexual abstinence can be managed and even manipulated as a channel for cultural creativity and innovation as well as self-advancement.

Those who are abstinent often attempt to remove themselves from the larger social world, alter that world in an active fashion, or critique it passively. Thus, abstinence entails much more than personal sexual inaction. It can improve or alter one's personal status and perpetuate or change one's society. It also can further one's own and one's family's social, material, symbolic, spiritual, and genetic fortunes.

SEE ALSO *Celibacy; Chastity; Virginity.*

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Sandra Bell

ADAM AND EVE

Two different creation stories are told in the first three chapters of Genesis, with the break coming at Chapter 2:4b. The two stories come from quite different sources such that they use two different expressions for God: *Elohim* and *Yahweh Elohim*. In English Bibles those terms usually are translated "God" and "the Lord God." Scholars refer to the supposed author of the first story as *P*, for "the Priestly writer," who wrote in approximately 500 to 400 BCE, and the second often is known as *J*, or the Yahwist, from his title for God (spelled with a *J* in German). His narrative is much older, perhaps from the tenth or ninth century BCE.

THE P VERSION AND THE J VERSION

In *P*'s version the creation of humankind (*'adam*) comes on the sixth day as the climax of a series of acts: "male and female he created them." Thus, man and woman are created simultaneously and together receive the command to "be fruitful and multiply," to subdue and have dominion over the earth.

In the *J* story everything begins again, but this time there is no orderly progress over six days of divine activity. God makes man (*'adam* again) from the dust of the ground (*'adamah*, the first of several puns in this part of the story) and breathes into his nostrils the breath of life. Then God plants a garden eastward in Eden and puts the man there. God then makes all the trees grow, including the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. He explains that the man may eat from every tree except the last one, for "in the day you eat of it you shall surely die." Only then does God say, "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper as a partner" (2.18). Even so, the reader is made to wait while God first forms all the animals and birds and brings them to the man to name them. Then the story continues: "but for the man was not found a helper as his partner. So the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; then he took one of his ribs and closed up its place with flesh. And the rib that the Lord God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man." Then the man says a little poem: "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; this one shall be called Woman, for out of Man this one was taken." (The word for *woman*, *'ishshah*, also involves a play on the word for *man* in 2:23b, *'ish*, a pun that also works in English.) Therefore, says the narrator, "a man leaves his father and mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh. And the man and the woman were both naked, and were not ashamed."

The differences between the two stories are striking. In the first story language is generative: God speaks, and something comes into being. In contrast, in the second language is used for naming and ordering the world, and it is the man who is given that task. Indeed the focus of the Yahwist's version is on man's work, whereas the point of interest in the first story is Elohim, God. The most notorious difference is the creation of woman. In the first story God creates man and woman at the same time, but in the second God first makes man and then seems to search for a mate among the animals to which the man gives names before making another creature from the man's rib. Most commentators see a contradiction between a story in which man and woman are equal from the beginning and one in which the woman is almost an afterthought, created simply as a helper for the man, and is inferior to him. Indeed, she apparently is given her title *Woman* as a kind of further act of naming by the man.

The focus on humankind becomes even clearer as the story continues in Chapter 3 with the story of the serpent and his address to the woman. The woman explains that God has forbidden the eating of the tree in the middle of the garden or they will die. However, the serpent persuades her to eat, saying, "You will not die; for God knows that when you eat of it, your eyes will be opened and you will be like God, knowing good and evil." Thus, "the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise," and she took and ate and gave also to her husband. "Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked." God then curses the serpent and makes him go on his belly in the future. He punishes the woman by increasing the pain of childbearing and by saying that her husband shall rule over her. He punishes the man by cursing the ground for his sake and telling him that "by the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust and to dust you shall return." At this point—and only now—"the man named his wife Eve (*hawwa*), because she was the mother of all living [*hay*]." Finally God points out that "the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil." Thus, so that the man cannot put out his hand for the tree of life as well and so live forever, God expels him from the garden of Eden.

SCHOLARLY AND THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Every detail of the story has been analyzed by generations of scholars and theologians. The word *'adam* is eventually used without the article as a proper name only in the next chapter, at 4.25: "Adam knew his wife again, and she bore a son." Until that point it means "the man" or indeed "humankind," as in *P*'s creation story. Eve is named only in 3:20, after what came to be known as "the Fall" (because of overlapping with the fall of angels from heaven), and as in the word for her husband, a pun or wordplay is involved. These playful usages are characteristic of the Yahwist: He even plays with the word for *naked*, *'arummim*, in 2:25 in that in the first verse of the next chapter he calls the serpent crafty (*'arum*).

Does this mean that the story itself, with its magic trees and hesitant jealous God, is not serious in its original context? Is the talking snake who tells Eve the truth about the tree and God's warning (as God admits in 3:22) a kind of trickster, a figure common in the myths of many other cultures? After all, this story fills a slot familiar from many other cultures: It narrates the origin of death and incidentally explains why people wear clothes.

Oddly enough, there is no further reference to the story in the whole of the Jewish scriptures. However, most subsequent commentators took the Eden story very seriously. For Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 BCE–50 CE) it was an allegorical warning of what can happen when the rational mind (Adam) allows itself to be overcome by the pleasures (the serpent) of the senses (Eve). In the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature (200 BCE to 200 CE), the serpent came to be thought of as a form of Satan, and there was a good deal of speculation about the nature of the human sin: The desire for sex, for knowledge, or for sexual knowledge begins to appear as an explanation, but as to whether it was primarily Adam's or Eve's responsibility there were various opinions.

In I Enoch 98:4 neither Adam nor Eve are culpable (it is simply "people" who invented sin), and in 4 Ezra it was Adam's "evil heart," a common rabbinic concept, that was responsible. However, as time went on and especially in the later literature of Judaism, the Talmud and Midrash (200–600 CE), there was an attempt to shape women's lives by retelling Eve's story, usually by putting the blame on her. Already in *Sirach* (Ecclesiastes, 180 BCE) 25:24 it is said, "From a woman sin had its beginning and because of her we all die," although Eve is not named, and the reference may be more general, including the many bad women listed in the accompanying verses. Indeed, this may refer to the story of the seduction of the angels by the daughters of men, a myth mentioned briefly in Genesis 6:1–4 and given much fuller development in the various books of Enoch.

But there was a wide range of interpretive opinion even in the rabbinic tradition as scholars tried to cope with the apparent contradiction between the two creation stories: Was there an original androgyne or hermaphrodite, did God change his mind, were there two different Eves? In some cases Eve copulates with the serpent or with the evil angelic presence (Satanail in 2 Enoch 31:3–6) usually known as Sammael (who replaces or acts through the serpent) and gives birth to Cain (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Genesis 4:1, 5:3, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, chapters 21–22; *Questions of Bartholemew* 4:58–59, a Christian apocryphal gospel that echoes the Jewish stories). This idea also occurs in the teachings of Mani, which eventually gave rise to Manichaeism (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 58:11–61:13), but for the most part the serpent is simply "more skilled in evil than all the beasts of the field."

EVE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

In the Christian New Testament the negative view of Eve is enormously influential. In 1 Timothy, one of the pseudo-Pauline pastoral epistles, Paul is made to write that women should not teach or have authority over a man and should even be silent during worship: "For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet she will be saved through childbearing" (1 Timothy 2:13–15). Such texts defined the subordinate role of women and still are cited in discussions about women serving as priests or bishops.

Yet the authority of women was clearly a major issue in the early Church, and those who opposed the orthodox, who generally are referred to as Gnostic, sometimes used the figure of Eve in a different way. Thus, in the *Secret Gospel or Apocryphon of John*, Eve represents the higher power that emerged from Adam as he slept, urging him to awaken to spiritual enlightenment. But from the end of the second century CE, when Irenaeus and others were denouncing such heretical ideas and establishing a sacred canon, orthodoxy was defining the path that much of subsequent Christianity would follow. A key text was 1 Corinthians 11.7, in which Paul says that women should cover their heads when praying or prophesying but not men, "since he is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man. Indeed man was not made from woman, but woman from man." The reference to the hierarchy of Genesis 2 is clear. Paul announced (Romans 5:12–17) that Christ was a second Adam and thus put the Genesis myth at the center of the story of fall and redemption that Christianity learned to tell. It was left to followers such as Justin to add the parallel relationship of Eve to Mary, and soon it was commonplace to see Mary's virginity as the compensation for Eve's sexuality. Interpretations often turn on ideas of sexual morality. Whereas Clement saw God's blessing on marriage and procreation in Paradise, the ascetic Jerome insisted that God's plan was for Adam and Eve to stay virgin: They were united in marriage only after the Fall and their shameful exile from "the Paradise of virginity" (Letter 22, 18).

The misogyny of the Church Fathers can be illustrated by a passage from Tertullian, who wrote "On the Apparel of Women" in about 202 CE and recommends (I:1) that women "affect meanness of appearance, walking about as Eve mourning and repentant, in order that by every garb of penitence she might the more fully expiate that which she derives from Eve—the ignominy, I mean, of the first sin, and the odium attaching to her as the cause of human perdition.… You are the devil's gateway."

Not all the Fathers were quite so definite. Thus, John Chrysostom invokes both the original equality implied by Genesis 1:27 and the subordinate status of Eve in the Yahwist's story. He has his "loving God" say to Eve, "In the beginning I created you equal in esteem to your husband, and my intention was that you would share with him as an equal … but you abused your equality of status. Hence I subject you to your husband, and he will be your master" (*Homily* 17). Augustine also admits the original equality but spends most of his energy reflecting on the purpose of creating a woman—to have children (*De Genesi Ad Litteram* 9:5, 401 CE)—or on the doings of Eve and the serpent. Like most commentators he worries about Paul's refusal of the image of God to her in 1 Corinthians 11:7, where she is instead the glory of man. Perhaps she had not yet received the gift of the knowledge of God but was supposed to receive it gradually from her husband. Thus, she jumped the gun. Adam, however, ate the fruit not through lust for his wife, which he still could control, but because "he did not wish to make her unhappy, fearing she would waste away without his support" (11.42.59).

This generous attitude to Adam did not last, and soon Augustine came to identify Adam's deed as the "original sin" from which all people have suffered ever since, which befouled the world. He thought he found that idea in the text of Paul's letter to the Romans 5:12 about Adam "in whom all have sinned." Paul's Greek text simply connects the origin of death with the fact that Adam had sinned, but in the Latin Vulgate translation it became the foundational text for a new and immensely influential doctrine: the transmission of Adam's corrupt seed to all his descendants.

INTERPRETATIONS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

There was considerable resistance to this view of the story throughout the Middle Ages. One example is the Latin poem *Carmen de Deo* by Dracontius, from the end of the fifth century CE, in which the author describes Eve as she stands before Adam "naked like a nymph of the sea." The two are commanded to live in *honesta voluptas* (honest pleasure). The writer is very clearly adapting the tradition of pagan Latin poetry, both Lucretius and Ovid, to the Christian topic. Throughout the tradition of representing the first humans there is an oscillation between adapting and rejecting the pagan world. In Augustine, and thus more often in the medieval period, it is rejected, but Augustine did allow for the possibility of sexual intercourse in Paradise.

Islamic Interpretations After 600 CE Islam enters the picture as a distinct religious tradition. Adam is mentioned in several Suras of the Qur'an. Although Eve is not named, she is referred to as Adam's mate or wife. Her creation is not mentioned, and she is not made responsible for the primary act of disobedience. But two of the learned traditions (*hadith*) contend that God created Eve (Hawwa in Arabic) as a source of "rest" for Adam (which the Qur'an itself says about all spouses) and emphasize her culpability by saying that Adam at first refused to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree (al-Tabari on Q.2.35 and 36, written in the 800s). In the Qur'an (Surahs 2 and 15 especially) the reason for Iblis or Shaitan to tempt her to disobedience is jealousy of Adam because the angels are told to prostrate themselves before him. This story is found first in the Adam literature that developed in Jewish and Christian circles, for example, in the text known by its Latin title as *Vita Adae et Evae* (it exists in many other languages and variants, including Armenian and Greek), and it is one sign among many that early Islam made considerable use of noncanonical Jewish and Christian stories. The Islamic serpent has four legs in some versions, "as if it were a camel," an idea that reappears in the medieval Jewish *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, in which the angel Sammael mounts and rides it, an unusual way of explaining how fallen angel and snake both could be present in the story (Chapter 13, c. 700–800s). In other versions, both Islamic and Jewish, Eve's punishment is to bleed every month, "just as you have made this tree to bleed." Again, as in some medieval Jewish versions, Eve's method of seduction is to get Adam drunk, the forbidden fruit being a grape.

Jewish Interpretations It is in the medieval period that within the Jewish tradition the rabbinic idea of Adam's two wives, which comes from interpretation of the two successive creation stories in Genesis, develops the figure of Lilith as a separate first wife. But whereas God earlier had removed the first Eve because Adam was disgusted by her, now (e.g., in *The Alphabet of Ben Sira*, c. 800s–900s) Lilith leaves of her own accord, refusing to lie below Adam on the grounds that they are equal. In several legends Lilith lives on and becomes a general threat to men or to newborn babies, in alliance with demons. That idea was contested by many rabbis but remained popular.

Medieval Christians officially lived their faith in the light of Augustine's misogyny. When Aquinas added a dash of Aristotle, man was understood as the "form" and woman as the "matter" of sexual reproduction. If all went well, a baby was male, but if something went wrong, such as a south wind blowing, a misbegotten or defective male, that is, a female, would result (Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 13, Qu. Ia, 92, 99).

Female mystics often took a notably different view. Hildegard of Bingen, for example (1098–1179), argued that woman's association with the body tied her more closely to the Incarnation. Eve was the mother of humanity ("all living" in Genesis), and Mary the mother of God incarnate: It was woman who gave humankind the chance to participate in the divine image. Christine de Pizan (1365–c. 1430) complained about clerics who indoctrinated schoolboys with stories of Adam and other men supposedly deceived by women. Instead, Eve innocently accepted the serpent's words as true and guilelessly shared the news with Adam ("Letter of the God of Love," 260–280, 604–616, 1399). In the Anglo-Norman play *Mystère d'Adam* (1150–1200) Eve thinks the fruit will give them great wisdom and charges Adam with cowardice when he refuses to eat; he then agrees. In some English medieval mystery plays Eve is under the impression that the visitor, an actor dressed in a snake costume and walking upright, is actually a messenger from heaven, and so she says to Adam: "A ffayr Aungell thus seyd me tylle / To Ete that appel take nevyr no drede" (*Ludus Coventriae* 11 238–239, 1450). The fruit had by then become an apple because of a Latin pun: *Malum* means "evil" (with a short *a*) and "apple" (with a long *a*). The expression *Adam's apple* originates in the popular idea that the fruit stuck in his throat as he ate.

This partially sympathetic view contrasts with that of the *Malleus Malleficarum* [Hammer of witches] (1496), a work by two Dominican inquisitors that encouraged two centuries of persecution of witches on grounds such as that "there was a defect in the formation of the first woman, since she was formed from a bent rib." That work collects much misogynist lore. It even describes the word *Femina* as coming from *Fe* and *Minus*, "she of lesser faith." Adam "was tempted by Eve, not the devil, so she is more bitter than death," it says, citing Revelations 6:8 (Part I, Qu. 6,

Adam and Eve by Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit.* THE ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL MUSEUM OF PRAGUE/DAGLI ORTI.

ed Montague Summers, pp. 42–45). By contrast, in a Latin play by the Renaissance humanist Hugo Grotius, *Adamus Exul* (1601), Eve is faced with a choice between bearing a race of captives or a race of free men, and she acts in the name of freedom.

PROTESTANT INTERPRETATIONS

The leading figures of the Protestant Reformation took the Augustinian idea of original sin very seriously. The Fall had devastated all human life. In abolishing monasticism, Martin Luther insisted that patriarchal marriage was the necessary result of the Fall. Once equal partner to the man, woman was obliged through Eve's sin to subject herself to her husband. For Jean Calvin, "Thou shalt desire nothing but what thy husband wishes" (*Commentaries on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis* Vol. 1, p. 172, on 3:16). Calvin had a complex understanding of the text of Genesis, which he read in the light of the New Testament passages, largely Pauline, that mention it. Thus, on the one hand, "Adam was not deceived but the woman" (1 Timothy 2.14), and so it was his wife's allure, not Satan's, that persuaded Adam. Thus, he was not present when the serpent tempted Eve (a matter about which the text of Genesis 3:6 leaves some doubt because "she gave also unto her husband with her"). On the other hand, Paul says at Romans 5:12 that "sin came not by the woman but by Adam himself" (*Commentaries* on Genesis 3:6): "No excuse was left to him who had obeyed his wife rather than God" (on 3:17).

These paradoxes are explored thoroughly in the most influential literary treatment of the story, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in which it is Adam who is made to bear the larger part of the blame because he falls "not deceived/ But fondly overcome with female charm" (IX 999). Most of the more overtly misogynist statements are put into Adam's mouth in his misery after the Fall, for example, when he aligns Eve with the serpent (like much of the tradition): "Out of my sight, thou serpent!" (X 867). Although some readers find a more specifically Miltonic misogyny in statements such as "He for God only, she for God in him" (IV 299) and in the explicit statement that she was made for subjection even if "required with gentle sway" (IV 308), others see those statements as the ways in which Milton honestly faced the implications of the story (especially in view of the Pauline interpretations) and of Western misogyny and thus explained Eve's sin on the grounds of her feeling of inferiority: As she says while debating whether to give Adam the fruit, "for inferior, who is free?" (IX 825). Milton balances the egalitarian and hierarchical readings of Genesis. Adam had asked God for an equal and thought of Eve as "the last and best/ Of all God's works" (IX 896–897). Yet he is reproved explicitly for having been so moved by passion that he listened to his wife, whom he should have ruled.

An enormous variety of views about the Genesis story can be found amid the revolutionary fervor of early modern England in which Milton participated, and thence in American tradition. It had implications for ideas of government, gender, and class. Was Adam like a modern peasant, or was he far above later people in the heights of his intellect? Was Eve responsible for the lack of political rights among her daughters, modern women? Should contemporary society try to re-create the original state of Adam as patriarchal head of the family or as "borne free"? Even gardening manuals could hark after the original state of innocence and the holiness of digging.

The story was potentially subversive as soon as anyone began to question it seriously. Genesis 3:22 states: "Behold the man is become as one of us to know good and evil." If God were not being ironic here, as many, such as Luther, were forced to argue, he admits the force and truth of the serpent's discourse. The fruit did indeed contain real wisdom. So why was it banned? It is a short step from this question to the Socinian Stephen Nye's position that the God represented by this story, who banishes Adam and Eve from the garden in case they should eat from the tree of life also, has "the *just* Character of *an Almighty Devil*. For if the Devil had Supream Power, what worse could he do?"

One justification that frequently has been offered for the ban on the fruit is that Adam and Eve were still like children, not ready for the knowledge contained in the fruit, especially if it was sexual knowledge (their lack of shame at their nakedness supported that reading). This doctrine is common in the Jewish tradition and in the Eastern (later the Orthodox) Church and was espoused especially by Irenaeus in the West. Augustine had rejected that view because it makes the temptation (in his view Satanic) unfair. Calvin followed Augustine and denounced the French Libertines for seeking "to return to that innocent state which Adam enjoyed before he sinned … and like a child let himself be led by his natural sense." And yet an originally mature, adult Adam raises the problem of how he fell at all. Augustine had great difficulty with this in light of his exalted conception of Adam and Eve and eventually insisted on an inherent weakness of the will before the act of eating. His followers did not find the problem any easier to solve. No wonder Edward Gibbon in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* could describe the Western church's adoption of Augustine's views as conducted "with public applause and secret reluctance."

Thinkers who were under Paracelsan influence thought of the forbidden tree as an aphrodisiac. Or was it a kind of magic "smart drug," genuinely enlightening, as God admits, but overwhelming for human beings who were not properly prepared or adult? Other, even more radical trends began to be heard in this period. An example is the Quaker Margaret Fell, author of *Women's Speaking* (1666), who rejected the hierarchical model and encouraged women to speak up in meetings. The seed promised to Eve's descendants in Genesis 3:15, understood as Christ, more than compensated for the transgression, and the Church is spoken of as a woman. Anyone who denies all this is "of the Seed of the Serpent, wherein lodges the enmity." Moreover, "Christ in the Male and in the Female is one."

INTERPRETATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States the Quaker influence was even stronger, and Sarah Grimké and her sister, former slave owners who converted to Quakerism, became prominent spokeswomen both for the abolitionist movement and for women's rights. In her *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman* (1838) Sarah Grimké denounced the hierarchical reading of Genesis and argued ingeniously that the so-called curse of Yahweh to Eve was not a command but a prophecy: "Thou wilt be subject unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee." Unfortunately, she thought, Hebrew does not differentiate *shall* from *will* as does English. The translators saw only through the medium of a perverted judgment. What the words actually mean is that "the consequence of the fall was an immediate struggle for dominion, and Jehovah foretold which would gain the ascendancy." It is time to right that wrong, since Adam and Eve "fell from innocence and consequently from happiness, *but not from equality*."

Other American sects, such as the Shakers, went so far as to argue from Genesis 1:26–27 that there is truly "a Heavenly Divine Mother as there is a Heavenly Divine Father" (Frederick W. Evans, *Autobiography of a Shaker*, 1888, p. 199). Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, went further. The true creation account was that in Genesis 1, whereas the contradictory version in Genesis 2–3 was simply an allegory of error. They could not both be true, and she picked out in particular the mist that arises in Genesis 2:6 and Adam's sleep in 21–22 as signs of the error of giving predominance to the world of matter (circa 1875). Soon one among many of the spoof versions of the tale was written, Mark Twain's *The Diaries of Adam and Eve* (1892–1893), in which the first extract from Adam's diary begins: "This new creature with the long hair is a good deal in the way. It is always hanging around and following me about. I don't like this; I am not used to company. I wish it would stay with the other animals."

CONTEMPORARY INTERPRETATIONS

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, especially in the United States, the story has continued to be a focus for debate, almost always political. Some conservative thinkers, whether Jewish, Christian, or Muslim, have defended the hierarchical views implied by the text and insisted on the so-called household code of the New Testament, but under the inspiration of the feminist movement there have been new ways of reading the story.

In 1972 Phyllis Trible read a paper to the Andover Newton Theological Seminary in which she argued that God created an androgyne that became male only when God separated out the female parts for Eve. Genesis 3:16 did not sanction male supremacy but condemned it. The myth places under judgment the patriarchal culture from which it comes. Judith Plaskow, a Jewish scholar, wrote an essay called "The Coming of Lilith" in which she told a new story, in the mode of *midrash*, of Adam's first wife as a woman so aware of her own value that she refused to become Adam's servant. Adam then asked for a new and more docile partner, but eventually Eve escaped and joined Lilith, returning to Eden with plans to make it new. Within Islam there have also been some stirrings in these new directions, as in the work of Riffat Hassan, a Pakistani woman living in the United States who argues that in the Qur'an "both men and women were made in the same manner, of the same substance, at the same time." The radical Egyptian feminist Nawal El Saadawi used ambiguities in the Adam and Eve story as part of her attack on traditional gender roles. Such reinterpretations remain marginal, however, and the most important recent trends in Muslim countries have seen the strengthening of traditional patriarchal understandings of the religion.

SEE ALSO *Creation Stories.*

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Neil Forsyth

ADOLESCENCE

SEE *Adolescent Sexuality.*

ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY

Prepuberty and puberty refer to the physiological, anatomical, and hormonal changes in sexual maturation. Puberty begins with menarche in girls and the first ejaculation in boys, and marks the beginning of adolescence, a complex psychological and developmental process that spans the years roughly from eleven to twenty (Tyson and Tyson 1990, p. 62). Three transformations occur in adolescence: There is disengagement from the infantile ties to the parents; there is the discovery of orgasm and sexual desire directed away from the parents; and there is a primary identification with one of the parents as an adult. In Freudian theory, for heterosexuals the primary identification would be with the same sexed parent, for homosexuals the primary identification is the opposite sexed parent. These transformations begin with the onset of adolescence, which many writers agree is a recapitulation of infancy. Infantile sexuality, repressed during latency, is revived in adolescence with the reappearance of Oedipal conflicts: the threat of attraction to the opposite sexed parent, and the wish for the disappearance or death of the same sexed parent.

In the United States, largely through the work of Peter Blos and Margaret Mahler, adolescence is viewed as the culmination of a process of maturation. The process of mourning becomes important. Anna Freud drew attention to the similarity of adolescence, with its emotional disappointments, and a period of mourning. The adolescent's sexual feelings must detach from the parents and focus on new objects, and this results in mourning for infantile wishes. The new objects, or individuals, are pursued for narcissistic and grandiose fantasies that characterize this development stage. The most specific change in adolescence is managing the dual tasks of integrating a genitally mature body in society and also becoming autonomous. The work of becoming autonomous challenges the narcissistic attitude of the adolescent and reveals the internal world of the young adult and exposes the secure and insecure attachments of his or her character. It also challenges the adolescent's ego to take control of functions that have until then been the responsibility of the parents.

The development that occurs in adolescence has a form and conclusion conditioned by the culture and family to which it belongs. The culture and family are capable of interfering with this process. The parents of adolescents are often in the midst of their own midlife problems and this can add confusion between the adolescent and the parents. Also, the adolescent's actualization of some of the parents' own unresolved conflicts can add more confusion and dissension to this period and contribute to the adolescent feeling misunderstood.

External reality becomes a mediator for the adolescent, capable of reinforcing or weakening the structures of the psychic apparatus. The task for the adolescent is to separate from infantile objects and wishes, and resume identification with narcissistically acceptable objects. Mediator figures include parents, teachers, friends, ideologies, and religions. They can provide for the adolescent a temporary support or identification as they develop a self-image that is truly his or her own.

Sigmund Freud rooted gender in the discovery of genital differences, but research has suggested that gender development is influenced by many factors and there is not a single route to adult gender identity. Many writers have come to agree that individuals unconsciously make both heterosexual and homosexual attachments, with any person's outcome just one of a wide continuum of possibilities. The idea is that individuals are not simply homosexual or heterosexual, but some unique mixture. One's gender identity is a developmental outcome that results from individual differences, the influences of culture and family, as well as fantasy, conflict, defenses, regression, and making and breaking relationships internally and externally while trying to maintain a stable self.

There was a paradigm shift in the study of gender identity over the last few decades of the twentieth century. Historically, gender identity was considered binary: One was either homosexual or heterosexual, and culture encouraged conformity to this view. Psychoanalytic feminism began documenting the pathogenic processes and effects of psychological conformity to the cultural gender binary (Bassin 2000, Layton 2000, Stimmel 2000). This more recent approach argues that gender identity is not just absorbed from one's culture, but individuals engage the influence of cultural proscription and talk back. Gender not only acts on and against one, but it is also available to the individual to use for his or her own aims. Gender identity is best understood as a social category and psychic identity position that is a compromise formation held in the tension between the pressures of conformity and compliance, on one hand, and the individual's continuous project of self-creation and self-protection on the other (Person, Cooper, and Gabbard 2005, p. 102).

Gender identity has moved from dualism to multiplicity. Gender is both fluid and embodied, not unified. As Ethel Spector Person (1999, p. 314) has written, "Against what appears to be a dichotomously, categorical expression of gender, there exists in each person a complicated, multi-layered interplay of fantasies and identifications, some feminine, some masculine. … In essence, conscious and unconscious diversity co-exist." The diversity of gender identity is seen in the early twenty-first century in adolescent behavior: It is acceptable, even popular, to talk about oneself as bisexual, or even to resist the imperatives in this label, and refuse to claim one position on the gender identity continuum.

SEE ALSO *Puberty.*

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Michael Bieber

ADULTERY

Adultery is a nearly universal concern. It is defined by Judaic, Christian, and Muslim formulations, and in legal codes deriving from Roman law. Known colloquially as *cheating* or *infidelity*, adultery is more complex than simple faithlessness and is not to be confused with *fornication*, or sex between two unmarried people. In its simplest definition, adultery occurs when a married person has sex with someone other than his or her spouse. Marriage is requisite, on the one hand, for an action to be called adultery. On the other hand, the cheating couple also must not be married to one another; otherwise the situation is not adultery but *bigamy* or *polygamy*, even in jurisdictions where such is proscribed. It is sometimes the case that spouses agree beforehand that one or both spouses will seek sexual pleasure outside their marriages, a situation that has been called *open marriage*. Regardless of the level of consent or of participation by the offended spouse, most legal and religious authorities still consider such activity to be adulterous.

Simple definitions aside, whether a particular act can be called adultery depends very much on historical, legal, and cultural contexts. That is, what qualifies as adultery in one jurisdiction would not in another, or even in the same jurisdiction in another era. In some definitions, both "cheating" partners are adulterers if either of them is married, and each is to be treated similarly. In practice, one partner—usually the woman—is often punished more severely than the other. In many definitions, a married man commits adultery only if he has sex with a married woman not his wife; if the man's paramour is not married, neither is an adulterer. Under the same definitions, a married woman commits adultery when she has sex outside her marriage, regardless of the marital status of her partner. The primary variable in this diversity of definitions historically would seem to be the status of women. The more repressive the code or culture, the more likely it is that there will be a double standard regarding men and women in adulterous relationships, to the point that in some jurisdictions a woman can be guilty of adultery even if she did not consent to having sex.

The legal principle of property underlies many secular definitions of adultery, in the sense that the marriage bond is one in which one partner has rights to another (or, in some formulations, each has rights to the other), so that infidelity amounts to a kind of larceny. What are these rights? Under a dynastic model of marriage, what seems to be at stake is a man's right to legitimate heirs—that is, to sons and daughters of his own engendering, which adultery throws into question. Under more companionate models, the right would seem to be to exclusive enjoyment. It is rarer, though not unknown, for adultery to be considered a crime against the state so that the state might take action, regardless of the desires of the offended spouse or spouses. The logic behind such a position is that marriage is a foundational social relationship, so that individual acts of adultery undermine the society as a whole. Such is the logic behind the United States military's prosecutions of adultery. The Uniform Code of Military Justice, the code under which service people are tried in courts martial, does not specifically mention adultery. Rather, when an adultery case is brought, it falls under what is called the "General Article," which proscribes all conduct "to the prejudice of good order and discipline" and all conduct "of a nature to bring discredit" to the armed forces.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, adultery is proscribed in the sixth or seventh *mitzvah* or commandment of the Decalogue (Exodus 20), what is colloquially called the Ten Commandments (sixth or seventh because different religions and denominations group the commandments differently). Perhaps the most notorious adulterer in the Hebrew scriptures is also one of the most revered kings, David, whose adulterous affair with Bathsheba and the punishments he received for it are prominently narrated in 1 Samuel. The prohibition against adultery (and incest) is one of the three strongest in Talmudic thinking, the others being those against murder and against idolatry, such that a person is enjoined from committing adultery even to save his own life. In Deuteronomy (chapters 20 and 22), the punishment for an adulterous couple is death, in order to purge the impurity brought on the community by such sin—"so shalt thou put away evil from Israel" (Deuteronomy 22:22, King James Version).

But Rabbinic law by the time of Roman occupation became decidedly averse to the death penalty, so that the condemned adulteress was only sent away and prohibited from rejoining either her husband or her paramour. Even under this new leniency, however, adultery remained a violation of God's ordained social order, and a husband was required to divorce his adulterous spouse, even if inclined to forgive her. In Deuteronomy, adultery depends entirely on the woman's marital status, occurring when a man has sex with a married woman or even a woman who is betrothed but not yet married. If the woman is not married or betrothed, it is not adultery, even if the man is already married. Similarly, if she is a slave, she is not guilty because Rabbinic law assumes she is not free to act as she might. The story of Tamar in Genesis illustrates the complications that could arise from these definitions in combination with other laws, in this case the requirement in Deuteronomy that a widow must marry her husband's brother in order to continue her husband's line. Tamar is the widow of Er and of his brother, Onan. Her father-in-law, Judah, keeps her from his remaining son, Shelah, so she disguises herself as a prostitute and has sex with unwitting Judah. When Tamar becomes pregnant, Judah threatens her with execution for adultery, since she is technically betrothed to Shelah. Tamar exposes Judah as the father, and in so doing exposes his injustice in keeping Shelah from her, thus saving her life. As early as 70 CE, Rabbi Yochanan ben Zakkai saw the injustice of these double standards during a proliferation of adultery, so he abolished the ordeal (involving the drinking of a bitter liquid in a public ceremony) that was supposed to test the guilt or innocence of the accused woman.

In some ways Jesus's teachings about adultery are more strict than the Deuteronomic tradition out of which they arise, expanding the question of adultery beyond physical acts to include desires and intentions: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart" (Matt. 5:27–28). In effect, the commandment against coveting a neighbor's wife is subsumed under that against adultery. Jesus also adds (Matt. 5:32) that any divorce, except on grounds of infidelity, will cause a woman to commit adultery when she remarries, a position that is much stricter than the Jewish laws. Moreover, Jesus expands the definition of adultery to include any married man who has sex outside of marriage. It is no surprise, therefore, that early Christian thinking held the marriage bond to be of such importance—elevated to the point that it replicates the bond between God and the Church—that any adulterous act wounds the bond between God and man (see, for instance, Ephesians 5:22–32). And yet, for all this strictness, Jesus also seems to be in accord with the Rabbinic thought of the period, so that in the famous *Pericope Adulterae*, or story of the woman taken in adultery, Jesus does not sentence the woman to death but drives off her accusers with the question of their own sinfulness and frees her with an admonition to cease sinning (usually found at John 7:53–8:11).

Roman Catholic doctrine toward adultery derives from Jesus's teachings and from early Christianity's writings about marriage and adultery, and develops over the course of the Middle Ages. Because Catholic doctrine defines various stages and degrees of marriage, what constitutes adultery can be complicated. Unlike Jewish law, engagement to be married is not sufficient to make sexual intercourse with someone other than the fiancé adulterous. But if a couple agrees to marry, then has intercourse, they are sufficiently married in the eyes of the Church for any other sexual relations to be adulterous. Similarly, *matrimonium ratum* (which occurs when a couple has gone through the marriage ceremony but has not yet had intercourse in order to consummate the marriage) is also sufficient to make any other sexual relations adulterous.

While Jewish law allows divorce for virtually any reason and in fact has required it following adultery, Catholic doctrine never permits or recognizes *divortium plenum*, or absolute divorce, for marriages sanctified by the Catholic Church. This doctrine is based upon Jesus's rejection of divorce in Mark 10:9–12 and similar passages: "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. . . . Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery." It may be remarked that the similar passage from Matthew (mentioned above) seems to contain an exception, that divorce is permitted if the spouse is adulterous, but Catholic doctrine rejects the possibility that the passages conflict with one another and that Jesus allowed absolute divorce in this limited circumstance. Catholic doctrine will allow in the case of adultery a *divortium imperfectum*, or a limited divorce, in which the marriage bond remains indissoluble though the couple lives apart from one another. Furthermore, canon law (see below) requires that the offended party seek redress within six months of discovering the infidelity, or else he or she is assumed to have condoned or forgiven the transgression and cannot take action. Nevertheless, in practice in such cases, the Catholic Church has often been known to grant annulments, declaring that a true marriage not only does not exist but never occurred in the first place, which, though doctrinally different from divorce, has the effect of allowing the couple to remarry elsewhere.

Just as doctrines about marriage complicate Catholic definitions of adultery, so too do doctrines about sexual acts. Under Catholic teaching, adultery requires intercourse, so that some sexual behavior between a married person and another married person may not amount to adultery, no matter how sinful the behavior may be. Similarly, according to some theologians, some sexual acts, such as sodomy, are adulterous even when the partners are married to one another.

ISLAMIC LAW

While the several varieties of Islamic law, or *sharia*, practiced in some Muslim countries differ in some particulars, the prohibition against adultery is shared by all and derives from the Qu'ran and from *hadith*, or traditions concerning the practices of the Prophet Muhammad. Though the Qu'ran does not quote the Decalogue, it does refer to it and seems to draw upon its tradition. Adultery is considered one of the most serious offenses, known as the *Hadd* offenses, because they are specified as offenses in the Qu'ran, another of which is the false accusation of adultery. Perhaps because the accusation is so serious, there are restrictions on it. The punishment for adultery is traditionally *rajm*, death by stoning, but this punishment is based only upon hadith, as the Qu'ran makes no mention of it. The seriousness of the crime necessitates under sharia a high standard of evidence, such as a voluntary confession or four reliable male eyewitnesses to the same act of penetration. In most schools of sharia, pregnancy is too circumstantial to be admitted as reliable evidence, but when it is admitted, most schools accept a counter-claim of rape as enough to free the woman from charges.

The variety of sharia followed in some Nigerian provinces, namely *Maliki*, is alone among the sharia schools to require some proof of rape to admit the counter-claim. A few high-profile cases of adultery brought before the sharia courts in some regions of Nigeria after 1999 generated worldwide debate about sharia's treatment of women. The Taliban regime in Afghanistan was widely decried for its radical interpretation of sharia. Under the Taliban, it was enough for a woman to be found in the company of a man who was neither her husband nor a near relation to be found guilty and to be executed. Although the Taliban were forced from power in 2001, as late as 2005 an Afghani woman, Bibi Amena, was executed by her family and community for having been found in the company of a man not her husband. The man reportedly received forty lashes. Iran has executed scores of men and women for adultery since the Islamic Republic came to power there in 1979. Most Islamic countries have laws against adultery on the books (as do many countries in Europe and North America) but make the burden of proof so high as

Death Sentence. *This Nigerian Woman was sentenced to death by stoning for adutlery in Nigeria in 2002.* © REUTERS/CORBIS.

to be very nearly impossible to result in executions. Some regions substitute jail terms, such as Dubai in the United Arab Emirates, where the maximum term in an adultery conviction is eighteen months. In most cases, imputations of adultery, or any other doubts thrown on a woman's honor, are handled extra-legally. Execution of the offending females (as in so-called honor crimes) by a family member is still common in many countries.

ROMAN LAW AND ITS SUCCESSORS

At least since the time of Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE), Roman law treated adultery as a criminal action, and required adulterers to be exiled. Adultery under this definition depends entirely on the woman's marital status. A wife commits adultery when she has sex with any man other than her husband. If the woman is not married, it is not adultery, though there may well be penalties for her actions. A man's marital status is not part of the question. According to Augustus's laws, known as the Julian marriage laws, a father is justified in killing his adulterous daughter, and a husband justified in killing his wife's paramour. Regardless of the husband's willingness to forgive, Roman law required him to prosecute within a certain time frame, and required the couple's divorce. These laws did not prove popular, and Augustus himself was forced to exile his own daughter, Julia, for her adulterous acts only fourteen years after enacting his marriage laws. Later emperors softened and even ignored the laws. They are important, however, in that in the form of sixth-century Byzantine emperor Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*, they help form the basis of canon law, which began to take its current form in twelfth-century western Europe. It may be interesting to note that adultery under Justinian's code did not apply if the husband was not offended by his wife's infidelity, such as when he prostitutes her. Such is not the case in canon law. As the laws of the Catholic Church courts, canon law had jurisdiction over many offenses—including adultery—anywhere Roman Catholicism held sway, including England, where canon law continued to evolve after the English Reformation. Even though English Protestantism held that marriage is not a sacrament, English canon law did not permit divorce, even for adultery, for many years. As the English church lost power in judicial matters, adultery began to be a secular court concern, and in 1857 England established a court specifically to take divorce out of the hands of the church. Under the laws of that time, husbands could obtain a divorce for simple adultery, but women were required to prove cruelty or desertion in addition.

The Napoleonic Code is a civil code promulgated by Napoleon I in 1804, forming the basis for the laws of many European countries besides France, and is an influence in the laws of Louisiana, New Mexico, and Puerto Rico. The Napoleonic Code derives from earlier French law, Roman law, and Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*, but borrowed also from the laws of other nations. Again, it is not a criminal code, but is concerned largely with determining matters of property; as such, it concerns itself with adultery insofar as questions of marriage and divorce matter help determine the status of property and the determination of inheritance. Adultery, under the Napoleonic code, covers extramarital sex on the part of either the husband or the wife, but as a cause for action in divorce applies unequally, giving more restrictions to women at virtually every turn. Either husband or wife may sue for divorce on account of adultery, but the wife can divorce her husband only if he brings into their home his adulterous partner, called a *concubine* in the Code. Again, if a divorce should be granted because of adultery, the adulterous spouse—whether male or female—is prohibited from ever marrying his or her adulterous partner; but the Code adds that, should the wife be the adulteress, she may also be sent to a correctional facility for a three-month to two-year period. Children conceived through adultery are illegitimate under the Code, restricting their claims to inherit. But the Code does not permit accusations of adultery in an effort to disinherit a certain child, unless it can be proven that the legal father was absent from his wife during the period spanning from three hundred to one hundred and eighty days prior to the birth of the child. Napoleon's regime is also responsible for a penal code promulgated in 1810, which allows a man to kill his wife and her lover if he catches them in the act of adultery. No similar allowance is made for an offended woman.

CONCLUSION

Adultery would appear to be an unending human worry. In 2000, for instance, China revised a twenty-year-old marriage law in an effort to reduce adulterous activity, which many sensed to be on the rise. Keeping concubines was supposedly common in pre-communist China and seems to have reemerged after the economic reforms of the 1980s, but Chinese officials believe that adultery is contrary to proper socialist thought. Given that these reforms coincided with religious reform movements against rising adultery rates in Muslim and Christian cultures as well, one might wonder if adultery is not the constant and a culture's attitudes toward it the variable instead.

SEE ALSO *Marriage.*

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Erick Kelemen

ADVERTISING

Advertising, a form of communication between a paying sponsor and an identified audience (Dunn and Barban 1986), has become ubiquitous. Advertising's financial impact is significant: In 2004 within the United States alone, $263.77 billion was spent on advertising (Coen 2006). However, focusing exclusively on advertising's economic impact means that one overlooks the significant cultural power that advertising wields. Corporations, consumers, and other agencies have begun examining the phenomenon with more complexity to measure the degree of social and political influence of advertising. They note the limitations of seeing advertising only as a paid communication designed to sell products or services to an identified audience, acknowledging that many factors—including the advertised messages and their visual elements, contexts, and viewers—shape the meaning of the advertisement. More importantly, they argue that focusing on the economic role of advertising omits the degree to which other messages and values are being, if not *sold*, at least circulated within society. With growing attentiveness to the values that are associated with advertising (along with consumerism and marketing), many have critiqued the pervasiveness of advertising, its increasingly specific targeting of populations, and the cultural values associated with particular products. Since the 1960s, as advertising became a larger part of consumer culture, a number of questions emerged from a variety of disciplines. How are various identities—such as gender, sexuality, age, and race—portrayed in advertising? How do companies reinforce or challenge social identities? What values and perspectives are being advertised along with specific products?

MARGINALIZATION OF NON-DOMINANT GROUPS

There is a relationship between how people are represented in advertising and the perceived societal role of those groups. Women, people of color, older citizens, and other non-dominant groups (including gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered [GLBT] audiences) have traditionally played a marginal role in the creation of advertising. These groups have historically held little control over their representation, let alone the values and messages that advertising portrays about them. As a result, advertising can convey notions about the perceived values of a group that might not correspond with the actual desires and experiences of the group itself. In addition, although advertisers frequently organize their audiences by various identity factors (e.g., gender, sexuality, age, race, class, and religion), they do not always research those audiences. Consequently, advertisers may not be aware of products and services that might benefit that population. Indeed, they might choose to market products with known health risks (e.g., fast food, tobacco, and alcohol) to particular groups, such as people of color (Dates and Barlow 1990) or women (*Deadly Persuasion* 2003). Given the ways in which portrayals of non-dominant groups have often been misogynist, racist, and homophobic, such patterns can create social discord (Kellner 1995).

Certainly, other media traffic in these images; however, advertising helps defray the cost of most media to consumers, so *all* media must consider the dominant images within advertisements. Most media outlets are directly supported by advertisers; in 1990, it was estimated that general audience magazines received 50 percent of their revenues from advertisers, whereas newspapers collected seventy-five percent from advertisers, and broadcasters relied almost exclusively on advertising income (Herman 1990). It is not surprising, perhaps, that the information presented in media outlets can be affected by the interests of their financial supporters (i.e., advertisers). It becomes increasingly difficult for individuals to overlook the influence of advertising when trying to determine their own relationship to society, let alone that of other groups when "neutral" media can be influenced by advertisers. Advertising, then, is a central promoter of values within public discourse, providing "perhaps the most dynamic and sensuous representations of cultural values in the world" (Lears 1994).

REINFORCEMENT OF GENDER NORMS

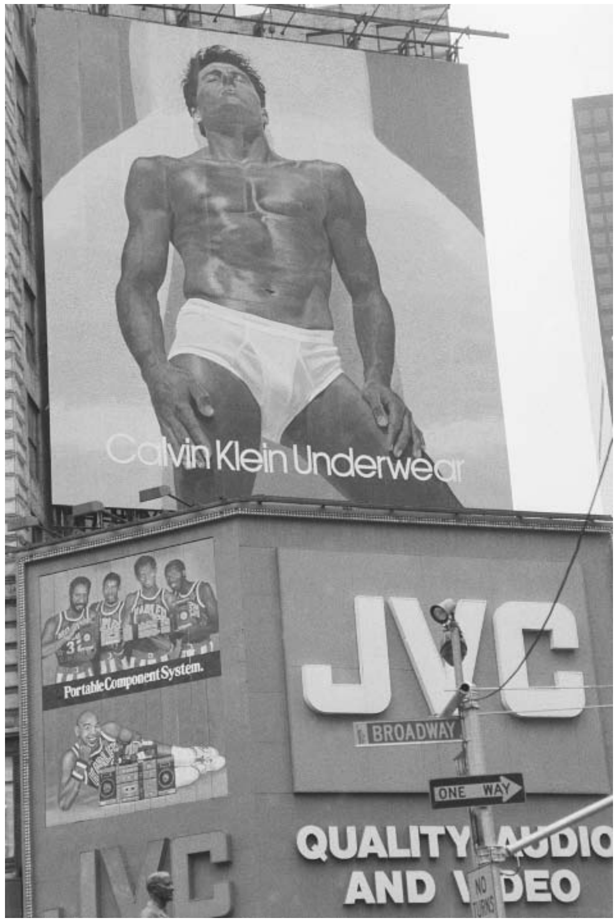
Advertising can reinforce particular gender norms; advertisements directed at women, for instance, often valorize nurturing and supportive roles. Such depictions, which confine women to the domestic sphere, persist despite the fact that by the 1980s, only ten percent of families included a wife and mother whose sole job was taking care of her children while her husband worked (Levitan, Belous, and Gallo 1988). Other stereotypical feminine or misogynist behaviors are portrayed as representative of all women, including women as naggers, nymphomaniacs, mentally incompetent, animalistic, and as bodies (rather than as humans). In contrast, men are typically featured as dominant, heroic, and/or competent subjects (rather than objects). Male voices are more likely to be featured in voiceovers, reinforcing the notion that authority is masculine. Such representations, then, reinforce norms of men as being linked primarily with the public sphere, whereas women are associated with the private sphere. The few exceptions seem incapable of challenging gendered norms.

In the late 1980s, images began surfacing that featured men as foolish (particularly when juxtaposed with items traditionally thought as feminine, such as those related to food preparation) or as fathers. Yet men are infrequently depicted as caregivers in advertisements. When they do appear as parents, they and the children usually participate in conventionally masculine activities. Such images suggest that men can assume a nurturing role, which has been socially defined as feminine, but they are rarely portrayed in additional feminine modes. For example, in 1999, Kaufman pointed out that men are "never shown caring for girls," suggesting that such choices might be read as excessively effeminate.

OBJECTIFICATION OF WOMEN

When women are represented in advertising—a public domain—they are frequently depicted as objects, rather than as subjects. This objectification of women, and their bodies, can be better understood when one considers the "gaze," which controls and fetishizes the female body (Mulvey 1975). Mulvey's work offers a productive point of origins for many scholars, including John Berger, who highlights the gendered dynamics of this concept: "Men act; women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. Thus she turns herself into an object—and most particularly an object of vision—a sight" (Berger 1977). Rather than being an active subject with agency, women are presented as passive or decorative objects, who rarely interact with the products being sold (Sheehan 2003): This passivity is part of a larger cultural message being sold along with the product. These objectifying gazes have acquired moralistic dimensions: What is beautiful is considered self-evidently good (Wolszon 1998). Objectification is presented as a desirable goal that can be accomplished *if* one buys the appropriate products and services. Although advertisers have expanded their portrayal of who can benefit from these products and services—businesswomen, women of color, women of various ages—the demand on consumers to be sexually appealing is still a central theme of many advertisements (Kilbourne 2003).

It has become commonplace that "sex sells" when advertising strategies are discussed. However, the degree to which this maxim might be true has sparked debates and research. In one such study, female subjects on magazine covers had their heads emphasized only four percent of the time (the ratio for men is 900% more); their torsos and bodies (along with their heads) comprise the remaining shots (Lambaise and Reichert 2006). Feminist critique has focused on the high frequency of nearly or completely nude female bodies in advertisements as well as the visual dismemberment of those bodies. Feminists and others have critiqued the disturbing trend of using extremely young girls as sexual objects in ads (Kilbourne 2003, 2000). Such patterns reinforce the objectification of women, presenting it as a normal social phenomenon.



Calvin Klein Underwear Advertisement. *The Calvin Klein ads are known for their use of sex appeal and controversy.*
© BETTMANN/CORBIS.

INFLUENCE ON STANDARDS OF BEAUTY

Others have rightly noted that consumers may view the highly artificial portrayal of female beauty (models typically have a lower body weight than the average consumer, are styled by many people, and may have their images digitally touched up in the editing room) as a documentary of female beauty rather than as a highly stylized fiction. Some researchers have found that there is little, if any, proof that an attractive model or spokesperson prompts consumer spending decisions (Cabellero, Lumpkin, and Madden 1989). And yet, these appeals to beauty continue to be pitched at women and girls rather than at men: such appeals appeared in fifty-six percent of television commercials that ran during teenage girls' preferred television shows; in contrast, such appeals appeared in only three percent of television advertisements aimed at men during viewing hours where they were the major audience (Signorelli 1997). Naomi Woolf has maintained that this "beauty myth" is a means of prescribing behavior to women (investing one's time and financial resources to portray youth and naïveté) and not appearance (1992). This distinction focuses on the appeal of beauty as a social control: As images of beauty continually shift, insecure consumers may perpetually justify their purchases of products and services. By endlessly manipulating and redefining beauty, advertising and corporate profits are secured.

OBJECTIFICATION OF MEN

Some researchers see insecurity as the motivating force behind the abundance of overtly muscular or conspicuously athletic men in advertising (Klein 1993). These representations masculinize the values, products, and services that appear in the media. Granted, these masculine images differ from norms of female models—male models are encouraged to exhibit physically strong and intimidating bodies whereas female models are encouraged to be excessively thin—but these images speak to the ways in which men, too, can be objectified in the media. As advertisers began foregrounding the bodies of male models, consumers (women and men) were invited to become voyeurs of male bodies. While sexual objectification of women remains a long-standing phenomenon, consumers have begun to witness an increase in the sexual objectification of men. Mulvey's concept of the "gaze" has been revived with this acknowledgement that men might also be eroticized—and disempowered—as objects of desire (Mulvey 1975, Schroeder and Zwick 1999). When paired, women and men are often positioned to foreground the competition, power, and domination between the two (Goffman 1979). Such domination is often eroticized (hooks 1997).

FUNCTION RANKING AND VIOLENCE

While a model's appearance is scrutinized by advertisers and researchers, other elements of the image matter as well: clothing, activity, facial expression (or lack thereof), setting, other objects, postures, sex of the people portrayed, and other attributes of identity (e.g., race, class, and age). Researchers contend that the action of models within advertising can underscore the power differential between groups. Erving Goffman defines this phenomenon as "function ranking," the relative passivity of female models when male models are present, a pattern that he sees as supporting male dominance; Ellen Seiter finds a similar pattern when analyzing advertising images of black children observing their more active white playmates, which subtly hints at white supremacy (Goffman 1979, Seiter 1995). This passivity becomes even more troubling when advertisers accentuate this power differential so that violence becomes part of the message.

Violence in advertising may include linguistic aggression (using specific language, such as "bitch"), may highlight fear (by featuring models in perilous situations), and may even feature models posed as corpses. Typically, violence is presented as erotic or fashionable with male models as the aggressive party. Given that in the United States one in four women experiences domestic violence and that one in five women and one in thirty-three men have experienced an attempted or completed rape (Tjaden 2000, Rennison 2001), this strategy exploits and glamorizes what is a painful reality for many survivors. Some consumers have negatively responded to these portrayals of sexual objectification and of violence through boycotts, complaints, and media awareness campaigns. Such campaigns include Joan Kilbourne's "Killing Us Softly" video series, the work of the activist organization Guerilla Girls, and the long-running "No Comment" section of *Ms. Magazine*, which includes objectionable ads and the company's contact information on its penultimate page. These negative responses—particularly those that affect the public image of the company or the financial future of a given product—have affected an industry leery of alienating consumers (Twitchell 1996).

MARKETING TO TARGET GROUPS

This negotiation of sexuality—given its commercial appeal—becomes increasingly coded upon consideration of advertising images that are constructed to be appealing to both heterosexual and homosexual audiences. Brumbaugh and Grier's concept of "encoding" describes the phenomenon in which

> marketers draw on knowledge of the selected segment to create advertising that carries a certain intended meaning for that segment. Markets 'encode' the meaning through the use of cues such as culturally similar actors, shared cultural symbols, appropriate media placement, and preferred language or vernacular. The marketer's hope is that the cues will be 'decoded' by viewers in the target segment to yield the intended meaning that encourages favorable evaluates of the product and firm.
>
> *(Brumbaugh and Grier 1999)*

These coded messages allow advertisers to access a larger market of consumers: gay and lesbian audiences are meant to interpret these ads as representing their culture(s) and experiences, subcultural codes that are presumably not legible to heterosexual consumers (Clark 1996). When this strategy works, advertisers can market to the GLBT community without necessarily acknowledging their intent or the existence of the GLBT community.

Additional strategies have emerged to maintain coded ambiguity for GLBT audiences. Ads with "androgynous marketing" deploy "a multifaceted eroticism that includes homoeroticism," including the use of beautiful models of the same sex without presenting their relationship as non-platonic (Soldow 2006). Another strategy that relies on ambiguity is that of "gay window" advertising, which portrays same-sex couples or groups in ads where heterosexual couples might have traditionally appeared (Stabiner 1982). Companies advertise their products in less ambiguous ways when the ads are placed in media that are planned for and used primarily by GLBT people, such as *Instinct*, *Out*, *The Advocate*, and the cable network LOGO. Advertisers might specifically place ads in gay-friendly media despite past policies of discrimination against GLBT employees. For instance, the Adolph Coors Company placed an ad in *Instinct* in 2000, presenting an attractive image to a community that had previously boycotted Coors for its homophobic company policies in the 1970s. Some images are marketed to both GLBT and heterosexual audiences; however, many have critiqued these strategies.

Some lesbians have contended that objectifying women, as that ad does, fails to become more palatable just because women's desires are acknowledged. They realize that this pattern of portrayal is lucrative, especially in mainstream presses where "lesbian" images cater to male heterosexual viewers. In addition, they note that the financial incentives of presenting homoeroticism in a positive light do not mandate that those representations are personally salient or empowering (Clark 1996). In fact, they can be quite exploitative (Williamson 1986).

Yet companies continue to recognize the financial benefits of broadening their consumer base and have responded accordingly. It has been estimated that corporations within the United States spend about $232 million annually in gay media and in sponsoring gay-specific events (Commercial Closet Association 2007). Advertising in gay media has grown significantly: for example, print ad revenues quadrupled between 1994 and 2007, and there was a 241.9 percent jump in ads with "gay-specific" content between 2003 and 2004 (Commercial Closet Association 2007). Despite the ways in which these groups (and people of color) may be marginalized, advertisers remain aware that these groups have spending power. This research area remains quite undeveloped (O'Guinn, Allen, and Semenik 1998).

DISCRIMINATION IN ADVERTISING

Despite their considerable consumer power, the representations of older adults—and the effects of those representations on consumers—deserve further scrutiny as well. Ageism affects advertising: Consumers' disrespect for or dread about aging are assumed in ads that advertise products designed to restore or resurrect one's youth. For female consumers, physical signs of age that are thought to negatively impact beauty (such as weight gain and facial wrinkles) are presented as terrors that can be avoided. Presenting particular bodies as "too old" reinforces discrimination against older citizens. Certain publications that target these populations, including media presented by the AARP (American Association of Retired Persons), have articulated their criteria for disapproval of such images and insist that advertisers recognize the diversity and dignity of older people (Wood 1989).

Such recognition of human dignity would also alter the representation of people of color. Historically, there has been a pattern of racist and demeaning images, typically in marketing to white audiences, when people of color are included—if they are at all. The rise of the post–civil rights era alerted marketers to the financial gains in addressing African-American audiences. However, racist images persist, such as ads which depict people of color as primitive or as a subservient class. The 1980s marked an increase in advertising companies deliberately seeking out people of color, particularly African-Americans. Researchers have noted that white consumers do not object to having African-Americans in such ads; however, the fact that researchers felt compelled to notice this tacit approval indicates the power differential between these groups (Gren 1999). Some advertisers use different methods to reach people of color than they do for mainstream audiences; in addition, some agencies have begun to specialize in marketing products and services for those populations (Cortese 2004).

CONSUMER BEHAVIOR AS A SOCIAL SCIENCE

Consumers have responded in various ways to advertisers' efforts. Some attempt to distance themselves from the consumerism that these ads foster (Dominquez and Robin 1999). In contrast, some people deliberately seek out advertising as a form of entertainment (including television channels devoted to advertising), often in venues where commercials are seen as more noteworthy than the purported entertainment event: The Super Bowl may be the most notorious example.

Advertisers are understandably interested in what consumers find compelling. Brand images create "a set of associations linked to the brand that consumers hold in memory" (Keller 1993); typically, the strongest ads have held consistent images for two or three decades or longer (Aaker 1991). Other agencies are also interested in the impact of advertising. Public service ads promote programs or values thought to be for the public good. The government is also aware that certain products can cause direct and indirect risks. Sometimes product advertisements are regulated; for instance, tobacco companies must display health warnings in their advertisements. The government is also involved in investigating the process by which goods are marketed; indeed, one of the Federal Trade Commissions tasks is the monitoring of deceptive, and therefore illegal, advertising.

The growth in media corporations and new technologies has furthered the impact and pervasiveness of advertising. Advertising can appear in major mediums: print (e.g., magazines, newspapers), communication networks (including television, Internet, radio), public space (such as billboards), and electronic arenas. In the early 2000s, researchers became increasingly interested in how word of mouth might entice would-be consumers (Rosen 2002). Historically, advances in media have been followed by an increase in advertising. Radio, for instance, debuted without advertising in 1920 and subsequently adopted sponsorship programs and other advertising campaigns in the 1940s and 1950s. The success of such advertising was so impressive that the study of consumer behavior became defined as a social science after World War II (Woods 1995). To learn more about the marketing itself, continued attention to advertising's audience, visual components, copy, and consumer response help the public learn how to decipher the product—and our culture.

SEE ALSO *Media.*

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Mary McDonnell

AFRICA

This entry contains the following:

I. HISTORY

The gendering of African studies constitutes one of the most significant epistemological breakthroughs in the last decades of the twentieth century. From the African Eve to the first African female elected president, women have indeed assumed a pivotal role in shaping African history, and, in turn, major historical episodes such as colonization and decolonization have considerably affected their status. Moreover, as African cultures have so far rested on the notions that at birth individuals are endowed with both a male and a female principle, and that the genders complement one another, women have been perceived as invaluable direct or symbolic participants in all domains of society.

The significance of African women's contributions has, however, often been played down by the combined forces of patriarchy and racism. African women who have internalized these repressive ideologies have often promoted practices detrimental to their health and freedom, such as clitoridectomy or arranged marriages, and have become the carriers of the heaviest loads in terms of production and reproduction, in exchange for a few counter-privileges, most notably in the spiritual realm. This awareness has encouraged new generations of African women to commit to change and self-representation, for both the preservation of their interests and the increased well-being of their continent as a whole.

PREHISTORY TO COLONIAL TIMES

The specific challenges attached to reconstituting African history—namely the preference shared by a number of African societies for an oral mode of memorization; the deleterious effect of climate, wars and poverty on existing documents; and the weight of a widely diffused corpus of texts and images that grossly distorted African realities—are compounded, when it comes to writing a history of women in precolonial times, with historiographical lacunae resulting from the gender-blind approach characteristic of both the humanities and social sciences, well into the 1990s. The relative disinterest for women as historical agents stems also from the nationalist climate in the midst of which African history gained recognition as a discipline: Emphasis was put on decolonizing knowledge, rather than on checking it for gender biases. New scholarship is actively working, not only at filling the gaps, but ultimately at gendering the disciplines.

"Pre-her-story" According to genetic studies conducted in the mid-1980s, the most recent common matrilineal ancestor of humans alive today lived 150,000 years ago in East Africa. Through mitochondrial DNA—that is, organelles passed from mothers to offspring—scientists have reconstituted an unbroken line of daughters back to the so-called mitochondrial or African Eve. The ancillary idea that "Eve" is older than "Adam" similarly is related to some African myths of origin that ultimately "link human life directly with God through woman," according to the theologian John Mbiti. For instance, according to the Akposso people from Togo, God (Uwolowu), in his process of creation, first made a woman and bore with her the first child. For the Ibibio people of Nigeria, God is the mother-divinity called Eka Abassi. A Fon myth from Benin refers to Mawu, the supreme god, as the male or female offspring of a primordial mother, Nana Buluku.

Women could arguably be credited also with the Neolithic Revolution that occurred possibly as early as 16,000 BCE in the Nile Valley. The invention of agriculture and the attendant process of sedentarization could be an extension of the previous task of plant gathering, probably undertaken by women who thus gained extensive knowledge about vegetation growth and reproduction (Laberge 2001). Several myths of origin corroborate this hypothesis: During a drought, Kipsigi women would have found a grass seed that had germinated in elephant dung. After tasting it, they planted more, enabling a stronger Kipsigi community to control the region located in what is today Kenya (Pala and Ly 1979). Indeed, from ancient times until the first decades of the twentieth century, agriculture in Africa remained the preserve of women, who developed a "hoe culture" everywhere except in the Sahel region (Baumann 1928).

Women in Ancient Egypt and Roman Africa (3000 BCE–sixth century BCE) Ancient Egyptian civilization, born out of the demographic concentration around the Nile that accompanied the Sahara's desertification (9000–3000 BCE), most likely granted women a unique form of gender equality, attested to by both Egyptian and foreign sources. Though made "ladies of the house" by marriage, women moved freely in and out of the public sphere without a veil. They could also theoretically serve in any professional position, from field hands to high priests. Documents show them steering cargo ships and holding scribal palettes as well—an indication that the female elite was literate. In the Old Kingdom, fifth to sixth dynasties, Peseshet, the first female physician in world history, headed a department of female colleagues, while Nebet was one of the two women who held the title of vizier, judge, and magistrate.

Endowed with full legal and economic rights, Egyptian women could independently manage property, sue in court, and enter into any type of contract. Though rarely pharaohs themselves, women, as carriers of the royal line, conferred authority to the rulers by marriage or filiation. The pharaoh himself had to rule in accordance with the principles of cosmic harmony symbolized by a female deity, Maat (Lumpkin 1984). Some royal women imposed themselves through their political or military genius. Queen Ahhotep (sixteenth dynasty, c. 1560–1530 BCE) received the highest military decoration, the Order of the Fly, for her campaigns against the Hyksos. Queen Hatshepsut (eighteenth dynasty, r. 1503–1482 BCE) was so revered for her campaigns against Nubia that her son ordered the obliteration of her images. Nefertiti (eighteenth dynasty, fourteenth century BCE) ruled as co-regent with her husband, Akhenaton (also known as Amenhotep IV), and led a religious revolution. Arsinoë II (c. 316–270 BCE) was deified in her lifetime. Cleopatra (r. 51–30 BCE), the last great ruler of the Ptolemaic era, committed suicide after a brilliant political career.

The names of women such as Perpetua and Monica remain attached to the history of early Christianity in Roman Africa. After a first mission was established in Alexandria in the first century CE, Christianity spread westward into Berber North Africa. One of the first North African Christian martyrs was Perpetua, a young mother born in Carthago who left a diary detailing her reasons for seeking martyrdom in 203. Monica, the mother of Aurelius Augustinus (354–430), also known as St. Augustine of Hippo, one of the founding fathers of Roman Christianity, was the main agent of his conversion. She accompanied her son, then a Manichaean, to Italy and begged Bishop Ambrose to mentor him. She died on their way back to Africa, shortly after his baptism in 387.

Women and Islam (seventh century CE–) The spread of Islam into African societies from the seventh century on had an ambivalent effect on the status of women. Critical of the African premium placed on fecundity over chastity, Muslim visitors or African converts often sought to dismantle the existing local religions. They consequently undermined women's spiritual powers, while introducing limited reforms in their favor, such as the restriction of polygyny to four wives and the abolition of female circumcision in Timbuktu (Iliffe 2007). In its efforts to impose patrilineal rules of succession, Islam encountered resistance, as illustrated by the war waged by Kahina, a female Christian or Jewish leader of the matrilineal Berbers. After wrestling Carthage from Arab control, Kahina decided on an ill-fated scorched-earth policy, and she was eventually defeated in 702.

The literacy Islam brought to sub-Saharan Africa led, from the twelfth century on, to the opening of libraries to house Islamic texts, as well as learning centers for the African production of knowledge in various disciplines, from religion to prosody and from astronomy to the political sciences. Among the estimated one million manuscripts written in Timbuktu and its vicinity, a sizable number were either copied or written by women (Haidara, 1.3). Men of weight such as Sheikh Usman dan Fodio (1754–1817), sultan of the Sokoto califate and prominent Islamic scholar, condemned women's illiteracy in writing. His daughter, Nana Asma'u (1793–1864), a scholar and poet, launched the Yan Taru movement for African female intellectuals who made the hajj, the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.

Women and Slavery Valued workers, African women have been massively sold on the domestic (African), transatlantic, and Oriental markets. In fact, the majority of slaves in sub-Saharan Africa were women (Robertson and Klein 1983). Often kidnapped, as related in chapter two of Olaudah Equiano's autobiography (first published in 1789), women and girls were also pawned for debt repayment, as was the Nigerian novelist Buchi Emecheta's mother at the dawn of the twentieth century. Female slaves were particularly appreciated as wives or concubines because paternity rights were granted to their husbands/owners without dowry, and divorce was unattainable. In the first decades of the twentieth century, when domestic slavery was abolished by both British and French colonial administrations, concubines of elite men were often strategically ordered by the courts to remain in forced marriages. In dynastic societies, such as Dahomey (present-day Benin), female slaves played pivotal roles at the court. Twice barred from dynastic claims, they formed the king's personal guard as well as a pool of potential wives. The queen mother (symbolic "double" of the king rather than his biological mother) was usually a foreigner and a slave. In a few postcolonial African nations, such as Mauritania and the Sudan, enslavement of both women and men is still practiced on occasion.

Famous for their agricultural skills, women represented 35 percent of the human cargoes in the transatlantic slave trade. They were kept on the slave ship's deck to prevent them from inciting men to revolt, and to provide sexual gratification to the crew. One of these women who experienced the Middle Passage was Phillis Wheatley: Born in Africa around 1753, she became the first African American writer to be published. Conversely, some entrepreneurial women were beneficiaries of the transatlantic slave trade, such as the Euro-African *signaras* (ladies) from Senegambia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Brooks 1976).

The Oriental slave trade—which has never been officially abolished—deported a majority of the African women who were marched toward the East Coast or to Middle Eastern countries, where they served mostly as domestics and concubines. To illustrate the hardships inflicted upon women and children by Swahili or Arab merchants, French missionaries published the archetypal story of Swema, a Yao girl who was sold in 1865, buried alive in Zanzibar, and eventually rescued (Robertson and Klein 1983).

Women as Leaders Conversely, examples of African women exerting direct political leadership abound, although their power depended on seniority, motherhood, and wealth. Semi-historical figures, such as Amina of Hausaland, credited to have extended fifteenth-, sixteenth-, or seventeenth-century Kano through military conquest, or Abla Pokou, the eighteenth-century founding mother of the Baule who sacrificed her infant to save her people, coexist with women leaders who distinguished themselves in the anticolonial struggle. Nzinga (c. 1581–1663) waged a quasi-lifelong war against the Portuguese who came to Angola in search of minerals and slaves. Dressed as a man, she is rumored to have kept a harem of young men performing as her "wives." Yaa Asantewa (c. 1840–1921), queen mother of one of the Ashanti states in Ghana, organized a massive rebellion against the protectorate imposed by the British in 1896. Her capture apparently required two thousand troops. Nehanda (c. 1863–1898), medium and leader of the Shona, fought against Cecil Rhodes's colonization of what is now Zimbabwe, and was hanged (Sweetman 1984). One of the lesser-known women fighters, Sarraounia of the Azna, who fought the French commanders Paul Voulet and Julien Chanoine in 1899, is the eponymous character in a 1986 film directed by Med Hondo and based on Abdoulaye Mamani's 1980 novel.

Women and Re/production Until colonization, African women's main tasks consisted of the production of subsistence food, reproduction, and trade between economically complementary regions. State formation (and the husband's class), rules of descent, and religious and sometimes environmental contexts influenced the condition of women (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1994). But given women's dominance in the main economic sector—agriculture—their rights over land and cattle were generally protected (Pala and Ly 1979). Even if the cattle belonged to the male head of the family, women often received a few heads, and had access to a piece of land, which ensured at least their partial economic autonomy.

With a maximal fecundity ratio (one child every three years), African women have also held a "uterine power," as it were. Matriarchy was arguably the first state of human societies and the notion of descent through women still characterizes the "southern cradle" of the world, according to the historian Cheikh Anta Diop (1978). Indeed, a matriarchal belt skirts Central Africa; matriarchal clusters exist in Ghana and Senegambia, and residual matriarchal aspects, such as the notion of uterine kinship and the naming of the child after the mother, still have wide currency in early-twenty-first-century Africa. For instance, according to the Kikuyu myth of creation, Gikuyu and Moombi gave birth to nine daughters, after whom each of the nine main Kikuyu clans of the Moombi nation was named. For a long time, the all-powerful Moombi women practiced polyandry. Moombi men, having impregnated women, overthrew them, but could not, however, alter the clans' female names, which have lasted in Kenya into the twenty-first century. Moreover, the social importance of the female procreative function has generated specific institutions, such as "woman-to-woman marriage," by which an heirless woman could acquire rights over another woman's childbearing capacity (though not over her sexuality).

The dowry, while granting paternity rights to the husband, entitled a woman to her kin's help in times of crisis. Married women could request divorce, though in patriarchal communities they would lose their children to the father's family. In rural polygamous settings, the senior wife often had the upper hand in choosing a cowife to share her domestic and field work. Others examples of women's resourcefulness in reducing their oppression and labor included the circulation of children and the organization of "tontines" (French *tontine* was the equivalent of English "esusu" or "osusu," which became *susu* in Caribbean, where the institution survives; hence also known as "e/o susu"), that is, rotating associations for collective labor or money savings toward the completion of individual projects.

Women gained extra income and status through local and long-distance trade, and wealthy "market queens" in cities such as Onitsha, Lomé, or Accra (today named "Mama Benz" or "Nana Benz" after their chauffeured cars) have also acquired political influence. In 1850, for instance, Freetown women traders convinced the colonial authorities to build a new market, and, similarly, in 1977 market women obtained from the Guinean Marxist leader Sékou Touré the right to self-manage their market, as well as the legalization of private small trade (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1994).

Women's esoteric knowledge entitled them to major functions in nonmonotheistic religions. Involved in divination and witchcraft, women were often associated with rainmaking. For instance, Mujaji (Modjadji), the queen and rainmaker of the Lovedu, commands such respect that both Shaka (c. 1787–1828), the Zulu king, and Nelson Mandela (b. 1918), the South African political leader, invoked endorsement from the Mujaji of their respective eras. In addition, membership in female secret associations (such as the Sande or Bundu, a Mende initiation society in Sierra Leone) gave women a voice in communal decision-making processes.

Conclusion The condition of African women in precolonial times, still insufficiently understood, remains at the core of an intense debate. Some scholars, such as Niara Sudarkasa (1996), have strived to demonstrate that "female" and "male" were clusters of statuses for which gender was one of the defining characteristics. Therefore, the normative gender stratification of the early twenty-first century did not exist in precolonial Africa, and women's participation in economic, political, religious, and artistic matters was deemed indispensable to the life of their societies. Others, such as Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch (1994), insist that women were trained from a young age, and often through harsh rituals, to submit to male power: Defined by the three Ss—silence, sacrifice, and service—they remained, though with notable exceptions, legal minors throughout their lives. From this vantage point, the glorification of their reproductive role appears to have been a mere compensation for the disregard they met in their productive functions. A clearer picture of the female condition in precolonial Africa would indeed require in-depth research on the plural and complex networks women simultaneously belonged to—an arrangement that was probably geared to offset some of the social handicaps they experienced in both patriarchal and matriarchal communities.

COLONIAL PERIOD

Colonization (1880s–1960s) affected African women in contradictory ways. To a large extent, they lost control of their own world, and their consulting role in the external affairs previously handled by men all but disappeared. Redirected toward cash crop production, they were also subjected to forced labor on plantations, taken as hostages to pressure men into meeting production quotas, recruited to perform sexual services, and sent to concentration camps (see the films by Jean-Marie Teno, *Le malentendu colonial* [The colonial misunderstanding 2004]; and Peter Bate, *Congo: White King, Red Rubber, Black Death* [2003]). Unaware of the system of parallel chieftancies, colonizers suppressed women's autonomous organizations, in possible connivance with African patriarchs. New laws made the husband the head of the household and imposed his name onto his wife. The dowry (*lobola*) calculated in cash came to signify a new commodification of gender relations (Mama 1996). Moreover, voting rights were granted to women much later in the colonies than in the metropole (Goerg 1997).

If a handful of women benefited from colonization, such as Madame Yoko, who served as paramount chief of the Kpaa-Mende of Sierra Leone from 1878 to 1908, the majority vigorously expressed discontent. In 1929 the attempt to impose taxation on women in Nigeria resulted in the Igbo Women's War, with ten thousand rural women demonstrating against their diminishing political rights. During the Franco-Algerian War (1954–1962), an estimated ten thousand Algerian women worked for the National Liberation Front (FLN), and one out of five arrests or killings involved a woman. Despite later controversies, Winnie Mandela, the "Mother of the Nation," remains the symbol of South African women's intrepid resistance against Apartheid. In all their conflicts with the colonial (and later the postcolonial) state, women have resorted to original strategies, such as sit-ins and invasions of officers' private space, derisive songs, and even nudity to signify social breakdown—the latter tactic used again in 1990 to condemn violence in Côte d'Ivoire.

Yet, the colonial and postcolonial city has undeniably granted women more autonomy, allowing them to take on new social identities. Escaping rural constraints, women have found in Nairobi, Kampala, or Lagos new sources of income, in the area of services and commerce (including prostitution), enabling them to achieve home ownership, finance their children's studies, and sometimes travel abroad. They have become a vital part of the informal economic sector, outside of state control. Far from their kin, they have managed to negotiate trans-ethnic or caste-blind marriages, and have sometimes established polyandric fiefs (Gondola 1997).

Similarly, the spread of Christianity, first by the Portuguese in the coastal areas as early as the fifteenth century, and then by European and American missionaries in the nineteenth century, resulted in both limiting and expanding African women's freedom. As civilization was presented to Africans as coterminal with Christianity, a number of cultural changes related to spirituality, matriarchal regime, and clothing were imposed by missionaries as religiously mandated. Although, as a result of this, women lost their spiritual powers, as well as the economic and personal independence that made divorce, for instance, an easy and common procedure, they seized a number of emancipatory opportunities offered by the new religion—namely, monogamy, deferral of marriage until adulthood, and access to literacy, education, and employment. Consequently, most early Christians in Africa were women: According to the historian John Iliffe (1995), they represented 80 percent of Anglican communicants in Abeokuta in 1878.

Women who found inspiration in the Biblical message but suffered racial or gender discrimination within the church often founded or joined African Independent Churches (AICs). Inaugurated in the Kongo with the Antonine movement spearheaded by Kimpa Vita (Beatriz of the Kongo) in the early eighteenth century, a tradition of female-headed independent churches developed in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Africa and was often fed by conflicts that arose from the colonial situation. The new converts wished either to Africanize the clergy or to Africanize Christianity itself. The issue of female circumcision, for instance, led thousands of Christians in Kenya in the 1920s and 1930s to leave Protestant churches to found their own (Labode 1999). Cynthia Hoehler-Fatton (1999) argues that women's participation in the AICs illustrates Africa's ability to reconcile the old and the new. The recurrence of founding mothers for these churches rested on the precolonial concept of female mediumship, and indeed the new religion often managed to incorporate elements of the local cults and spirit-possession practices. For instance, in the Luo Roho movement of western Kenya, a body of female soldiers (*askeche*) protected congregations, in line with a local tradition of women possessed by the spirit of slain warriors. Some of the most famous female heads of the AICs include Christianah Abiodun (Nigeria), Grace Tani (Ghana), Marie Lalou (Cote d'Ivoire), Mai Chaza (Zimbabwe), Alice Lenshina (Northern Rhodesia [present-day Zambia]), and Gaudencia Aoko (Kenya) (pp. 430–431).

Ultimately, men confiscated leadership in the AICs, and Christian conversions barely affected polygyny. Christianity, to some extent, presented itself as a foil for Islam, enabling it to construct itself as an anticolonial religion in nationalist eras. Yet, Christianity has grown to become one of the two major African religions, practiced in the early twenty-first century by close to 150 million women on the continent.

THE EARLY-TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY SITUATION

A Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations survey of nine African countries in 1996 revealed that women assume 70 percent of the agricultural activities and 100 percent of the food processing (Manuh 1998). They are also responsible for procuring 80 percent of water and fuel supplies. Consequently, they bear the brunt of Africa's increasingly limited access to natural resources, technology costs, obsolete customary laws, and economic migrations, which leave them in charge of men's former tasks. In Cameroon and Nigeria for instance, women have replaced cultivating yams (formerly handled by men) with cultivating the less time-consuming but less nutritious cassava.

The "feminization of poverty" results from a combination of factors: Globalization and its attendant constraints—prices established at the center, adjustment programs imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, corporations' initiatives such as genetic seed sterilization or large-scale fishing—play an important role in the development of this phenomenon. Illiteracy primarily affects girls, who are often taken from school for domestic chores or early marriages, and accounts in part for the scarcity of elected women officials. For instance, among the Togolese people over fifteen years of age, 60 percent of women as compared to 27 percent of men are illiterate (UNFPA 2000). In 2006 for the first time in African history, a woman was elected president, and this event took place in Liberia. In her inaugural address, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf pledged a "fundamental break" with decades of military and political violence in her country.

Multiple forms of violence are visited upon African women. In 2003 African nations agreed in Maputo, Mozambique, to end female genital mutilation, forced marriages, and punitive widowhood rituals. Yet the World Health Organization estimates that 40 percent of African women undergo some form of "body marking," such as lip and neck elongation, ablation of the uvula, or forced feeding (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1994). With new forms of war that primarily target civilians, women are killed, raped, or enslaved in disproportionate numbers throughout the African continent. Wangari Mathai, the Kenyan woman activist recipient of the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize—the first African woman to receive this award—is convinced that there is an environmental root to wars. Her Green Belt movement, founded in 1977, has employed eighty thousand women to plant 15 million trees and combat government-sponsored deforestation. Moreover, women have become the main victims of the AIDS crisis that feeds, in the African context, on poverty, wars, displacements, illiteracy, and sexual violence. Its epicenter is in South Africa, and disenfranchised urban women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four are particularly at risk. In spite of clear progress made in Central Africa, gender equality is ultimately the cure for the pandemic.

Regardless of patriarchal, colonial, or postcolonial repression, masses of women merchants and peasants, as well as some elite women, have fought over the years to transform their condition. Though a history of African feminism (which Gwendolyn Mikell [1994] describes as heterosexual, pro-natal, and concerned with survival) remains to be written, several women who have theorized their militant practices for gender equality stand out, including Adelaide Casely-Hayford (1868–1960, Sierra Leone), Aoua Kéita (1912–1980, Mali), Nawal El Saadawi (b. 1931, Egypt), Molara Ogundipe-Leslie (b. 1949, Nigeria), and Filomina Chioma Steady (Sierra Leone).

SEE ALSO *AIDS and HIV: I. Overview; Anthropology; Creation Stories; Daughter of the Nile Union; Economics; Employment Discrimination; Female Genital Mutilation; Feminism: I. African (Sub-Saharan); Folk Healers and Healing; Folklore; Gender Studies; Harems; Honor and Shame; Honor Crimes; Initiation; Menstruation; Nomadism; Rape; Sex Roles; Slavery; Veiling; Violence; Virginity; Women's Human Rights.*

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Sylvie Kandé

II. POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AGENDAS

From antiquity to the middle of the twentieth century, the European and North American production of knowledge on Africa distorted the image of that continent and its peoples by silencing or overpowering African voices. That situation resulted from what philosopher V. Y. Mudimbe has termed the "epistemological ethnocentrism" of the West (Mudimbe 1988, p. 15). Moreover, although a distinct European identity emerged in the fifteenth century from the colonial conquest of new lands and the concomitant invention of race and otherness, the birth of Africa as a self-defining cultural entity has been the product of the deportation of 12 million to 20 million Africans to Europe and the Americas over four centuries. Consequently, it was in the diaspora rather than on the continent itself and in the midst of suffering that a collective African identity first coalesced. Ironically, although Africa has been feminized in its relationship with Europe and North America, the African subject in discourses by Africans and non-Africans alike generally has been presumed to be male.

THE NAMING OF AFRICA

The process by which the African continent was named and mapped reflects the nature of European and Asian involvement in that region. Referred to as Ethiopia in both the Bible and Greek historical literature, the Africa known in antiquity encompassed the land west of Egypt (Libya) and the land east and south of Egypt up to contemporary Chad (Ethiopia). After the Romans invaded the African shores of the Mediterranean, they renamed their colonies, possibly after a local population, the Afers. The adoption of the Roman name *Africa* in its Arabicized form *Ifriqiya* by the Muslim armies that marched through the Sahara from the seventh century on inscribed that project in the same colonial tradition. Similarly, from the fifteenth century on the name *Africa* came to be applied to the various coastal locations *discovered* by Portuguese navigators and eventually to the land mass defined by Bartolomeu Diaz's (1457–1500) 1488 circumnavigation of South Africa.

However, it was the sixteenth-century German cartographer Mercator (1512–1594) who imposed a still insufficiently challenged image of Africa. Compressing the southern hemisphere to a third of the world map, the Mercator projection gives Africa a rounded, somewhat *passive* form that must have echoed the notion of femininity in the chauvinistic world of the Renaissance, as emblematized by Vesalius and Durer's voyeuristic dissections of the female body (Brotton 2002). Later African allegories also often associated animals or monsters and a black woman, the Other, who "in [her] abnormal differences, specifies the identity of the Same" (Mudimbe 1988, p. 12).

EARLY IMAGES AND CHARACTERIZATIONS

For classics scholar Frank Snowden, Jr., Greek historians' terminological decision to call Ethiopians (*burnt faces*) both non-Egyptian Africans and Indians exemplifies the Greeks' exoticist yet nonracialist vision of the world, whereas Mudimbe sees a tradition of locating Africans in a "geography of monstruosity" (1994, p. 78), emerging in Herodotus (484–425 BCE) resurfacing in Pliny (23–79 CE), and redeployed in nineteenth-century European and North American anthropologists' writings (1988, p. 71). The institution of slavery contributed to social discrimination against Africans in the Arab world, regardless of the lack of racial prejudice in the Koran and despite the literary, musical, religious, and military contributions of Africans to Muslim societies. The descriptions of Sudanese empires left by Arab scholars such as Al-Fazari (eighth century), Al-Bakri (eleventh century), and Ibn Battuta (fourteenth century), though colored by their interest in gold and conversion, constitute invaluable sources for the reconstitution of medieval African history. Al-Bakri, for instance, alludes to the matriarchal organization at the court of Ghana, to men with shaved beards and women with shaved heads, and to the king's *female* adornments (Shillington 2005).

Until the High Middle Ages Africa in the European imagination was associated with fabulous places, such as the kingdom of Prester John, a legendary Christian priest-king identified as the Abyssinian ruler, or larger-than-life figures, such as Mansa Musa (1312–1327), the emperor of Mali, who was represented holding a gold nugget by Abraham Cresques (d. 1387) in his 1375 world map. Spectacular embassies from Senegambia, the Kongo, and Ethiopia created long-lasting impressions and led to both more realistic portrayals of Africans and the introduction of the new convention of the dark-skinned Magus in the nativity scene (Northup 2002).

SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM

The massive transportation of enslaved Africans to the Americas required new narratives and new images. As Eric Williams (1994) argues, economic motives caused slavery, which in turn caused racism. As Africa became a reservoir of free laborers, Africans became Ham's offspring cursed by Noah, a race defined by the excesses of local climate and devoid of intellectual abilities and human feelings. Many of the most important modern thinkers subscribed to those notions, from Voltaire (1694–1778) to Hegel (1770–1831).

Colonialism reinforced the previous stereotypes. In the overarching European and North American dualism that subordinates nature to culture, the colonized subject was assimilated to nature and subtly feminized, sparing experts the need to compare African women's precolonial and colonial conditions. For instance, the system of dual chieftaincy in Nigeria, with both a female leader and a male leader, was ignored in gender-blind studies and destroyed by British indirect rule, which supported male leadership only. Though gender is a central element in any analysis of kinship, linguistics, division of labor, use of space, memory, and religion, African women were both caricatured and neglected in anthropological studies.

The case of Saartjie Baartman (1789–1815), the *Hottentot Venus*, is the attempt by scientific racism to locate sites of bestiality on the African female body. Brought from southern Africa to Europe in 1810, Baartman was exhibited in zoos and shows for her prominent buttocks and offered money by the French anatomist Georges Cuvier (1769–1832) to have her *Hottentot apron* examined. Her skeleton, genital parts, and brain were dissected after her death and preserved in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris until 1974 and were not returned to South Africa until 2002 (Bancel and Blanchard 2004).

Even after the 1920s anthropologists who participated in the deconstruction of the hegemonic notion of civilization and practiced participant observation in African societies paid less attention to women than photographers did. These photographic images show, however, ahistorical women, or "metaphors for a continent willing to be possessed and penetrated by the white man" (Boetsch and Savarese 1999, p. 130), that speak primarily of colonial desires. The French anthropologist Denise Paulme wrote in the 1985 introduction to *Women of Tropical Africa* (1960) that she "regretted most not to have previously worked with women. The image [she] brought back was that of a male world" (Héritier, p. 7). This first ethnological work dedicated to African women has been criticized for being a celebration of heroines intended to counter the colonial discourse that had portrayed African women as enslaved to an indigenous patriarchal order, and to illustrate the feasibility of the political and economic equality that the second wave of European and North American feminists demanded for themselves (Becker 2005).

AFRICANISM AND FEMINISM

Africanism, or knowledge about Africa, constituted itself in the mid-1950s through a fusion of anthropology and other disciplines (Mudimbe 1994). The field of Africanist gender studies has been dominated by anthropologists and historians since its inception in the 1960s and 1970s, though literary critics have contributed their expertise and creativity (Becker 2005). Both fields have been challenged to decolonize knowledge before and after independence.

After another shift from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s with the return of the African-woman-as-victim paradigm, more recent feminist scholarship has deconstructed woman as a unitary category and begun examining the previously unquestioned gender roles of men. Although black feminists such as Oyeronke Oyewumi (2004) and Niara Sudarkasa (b. 1938) have questioned the existence of gender in precolonial times, it may seem that women's condition as that of a "missing person[s] whose structure of difference produces the hybridity of race and sexuality in the postcolonial discourse" (Bhabha 1994, p. 53) has not been used sufficiently to theorize women's negotiations of gender roles and tensions between *traditions* and modernities, both at home and in situations of migration. However, the brand of African feminism delineated in the 1980s by Filomina Steady (1996), who advocated a rehabilitation of precolonial gender dynamics, sisterhood, and a bigendered fight against racism, has been challenged by social scientists such as Mamphela Ramphele (b. 1947). Stating that "men do not hold the monopoly over the potential to dominate," she suggests that viable intervention strategies should take in consideration "the various social hierarchies that shape and are shaped by gender" (Olukoshi and Nyamnjoh 2006, p. 2).

PAN-AFRICANISM

The idea of a common African/black identity results from the collective experience of the Middle Passage that turned various slave ports on the African coast and their adjacent hinterlands into a "Motherland" and the European ideological justification for that operation—race—into a factor in unity and even a political agenda. The term *diaspora*, which was borrowed from Jewish history to account for the scattering of Africans throughout the world, rests on the notion of a lost original wholeness. Indeed, the dream of returning to the *womb*, clandestinely carried into the hole of the slave ship by the *naked migrants* (in W. W. Glissant's [1992] terms), provided an alternative to the stereotype of a quintessentially hostile African environment. It has assigned the aspirations of slaves and their descendants to another spiritual or political order. The afterlife, for instance, entailed a recrossing of the ocean *back home* to Guinea, a metonymy of the continent as a whole; that myth also gave several layers of meaning to the recurrent references to boats and the Promised Land in spirituals. Similarly, early diasporic *nations*, from Maroon communities to the Haitian Republic, can be interpreted as enclaves in which institutions and social life mimicked an African model (Kandé 1998).

Not surprisingly, it was from Haiti, a Caribbean island under attack for its early political independence and its African cultural retentions, that there came an immediate refutation of Gobineau's thesis on the inequality of races. Though Anténor Firmin's book *De l'Egalité des races humaines* (1885) was not engaged with in French intellectual circles (Magloire-Danton 2005), its existence and arguments constitute a landmark in the history of the pan-African movement.

Pan-Africanism is a movement born in the diaspora that proclaims the centrality of Africa and acknowledges the bond created by a common experience of enslavement, colonialism, and racism among all people of African descent. Not surprisingly, a 1389 Chinese map and the 1402 Korean *Kangnido* anticipated the first accurate European map of southern Africa (1502), as the exchanges between China and the eastern coast of Africa that began as early as the second century BCE intensified between the eight and the fifteenth centuries CE and works toward the liberation of the *Motherland*. Pan-Africanism, which ideologically brought together black internationalists as diverse as E. W. Blyden (1832–1912), Marcus Garvey (1887–1940), Adelaide Casely Hayford (1868–1960), Tovalou-Quenum, C. L. R. James (1901–1989), and Malcolm X (1925–1965), has a cultural wing represented by the Francophone Négritude movement of the 1930s to the 1960s led by Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001), Aimé Césaire (b. 1913), and Léon Gontran Damas (1912–1978). The writings of those scholars were aimed specifically at the rehabilitation of the African past.

Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), the first president of Ghana, made pan-Africanism a state ideology, insisting on the necessity for Africans to reconcile themselves to their triple heritage: precolonial, Euro-Christian, and Muslim. He also pointed out that "the degree of a country's revolutionary awareness may be measured by the political maturity of its women" (Nkrumah 1969, p. 131). Another pan-Africanist head of state, Thomas Sankara (1949–1987), took steps to draw attention to the plight of women in Burkina Faso, condemning female circumcision and polygamy and establishing a market day for men.

THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

The competition to (re)imagine Africa has become fiercer than ever. Superpowers and transnational companies have become interested in African mineral resources—diamonds, uranium, and oil—fostering political instability in regions of their production. Furthermore, troubled or impoverished nations sometimes are chosen to receive factories that exploit cheap local labor for international brands or to become dumping grounds for nuclear waste. Meanwhile, the major interest of tourists remains observing the fauna and flora in natural reserves such as the Chewore in Zimbabwe and the W park in Niger.

International public expectations about Africa are conditioned by stereotypes that are propagated widely by the mass media. Those stereotypes undermine the credibility of African endeavors to establish viable civil societies that can compete in international markets and in the intellectual realm, confining African contributions to the visual and performing arts. Many of those stereotypes have found an additional outlet in an Afro-pessimist discourse according to which AIDS will depopulate Africa, the high fecundity rate responsible for famine and emigration, and male polygamy is the rule.

Although the African continent has paid the heaviest toll in the AIDS pandemic, positive results have been obtained, most notably in Uganda but also in Senegal, thanks to an array of strategies, including grassroots work. Noreen Koleba, the female head of TASO (The AIDS Support Organization) in Uganda, emblematizes the African fight against AIDS.

Although Africa still has the world's highest African fecundity ratio with six children per woman in sixteen of its countries, those figures have to be understood in a historical perspective. The second largest continent, Africa accounted for 14 percent of the world population in 1700 and only 6 percent in 1900. The fecundity ratio must be reevaluated in light of the mortality ratio and an average life expectancy of forty-eight years, and the African mortality ratio (9.6% compared with 0.7% in developed countries). Even with a number of megalopoles, the African continent is underpopulated. Birth rates, in decline since the 1990s, were expected to decrease significantly in the first decades of the twenty-first century, and the concomitant aging of the population in the absence of social coverage is the most significant threat that looms over Africa.

Well rooted in rural and urban African societies, the institution of polygamy is limited and declining. Polygamous husbands have on average 2 to 2.5 wives. Flourishing in precolonial rural settings in the absence of land ownership, polygamy has become costly for city dwellers and thus has become a status symbol. It is also often the result of first arranged marriages with relatives. Challenges to the traditional meaning attached to marriage and gender relations and to elder brothers' ability to control their siblings' unions, coupled with a rise in the matrimonial age for educated girls, have been eroding the institution slowly (Courade 2006).

The ability of scholars of Africa to diffuse alternative views is a key factor in epistemological change. Much of the early work was done by the Egyptologist Cheikh Anta Diop (1974), who succeeded in reinserting Egypt on the African map and proving its ties to other sub-Saharan cultures. The deciphering of the *libraries in the sand* in the vicinity of Timbuktu represents the next crucial step. Tens of thousands of manuscripts redacted in African languages but written in Arabic script and covering subjects from astronomy to poetry are being exhumed. Some of them were produced at the time of the European invention of the printing press and have the potential to change the global understanding of African intellectual history.

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Sylvie Kandé

III. ART AND LITERATURE

African arts are an ancient component of world heritage. The discovery of 77,000-year-old artifacts—including chunks of ochre engraved with geometric patterns—in the Blombos cave of South Africa reveals that creative and symbolic thinking associated with behavioral modernity first appeared in Africa. It had previously been assumed that rock paintings, which depict with significant regional and chromic variations, humans, animals and *therianthropes* (semihuman, semianimal creatures), were Africa's oldest form of art.

African arts is, however, a deceptive label that privileges visual arts (and sculpture more specifically) over architecture, textiles, body adornment, performing arts, or literature. Indeed, for the European and North American public, wooden masks have become emblematic of African art—although museification has generally deprived these objects of their dramatic function. Additionally, the notion of African arts often still refers to sub-Saharan artistic production, regardless of the region's crucial ties with North Africa and Ancient Egypt. Indeed, cultural historian Amadou Hampate Ba (1900 or 1901–1991) was able to identify evidence of such interactions in rock paintings representing proto-Fulani ceremonies at the prehistoric site of Tassili-n-Ajjer. Ancient Egypt clearly shares with the rest of Africa a number of aesthetic conventions. For instance, African carvers from Egypt and beyond routinely emphasize rulers' smooth facial features to symbolize the well-being of the land, and adorn them—even some female rulers—with the beard of wisdom. Implicit in the notion of African arts is also the culturally irrelevant distinction between fine arts and popular crafts, challenged by the exquisite treatment of an array of ordinary objects, from the Dogon heddle pulleys and the Kasai *velours*, to the Zulu spoons and Ashanti combs. This distinction has devalued women's artistic activities, with the exception of the famous Ndebele house painting tradition that South African painter Esther Mahlangu (b. 1935) has reinterpreted.

The belated, though enthusiastic, reception African arts elicited in early twentieth-century Europe ultimately opened a thorough questioning of the universal nature of European and North American aesthetic conventions and categories. African arts not only provided European and North American artists with new aesthetic solutions, but also gave anticolonial African intellectuals tangible evidence of an African philosophy needed to prepare for decolonization.

In modern Africa, whereas the local production of arts and crafts is generally strained by the importation of European and North American commodities and tourists' demands for affordable exotica that have replaced African patronage, a growing number of artists are attempting to redefine their role as either culture brokers or unaligned talents and as economic agents on the transnational art market. Appropriating media, techniques, and vocabulary, both from the contemporary European and North American art scene and from precolonial African aesthetic traditions, those artists have created bold fusions, or *métissages*. Women artists, in particular have been daring in crossing aesthetic and social boundaries.

Contemporary African art demonstrates an acute awareness of international events, global crises, and their local implications, studied by intensely committed artists whose gaze may nevertheless seem distanced, cruel, or sarcastic. Whereas power figures (*nkissi*) are locally being created in response to the AIDS pandemic, Congolese painter Cheri Samba (b. 1956) depicts its urban daily reality in a cartoon-like way; Kofi Setordji (b. 1957) (Ghana) created a monument to the 800,000 victims of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and painter Sylvia Katende (b. 1961) (Uganda) engages her audiences on politicofeminist themes, such as sustainable development.

African arts are infinitely diverse and resist totalizing aesthetic definitions. Indeed, the paradoxical absence of a signifier for art in African languages suggests a thorough dissemination of artistic creativity throughout all aspects of individual and collective life. African arts transcend binary oppositions, such as religious versus secular, high art versus crafts, and culture versus nature. Indeed, spiritually charged masks or statues are also utilitarian objects in the context of rituals ensuring social balance: Akuaba dolls, for instance, before transiting to shrines, are carried and nursed by Ashanti women seeking fertility. Moreover, the same category of objects, for instance, staffs or stools, may have several competing functions, both material and symbolic.

By and large, criteria of aesthetic achievement in African arts include inventiveness within an established tradition, a combination of abstraction with naturalism, repetition and contrast, and gender complementarity. A dance performance is evaluated in terms of both its faithful execution of known (and clearly gendered) steps and its sense of individual improvisation and self-celebration. Similarly, the fame of the headrests from the nineteenth-century Kinkondja workshop (Congo) results from their conformity with but also their divergence from

Luba conventions—apparent in the cascading treatment of the hair. Furthermore, on sculptures, naturalistic features (face, sex, hairdo, or scarifications) routinely coexist with enlarged body parts or emphatic volumes: prominent heads suggest inner vision and rounded breasts, fertility. Protrusions highlight the role of the face's orifices as contact zones between human and divine realms. Ubiquitous patterns account for both symmetry and movement in sculptures, for textiles' geometric designs, and for polyrhythm in musical compositions that corresponds to polycentrism in dances: Each part of the body, responding to a selected rhythm, moves in isolation from yet in coherence with the others.

The notion of gender complementarity permeates African arts, governing even the type of artistic activity undertaken. In casted societies, griots and griottes can perform oral texts, though the recitation of epics or royal genealogies are generally a male preserve. Blacksmiths can also be wood sculptors and jewelers, whereas their wives specialize in pottery making. Sculptures representing a pair of founding ancestors illustrate the paramount importance of achieving a unified vision of personhood and community through association of genders. The Dogon male associations meeting chambers are supported by posts adorned with female figures in a similar concern for gender balance. The same artifact often unites male and female attributes, as does the Queen of Holo carving that evokes Nzinga, the ideal ruler.

African societies have, with notable exceptions such as ancient Egypt and Ethiopia, chosen orality over writing for textual preservation and communication. An immense and constantly renewed corpus, oral literature encompasses compositions varying from diminutive proverbs to lengthy epics (such as the thirteenth-century Sunjata' epic that relates the foundation of the Mali empire), and several uniquely African genres, such as southern African praise poems (*izibongo*). African oral texts are generally conceived for performance and are accompanied by music and dancing. Memorialists include men and women.

The spread of Islam brought to the northern, western and eastern regions a new script that literate African Muslims used to transcribe oral literature and to create new texts. From the fifteenth century on, Timbuktu was the center of an intense production of manuscripts (some of them authored or copied by women) on a variety of subjects written in Arabic language or script.

Modern literature of Africa written in the colonial or excolonial languages emerged in the first decades of the twentieth century, with the limitations imposed by the colonial order. The Negritude movement, initiated in the 1930s by a group of Francophone writers—chief among them Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2001), who eventually would be elected into the French Academy—represents the first attempt to define an autonomous African literary aesthetics. Negritude has been criticized for its allegedly essentialist vision of racial relations and its inability to promote women's poetic expression. After World War II (1939–1945), major authors asserted themselves, such as Chinua Achebe, with his seminal novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1958), and Wole Soyinka (b. 1934), who was granted the Nobel Prize of Literature in 1986. Ngugi Wa Thiongo (b. 1938) has promoted modern African literature written in African languages by publishing some of his novels in the Gikuyu language.

The era of independence is characterized by a proliferation of fictions dealing with the condition of women, authored by Sembene Ousmane (also cited as Ousmane Sembene) (b. 1923) and Mongo Beti (1932–2001), most notably. By the 1970s, pioneering women writers, such as Flora Nwapa (1931–1993), Mariama Ba (1929–1981), and Buchi Emecheta (b. 1944), had transformed the literary landscape by inventing writing modes appropriate to their denunciation of African patriarchy. They paved the way for new generations of women writers, represented by Calixthe Beyala (b. 1961) or Tsitsi Dangaremba (b. 1959), who unequivocally advocate feminism. Though southern African literature focused mainly on Apartheid until the mid-1990s, Bessie Head (1937–1986) and Miriam Tlali (b. 1936) have forcefully evoked women' struggles. North African literature has been no less prolific, with a mix of Francophone writers such as Kateb Yacine (1929–1989) and Assia Djebar (b. 1936) (a member of the French Academy since 2006) and others who publish in both Arabic and English, such as Naguib Mahfuz (1911–2006), winner of the Nobel Prize of Literature in 1988. Egyptian writer Nawal el Saadawi (b. 1931) is well known for her courageous stands on women's issues, circumcision and prostitution especially.

Contemporary African arts are thriving, as illustrated by the biennales held in Dakar, Senegal, and Johannesburg, South Africa, and by the canonization of African literature both in Europe and North America and in Africa. Contemporary artists and writers have made their mark by paying tribute to past generations, all the while breaking a number of taboos. These include the prohibition for both noncasted people and women to engage in certain artistic activities. Salif Keita (b. 1949), a descendant of the Malinke ruling family, transgressed this rule by becoming an internationally famous musician, and Ousmane Sembene provocatively defined the African writer as a griot. In the same spirit, Doudou Ndiaye Rose (b. 1928) has produced a band of drummers, exclusively composed of women.

Artists have further complexified the notion of African arts by multiplying the forms, medium, and materials of their expression. A strong tradition of modern painting has developed in the Congo, whereas photography, with Seydou Keita (1921–2001), and cinema, with Souleymane Cisse (b. 1940), Safi Faye (b. 1943) and Flora M'Mbugu-Schelling, have acquired a well-deserved transnational fame. Instead of limiting themselves to perishable materials, artists work also in cement, aluminum, plastic, or recycled objects. Although new sources of patronage—banks, government offices, churches, or foreign foundations—have recently surfaced, few African artists can live off their artistic output.

In troubled postcolonial times, African writers and artists share concerns about the definition of their identity. Whereas many remain committed to the future of their continent of origin, a sizable number assert their right to be recognized solely for the quality of their works.

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Sylvie Kandé

IV. RELIGIONS

African indigenous religions have certain similar structures that are visible among the many diverse peoples of Africa, showing the interlinking relationships among the human, spiritual, and natural entities. Mythic narratives and ritual performances express and articulate, linguistically and symbolically, the gendered relationship and categorization within the African universe. Historian of religion Ninian Smart's (2006) presentation of the seven dimensions of religious phenomena is quite revealing of the components and structures of African indigenous thought. While mythic and ritual dimensions are crucial to indigenous religious expression, other aspects such as ethics, experience, social doctrines, images, and symbols are constructed and created from myths and rituals. The seven dimensions assist in understanding the nature and structure of African indigenous religions.

MYTHS, THE COSMOS, AND SPIRITUAL BEINGS

Like most other indigenous peoples, Africans have a variety of myths through which they define and express their existence in the cosmos. Most hold that many spiritual beings exist, with a supreme being at the apex. Deities who express the nature, character, and power of the Supreme Being are both male and female.

Supreme Beings African communities have different names expressed in indigenous languages, which are descriptive of their perception of the Supreme Being. Most communities in Africa hold that the Supreme Being is male, largely due to the patriarchal nature of these communities. Some supreme beings are, however, either female or androgynous (both male and female). The Ashanti of Ghana, for instance, speak of Nyame as the great Mother who gives life to all, while the Ewe-speaking peoples of Ghana believe that Nana-Buluku, the Ancient Deity, is androgynous. The variations in the conception, description, and portrayal of supreme beings as male, female, or androgynous in most cases are due to the social structures and patterns of the different communities and localities. However, the roles of the supreme beings are both masculine and feminine.

The basic African conception envisions the Supreme Being as the originator of all existence. In all cases the Supreme Being possesses attributes such as omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence, transcendence, immanence, and benevolence.

Deities The deities (or divinities) are lesser spiritual beings that function in different capacities and manifest certain aspects and characters of the Supreme Being. These deities are capable of manifesting as human beings and natural phenomena. In fact, myths hold that some of the deities existed at different times both as human beings and natural phenomena. This notion supports the view that the deities exhibit both positive and negative human characteristics. The deities serve as intermediaries between the Supreme Being and human beings as well as other nonhuman entities. Human beings, who express the reality of the deities in ritual performances, present interlinking connections among the spiritual beings, the natural phenomena, and other unseen entities that populate the universe. The relationships of the human beings to both the Supreme Being and divinities are described in anthropological terms in some cases as fathers, mothers, and friends.

The Supreme Being in most mythic narrative created and continues to maintain the universe through the assistance and in collaboration with male and female deities. For instance, the male and female twins of Amma, the Dogon Supreme Being, were the progenitors of the human race. Among the Akan of Ghana (West Africa), Nyame created Okane, the first man, and Kyeiwaa, the first woman. The Mende myth of creation tells of Ngewo, who, after creating the earth and all things in it, made a man and woman to populate the universe. The Yoruba present a fascinating myth of creation and maintenance of the universe that includes male and female deities called *òrìṣà*. After creating the *òrìṣà*, Olódùmarè, the Supreme Being, delegates responsibility for the universe to his principal *òrìṣà,* among whom are Obàtáálá, Ọ̀rúnmìlà, Ògún (males), and Ọ̀ṣun (female). Another prominent female deity who participates in the maintenance of the universe is Obà, a river deity. While the complementarity of the male and female deities is intrinsic and strong, Yoruba cosmology also teaches that female deities possess and exercise spiritual powers that could submerge those of their male counterparts.

Most African deities continue to function through the natural phenomena they embody, such as rain, wind, forest, and river. Some deities manifest as entities of the terrestrial universe, including the sun, moon, and stars. The male-female relationship makes vitality and productivity possible.

Most water deities serve as agents of human procreation and productivity. The deities have a role in fertility through ritual processes, thus sustaining the human community. Osun, Oya, and Yemoja, goddesses, exemplify this belief among the Yoruba and African Disapora.

Deities associated with the sky and rain are male, and fertilize the deities associated with the earth. According to the Edo of eastern Nigeria, Chukwu created Igwe, or Amadioha, the Sky deity, and Ala, the Earth deity; Igwe took the form of rain to fertilize Ala, his wife. Most male deities exhibit anger and hot-bloodedness, whereas female deities are gentle and cool. Examples of male-female complementary deities include Gua and Bosomtwe of the Akan (Ghana); Sango and Osun of the Yoruba (Nigeria); and Amadioha and Ala of the Igbo (Nigeria). Human beings explore and exploit their own complementary roles in procreation and productivity by participating in ritual practices.

RITES AND RITUAL PRACTICE

Ritual practice provides a context for the meeting of the spiritual, humans, and the natural world. In the spirit-nature-human relationship, the human body serves as the focal point for, and the center of, the connection through words, recited, uttered, and sung in ritual activities. Rivers and lakes symbolize female deities whereas hills and mountains perform that function for male deities. Natural elements such as iron and stone also represent male deities. The shrine of any particular deity often houses the emblems and symbols of deities of other sexes. Explanations for this are that, in ritual practices, (a) the male-female principle operates in the sense of primordial existence, which has continual relevance; and (b) male and female deities collaborate in ritual observances that are employed for human well-being and ordering of the universe. Moreover, symbols and emblems have practical utility in ritual practice. Participants believe that words used in the rituals possess creative and spiritual power.

Ritual prescriptions follow the male-female principle in response to primordial dictate. Worshipers offer deities ritual meals, specific to each deity and either offered up directly or consumed by humans as an indirect offering. Some meals are forbidden for particular deities. In most cases, prescriptions and taboos are dictated by the sex of the deity. Meals including liquids, such as the blood of hen and she-goat and water, which are characterized by coolness and softness, are appropriate for female deities, while rougher materials are prescribed for male deities. Shrines display the prescribed rituals. Worshipers sometimes place the meals of female deities at the shrines of male deities in an attempt to assuage the fury and that the latter show toward human beings.

Ritual provides a renewal, reinvigoration, revitalization, rejuvenation, and rebirth of spaces and times through the agency of human beings. Ritual activities based on mythic narratives often dictate, order, and empower processes of commitment and objectification.

RITES OF PASSAGE

Societies support rites of passage, otherwise called rites of transition, to transit its members from one stage of life to another. The first phase of transition includes naming and circumcision for boys and girls. In indigenous African religious communities, the girl children were circumcised on the seventh day after birth, the boy children on the ninth day. The next phase is puberty. The rites of transition for the female at this phase coincide with marriage rites and are usually performed when a girl's breasts begin to mature or at the onset of menstruation. The rites include food taboos and training in domestic responsibilities. A male adolescent may request the rites or the community may call for them based on the child's physical growth. Such rituals can involve symbolic death, which may in fact be fatal, and shaving the initiates' heads. Rites of passage involve seclusion for both males and females.

Marriage rites, usually communal and protracted, involve the extended families of the marriage partners. The rite culminates in an elaborate ceremony of gift-giving and merriment. The two families become one, staying intact through times of joy and sorrow.

Burial rites are the most elaborate in terms of significance, symbolism, and performance. Male burial rites are more important as a social event. The reasons for this are obvious: African societies are patriarchal and the social structure places men in positions of power. Men's burial rites are relatively longer than those of women. Women, however, are required to observe a long period of mourning for deceased husbands. They remain indoors and dress in dark clothing. Women shave their heads during this period in some cultures. Some societies forced a young widow to become the spouse of another member of the man's family, but this is no longer enforced.

RELIGIOUS SPECIALISTS

Religious specialists are priests and priestesses who consult the deities on behalf of individuals and communities. They serve male and female deities, that is, gods and goddesses. Chief priests and priestesses give instructions, prescribe rituals, and, where required, divine signs and omens. Ritual specialists also direct and participate prominently at annual and occasional indigenous festivals.

The most common categories of religious specialists, in addition to priests and priestesses, are mediums, diviners, herbalists, and witch-doctors. Their roles, however, are fluid and confusing. Whereas priests and priestesses have specific duties and full commitment to the shrines of their personal or community deities, diviners serve in a general capacity as mediums for the clients who consult them in times of distress and uncertainty. Priesthood may be assumed or ascribed through spirit possession, selection by the family through divine consultation, or training by senior ritual specialists. A religious specialist may assume several roles.

African priestesses participate prominently in festivals and ritual practices with specific and defined functions and roles. Their psychic abilities display in such activities as drumming, clapping, singing, and ecstatic movement, and they are skilled in extemporaneous singing and recitation of praise-poetry. Priests however exhibit spirituality more often through meditative actions. Though both perform divination, priests speak at length during the process. In some cases different instruments are used by priests and priestesses.

Sorcerers and witches constitute a unique spiritualist category. They are spiritual agents whom many African communities view as diabolical agents of terror. Sorcerers, predominantly male, are believed to possess the characteristics of good and evil, whereas witches, predominantly female, are believed to be essentially and inherently evil. Witchcraft, embodied in the image of old, ugly, haggard women who take the form of animals such as cats, lizards, and cockroaches, is a source of terror in some communities. Sorcerers and witches are indispensable in the scheme of ritual performance because priests and priestesses solicit their support and cooperation.

Priests and priestesses often collaborate in ritual performances, particularly with regard to healing. Different taboos exist for priests and priestess. Empowerment of priests and priestesses follows different patterns and ritual prescriptions.

Some African religious specialists reenact a community's pact with the deity instrumental in founding it. Priests and priestesses jointly engage in the renewal of shrines and other sacred places. Festival dramas, whether hegemonic, that is, marking the foundation of towns, or celebratory, commemorating other important events or persons, are done in the spirit of civil religiosity, where everybody who claims to belong to the community by origin, or lives in the community, regardless of their religious persuasions, is expected to participate.

During festival performances, ritual spiritualists wear costumes representing sex or gender roles. Notwithstanding their sexes, they often wear costumes of the deities that they serve and to which they are committed. In West Africa, performers at Gelede and Osun festivals put on female headdresses. Male Sango priests plait their hair in female patterns. These activities probably have primordial origins.

Other materials used in ritual practices and festivals are gender-ascribed, reflecting statuses and roles. A good example is the drum: Some drums are male, others female. Use of some drums is restricted by sex or deity.

CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS

Contemporary studies in African indigenous religions reveal the hidden resources in African sacred oral texts, contained in chants, corpus, songs, symbols, and proverbs. Researchers are moving away from colonial influences and early biased studies and views of African religions.

Early-twenty-first-century scholars recognize Islam and Christianity as African religions. Pentecostal and evangelical sects in Africa have done much to encourage women to refute the negative image of them imposed by early Christian missionaries. Islam has also made advances in gender issues. Women now establish and lead Muslim societies and movements.

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David O. Ogungbile

AFROCENTRICISM

Afrocentricism, or Afrocentricity, is a theoretical and philosophical stance that places pan-African experience at the center of African-descendent people's lives. This stance challenges a dominantly Eurocentric view of civilization, which centralizes European cultural standards and white racial identity. In many parts of the world, people of African descent share a common history of displacement and oppression, as a result of contact with European colonialists and enslavers. This history of colonialism and slavery, as Afrocentrists point out, has allowed Europeans to dominate ways of thinking, and deprived African-descendent people of the freedom to control their own lives. Afrocentrists argue that European dominance required the devaluing of African cultural legacies and perspectives. Afrocentricism, therefore, is an approach to liberating people of African descent from a history of Eurocentric oppression, and to affirming the value of African humanity for African people.

In the United States, Afrocentricism stems back to black nationalist movements of the 1960s and 1970s. As the civil rights movement, which gained momentum in the 1950s and early 1960s, seemed to yield slow advances in the battle for equal rights, black nationalists perceived a more radical approach to continuing the struggle. They actively confronted racism while affirming the value of a black "consciousness," derived from a communal black experience, black cultural aesthetics, and a politics of racial unity and cultural recognition. "Black Power" exemplified an empowerment that was all encompassing—politically, culturally, and spiritually—and referred to a common vision for the community of African Americans.

Afrocentricity, a term defined by Molefi Kete Asante in the early 1980s, continued to develop as an interpretive paradigm within Black Studies departments in academia throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Critics, however, have argued that, by implicating a collective identity that is fundamentally "African," the theory either reduces or discounts the actual diversity of pan-African experience. A tendency in this regard is to either subordinate or ignore gender and sexuality in favor of racial concerns. This tendency does not allow for a thorough investigation of how race is experienced in differing ways across gender lines, nor how pan-African gender issues are related to power within Eurocentric societies. It also does not account for how power dynamics work between African-descendant men and women themselves, irrespective of a white, outsider presence.

One Afrocentric view maintains that, within African cultures, gender relations are cooperative rather than oppositional. Manhood and womanhood are "complementary," making up a reciprocal, non-hierarchical process of definition. Schools of feminism, in this view, all belong to a European perspective that is not only inadequate for addressing the particular realities of African-descendant women, but ignorant of these realities. As early Western feminist thought privileged the conditions of white women, without attending to the ways in which gender is experienced in differing ways across racial lines, "feminism" continues to imply the subordination of African-descendant women, to both European norms generally and to white femininity.

In the United States during the 1970s, emergent modes of black feminism challenged the limited scope of dominant feminist politics that largely ignored many class, racial, and sexual realities of women's lives. Audre Lorde, a black, lesbian feminist poet, created an intellectual and political space for publicly exploring the complexity of her multiple modes of identity. Having taught herself about African history and understanding Africa as her distant homeland, Lorde incorporated an Afrocentric sensibility to her vision of liberation. Such a worldview enabled a politics that was both African and women-centered.

As theorist Patricia Hill Collins has argued, an Afrocentric viewpoint that, at its most extreme, restricts feminine civic involvement and sexuality also neglects the interests of African-descendant women. Attentiveness to the complexities of gender and sexuality elaborates on the Afrocentric impulse to expand, rather than limit, available perspectives of the world.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Nationalism.*

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Habiba Ibrahim

AFTERGLOW

Afterglow can be defined as a blissful period of mental and physical relaxation after orgasm during which a person enjoys the rush of endorphins produced by sexual climax. As a result of the increased flow of blood, people may physically appear to glow, with flushed cheeks and skin. Afterglow is seen as a time of heightened emotional and psychological sensitivity during which the body is no longer open to further physical stimulation. Accounts include ecstatic feelings such as loss of self, intense connection with one's partner or surroundings, and timelessness. For this reason, practitioners of Tantric sex, who see intercourse as a spiritual and thoughtful union instead of a goal-oriented process, describe afterglow as one of the means through which enlightened sex can lead to a higher mental state.

Afterglow generally is considered the final step in the sexual response cycle defined in physiological studies of human sexuality. First explained in the studies of William Masters and Virginia Johnson (1966 and 1970), these stages are arousal or excitement, plateau, orgasm, and resolution. Afterglow thus often is grouped with resolution, the phase of the sexual act marked by the return to an unaroused state in which blood pressure, heart rate, and breathing decrease and blood leaves the genital area. Generally, the more intense the orgasm, the more intense the experience of afterglow. Afterglow also has been termed *afterplay*, the end partner to foreplay.

Although men and women enjoy afterglow similarly, physical and cultural distinctions are attached to this postcoital period. Physically, men enter a state called the *refractory period* after orgasm and ejaculation that limits their ability to become sexually aroused for a period ranging from five minutes to twenty-four hours or more. Women do not have the equivalent reaction and may remain open to continued sexual activity, potentially achieving multiple orgasms. Anecdotally, men are more likely to fall asleep during this period, whereas women are more likely to remain awake despite the intense relaxation they experience. Women thus may be more likely to see afterglow as conscious quality time with the partner. In support of this distinction, some researchers (Hardy 1981, Taylor 2002) have argued that women's attachment to afterglow is a result of maternal, nurturing instincts originally directed toward infants. In terms of survival, the female who keeps her sexual partner close to her after coitus protects both herself, her potential unborn children, and her existing offspring from physical danger. It is therefore in her best interest to continue being kind and physically attentive so the male will not leave too quickly.

Despite these gendered distinctions, cultural associations of afterglow show more commonality than difference. One association is *pillow talk*, or intimate conversation between partners that occurs in bed, often after sex. In addition, people enjoying afterglow stereotypically smoke cigarettes, since the rush of nicotine adds to the natural endorphin rush of orgasm. Thus, when films show couples smoking cigarettes in bed, this scene often stands in for the sex act, as the film may cut from foreplay to afterglow, leaving the audience to fill in the gaps. (Despite this common association, cigarettes have become less prevalent in American media in the wake of a 1999 federal lawsuit against tobacco companies.) In light of this function, the significance of afterglow as the final stage of sex often is emphasized in fictional narratives that, more than lived experience, rely on closure.

SEE ALSO *Coitus.*

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Michelle Veenestra

AIDS AND HIV

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) presents as a variety of diseases and illnesses, all of which result from infection by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). HIV attacks the human immune system, weakening the response of the body to infection and disease and rendering a patient susceptible to various illnesses. HIV causes few symptoms, and an infected person may appear and feel healthy for years after contracting the virus. Once the virus has weakened the immune system sufficiently, the disease progresses to full-blown AIDS, which is marked by a variety of illnesses from which the patient has increasing difficulty in recovering. Death from AIDS results from the effects of secondary illnesses.

HIV/AIDS is believed to have arisen in western and central Africa in the mid-twentieth century. The virus is transmitted through bodily fluids such as blood, semen, and vaginal secretions. It is communicated primarily through sexual contact but also can be transmitted from mother to child (prenatally, during delivery, or during breast-feeding), through the sharing of contaminated needles by intravenous drug users, through the use of infected blood in medical procedures, and by other means of blood contamination (needle punctures, contamination of open wounds, etc.).

HIV is a retrovirus capable of rapid mutation that produces a latent infection that develops over a long period. To infect a human, HIV must attach to specific host cells known as CD4 cells, which are responsible for regulating the immune system. Once it has occupied a host cell, the virus copies the DNA of the cell, rendering it invisible to the body's defense system. The virus replicates itself within the cells, producing numerous virus particles that bud from the surface of the cell, destroying the cell and moving on to attach to another CD4 cell. For several weeks or months after initial infection the patient is highly infectious, although HIV testing will not reveal the patient's positive status. After this initial period, which is known as the window period, the virus incubates, destroying many CD4 cells but being fended off by the immune system. Some two million CD4 cells are destroyed each day by some ten billion newly produced virus particles. The incubation period for HIV is quite long, averaging around ten years. Once the balance between CD4 cells and virus particles shifts in favor of HIV, however, symptoms begin to appear.

In the United States the diagnosis of AIDS is tied to CD4 counts as well as to secondary symptoms. When an HIV-positive individual's CD4 counts falls below 200 (a healthy person's count appears to range from 500 to 1,600) or when that person is determined to have any one of twenty-six opportunistic infections, a diagnosis of AIDS is made. In less developed or poorer countries, however, means for testing CD4 counts are often unavailable or prohibitively expensive. In such cases doctors rely on clinical examination of the patient to make the diagnosis. Certain infections, including tuberculosis and meningitis, are particularly common in HIV-positive individuals.

SEE ALSO *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

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II. HISTORY

AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) appears to have originated in Africa at some time in the twentieth century. The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is assumed to be a variant of a simian immunodeficiency virus (SIV) that became capable of crossing the species barrier. It is unclear how that crossover first occurred, although scholars have posited contamination in the slaughter of bush meat or contamination of an oral polio vaccine cultured on chimpanzee kidneys that was administered widely in parts of Africa. In either case it appears that HIV and AIDS were present in the human population long before they were recognized.

Scholars have identified isolated deaths in European countries as early as the 1950s that now appear to be the result of AIDS and HIV, and analysis in the 1980s of blood samples originally drawn from African subjects in 1959 turned up one sample contaminated by HIV. It is possible that isolated individuals or communities experienced AIDS outbreaks earlier in the century, but political and social upheaval in Africa after World War II, coupled with widespread vaccination campaigns in regions that often could not afford to use disposable needles, provided an environment in which HIV was readily transmissible.

AIDS first came to public attention in the United States in 1979 and 1980, when doctors in New York and Los Angeles began noticing an increased incidence of fatalities resulting from extremely rare and normally benign diseases. In Los Angeles doctors were seeing multiple cases of a deadly form of pneumonia caused by *Pneumocystis carinii*, a generally harmless and extremely common protozoan that rarely induces illness and almost never causes death. In New York physicians were also seeing *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia as well as cases of Kaposi's sarcoma, an extremely rare and benign skin cancer that normally afflicted (though seldom killed) elderly men of Jewish and Mediterranean origin. In New York, however, Kaposi's sarcoma suddenly was making fairly young men extremely ill and, often coupled with other opportunistic infections, leading to rapid deterioration and death. All those early cases of AIDS involved homosexual men.

The gay rights movement of the 1970s had been invested in the importance of sexual freedom. If mainstream America deemed gay sexuality distasteful and shameful, there seemed no better way to confront and overturn those prejudices than by celebrating gay sex. In the early 1970s sexual promiscuity not only was accepted but was considered politically and socially desirable, a means of forging a new kind of community that resisted heteronormative ideals of partnership, family, and sexual practice.

By the late 1970s bathhouses designed expressly to facilitate fast, anonymous sex were a common feature of gay life in some urban centers, notably New York and San Francisco. The first victims of AIDS had in common frequent bathhouse attendance and a promiscuous lifestyle that included lifetime sexual contacts that numbered in the thousands and sometimes in the tens of thousands. Because of their numerous sexual partners, those early victims were an ideal vector for the disease, and because of the long incubation period that preceded the symptoms, HIV was well established in urban centers in the United States before anyone knew it existed. By the time people became aware of it, gay men in other areas of the country—men who were not part of the San Francisco or New York gay scenes but who may have slept with someone who was or once had been—had been infected.

In the second half of 1981 reports began to surface of AIDS infections in the heterosexual population. Drug addicts who used intravenous drugs became sick in noticeable numbers, infant children of drug addicts fell ill shortly after birth, and hemophiliacs and those who had received blood transfusions started to develop symptoms. Intense political pressure surrounding the disease, however, stymied the attempts of doctors, health officials, and activists to mobilize a defense. Many doctors and health officials were reluctant to accept evidence that the epidemic was not limited to the homosexual population, and the testing of blood donors for HIV was instituted much too late to stem the progression of the disease.

The gay press often considered claims of the prevalence and severity of the disease to be hysterical, overly alarmist, and indicative of widespread homophobia, whereas the mainstream press largely refused to touch an issue that involved primarily gay sexuality. Only when evidence that AIDS could strike heterosexuals became overwhelming did the major news organs begin to run stories about HIV and AIDS, and even then there were relatively few compared with earlier, much smaller epidemics. The Reagan administration provided little leadership or research funding, and the response of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) was slow and was accompanied by inadequate funding. Ultimately, AIDS research and prevention in the first decade after the emergence of the disease were driven by local groups and individual doctors, activists, health officials, and politicians, usually with insufficient resources and funding. Thus, by the time the U.S. government gave HIV and AIDS substantive attention, the virus was well entrenched and spreading rapidly in U.S. society and throughout the world.

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III. EFFECTS ON POPULATION

In most countries human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection initially spreads primarily through a group of core transmitters who are at particular risk. Sex between men may have a transmission rate as high as one in ten, depending on sexual practices. Transmission rates among intravenous drug users are high because a contaminated needle can introduce HIV directly into the bloodstream. Sex workers also have an elevated risk of contracting and transmitting HIV. HIV/AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) often establishes itself in those high-risk groups before moving into the general population. As the mode of transmission shifts from sex between men and the sharing of needles by intravenous drug users, the rate of HIV diagnosis among women often increases dramatically, leading to greater numbers of children being born with HIV or orphaned by AIDS. HIV is most likely to be a generalized epidemic in poorer countries, which may lack the infrastructure, money, and political stability for effective wide-scale treatment and prevention.

THE UNITED STATES

In the United States HIV/AIDS first became widespread among populations of homosexual men, which suffered widespread fatalities in the early years of the epidemic. As a result AIDS long was considered a "gay" disease, and there is still a lingering perception that AIDS victims are most likely to be homosexual men. In later years, however, the nature of the epidemic changed noticeably. More than 50 percent of new HIV diagnoses have been among African Americans, and some three-quarters of women diagnosed with HIV are African American. The wide availability of antiretroviral therapy has led to a substantial decrease in AIDS deaths; African Americans, however, have substantially lower survival rates than does the white population. In 2002 the death rate of African Americans with AIDS was twice that of whites.

AFRICA

Sub-Saharan Africa bears a disproportionate burden from the AIDS epidemic; it is home to about 10 percent of world population but contains 60 percent of HIV cases worldwide. In Africa the epidemic is widespread and generalized, with most transmission occurring through heterosexual sex.

Widespread poverty, lack of infrastructure, inconsistent or ineffective prevention programs, expensive or unavailable treatment, and social and political upheaval have contributed to the spread of infection in many countries in that region. As a result the areas hardest hit by HIV/AIDS are often the least able to respond effectively. Because AIDS is most likely to kill people in the prime of life, local and national productivity has been affected seriously. Households with one or more AIDS victims often are strained by the loss of income and the need to provide care and treatment to the afflicted member; young children and the elderly often end up shouldering much of the burden. Local communities also are strained by AIDS deaths because extended families and elderly grandparents with limited resources often take in children orphaned by AIDS.

EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA

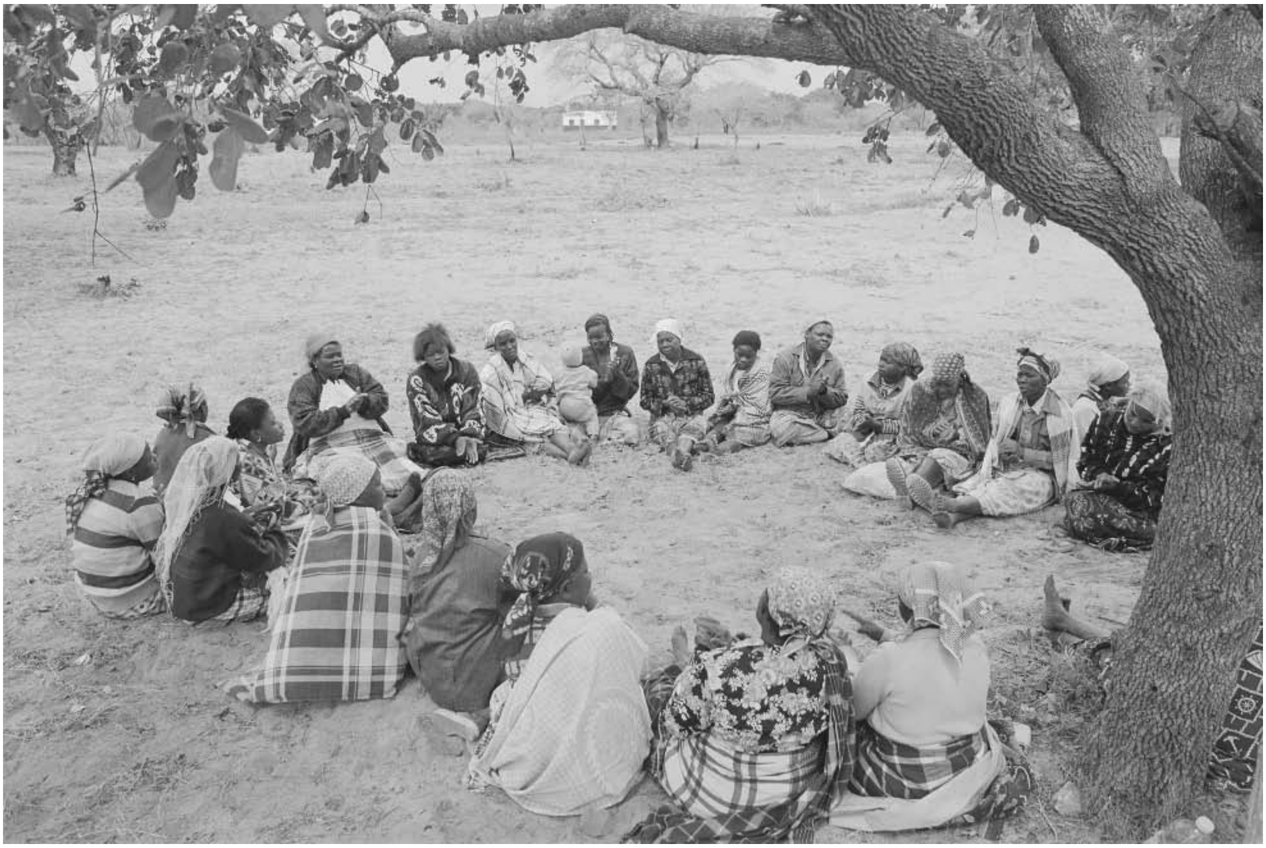
In many countries in Eastern Europe and Asia, HIV infections have been on the rise. The Ukraine experienced a tremendous upsurge in HIV diagnoses after 2000, with a significant incidence in women and the heterosexual population. Russia also has seen an increase in HIV cases, apparently linked to widespread intravenous drug use in its population. In several other countries in Eastern Europe, AIDS is spreading rapidly through intravenous drug users. The epidemic is expected to become more generalized as drug users begin transmitting the virus to their partners.

In many East Asian countries most new infections are transmitted by sex workers, who often cannot insist on condom use. In Thailand, however, a government mandate requiring universal condom use among sex workers has slowed the advance of HIV/AIDS dramatically. Because of the sheer size of many Asian nations, the raw number of HIV-infected individuals in that region is expected by some to overtake that of sub-Saharan Africa.

WOMEN

As HIV infection becomes increasingly generalized in a population, women tend to be affected disproportionately. Of the estimated 39.4 million HIV cases worldwide at the end of 2004, some 17.6 million were women. Almost 75 percent of those women lived in sub-Saharan Africa, where women accounted for 57 percent of HIV infections. Among young women in that region, the gap between male and female infections has been even more striking: It has been estimated that some thirty-six women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four are infected for every ten men in the same age group.

The increased infection rates among women may be in part biological—evidence suggests that it may be easier for men to transmit HIV to women than vice versa—but it is often also a reflection of the relative status and power of women in a society. Researchers in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, have noted that HIV transmission among women is accelerated in societies in which large numbers of women are not in a position to refuse sex or to insist on



Mozambique Women Discuss Sex and AIDS. *A group of rural women discuss sexual relations and AIDS transmisssion in their community in Maputo, Mozambique.* © GIDEON MENDEL/CORBIS.

safe sex, for example, when they are physically or economically dependent on a male head of household's earnings, gifts from a lover, or earnings from prostitution. In countries stricken by warfare increases in the number of rapes also help spread infection. In societies in which the economic and social status of women has risen, researchers have found that transmission rates tend to drop.

CHILDREN

As of the end of 2004 some 2.2 million children were infected with HIV. Although many children are infected by their mothers, several countries have seen a marked increase in early sexual activity among children, making that population more vulnerable to HIV infection. Additionally, some children are infected in the course of sexual molestation and abuse by adults. In addition to those directly infected by HIV, millions of children worldwide have been orphaned by AIDS. It appears that some 11 million children or more are AIDS orphans; that number was projected to more than triple by 2020.

Societies that have large numbers of orphans are also those which have few institutional structures to help care for them. In sub-Saharan Africa, which is home to some 12 percent of orphans worldwide, extended families traditionally have shouldered the burden of caring for the children of deceased relatives, often straining already tight resources. Members of families that have taken in orphans are more likely to be malnourished and their children and foster children are more likely to be stunted. Orphans often have increased responsibilities at home, are less likely to attend school, and are more likely to do poorly when they do attend. Lack of resources to care for orphaned children probably will affect a region or nation over the long term as malnourished and uneducated children grow into an unskilled adult population with a variety of health problems.

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IV. TREATMENTS AND PREVENTION

Treatment and prevention measures for human immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) vary widely from country to country and region to region. The availability of treatment for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection and AIDS is highly variable and largely dependent on national wealth and medical infrastructure. Prevention programs also differ greatly between countries, and in places where the epidemic has been stemmed, that often has been the result of a number of complex and interrelated factors rather than a single prevention strategy.

TREATMENT

In wealthy societies with a strong medical infrastructure and widespread public or private health insurance coverage, treatment of HIV/AIDS often begins shortly after a patient is diagnosed with HIV. In the early stages of the infection, when HIV is present but CD4 counts are high, it is recommended that individuals engage in generally healthy practices: eating well, avoiding exposure to other diseases or infections, and refraining from behaviors, such as smoking, that might weaken the body's immune response. As the CD4 count begins to drop, doctors may begin prophylactic treatment designed to prevent common opportunistic infections. In later stages of the disease antiretroviral (ARV) drug therapy is instituted.

A number of antiretroviral drugs may be used singly or in combination. Single-drug therapy is the least expensive but tends to provoke rapid mutation of the virus. Dual therapy is cheaper than triple therapy but works more slowly and may not be as effective over the long term. Triple therapy is considered a HAART (highly active antiretroviral therapy) regimen, which means that it is capable of reducing the viral load in a significant number of people and remains effective for many years. Triple therapy is able to reduce viral loads quickly to almost undetectable levels. Early HAART treatment reduces the risk of bodily damage during extended periods of high viral load but leaves few options if the patient later develops resistance to the drugs. As a result some doctors choose to begin with single-drug therapy and gradually increase the treatment level.

The cost of antiretroviral drugs is substantial and for many people and nations prohibitive. In wealthier nations AIDS drug therapy can range from $10,000 to $20,000 per patient per year or even more. Political pressure and competition from generics have resulted in substantially lower drug costs in many underdeveloped countries; some ARV triple-drug therapies are available for less than $200 per year. In most instances, however, those prices are still prohibitive for residents of many countries; researchers have estimated that drug costs have to be lowered by at least two-thirds. Moreover, drug therapy requires regular consultations and follow-up visits as well as routine testing of CD4 levels and often tests for drug resistance.

Anti-retroviral Drugs. *Anti-retroviral drugs Stuvudine, Lamivudine, and Stocrin. These medications supress the replication of HIV by blocking the enzymes HIV uses to replicate itself.* © KRISTA KENNELL/CORBIS.

In many developing countries such care is often inaccessible, unavailable, or unaffordable. Poverty tends to make adherence to a drug regimen difficult, and when adherence drops too low, viral resistance develops. ARV drugs provided without adequate funding and support thus may increase mutation and drug resistance in HIV strands. Additionally, patients in poorer regions are far more likely to have secondary infections before ARV treatment begins; treatment for secondary conditions such as tuberculosis and meningitis is often unavailable or unaffordable.

PREVENTION

AIDS prevention programs take two primary tacks: biomedical intervention and behavioral modification.

Recommended biomedical interventions include securing the safety of blood and blood products, usually through the screening of donors; treating other sexually transmitted diseases that may increase the risk of HIV infection; and treating HIV-infected pregnant women with ARVs to reduce the risk of transmission to their children. A number of researchers are working to develop an AIDS vaccine, though that task is complicated by the rapid mutation of the virus and appears to be a number of years off. Another possible biomedical intervention would be the development of a microbicide—an agent capable of killing bacteria and viruses—that could be applied vaginally before sexual activity. Microbicides might have an advantage over condoms because they would allow women to assert greater control over their sexual safety, but their development has been given relatively little attention.

Behavioral intervention is used to modify the behaviors and practices of people to reduce the likelihood of transmission. Most behavioral interventions follow the ABC model: *a*bstain, *b*e faithful, use *c*ondoms. Prevention programs thus encourage people to wait longer to become sexually active, have fewer partners, and use condoms if they have multiple partners.

The success of those programs has been highly variable. In societies in which resistance to or embarrassment about discussing sexual matters is common, it is difficult to improve knowledge and change attitudes on a wide scale and even more difficult to affect behavior substantially. Condoms are often unavailable or too expensive, and even in places where their use is fairly common, it appears to be highly inconsistent. Moreover, in extremely poor regions where expectations for future standards of living are low there may be little incentive to avoid AIDS. Although those populations may have sufficient knowledge about HIV/AIDS and its transmission, daily concern about finding enough to eat may override any impetus to change a behavior that has only long-term consequences.

Many countries have contained the spread of HIV by altering behaviors and through a biomedical response early in the course of the epidemic. Countries that moved quickly to institute screening of their blood supplies shut down a major vector by which HIV moves from a group of core transmitters to the general population. Targeting core transmitters for particular kinds of interventions also has been successful when done early enough. Gay men in the United States, for example, shifted their behaviors rapidly in the first decade of the epidemic, moving from a culture of free love and promiscuity to one that valued safe sexual practice. Needle exchange programs in several countries have reduced transmission between intravenous drug users significantly, and the Thai government reduced transmission rates by mandating condom use among sex workers.

Countries with fewer resources and more generalized epidemics typically have had more difficulties. Uganda is one of the few that have made great strides; many people credit that success to that nation's multilateral, open response to the issue. The government and its leader instituted conversations on multiple levels and among various agencies, sparking a nationwide awareness of and response to the problem. In Uganda first sexual contact among young people has been delayed, and couples are more likely to be in a monogamous relationship. The example of Uganda has demonstrated that behavioral interventions can work, but that success has been fairly unusual among developing countries.

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V. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSES

AIDS research, drug development, and treatment and prevention strategies have been advanced, shaped, and sometimes stymied by a complex interaction among social responses, political activism, governmental policy, business interests, and artistic and cultural interventions.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

In the United States the early governmental response to the AIDS crisis is considered by many people to have been deplorable. Despite quick action on the part of the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) to determine the causes and modes of transmission of AIDS, its investigations were crippled by underfunding and inadequate staffing. The National Institutes of Health (NIH) moved at what many considered a maddeningly slow pace in opening up the grant process for funding AIDS research, and most early federal funding was forced on the Department of Health and Human Services by congressional appropriations bills. The Reagan administration was silent on the question of AIDS; Reagan did not give a speech on AIDS until 1987, six years after the CDC began work on tracking and controlling the epidemic and after more than twenty thousand Americans had died of the disease.

Although federal funding increased dramatically, it was often too little too late. Moreover, AIDS prevention and education programs were hampered by guidelines written by and resistance from right-wing members of Congress and the administration. Many public health officials had argued for the importance of large-scale HIV testing, but when the federal government began to move toward the articulation of a national prevention policy, discussions often were stymied by right-wing insistence on mandatory testing coupled with a refusal to agree to anonymous testing or guarantee nondiscrimination toward those who tested positive. Moreover, the administration was deeply resistant to AIDS prevention programs that provided education on safe sex. Believing that such programs advocated promiscuity and homosexual behaviors, the Reagan administration advocated prevention programs that emphasized abstinence and moral behavior.

In 1987 Congress passed legislation banning federal funding for educational materials that indirectly or directly promoted homosexual activity. As late as 1988 most federal AIDS policy came from Congress, which continued to push through ever-larger spending bills and challenge the lack of direction provided by the nation's health agencies.

The 1990s saw increased federal involvement in and funding of the AIDS crisis, including the Ryan White CARE (Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency) Act, which provided federal funds for organizations providing community-based treatment. Steps were taken to prevent discrimination against HIV-positive individuals, and a federal court struck down the 1988 restrictions on AIDS educational materials. In 1993 the Clinton administration established the White House Office of National AIDS Policy, which was designed to provide federal leadership and guidance in the national response to AIDS, and in 1999 it established the LIFE (Leadership and Investment in Fighting an Epidemic) initiative to address the global AIDS epidemic. Funding for AIDS research, treatment, and education—both nationally and globally—increased throughout the 1990s, and by 2000 both Congress and the Clinton administration had earmarked significant funding for the HIV response and had created a number of agencies and commissions to help develop and implement future AIDS policies.

In 2003 President Bush announced the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), a five-year, $15 billion plan to fight AIDS globally. Although Bush was credited for making AIDS a significant part of his foreign policy, his administration was criticized for endorsing abstinence-only prevention programs. One-third of PEPFAR funding was reserved for agencies promoting abstinence programs. In 2004 new CDC regulations, which had to be followed by any organization receiving federal money for HIV prevention programs, required that educational materials include information on the lack of effectiveness of condom use and prohibit sexually suggestive content; in 1993 the CDC had issued a statement with the NIH and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) declaring that condom use was highly effective in curtailing HIV transmission.

After 2000 the United Nations and the World Health Organization took the lead in organizing global treatment and prevention programs. Such undertakings, however, were underfunded and often fell short of their goals.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM

In the face of lackluster U.S. government leadership in the AIDS epidemic, members of the gay community, particularly in urban centers that had been hard hit by HIV, became active participants in the political, medical, and social processes by which research funding was generated and treatment and prevention methods were developed. In the early 1980s much of that effort was at a local level: Gay leaders and activists raised funds, recruited help from local politicians, and set up community treatment centers that pooled resources for and information about treating AIDS patients.

In mid-1980s, frustrated by the slow pace of AIDS research and the inaccessibility of effective treatment methods—particularly drug therapies—to many AIDS patients, gay activists and their supporters began to organize in greater numbers. In 1985 Project Inform was created to provide treatment information and advocacy to members of the San Francisco community, and amfAR (American Foundation for AIDS Research) was organized to fund and promote AIDS research and prevention. In 1986 the *AIDS Treatment News* was founded as a clearinghouse for new information about experimental and standard treatments. Project Inform and *AIDS Treatment News* were crucial to the dissemination of new and emerging medical information to AIDS patients and their caregivers and helped create a community with substantial medical and clinical knowledge. The technical expertise of AIDS advocacy groups was a key factor in their intervention in the development, pricing, and accessibility of drug treatments.

In 1987 members of the gay and lesbian community in New York formed ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, as a mechanism for forcing change in the social and political response to AIDS. Insisting on the importance of access to clinical trials for people with AIDS, ACT UP and other organizations took aim at the slow drug approval process and restrictive guidelines for clinical trials followed by the FDA. In the late 1980s and early 1990s ACT UP staged demonstrations in a

ACT UP Protest. *An ACT UP demonstration against the high price of AIDS drugs.* AP IMAGES.

variety of venues, including on Wall Street to protest the exorbitant price of the new antiviral drug AZT (azidothymidine), at the post office on the day tax returns were due to gain increased media coverage and raise awareness of the AIDS crisis, at St. Patrick's Cathedral to protest the stand of the Catholic Church on contraceptive use, and at the offices of the Hearst Corporation, whose publication *Cosmopolitan* in 1988 had published an article suggesting that women were not at risk of AIDS transmission during heterosexual sex.

As the nature of the AIDS epidemic changed in the 1990s, so too did the kind of activism it inspired. As activism, advocacy, and the availability of antiretroviral drugs and triple therapy began paying off in the form of a decreased death rate among the most severely affected population, homosexual men, the center of political and social activism shifted to other groups that were experiencing increased infection rates. As a result of the increased prevalence of HIV among African-Americans, activist groups became more likely to focus on improving education, treatment, and access to drugs and clinical trials among minority and low-income groups.

The growing dimensions of the AIDS crisis in developing nations, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, engendered an increased emphasis on global aspects of AIDS treatment and prevention. Some organizations, such as Health GAP (Global Access Project), formed in 1999, and the Global AIDS Alliance, founded in 2001, were created specifically to deal with AIDS on a global level and generally advocated full funding of the United Nations' Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria; debt cancellation for third-world nations; better trade policies; improved accessed to treatment; and the development of more effective prevention mechanisms. Such groups often formed coalitions with global trade activists, public health organizations, and domestic AIDS organizations, including ACT UP.

DRUG DEVELOPMENT

The activism of the gay community and the technological savvy of many of its organizations were instrumental in reforming the FDA's approval process and policies on clinical trials. Doctors, AIDS patients, and supporters in the 1980s had regarded the long and slow approval process of the FDA, which averaged eight years in the early 1980s, with increasing frustration. The few drug treatments that were available were limited to clinical trials, in which scientific principles demanded double-blind studies in which half the participants in a trial were given placebos. Additionally, policies designed to protect trial participants severely limited the eligibility of many AIDS patients. Because of the rapid progression of the disease, many doctors and patients felt that the only hope lay in access to experimental drugs. AIDS activist organizations became increasingly vocal about the need to speed both drug development and the approval process, and networks of activists, scientists, doctors, and AIDS patients began to work through alternative channels, exchanging drugs, expertise, and anecdotal evidence about new treatment possibilities.

Activists vocally challenged drug companies and scientists to explore new therapies and means of testing and distributing them while applying increased pressure on the FDA to take charge of the response to the epidemic. Agitation against the FDA sparked congressional hearings in 1987. In 1988, when the FDA commissioner announced that only two drugs could be approved before 1991, networks of AIDS activist amassed enough information to challenge that assertion. A protest at the FDA headquarters by twelve hundred demonstrators received extensive media coverage and initiated a substantial loosening of FDA regulations, including approval of the importation of unapproved drugs for those with life-threatening illnesses.

From the beginning drug prices were exceedingly high and generated a great deal of concern among activists, which was exacerbated by secrecy surrounding development costs. The first antiviral drug to be approved by the FDA, Zidovudine (AZT), cost between $8,000 and $10,000 per patient per year, a price that seemed exorbitant to many, particularly in light of the fact that AZT originally had been developed as a cancer therapy with federal funding. Activists protested against the drug's maker, Burroughs-Wellcome, on Wall Street, and the company was lobbied by a large coalition of activists and legislators. In response, the company reduced its pricing by 20 percent.

Drug companies were criticized for inflating prices and restricting the access of poorer countries to cheaper generic drugs. International pressure and global health initiatives led to significantly decreased drug pricing and wider access to drug therapy in developing nations, though most researchers continued to believe that the price of drugs was far too high to allow widespread access in poorer countries.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL REACTIONS

In the first half of the 1980s, while AIDS was ravishing homosexual men, the rest of the population of the United States took little note. The desire to believe that AIDS was a gay disease was strong and resulted in minimal media coverage of AIDS outside the gay community. In 1985, however, when Rock Hudson's diagnosis of AIDS became public, the nation was electrified. Almost overnight AIDS became a widespread point of concern for gay and straight populations alike. The illness of Ryan White, a young boy who had been infected with HIV as an infant, generated further mainstream public concern.

HIV and AIDS engendered a great deal of artistic and cultural output after that time. In 1985 *An Early Frost* represented the first major network broadcast of a film dealing with AIDS. That film was followed by a number of mainstream films and television movies that dealt with AIDS and HIV, including *Parting Glances* (1986), *The Ryan White Story* (1986), *Longtime Companion* (1990), and *Philadelphia* (1993). A 1989 Bob Huff mockumentary, *Rockville Is Burning*, chronicled AIDS activism, and in the 1990s a number of playwrights wrote plays that later were turned into general-release and cable films, including *Love! Valour! Compassion!* by Terrance McNally, *Jeffrey* by Paul Rudnick, and *Angels in America* by Tony Kushner. Randy Shilts's *And the Band Played On* (1988), which depicted the early years of the AIDS epidemic, became an HBO movie in 1993. In 1996 the musical *Rent* broke barriers by featuring the controversial subjects of AIDS and sexuality on Broadway.

In 2003 Daniel Bort premiered a short film called *Bugchaser* at the Austin Gay and Lesbian Film Festival; the short appeared with a documentary by Louise Hogarth titled *The Gift*. Both films concerned a practice known as bugchasing, in which gay men attempt to contract HIV from HIV-positive men. The phenomenon appears to be quite rare, though it has generated some mainstream attention. Psychological reasons for bugchasing may involve survivor's guilt, a belief that sharing the virus creates intimacy, the excitement generated by the danger of infection, and a general relief of anxiety at having one's HIV status definitively established.

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'A'ISHA
614–678

'A'isha, who was born in Mecca, was the beautiful and beloved third wife of the Prophet Muhammad and the daughter of Abu Bakr (reigned 632–634), the first caliph of Islam and one of Muhammad's closest companions. The conflicting representations of 'A'isha in medieval Islamic sources have occupied the imagination of Muslims and especially feminist Islamic scholars in the contemporary period.

Apart from her youth—her marriage was consummated in 623 or 624—and elevated position among the Prophet's wives, 'A'isha was pivotal to an incremental demarcation of gender relations in the fledgling Islamic community of Medina. Shortly after her marriage revelations stipulating the veiling and segregation of the Prophet's wives were received. Other verses stipulated that Muhammad's wives were not to remarry after and labeled them "mothers of the believers." Veiling and seclusion soon emerged as standard practice for Muslim women in general. However, the elevated status and separate legal obligations of the Prophet's wives did not prevent Muslim scholars from appropriating them as exemplars to be emulated by the rest of the community's female believers.

THE LIFE

Controversy always accompanied the narrative of 'A'isha's life. In 627, returning with the Prophet from an expedition, she accidentally was separated from the caravan at the last station before Medina. She was found eventually and escorted back to Medina by a young man, a situation that provided grounds for rumors and innuendo. She was vindicated by a revelation, *sura* 24:11, exonerating her and rebuking those who slandered her. Some of the references to her in medieval mystical literature describe the unbreakable bond of love and affection between the Prophet and 'A'isha and the sublimating impact of that love on her, for example, in a moving anecdote in Book I of Rumi's *Mathnawi*.

Widowed at age eighteen and childless, 'A'isha devoted her influence and energy to the political cause of her father and his allies. According to medieval accounts, 'A'isha masterminded an alliance with several of the Prophet's best known companions in opposition to 'Ali's ascension to the caliphate in 656. 'Ali bin Abu Talib (reigned 656–651), Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, was the first male convert to Islam, the fourth caliph, and the first imam of the Shi'is. Known as the *fitna*, the failed uprising against 'Ali was condemned almost universally by Muslims across the centuries and is firmly entrenched in 'A'isha's historical legacy. Her participation and leadership are marked in the title of the battle, which is known as the Day of the Camel because 'A'isha sat in her litter atop a camel and observed the progress of the war at first hand. That battle marked the genesis of the first permanent split between Sunnis and Shi'is in Muhammad's community, a rift that has defined Muslim politics and theology for the last fourteen hundred years.

CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION OF THE LIFE

The role of 'A'isha in fostering strife and division was a favorite theme of Muslim political theorists, especially those who wrote treatises on governance. The main result of the Day of the Camel was to caution rulers against proximity and consultation with women. A frequently invoked anecdote is in the *Siyar al-muluk* [The conduct of kings] of Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), which celebrated the vizier Saljuq. Nizam al-Mulk invokes her name to remark on the lack of religiosity of the Shi'is in their willingness to curse 'A'isha for her role in the Battle of the Camel. In a longer anecdote Nizam al-Mulk relates how Muhammad was sick and had to find a substitute to lead the communal prayers. 'A'isha favored 'Umar (the second caliph, reigned 634–644), and the Prophet wanted her father, Abu Bakr. She insisted several times, and with his head lying in her breast, he turned and asked one of the men present to ensure that Abu Bakr was called upon, following the adage that the advice given by women should be reversed because the exact opposite of their suggestions is invariably the right choice. The controversial legacy of

'A'isha is complicated further by her almost universally recognized authority as an important transmitter of the deeds and dicta of the Prophet. Retiring to Mecca after 'Ali's victory, 'A'isha is said to have related more than a thousand traditions from the Prophet, although only about three hundred survive in the canonical *hadith* collections of scholars Muslim (d. 875) and Bukhari (d. 870). 'A'isha's recollections, if not her advice, remained trustworthy.

'A'isha's role as the nemesis of Fatima (d. 633), Muhammad's daughter and the only one of his offspring to outlive her parents, adds another dimension. 'A'isha's physical attributes and recollection in detail of the consummation of her marriage as recorded in the medieval sources and the revelation of a Qur'anic verse condemning slander and gossip that was occasioned by accusations of adultery brought against her conjure a notion of womanhood that, although reminiscent of the popular medieval wiles of women literature, is fraught with playfulness, manipulation, conspiracy, and eagerness to wield influence beyond the confines of the home; this stands in direct contrast with the ideals of piety and probity associated with religious demeanor and ethos.

After the succession dispute that followed the death of Muhammad, with one side advocating for her husband and the other championing the cause of her father, the antithetical representations of Fatima and 'A'isha have come to define Islamic rhetorical language on women. The allegorical association of those two women with Eve and Mary, respectively, were not lost on Muslim thinkers. The insistence of the medieval Sunni exegetes on perhaps exaggerating the centrality of 'A'isha to the growing body of prophetic lore, for example, should be read in juxtaposition to accusations of laxity and adultery raised with equal intensity by Shi'i scholars. The religiosity of 'A'isha is crafted along the lines of her special relationship with Muhammad as his favorite wife, the only one in whose presence the Prophet received revelation and prayed and in whose arms he died. This is meaningful only when contrasted with Fatima's piety, which is centered on chastity, austerity, filial loyalty, fidelity, and exemplary motherhood. 'A'isha, who was legitimated through *hadith* (a play on tradition), the cornerstone of Muhammad's *sunna* (practice) as transmitted by his trusted companions, is the paradigmatic Sunni foil to the emblems of prophetic legacy in Shi'i Islam, which is expressed through the primordial connection of Fatima to Muhammad's progeny: her children, the imams.

These complicated, nuanced, and multivalent representations show that the casting of women in a negative light and their use as symbols of temptation against the dictates of reason and prudence is as old as literary records of human civilization. Those representations were spread among so many different cultures and across such long stretches of history that they have become practically bereft of any analytical value for the explanation of historical and social developments, among which the unequal status of women is a common denominator.

MODERN CONTROVERSIES

In the second half of the twentieth century, with the Islamization of political discourse across the Muslim world, the activism associated with 'A'isha's political undertakings was taken by some Islamic feminists as validating a certain rereading of the Qur'an. Their endeavors have been undermined by their failure to provide a context for their readings of the qur'anic text. 'A'isha's political activism is not lauded in the primary sources and certainly is never read to imply women's empowerment.

The controversies surrounding the historical persona of 'A'isha were revived in the 1980s, when a Sunni Anglo-Indian novelist, Salman Rushdie, became the target of Muslim anger after publishing a fictional account of the Prophet's life, *The Satanic Verses*, in which he dealt extensively with the travesties of Muhammad's spouse, belittling the source of revelation that had exonerated the historical 'A'isha many centuries earlier. It was the Shi'i leader of Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini, who declared Rushdie an apostate because of his novel and rendered permissible the shedding of his blood.

SEE ALSO *Islam.*

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Neguin Yavari

ALAN OF LILLE
c.1128–1203

The theologian, preacher, and poet Alan of Lille, who it is thought was born in the Flemish city of Lille, was one of the major thinkers associated with the School of Chartres. Alan was the author of many influential works of speculative, theoretical, and practical theology, including one of the earliest dictionaries of scriptural terminology, a systematic exposition of *The Rules of Theology*, an *Art of Preaching*, and a tract defending the Catholic faith against heretics, Jews, and "Mohammedans." He is best known, however, for his works of allegorical poetry: *The Plaint of Nature* (1168–1170) and *Anticlaudianus* (1182–1183). Those works enthralled later vernacular writers, including Jean de Meun, Dante, and Chaucer. Alan died at the Abbey of Cîteaux in France.

SEX AND GENDER

Alan's theories of sex and gender are elaborated most fully in *The Plaint of Nature*. Although it is a work of imaginative literature, the *Plaint* is also a compendium of contemporary knowledge about the natural world, the liberal arts, and poetics. Its primary concern, however, is sexual deviance, specifically the vices Alan understands as *contra naturam* (against nature).

The poem opens with an elegy in which the poet laments the fact that men openly flout Nature's decrees. Nature personified soon appears, wearing a dress and diadem adorned with flora, fauna, the elements, and the celestial bodies. The poet, suddenly stricken with delirium, is revived by Nature, who reveals her identity ("the deputy of God" and man's "foster-mother") (p. 117) and the purpose of her visit (to reprove man for his vices). She declares that "all things by the law of their origin are held subject to my laws" and "obey my edicts as a general rule" (p. 131). Man, however, "denature[s] the natural things of nature" (p. 131) through his monstrous desires. Nature explains that if desire is bridled by reason, it will not lead to vice but instead will allow for the lawful propagation of species. However, when desire is allowed to escape rational control, it degenerates morals and alienates man from his Creator.

As God's vicar, Nature is concerned particularly with denouncing the crimes of effeminacy and male homosexuality, though she also provides a standard catalogue of all vices, including many nonsexual ones. To fight the army of the Vices, she calls forth the Virtues and her consort Genius, who will lead the charge. Genius is a tutelary figure linked to procreation (*genius,* from *gignere*, "to beget") and also a priest armed with a "pastoral staff" (p. 206) and the "punitive rod of excommunication" (p. 208). Adhering closely to the Catholic rite of excommunication, Genius pronounces an anathema in which he calls for all those who violate the laws of Nature to be "set apart from the harmonious council of the things of Nature" (p. 220).

CRITICAL REACTION

Although a number of scholars have argued that the question of sexual sin is incidental in the *Plaint*, there is considerable evidence to suggest that medieval readers felt otherwise. Several manuscripts of the *Plaint* have a colophon that reads "Let the profane sodomite perish," possibly suggesting an ad hominem attack on homosexuals. The Dominican theologian Robert Holcot praised the *Plaint* as a particularly effective tool in the campaign against sodomy, "the most unspeakable vice." Walter de Burgh added three verses on sodomy, including an ad hominem attack on an enemy, to another poem attributed to Alan and explained that his verses were inspired by "the plaint of Nature against a sodomite prelate." Finally, though the evidence is circumstantial, scholars have speculated that Alan's *Plaint* may have influenced the Third Lateran Council (1179), which prohibited the "sin against nature" for the first time. Alan is known to have attended the council, and there are remarkable similarities between Genius's anathema and Canon 11 of the Third Lateran, which calls for laymen accused of unnatural crimes to be excommunicated.

The moral value of the *Plaint* is complicated, however, by its tendency toward rhetorical excess and ambiguity. Although many of the moral teachings in the *Plaint* are rigorously orthodox, those teachings often are formulated in language that is morally uncertain. The poet describes Nature as a "mirror for mortals" and a "light-bearer for the world" (p. 128), yet Nature admits that she is incapable of comprehending ultimate truths. Indeed, like many of his contemporaries, Alan was ambivalent about the natural world as a moral guide. As Mark Jordan (1997) argues, the "*Plaint of Nature* is not only a complaint against sexual sins, it is a complaint against Nature's failure to speak satisfactorily about those sins" (Jordan 1997, p. 87). Similarly, although Genius embodies the righteous authority of the priesthood, he too is not above suspicion. At the end of the *Plaint*, Genius appears holding a pen and writing alternately with his right hand and his left. The right hand produces *orthography* (actual species perpetuated through lawful intercourse), and the left produces *pseudography* (shadowy, perverse images that lack substantial being). These writings are received either by Truth (a dutiful, chastely conceived daughter) or by

Falsehood (a misshapen, misbegotten hag who disfigures Genius's script). Thus, even orthography can be turned to falsehood, since it is liable to misappropriation. Alexandre Leupin (1989) argues that Alan ultimately leaves the reader to imagine that all writing "originate[s] in the left hand, the hand sinfully brimming with phantasmal images" (p. 78).

A "queer" reading of the *Plaint* reveals that many of the metaphors the poet and Nature employ are so ambiguous as to compromise the moral integrity of the text as a whole. For example, in his opening elegy the poet laments the fact that emasculated men have failed to harvest the "crop" of women's kisses from their willing lips, yet the metaphor takes on a life of its own: "Why do so many kisses lie fallow on maidens' lips while no one wishes to harvest a crop of them? If these kisses were but once planted on me, they would grow honey-sweet with moisture, and grown honey-sweet, they would form a honeycomb in my mouth" (p. 71). As Jordan observes, "Kissing takes two, and the kisses lying on virgins' lips are the kisses of their otherwise preoccupied male lovers" (Jordan 1997, p. 73). One may wonder, then, "whose kisses … our narrator mean[s] to harvest," men's or women's. Moreover, it would appear that "the effect of harvesting the kisses is to impregnate not the maidens, but the narrator himself. In him they grow into honeycomb" (Jordan 1997, p. 73). The narrator emasculates himself even as he denounces the monstrous Venus who unmans man; metaphorically, he contravenes nature by imagining male parturition.

AMBIGUITY AND IDEOLOGY

Are these ambiguities intentional or unintentional? More importantly, do they compromise the ideological effectiveness of the *Plaint*? Françoise Hudry (1995) believes, on the basis of a set of personal letters she attributes to Alan of Lille, that early on in his life Alan was accused of unnatural crimes and was compelled to do penance at a remote abbey in Wearmouth, England. Hudry hypothesizes that Alan wrote the *Plaint* while there and that the moral zeal of the text is a reaction to his castigation. Although Hudry does not say so, this would explain the recurrence of homoerotic themes in a text that deplores homosexuality. Alan's repressed desires return in the very text that is meant as an act of contrition.

There is, however, another way of approaching this problem without resorting to biographical speculation. Larry Scanlon (1995) argues that the ideological value of Nature and Genius lies precisely in their semantic and moral indeterminacy. If these allegories are not wholly reliable as sources of moral truth, their ambiguity requires a compensatory gesture: not sexual renunciation but a new form of pleasure linked to penitential discipline. If the *Plaint* demonstrates how even the most orthodox moral language can lapse into immorality, it also provides a model for reinvesting libidinal desire in the punitive practices of the Church. Genius's anathema does not force the libido into quiescence; instead, it demonstrates how the castigation of sexual sins can be an ideologically useful form of pleasure. In short, the ambiguities of Alan's allegory thus work to sustain rather than diminish the authority of the clergy to regulate sexual morality.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval.*

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Noah D. Guynn

ALBIGENSIANS

SEE *Bogomils and Cathars.*

ALLEGORY

The word *allegory* comes from the Greek *allègoreïn*, which literally means "to talk differently." An allegory is a transfer of meaning. Most often, it consists of an image that develops within a coherent narrative context, referring systematically—often metaphorically—to a referential universe of a different nature (e.g., abstract, philosophical, or moral). As a figure of speech, it is commonly distinguished from a metaphor or a comparison by the number of its elements. Because an allegory is characterized by the systematically maintained coexistence of a double meaning, literal and symbolic, literal and figurative, it is a complex figurative system whose interpretation is difficult. An allegory is thus always at risk of remaining enigmatic or undecipherable. However, its obscure character, its sometimes sinuous or elliptical logic, also gives it its strength and permanence: an allegory is always rich with meaning, versatile, polysemic.

LINGUISTIC CONCEPTUAL MODES

Resorting to a *personifying* allegory has often been a defense against this possible confusion or incomprehension. Personifying involves ascribing human traits, feelings, and behaviors to inanimate beings or abstractions. The readability of the personifying allegory thus prevents misinterpretations: virtues (e.g., Justice, Temperance, Charity), passions (e.g., Envy, Vengeance, Glory, Vanity), fortune or time (e.g., Death, Old Age as well as seasons or months), nations, the temperaments of ancient and modern medical anthropology (e.g., Sanguine, Phlegmatic, Irascible, Melancholic), the five senses, the liberal arts (e.g., Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Music), fine arts and their Muses, and other categories are easily depicted.

All these allegories are predominantly feminine, as if this gender facilitates comprehension of the figure of speech. Several explanations can be offered for this feminization of the allegory. From antiquity, poets have personified all these beings of reason, these abstract notions, these techniques, these eminently human feelings and desires, so as to transform them into divinities of flesh and blood, animated characters, or the familiar figures of the Greek mythology best known from the writings of Homer in *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. One of the first explanations given concerning allegory's gender is that the gender of the word, notion, or concept determined the gender of the personification: Because numerous terms were grammatically feminine in ancient (and some modern) languages, they were depicted as feminine. This philological explanation, although perhaps less than satisfying, is nonetheless heuristically sound. In her *Cité des Dames*, Christine de Pisan places real women by taking seriously the grammatical gender of allegorical figures of political, philosophical, scientific, or artistic authority. Through direct usage of allegorical personification, she reduced the figurative to the literal, the symbolic to the domestic. She thus transcribed her feminine characters into reality. She gave them a historical and proclamatory density, as shown by the positions she took in her *Querelle de la Rose* (Quilligan 1991). Women *are* not authority, women *have* authority. However, in doing so, Christine de Pisan purely and simply sacrificed allegory.

Angus Fletcher defines allegory as a technique to encode a text: Allegory says one thing and means another (Fletcher 1982). The feminine gender of personifications and other allegorical figures thus necessarily refers to something else: it appears to show itself, to unveil itself, but it always has to fade away to serve a coded, hidden meaning. The gendered incarnation of allegory may be defined as a "power transfer game": The feminine body of the allegorical figure serves a world that is in fact dominated by men. One then better understands why, during the seventeenth century—the century of the allegory—Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701) chose the cartographical allegory to represent relationships between the sexes. This kind of cartographical allegory had been present since ancient times and was commonly used by Christian thinkers. It allowed the representation of complex relationships as well as the visualization of metaphysical, moral, social, and political values as they related to one another; by definition, a map has coordinates and is thus symbolically hierarchical, whereas benefiting from a panoptical and thus immediately inclusive acquisition mode. The seventeenth century saw the development of what is called "gallant geography," first in the Parisian salons, then in England. *La Carte du Tendre (Map of Tenderness)*, conceived by Madeleine de Scudéry and expanded by François Chauveau (1613–1676) in his engravings illustrating Scudéry's poetry, certainly is the most famous of these productions (Reitinger 1999). In this representation of the meanderings of the heart, feelings are likened to so many rivers, mountains, lakes, seas, forests, boroughs, or towns. This de-gendering of allegory allowed courtesans to reinvent the norms of gallant friendship. Given that love's passions and virtues were no longer fixed allegorically in female or male characters, they could be truly incarnated by women and men meeting freely: thus testifying to the strength of the societal trend that was critical of inequality between the sexes, which developed during the classical age.

SHIFTING HISTORICAL SENSES OF A TROPE

At the end of the eighteenth century, allegory became one of the favorite forms of expression of political power. In Europe, as in America, a profusion of female allegorical characters arose in the texts of neoclassicism and, later on, romanticism. Just when new nations were born and old nations called for their own "regeneration," allegory contributed to the great fabric of founding narratives. Allegory then becomes "a kind of physiognomy of history" (De Baecque 1994, p. 112). During the nineteenth century, for example, the painter Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) gave France a human face with his *La Liberté Conduisant le Peuple* (Freedom Leading the People). The allegorical female characters of modern nations almost systematically contradict dominant norms of femininity. The characters *Marianne*, *Britannia*, and *Germania* are inspired by the warrior goddess Athena: These secularized guardian divinities; these female armed authorities (the bayonet of the French republic, the trident of *Britannia*, and the sword of *Germania*) appeared just when the separation between the public sphere and the private sphere—to which most women were assigned—was confirmed. But more fundamentally, just when the modern, exclusively male citizen thought of himself as a free Subject, liberated from any material and social determination, masculinity could no longer be an efficient signifier, because it was confounded with the neutral, the undetermined, and the universal. The allegorical character could consequently be only female, because its gender is by definition a matter of determination and concrete characterization. Only the feminine can thus signify the most abstract notions, embody a concept, and give it meaning and reality (e.g., Freedom, Independence).

However, as soon as nations were transformed into colonial empires, the allegory not only served to represent national values, it also became a real discursive and political matrix (Dorlin 2006). The allegorical femininity of the nation was entirely confounded with motherhood: she simultaneously generated and represented her people. The metaphor thus acquired a performative dimension: The nation was represented as an agricultural divinity. *Marianne* was, for example, represented as the maternal, nurturing, and white goddess Ceres, whereas the colonies and other overseas possessions were represented as both *hyper-eroticized* and *grotesque* bodies. The indigenous, hyper-eroticized, almost systematically naked bodies represented a wildness to be civilized, an eternal childhood of peoples allegedly devoid of history, as well as the erotic object par excellence, on which the colonizers' desire could licitly focus. Just when European nationalisms arose at the end of the nineteenth century and allegorical female characters repeatedly represented an excessive and virilized motherhood, those colonized incarnated all sexual fantasies. This allegory was made of all sexual desires: The exoticism of the colonies was the signifier of sexuality. These colonized bodies became grotesque as they were outrageously racialized through the animalization of gender: Men represented an animal-like virility far from the predominant civilized masculinity. Allegory is crafty, however, because this racialization—in the literal sense of the word—of colonized nations expressed the racialization of the colonizing nations; "the continent," in the words of Césaire (1955), "proceeds to savagery."

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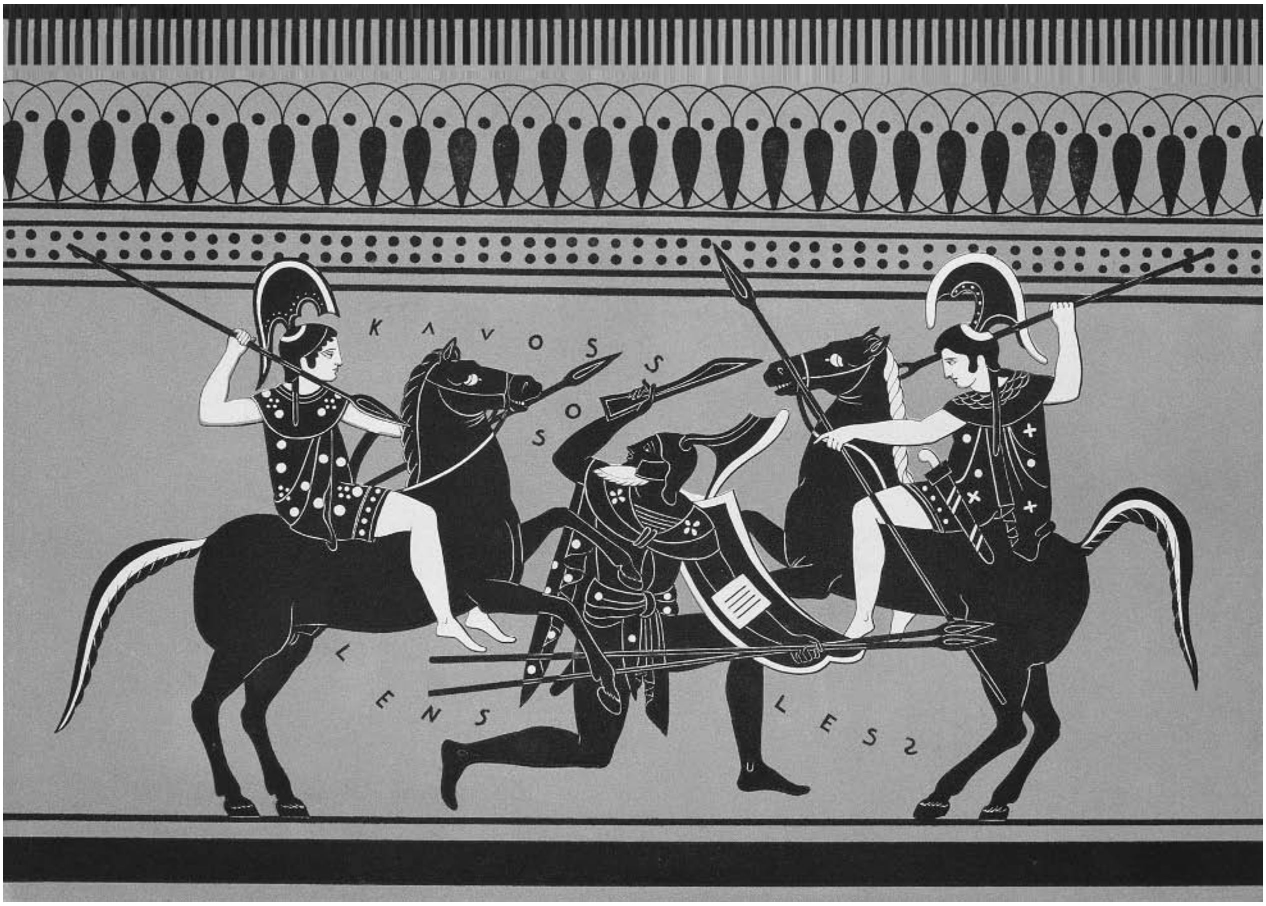
Elsa Dorlin

ALPHA MALE

SEE *Male.*

AMAZONS

In Greek literature and art, the Amazons are a tribe of women, said to be descended from the god Ares and living on the geographical margins of the Greek world, near the river Thermodon or, alternatively, in Libya. Their primary activity is fighting, and their social organization reverses patriarchal norms. First mentioned in the *Iliad*, they play a part in the legends surrounding Achilles, Hercules, and Theseus. As a collective enemy to Athens, they offer in the classical period a foil for Athenian self-definition. Herodotus and later anthropological writers develop an account of their customs, and some writers record contact between the Amazons and Alexander the Great. Literary and anthropological strands of Amazon lore survived into the Middle Ages and beyond. Scholarly debate over the Amazons remains a testing ground for issues of gender and culture in classical studies. While scholars have attempted to find a historical basis for the Amazons, even casting them as reflections of an original matriarchy, scholarship at the turn of the twenty-first century tends to agnosticism on the historical basis of the myth and focus on its cultural deployment as



Amazons Fighting. *Two Amazons fighting a Greek soldier.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHEQUE DECORATIFS PARIS/DAGLI ORTI.**

a reflection of the self-definition of patriarchal Greek culture through a fascination with or repudiation of its opposite Other.

Amazons are mentioned in the *Iliad* as women "equivalent to men," with whom male heroes have military encounters. In the *Iliad* these encounters are in the poem's past (Priam's youth, the inset story of Bellerophon), reflecting already a tendency both to integrate the Amazons into the lives of various heroes and to posit them as long ago and far away. The existence of an Amazon tomb outside Troy is an early literary glimpse of the attribution to Amazons the origins of tombs and cities scattered through the Greek world.

The fullest early account of Achilles' fight with an Amazon is lost: the *Aethiopis*, an installment of the post-Homeric epic cycle (7–6th century BCE), told the story of Penthesilea, the Amazon queen who came in on the Trojan side of the Trojan War after the death of Hector. Achilles defeats Penthesilea and later kills the Greek Thersites for suggesting that Achilles had been sexually attracted to her for mocking Achilles. The (probably) third-century CE Quintus of Smyrna develops this episode (*Posthomerica*, Book 1).

The role of the Amazons in the legends of Hercules and later Theseus reflects the ambivalent status of the female warrior in the mythic tradition. One of the tasks of Hercules is to steal the girdle of the queen of the Amazons; this involves a military encounter (Euripides, *Hercules Furens* ln. 408–411 and *Heraclidae* ln. 217; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* ln. 2.966–969; the legend is better attested in visual art than in early literature). To the function of Amazons as male-equivalent opponents for the hero is added the ambiguity of their femininity, for the stealing of the girdle, an emblem of the loss of virginity, figures the violence of Hercules's Amazon encounter as rape rather than warfare. In the Theseus legend this is explicit, as Theseus rapes and carries off the Amazon queen Hippolyta, with a twofold effect: The Amazons invade Attica to recover their queen and are defeated by the Athenians; and the Amazon concubine/wife bears Theseus a son, Hippolytus, whose rejection of marriage may reflect his Amazon heritage. (Theseus's Amazon encounter is told in another lost source, the *Theseid*; among extant sources, see Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*.) Both the individual combats of Achilles, Hercules, and Theseus with Amazons and pitched battles involving Amazons are frequent subjects in Greek art. Athenian propaganda, both verbal and visual, links the Amazon invaders of Attica to the Persian invaders of Greece.

The myth of an all-female society of Amazons generated anthropological literature that posited a female-dominated society that must nonetheless have negotiated a relationship with men to secure its propagation. Herodotus (4.110–117) recounts an initially hostile encounter between Amazons and Scythian men that leads to marriage and the formation of a new people, the Sauromatians. The Amazons, resisting integration into patriarchal society, insist on keeping their military customs. According to the first-century BCE historian Diodorus Siculus, Amazon society includes men, but men are subordinated and allotted the "female" tasks of child care and household management (3.53.1–3). Another arrangement appears in the work of the geographer Strabo, who declares that the Amazons live by themselves, but have set encounters with a people called the Gargarians for purposes of conception (11.5.1–2). A common anthropological datum is that Amazons cauterize the left breast in order to wield the bow and javelin; they are also sometimes said to kill or mutilate male children. Thus an exclusively or dominantly female society is defined by violence visited on both male and female bodies. Yet the portrait that emerges from the anthropological accounts is of a constructively functional society, capable of civilized negotiation from a position of strength.

Several authors (Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Quintus Curtius Rufus) record Alexander the Great's encounter with the Amazon queen Thalestris, who strikes a bargain whereby she preserves her independence and has an opportunity to conceive Alexander's child, though ancient opinion on the incident remained skeptical (see the works of Arrian and Plutarch). The negotiation of childbearing reflects the anthropological interest in the propagation of Amazon society; it also allows the male-equivalent Amazons of the mythical tradition a fully functional sexuality and an encounter with a male hero that features neither doomed combat nor rape.

In the Middle Ages Amazons continued to provide a venue for thinking about gender construction and essentialism within culture. The encyclopedist Isidore of Seville (560–636) cites two traditional etymologies of "Amazon." One, derived from "without breast," emphasizes the constructed and sacrificial aspects of the femininity-wounding experiment in the autonomous femininity that the Amazons represent; the other, derived from "living together," stresses instead the communal completeness of an all-female society. Two literary treatments of the Amazon from the twelfth century consider similar dichotomies. Joseph of Exeter in his Troy epic the *Ylias* makes Penthesilea's *aristeia* (her display of prowess in a series of combats) and death a showcase for gender in epic. While allowing her opponent to mock her for shaming Mars by wielding male weapons, the narrator shares with the reader anthropological data that accounts for Penthesilea's nature while bypassing gender: the cold climate she comes from, the reader is told, makes her hardy and warlike. At the moment of her death, however, the poet borrows from Virgil and Ovid to reassert Penthesilea's biologically embodied and culturally coded femininity. Pierced through the nipple like Virgil's Camilla, she gathers her garments around her as she falls in a gesture borrowed from Ovid's sacrificed Polyxena. Another twelfth-century epic, Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*—adapting Quintus Curtius Rufus's account of Alexander's encounter with Thalestris, and playing on themes of concealment and display, appearance and reality—transfers the gaze at least temporarily from Alexander to the Amazon Other, and suggests that the mutilation to which Amazons subject their bodies marks a positive cultural reconfiguration of the imposed lack of femininity.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece.*

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ANAHITA

Anahita is one of the most popular *yazatas* (beings worthy of worship) in the Zoroastrian religion. A Zoroastrian hymn highlights her function as intimately concerned with the wellbeing of the community, women in particular. In this hymn, Anahita is referred to as Aredvi Sura Anahita, meaning "moist, strong, undefiled." These three attributes assert her identity as a powerful, but chaste, water divinity.

The Crowning of Narses by the Goddess Anahita. © GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS.

The Zoroastrian hymn in honor of Anahita is usually called the *Aban Yasht* (Hymn to the waters). It describes the *yazata* as increasing water-channels, herds, fields, possessions, and land. Anahita is identified as a mythical world river, which flows from Mt. Hukairya into the Vourukasha Sea, and is the source of all the waters. In this role, she has been compared with the Vedic Sarasvati.

The *Yasht* praises Anahita as bestowing fertility: She "purifies the seed of all males, and purifies the womb of all females for giving birth," and "makes childbirth easy for all females and makes [their] milk flow at the proper time" (*Yasht* 5.2). Even in the twenty-first century, girls hoping to marry and pregnant women invoke Anahita's beneficent action. Women in the Parsi (Indian Zoroastrian) community recite certain verses of the hymn, which form the prayer known as the *Aban Niyayesh*, to ensure a smooth delivery and the birth of a healthy child.

Anahita is also referred to in the hymn as a warrior for justice, who steers a chariot pulled by four horses, protecting Iran and vanquishing its foes. She bestows chariots and arms, as well as household goods, to worshippers; brings victory to warriors in battle; and the destruction of all enemies, both mortal and demonic. Artaxerxes II (r. 404–358 BCE) was the first Achaemenid monarch to invoke Anahita, in his royal inscriptions at Susa. The hymn describes Aredvi Sura Anahita "in the form of a beautiful maiden, very strong, fair of form, high-bodiced, erect, of noble birth" (*Yt.* 5.64). In keeping with her association with water, she wears beaver skins (Yt. 5.129). As a celestial being, she also has a golden mantle, and jewelry consisting of golden earrings, necklace, and an eight-sided crown with a hundred stars, adorned with ribbons (*Yt.* 5.127f).

Such physical descriptions, alongside the reports of Greek historians, suggest that from early times statues were used in her worship, although to date none have been found. From the Achaemenid period onward, devotion to Anahita seems to have involved an element of syncretism. The Babylonian priest scribe Berossus records that Artaxerxes II was the first Persian king to erect statues of *Aphrodite Anaitis*. Anaitis is the Greek rendition of Anahita, and seems to derive from a western Iranian name for the goddess of the planet Venus (Anahiti, the Pure One). The Persian word for Venus—Nahid—echoes this connection, and remains a popular Iranian girl's name. The Greeks identified Anahita with several goddesses from their own pantheon—sometimes Aphrodite or Athena, but most frequently Artemis, due to her association with purity. According to Plutarch, the "Persian Diana" was chief of all the gods adored by the "barbarians beyond the Euphrates" (*Lucullus*, 24).

Anahita is also identified with other goddesses of western Asia, such as Ishtar, Inanna, and Nana. Both Nana and Anahita were widely worshipped in Iran and Armenia, and both goddesses have characteristics that may derive from the Magna Mater cult of the region, particularly that relating to Phrygian goddess Cybele. Classical sources refer to several temples dedicated to Anahita, under a Persian priesthood, both in Persia proper and elsewhere in western Asia. The Greek historian Strabo claims that Anahita was the most popular of the Persian divinities worshipped by the Armenians, and numerous shrines to Anahit are attested there.

Anahita was revered as the protective yazata of the Sasanian dynasty (224–651 CE), the last Persian Zoroastrian monarchy. Coins from the reign of Bahram II (r. 276–293 CE) apparently depict Anahita handing the regnal diadem to the king. Although the Sasanian capital was at Ctesiphon, the dynastic temple, dedicated to Anahita, was at Estakhr in Pars. There the Sasanian monarchs were crowned. External texts describe how the Sasanians hung the heads of their enemies against the temple walls, thus acknowledging Anahita's guardianship.

The title of "Lady" bestowed upon Anahita in Middle Persian inscriptions and Armenian texts probably derives from Sumerian Inanna, meaning "Lady of Heaven." Sogdian texts from Panjikent also refer to "Nana the Lady." The modern Persian *banu* (the Lady) is used of Anahita in later Zoroastrian texts, and also in the name of a shrine in Iran, where Anahita was apparently worshipped. Banu-Pars (Lady of Pars) shrine in Yazd is set above a river, below a spring of water, and remains a holy place for Iranian Zoroastrians. Other shrines continue this tradition of venerating Anahita in the form of her natural icon, water, including a "spring of Anahit" on the slopes of Mt. Ararat, where the water is believed to cure barrenness and to protect crops from locusts.

Most contemporary Zoroastrians are familiar with the offering made on the day dedicated to the waters, the eighth day of the tenth month. In India on this day, Parsis offer flowers and dar-ni-pori (a sweetened lentil mixture in pastry) to the waters, after reciting a prayer by the sea or a river. Although men also observe the festival, the ritual is particularly associated with women, perhaps because of the belief that the source and sustenance of all the waters is the *yazata* Aredvi Sura Anahita.

SEE ALSO *Aphrodite; Venus; Zoroastrianism.*

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Jenny Rose

ANATH

SEE *Religion, Study of.*

ANCIENT GREECE

Since at least the Renaissance (1350–1600), European—and subsequently North American—society has looked to ancient Greece as a cultural model in the arts and philosophy and, increasingly in modern times, as the birthplace of democracy. In the twentieth century helenophilia was balanced by a negative judgment of the Greeks' treatment of women. One of the paradoxes that emerge from such evaluations is that the status of women was relatively better in the less democratic Greek polities. Ancient Greek misogyny may have been congenial to those who opposed women's rights in modern Europe, but the system for the regulation of sex and gender was quite different in the ancient world from that which developed in medieval and modern Europe. For example, women's status might have been reflected most visibly in the right, like that of Greek men, to exercise in the nude.

MYTH AND MATRIARCHY

The earliest versions of the origins of the Greek gods, as preserved by Hesiod (c. 700 BCE), seem to show the replacement of ruling maternal deities by male gods. Some scholars, echoing the general theory of primitive matriarchy and noting the prominence of female figurines in early archaeological remains, have suggested that a Bronze Age (3200–1200 BCE) matriarchal culture was overthrown by Greek-speaking patriarchal invaders. That theory has been questioned by those who note that myths of primitive matriarchy may be simple justifications of patriarchal control; also, the worship of the female form is compatible with male power. The classical Greek pantheon is controlled by the patriarchal Zeus (feuding with his wife Hera) but also includes goddesses, though many of them, such as the spear-carrying Athena, were known for their masculine qualities. The Olympian myths even include the idea of male parthenogenesis, as in the case of Athena, born from the head of Zeus. Although the world evoked in the Homeric epics featured colorful women with strong personalities, it reflected a heroic culture with unabashed male dominance in virtually all spheres. Women were under the authority of their fathers and husbands and were held to sexual fidelity. Men, especially those in the upper classes, could have all the slaves or concubines they could afford along with their legitimate spouses.

CLASSICAL MORES

During the archaic and classical periods, roughly from 800 to 323 BCE, Greeks organized themselves around the institution of the *polis*, or independent city-state. The most important social distinctions were between citizens (only males), other freeborn individuals (male or female), and slaves of both sexes. Political power was reserved for citizens, though the wives and daughters of citizens had certain protections not enjoyed by other free women. Sexual relations were covered by the fourth-century claim: "We have mistresses for our enjoyment, concubines to serve our persons, and wives for the bearing of legitimate offspring" (quoted in Pomeroy 1995, p. 8). That ideal, of course, was available only to those with resources and leaves out the same-sex liaisons available to men.

The low status of women, even the wives of citizens, had results that are familiar from examinations of other patriarchal societies. The need to provide dowries for daughters and the occasional desire to limit population led to female infanticide being considerably more common than male. Women also had shorter life spans, perhaps because they regularly were fed less. One result was a sexual imbalance in the population that was exacerbated by the deaths of men in war. For men alternative satisfaction could be found in homosexual relations or with prostitutes. According to Sarah Pomeroy (1995), many prostitutes originally were abandoned female infants (abandonment was the normal mode of infanticide), thus closing the circle and restoring a sexual balance.

The wife of an Athenian citizen was expected to be modest in attire, leave the house as little as possible (chiefly for participation in female religious cults), and be sexually faithful. The husband could, in addition to his wife, keep slaves or concubines, visit male or female prostitutes, and avail himself of the company of the educated female companions called *hetairai*. The husband also controlled a couple's joint property as long as the marriage lasted, and the wife could not enter into contracts in her own name. Of course, those ideals could not always be maintained in practice, especially by people of more modest means, and citizens' wives apparently visited with neighbor women.

Women of undemocratic Sparta had more freedom. They were allowed and even expected to exercise regularly and in the nude, and their rations were equal to those of men. Those factors and a system of trial marriages to see if a couple was fertile were aspects of the recognition of the role of healthy mothers in the creation of a new generation of warriors. As a general rule and within the limits of their conceptions of the proper roles of men and women, the leaders of Greek cities were willing to tinker with the rules governing marriage to promote the demographic interests of the polis.

SEXUAL POLITICS

The purpose of marriage was the provision of legitimate offspring and thus the continuation of the *oikos*, the jointly economic and familial unit headed by the male. Children belonged to the male, who kept them after divorce, partly because it was believed that the woman contributed no genetic material to the fetus. She was only an empty vessel, on the analogy of a plowed field. It was recognized, however, that women enjoyed sexual intercourse, and it was recommended that a man have relations with his wife at least three times a month to maintain harmony in the household. Divorce was fairly easy to arrange and apparently was common. This general idea of female passivity had other effects. A man caught in the act of adultery could be killed by the aggrieved husband (though this right was regulated) or could be held for ransom or turned over to a court for prosecution. The woman, however, largely escaped punishment. Her husband was obliged to divorce her and she could not make certain ritual sacrifices, but she could and often did remarry. This is in sharp contrast to the practice of other ancient societies, such as those in the Near East, which condemned adulterous women to death.

According to David Cohen (1991) the Greeks did not have a word for an adulterous woman, as if she were merely the passive recipient of the immoral act.

There is a general perception that ancient Greece was a kind of paradise of homoeroticism or at least that shame applied only to the passive partner. Although Greek theory and practice were far from Judeo-Christian homophobia, that conclusion must include certain nuances. Xenophon (c. 427–355 BCE) noted that some Greek cities condemned *pederasty* and others explicitly permitted it. According to Plato the laws of Athens were contradictory (Cohen 1991). Further, as was noted by Cohen, the absence of statutory prohibition did not necessarily indicate that an act was blameless, only that it was not felt to disturb the public order.

In Athens sexual use of a boy with or without consent or payment was considered a crime as well as bringing dishonor to the boy. Although ancient sex manuals sometimes speak as if boys and young women were virtually interchangeable as sex objects for the male, and although there is evidence that many males used other males as sex partners when women were not available, for example, on military campaigns, there is abundant evidence that ancient Greek society noted a difference between men more drawn to boys and men more drawn to girls. The first group was seen to be smaller and less estimable. Indeed, literary sources show powerful examples of heterosexual attraction in a society that often erected barriers to its fulfillment to protect the purity of patriarchal descent. Plato's famous defense of love between men applied specifically to a less carnal relationship.

Female homoeroticism received far less social attention. The case of the poetess Sappho of Lesbos (c. 630 or c. 612–c. 570 BCE) may testify as much to the greater freedom of the women of that island (similar to the greater freedom of the women of Sparta) as to an exclusive homoerotic orientation. There is also evidence of women using dildos.

PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE

Ancient Greece, especially Athens in the classical period, has been influential through its literature and philosophy. In the case of literature this extends throughout European and North American civilization; in the case of philosophy through the Islamic civilization also. The plays of Sophocles (495–406 BCE) and Euripides (c. 480–406) are famous for the strength and individuality of their female characters, who often are thought to belie the image of the oppressed, marginalized Greek woman. Those portrayals can be seen as reflections on an earlier heroic age when most of the plays take place or as tensions embodied in Greek social practice. The philosopher Aristotle argued that women lack the higher mental faculties of men. Plato, his teacher, held that women are the equals of men in all matters that do not depend on physical strength. It is telling that it has taken two and a half millennia for the position of Plato to achieve an incomplete victory over that of Aristotle. Plato, in many ways the more adventurous thinker on gender matters, also imagined a utopian community in which women could accede to high office, though not full equality, and in which the economic–sexual family unit would be abolished.

HELLENISTIC GREECE (323—30 BCE)

The conquests of Alexander the Great and the later struggles between his generals destroyed the independence of the Greek city-states and subordinated them to territorial empires. They also scattered new Greek cities throughout the non-Greek Near East. That development seems to have improved the opportunities, both political and economic, of women. Some Hellenistic queens, among whom Cleopatra was the most famous, exercised direct political power. Other women became wealthy and were able to buy political rights previously unavailable to members of their sex. As the status of citizen grew to carry less power, it became available to more people. Concomitant with the breakdown of the polis system as a source of relative female emancipation was exposure to other cultures, some of which, such as the ancient Egyptians, were more open to public participation by women than had been the ideal in classical Greece.

Greek sculpture during its classical periods had tended to pair the idealized male nude with the chastely draped female figure. By the time of the Hellenistic age, however, nude and beautiful Aphrodites competed with erotic females for the gaze of the spectator.

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Allen Douglas

ANCIENT ROME

The sexual activities of the Romans and their bawdy depictions in art and literature have for centuries embarrassed scholars who studied Roman society. In fact, the subject of sex was so little explored that it was only in the late 1970s that scholars attempted to define precisely the "naughty" words that had been so scrupulously avoided by the nineteenth-century compilers of the Greek and Latin lexicons. Before the 1970s, when scholars discussed sexual attitudes and practices at all, they did so by unproblematically equating modern conceptions of sexuality to ancient ones. Michel Foucault's 1979 claim that sexuality is constructed and therefore specific to a particular time and place caused scholars to question whether their basic assumptions concerning sexuality and, by extension, gender roles were accurate or useful in understanding the Romans. Since Foucault, a flood of scholarship has explored the constructed nature of Roman sexuality and gender through examinations of literary and material culture. At the same time, however, other scholars found sexual behaviors among the Romans that looked similar to modern ones, especially in reference to modern homosexuality, which led them to take an essentialist stance. John Boswell was chief among those who asserted that sexuality was a stable enough category to justify its study through the centuries (1980). Most scholars now walk a line between the two schools by rejecting the modern homosexuality/heterosexuality dichotomy in favor of an active/passive paradigm in which Roman male citizens exerted their political and social dominance over their partners by playing the active, penetrating role in sexual acts. These same scholars make a nod to the essentialists by acknowledging that while sexuality seems to be constructed, the biological desire for a particular sex is not.

LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR ROMAN SEXUAL PRACTICES AND ATTITUDES

The active/passive paradigm is most clearly seen in evidence from literary sources composed almost exclusively by and for elite Roman citizens. These legal and medical texts, and poetry and public political discourse, display attitudes toward sexual practices that varied considerably based upon the political and social status of the participants. In general, a Roman male citizen could penetrate anyone under his power of a lower social or political status without incurring societal disapproval. This category included slaves, freedmen, foreigners, and prostitutes of both sexes. In this context, the sex of the penetrated partner was not nearly as important as his or her social standing. Indeed, literary sources from as early as the third century BCE attach no stigma to a male desiring to penetrate another male be he a boy or fully grown man. So long as the Roman male citizen was the penetrator, he need not worry about a perceived lost of masculinity regardless of the sex of his partner.

Sexual access to Roman citizens was more complicated. Citizens of both sexes were born with *pudicitia*, a state of inviolability which was destroyed if he or she were sexually penetrated in any orifice. A man was expected to maintain *pudicitia* throughout his life and indeed this seems to have been a necessary quality if the man wished to become prominent in politics; a woman could maintain her *pudicitia* so long as she was penetrated only by her husband and only vaginally. The *pudicitia* of an individual was considered a familial possession since *stuprum,* the term for the violation of *pudicitia*, endangered legitimate inheritance in the case of unmarried women and in the case of boys and men, the quality of masculinity so necessary for political life. *Stuprum* was punished by the *paterfamilias,* the guardian of the violated party, and punishments could entail the rape or even death of the offender. Roman male citizens who submitted to penetration in any orifice and at any age were mocked as effeminate and sometimes socially shunned as being polluted. The mere accusation of a young man submitting to or desiring *stuprum* could prevent him from a successful political or military career. Though boys were seen as sexual objects, they were off-limits unless they were of a lower social and political class than the penetrator, and in this the Romans differ from the Greeks and their institutionalized pedophilia.

According to literary sources, female Roman citizens were ideally to limit their sexual experiences to their husbands. Even within marriage, sexual practices were socially prescribed. Though sources suggest that it was unmanly for a male to concern himself with the pleasure of his partner, a woman's orgasm was thought by medical writers either to aid in or be essential for conception. It therefore seems likely that social prescriptions were sometimes disregarded for practical reasons. Yet even when a husband turned his attention to his wife's pleasure, certain practices were still frowned upon: because the mouth was a revered part of the body, fellatio and cunnilingus were thought to be unworthy of a citizen.

In reality, women may well have had sexual relations outside their marriages. Certain social conditions may have facilitated such relationships. In the first centuries BCE and CE, women could achieve a degree of financial independence that was unheard of in the ancient world. The traditional form of marriage, which placed the bride financially and legally under the control of her husband and his family, was increasingly displaced by the *sine manu* form that allowed her to stay under the control of her own father or a guardian. The *sine manu* arrangement gave the bride financial leverage and helped to balance an essentially unbalanced power relationship (girls could be married as early as twelve while men often waited until their thirties to marry). Under the emperor Augustus, elite Roman women who produced three children, common Roman or Italian women who produced four, and provincial women who produced five were legally allowed to manage their own finances. Some scholars believe that this financial independence allowed for greater sexual freedom. It was also under Augustus that marriage legislation was enacted, forcing men to divorce adulterous wives and forbidding others from marrying these women.

There is little evidence either in literature or in art for sexual encounters between females and modern notions of lesbians; that is, women whose identities are shaped by their sexual preference for women seem to be without Roman parallel. The Greek poetess Sappho and her love of women was well known by Roman authors, though the practice named after her homeland, lesbianism, had little to do with sex between women. Instead, lesbianism was another term for fellatio. When literary sources do mention women having sex with other women, cunnilingus is less prominent than tribadism, in which dildos were employed to please their partners.

Finally, it was common for slaves and some freeborn women to work as prostitutes or pimps. Prostitution was a legalized and socially accepted institution and was even taxed under the emperor Vespasian. Sources attach no stigma to men visiting prostitutes of either sex unless they became emotionally attached to the prostitute or visited too often. On the other hand, prostitutes were marked out from other women by their costume: They were to wear togas, curiously, the garment usually worn only by Roman male citizens. Freeborn prostitutes were seen as social pariahs and under the Empire, elite classes were forbidden to marry them.

FAMILY PLANNING

The regulation of birth was a regular topic of discussion in medical treatises and poetry. Medical writers were more concerned with methods to aid in conception than prevent it, but the Romans practiced multiple forms of birth control including exposure, barrier methods and chemical treatments. Exposure occurred when, for whatever reason, the father refused to acknowledge a child as his own. Shortly after birth, the baby would then be placed in a trash heap outside the city where she or he would either die of exposure or be rescued and raised as a slave. Predictably, exposure earned the fiery censure of early Christians.

Women were the chief practitioners of other types of birth control. Barrier methods consisted of a wad of wool soaked in olive oil and placed at the mouth of the cervix. Some medical writers prescribed sponges soaked in vinegar or cedar resin used in the same fashion. Chemical treatments came from plants and were ingested or used as pessaries: Silphium, a stalky plant that grew only on the shores of Cyrene, was thought to be particularly effective and by the Imperial period was worth its weight in silver. Queen Anne's Lace seeds were ingested the day after sexual intercourse and seem to have served as an early abortificant.

MATERIAL EVIDENCE FOR ROMAN SEXUAL ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

Evidence from art and material culture presents a far broader range of sexual attitudes and practices than those found in literature, perhaps because material culture addressed a more diverse audience. No more than ten percent of Roman society might be expected to read literature, but art touched society from the grandest to the humblest in both public and private spheres. The quality of Roman art reflects the social standing of its owners; pieces depicting sexual themes range from life-size marble statues to modest clay lamps. Placed in plain view and without embarrassment, wall paintings, statuary, tableware and lamps depict examples of the very acts that literature labeled unworthy of Roman citizens. For example, the famous silver Warren Cup and various high priced cameos present seemingly sympathetic depictions of male homoerotic acts, apparently between men of equal ages and political status, just the sort of arrangement so frowned upon in literature. Likewise, cunnilingus and fellatio are prominently displayed in public and private contexts. Depictions on clay lamps boast sexual orgies consisting of three or even four participants at a time. Images of erect phalluses and the god Priapus, a guardian god whose primary feature is a two-foot-long phallus, were ubiquitous, appearing in such diverse contexts as the entrances to wealthy homes, on street pavers, or shrines painted on the exteriors of house walls. Public bathhouses were often decorated with comic depictions, such as black men, apparently slaves, who sported enormous erect phalluses.

Who created these works, under whose commission and who were the intended audiences are questions currently occupying art historians. Since the 1990s scholars have taken some important steps in unraveling these issues, but there are considerable difficulties in studying sexual life through material culture. Because of the moral scruples of the excavators and collectors, a substantial amount of evidence was destroyed or removed from its context, an act that makes interpretation far more difficult. Early excavators of Pompeii, for example, tore "obscene" images from walls, wrenched statuary from gardens, and thrust moveable objects with sexual themes into secret collections. Until recently, these were kept under lock and key, safely away from the eyes of the impressionable.

Art historians are busily engaged in recontextualizing this art, and their findings have underlined conclusions of

Foucault as well as those of Boswell. That is, some art celebrates love between men seemingly of equal ages and classes; the media of this art testifies to an upper class context in which homosexual men were mocked. In this, Boswell's thesis that homosexuality is a useful category of analysis, finds some merit. Yet one need not look far to find depictions that underline the specificity of Roman notions of sexuality. For instance, the Suburban baths at Pompeii feature wall paintings depicting a number of sexual encounters frowned upon in literature. But these seem to be mnemonic devices for remembering where one put one's toga, or by the interpretation of another scholar, in order to cause bathers to laugh and thus avert the evil eye. Likewise the bronze flying phalluses with dangling bells, mosaics of black men sporting enormous phalluses, and images of Priapus are thought to defuse the power of the evil eye by laughter.

GENDER IN LITERARY SOURCES

Though the demand that a Roman male citizen penetrate rather than be penetrated was clearly an important part in achieving masculinity, it seems to have been only one of several requirements. Early Roman literature points to a definition of *virtus*, rather weakly translated as "masculinity," which seems to mean aggressive courage in military engagements. The late third century BCE and the infusion of Hellenistic culture and philosophy into Rome saw the broadening of this concept to include a number of other traits involving the physical and emotional control of oneself and others. By the second century BCE, martial *virtus* took on a component of restraint, especially in reference to ruling others by keeping the peace in the provinces or at home, or by controlling others through the medium of rhetoric and oratory. Control of one's own body was also a high priority since it allowed others to judge visibly the *virtus* of a man. Thus literary sources dwell upon cultural codes such as the length of one's tunic and sleeves (the shorter, the manlier), the ability to withstand cold and hunger, and the careful balance struck between grooming the body and effeminately preening. Men who did not control themselves and others were often depicted as effeminate and occasionally accused of playing the passive role in sexual encounters with other men. Curiously, it was these same men, *cneidi* or *pathici*, who were accused of blatant and uncontrolled adultery, that is, of violating the *pudicitia* of married women. These adulterers were not seen as hypermasculine for their ability to seduce married women; rather they were considered effeminate because they were unable to control their passions.

The expanded meanings of *virtus* sometimes extended to descriptions of women as well as men. In the Republican period there are only a handful of instances when this quality is ascribed to women, and it most often means courage. Under the Empire, however, funerary inscriptions attribute *virtus* to non-noble women. In these cases, the word seems to indicate the later ethical qualities of the word, especially in terms of restraint. Literary references seem to indicate that women could share masculine qualities with men, but the line between a woman being admirable for such qualities and being presumptuous for stepping out of line was indeed a fine one that could be portrayed positively by friends or negatively by enemies.

In general, the Romans constructed their world in such a way that elite women were expected to stay at home and care for their homes and families. As funerary inscriptions attest, lower class women could and did practice professions, very often those of their husbands. Though the dominant rhetoric envisioned women's intellectual ability or moral fortitude as weaker than men's and thus not fit for political life, the Romans seemed also to recognize that individual women in extraordinary circumstances could carry themselves well in public life. Thus, a fitting closure to this entry seems a selection from the *Laudatio Turiae*, a funeral inscription for a first-century BCE woman erected by her husband:

> You became an orphan suddenly before the day of our wedding, when both your parents were murdered together in the solitude of the countryside. It was mainly due to your efforts that the death of your parents was not left unavenged... So strenuously did you perform your filial duty by your insistent demands and your pursuit of justice that I could not have done more if I had been present... How you reacted to this, with what presence of mind you offered resistance, I know full well, although I was absent. ... You have innumerable other merits in common with all married women who care for their good name. It is your very own virtues that I am asserting, and very few women have encountered comparable circumstances to make them endure such sufferings and perform such deeds. Providentially Fate has made such hard tests rare for women.

Not only does this inscription underline that some Roman women could navigate through the dangers of dominant gender definitions which marginalized them, it also hints at very real dangers women faced in everyday life: seeing to family businesses, managing finances and raising children alone while men were at war, surviving the dangers of childbirth, and seeing to their own personal safety.

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Julie Langford-Johnson

ANDROGYNY

Androgyny is the combination or blurring in one being (not necessarily limited to the human) of certain identifiable sex-differentiated traits. The androgyne may display both male and female characteristics at once, but often remains overall so sexually ambiguous that these traits blend into each other and sexual identification is impossible. Androgyny is found in art and in religion, and is constructed in various ways in social life and culture. The distinction between these realms is drastic, as the incorporation of androgyny in the representation and imagination of divine figures in a given culture by no means guarantees that gender-ambiguous appearance or behavior among humans will be acceptable. Ambiguity, indifferentiation, mixture, fluctuation, and uncertainty are fundamental features of the androgyne, whose body, unlike the hermaphrodite's, need not permanently display symmetrical and opposite sexual organs. True androgyny is thus neither hermaphroditism proper, nor can it be rendered by the juxtaposition of essentialist sexual principles, nor represented by the sexual conjoining of male and female. Such conflations have, nevertheless, been the norm in much discussion of androgyny (Zolla 1981).

ANDROGYNY AND RELIGION

The incorporation of androgyny in religious representations and mystical practices is most evident in Hinduism and Buddhism, as well as in religious systems such as that of the Lakota, in the United States, or the Dogon, in Mali. In such systems, the essence of the godhead is precisely the ability to manifest its divinity through transformation and the abolition of the laws of nature, by eschewing physical limitations inherent to human beings, and by incarnating the wholeness of being and the world. Such is the case with the Hindu god and Ŝiva—who-becomes-mother (Ŝiva Mātŗbhūteśvara) and the Buddhas Avalokiteśvara (who becomes the Lady of Mercy) and Ŝakyamuni (Zolla 1981). Many Egyptian gods were androgynous at least at times: the goddesses Isis, the Moon, and Neith, and the god Yama (Krappe 1945). Androgynous deities of the ancient Greek world are connected to either the moon or the planet Venus who takes the form of two stars, worshipped as double Iŝtar, a bearded morning warrior goddess, or Iŝtar of Akkad, the masculine Iŝtar (*ziqarat*), and the evening goddess of love Iŝtar of Erech, equivalent to Aphrodite Ourania; Dionysos seems to have been androgynous before being effeminate and was a former moon god, while Aphrodite of Cyprus is bearded and both female and male.

The Western view of androgyny is informed by Plato's (c. 428–348 BCE) *Symposium*, in which the original human beings made of two bodies are, because of their

Figure Called Ardhanarisvara in Sanskrit. *This eleventh century stature of the androgynous forms of Shiva and Parvati shows the duality of the godhead as well as the interdependence of man and woman.* AP IMAGES.

rebelliousness, cleft in half by an angry Zeus's thunderbolt. From then on, the two halves search for each other and seek to be reunited through love and sexual union! While this foundational myth includes different sexual combinations of bodies, the separation of the male-female one, originally an androgynous figure, signals the disappearance of androgyny in a punitive context and its permanent replacement by a binary separation of the sexes, now propelled towards a ritual and obligatory practice of heterosexual sex. The Western tradition privileged this sexual binary to the exclusion of same-sex possibilities; thus in French Renaissance texts, such as Rabelais'(c. 1483–1553) work, the term *androgyne à deux dos* (androgyne with two backs) references Plato's myth to designate the sexual coupling of a man and woman, and inscribes androgyny normatively within language.

A clear demarcation between the sexes is prescribed by the Bible in such texts as Deuteronomy, which inveighs strongly against any mixture of distinct natural substances or entities. Gnostic movements contemporary with early Christianity have, on the other hand, freely incorporated variations on androgyny in their mystical texts, such as *The Apocryphon of John* whose teachings were known by or before 185 CE and in which Christ appears as Father, Mother, and Son all in one (Nag Hammadi, 104-105). In the *Gospel of the Egyptians* a Gnostic work preserved in Coptic and claiming Seth as its author, from an "ageless, unproclaimable Father," proceed the androgynous Father, the Son, crown of Silence, and the Mother, "ineffable," and endowed with the power of autogenesis (Nag Hammadi 1988, p. 209). Christian devotional movements have also made way for many forms of androgynous ambiguity (Cloke 1995; Davis 2001, 2002; Kitchen 1998; Minghelli 1996; and others). Passing as male, whether a temporary state or reversed at death, is extolled for women saints, who thus protect their virtue. Further, historians of medieval Christianity such as Newman and Bynum have suggested that there was an implied, veiled, androgyny of divinity in the person of Christ as incarnated God, who becomes Christ-the Mother or Christ as tender, nurturing being, inflected towards the feminine (Newman 1995; Bynum 1982). Caroline Walker Bynum has defined the move towards the feminization of Jesus and the mystical expression of God as Mother as initiated by some of the leading male theologians in the twelfth century and later amplified by the anchoress Julian of Norwich (1342–c.1416). Bynum points out the ambivalence of some of the most male-centered authors, such as Anselm of Canterbury, who sways between objecting "... to calling God 'mother' because male is superior to female and because the father contributes more to the child than the mother in the process of reproduction..." (Bynum 1982, p. 113) but, in other texts, compares Jesus and Paul to mothers. Christian attitudes towards androgyny in devotional texts remain ambivalent, because of the danger to the doctrinal gender order posed by equalizing male and female. As Shawn Krahmer puts it in a study of the virilization of women in Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090–1153) commentary on the Bride, this image of the Bride "... startles, challenges, and inspires precisely because of the tensions that remain in the reader's mind between the normally negative connotations of the feminine and the positive connotations of virility that are paradoxically also associated with a feminine figure ..." (Krahmer 2000, p. 321). Thus in many cultures the devaluation of the feminine and of women has been a durable obstacle to a total fusion of male and female through androgyny, a quandary too easily ignored by those who seek to normalize the androgyne (Zolla 1981). In alchemy as well, some symbols are completely androgynous—for instance the Rebis, or personification of cosmic wisdom, with a male and female head, one red and one white wing as represented in the sixteenth-century German manuscript of the *Splendor Solis* by Solomon Trismosin (reproduced in Zolla, p. 61)—while others involve the calcification of the material female dross to attain the superior male element.

ANDROGYNY IN LITERATURE

Literature has treated the ambiguities of androgyny with varying degrees of suspicion. The greater value of the male being and masculinity is underscored in several narratives of Ovid's (43 BCE–c.17 CE) *Metamorphoses*. In the story of the nymph Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, the latter's excessive beauty incurs an ill fate. When he dives naked into the waters, the nymph Samalcis is blinded with lust, jumps in after him, naked as well, and fastens her lips to his, clinging to his body with hers. In the end, with "...weakened members and a girlish voice," he is made one with her "so two became nor boy nor girl/neither yet both within a single body" (Book IV, 121–122). Of Atalanta, the brave huntress who joins the chase of the wild boar with Meleager, it is said that "her lovely face seemed boyish for a virgin/and yet was far too girlish for a boy." Meleager is smitten by her courage and ambiguous beauty, but, when he honors her over the others, all ends badly with the murder of his uncles and his own death (Book VIII, 224–225). The girl Iphis, brought up as a boy, is married to Ianthe and laments the womanly state that, in her view, will not allow her sexual concourse with her bride, until her mother calls upon Isis to transform Iphis into a man (Book IX, 265–269); a story that was taken up again in medieval literature.

In medieval texts such as the fabliau and some romances, androgyny was cast in a negative light through such tropes as the *beardless youth* and the female *virago*. Yet other texts, such as the Thirteenth-Century *Ide and Olive* and *Roman de Silence* efficaciously displaced the category through cross-dressing and narrative devices that required the suspension of disbelief. In these texts, maidens are disguised or brought up as knights and seen as credibly male until the disclosure of their *natural* sex or their full sexual transformation (Sautman 2001).

Literature has availed itself of a claimed relationship to the divine through inspiration and of its privileged negotiation of the symbolic to represent the androgyne positively even when society condemns it. Artists and poets can praise the androgyne as an inspired, superior, divinely-infused creative being while, applied in the social arena, the term may remain hostile. Thus the limits of androgyny at both extremes were evoked by the nineteenth-century poet Theodore de Banville: The woman with a beard, he wrote, was caged like a beast, with a sad, resigned expression on her face, while the artist Rosa Bonheur, who dressed as a man to paint daily but posed in portraits in austere female clothing, was the apex of androgynous achievement. The French author Francis Carco's 1914 novel *Jesus La Caille* stresses the sexual power exercised on both men and women by the androgynous street urchin. Several Works of modern literature seize upon the allegorical and gender-breaking potential of androgyny, ranging from Honoré de Balzac's *Seraphita* (1835), to Rachilde's *Monsieur Venus* (1884), Robert Musil's *The Man without Qualities* (1930–1943), and to Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (1928), where androgyny rejoins shape-shifting. A more recent work, Jeanette Winterson's *Written on the Body* (1993), imbeds androgyny in writing itself through devices such as the elimination of gender-defining pronouns.

MODERN PERSPECTIVES ON ANDROGYNY IN POPULAR CULTURE

Resistance to androgyny's denaturalizing effect was evident in European medical and criminological discourse of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Experts in those equated androgyny with underdevelopment, degeneracy and sexual confusion, men with physical female traits (gynécomastie), women with male traits (*masculisme*), and the promiscuity and violence attributed to lower-class women. Androgynes and hermaphrodites were frequently lumped together in discussions of deviance, labeled 'inverts' and were most bothersome when they did not simply hide in laboratories or circus cages. The hermaphrodite who attempted to live as an integral part of the community attracted distinct hostility, or could not adapt easily to another sex. This was the case for example with Herculine Barbin (1838-1868). Known also under the name Alexina, she was declared a girl at birth, lived twenty-two years as a woman, trained as a schoolteacher, and then was reassigned as male, her birth certificate being legally rectified in 1860 to designate her as a man with the name of Abel. However, Abel found it too difficult to live with this new identity and eventually committed suicide (Foucault 1978). Yet androgyny could be highly marketable as well, as shown by the life of Madame Delait, the bearded lady of the Vosges in the early 1900s. Married, she lived fully integrated in her community and was a local celebrity, producing postcards of herself for sale, in which images played with gender interchangeability and with emphasized gender-conformist traits. Her corpulence, physical posture, and language were completely masculine when she posed as a man, but as a woman, she juxtaposed delicate feminine clothing with her startling dark beard (Nohain and Caradec 1969). In the late nineteenth century, androgyny was feared as a social disrupter and *unnatural*, *mannish* women were suspected of being lesbians (Sautman 1996).

Since the twentieth century, in European and North American cultures, society has had a more positive view of androgyny. It is often associated with the culture of desire in the lesbian and gay male world. In lesbian cultures in particular, androgyny has acquired a high valuation as a strong expression of beauty, erotic pull, and physical self-assuredness against masculinist canons of body appearance. The androgyne is a specific identity category within the spectrum of lesbian gender identifications, distinct from butch and passing. Even when not physically evident and complete, androgyny remains a dynamic category of the performative and of lesbian consciousness in response to which many lesbians shape their own identity. While identity categories and their political messages shift over time within lesbian communities, androgyny has remained a durable category of bodily identity and personhood.

Mainstream heterosexual culture is not impervious to the attraction of the androgyne, cultivated in the public eye especially through the self-fashioned persona of popular music stars. David Bowie, Boy George, and Michael Jackson garnered solid followings by combining lyrics, musical style, and stage performance with a carefully crafted androgynous appearance that created the spectacle of illusion and ambiguity at the safe distance of the stage. Boy George has combined this cultivated ambiguity with the acknowledgment of different sexual identity, and come out as a gay man. K. D. Lang, a lesbian performer with a clearly androgynous appearance, has also effectuated a successful crossover into mainstream culture. However unlike the male performers mentioned above, it is Lang's voice, not her androgynous appearance that appealed first to the mainstream, although it is certainly a strong factor with a lesbian audience. This subtle difference speaks to the different ways the androgyny of men and women continues to be perceived today and to the higher value placed on the feminized male over the virile female.

Commercial film has tapped into the androgyne's erotic power of attraction, but has also carefully contained it by returning androgynous performance to normative safety, for instance in the very popular *Shakespeare in Love* (1998). The sexual aura of androgyny permeates the screen temporarily, but normativity is reaffirmed off-screen, a function filled by television shows, tabloids and "people"-oriented publications. Thus publicly heterosexual actors provide a social safety net by playing queer roles that queer actors cannot comfortably perform, and by reminding audiences of the fictional and transitional nature of their performance of androgyny. The presence of androgynous women on screen can remain a scripted negative type simply recognizable as a lesbian (*A Rage in Harlem* [1991]), or revert to heterosexuality to further complicate sexual and identity tensions (Bridget Fonda in *Single White Female* [1992]). The deeper signification of androgyny for women remains largely the purview of lesbian cinema (*Go Fish* [1994]). While male androgyny is frequently seen as a locus of sexual fulfillment, it is hardly any more acceptable to mainstream audiences. One film that successfully made that crossover is Neil Jordan's *The Crying Game* (1992), with its compelling portrayal of a young transvestite who, reverting to his "natural" garb and body styling becomes deeply androgynous. It is however to be noted that what made that film so effective was in part its incorporation of matters of race and contemporary politics into the representation of sexual androgyny.

Androgyny, thus, is not only an ambiguous body appearance, but also an ambiguous function in a variety of societies where it can be at once rejected and embraced. It can be incorporated or appropriated by an extremely conventional, normative, discourse of sex and gender that, in the end, reasserts binaries and the primacy of the male (Zolla 1981). It can also be ascribed intrinsic value, and, viewed not as a temporary state or heterosexual teaser; it can challenge essentialist views of sex and gender and their binary gender scripts. Embraced in this form, and allowed to flourish, it refutes the precept that gender—and sex—are natural, unequivocal and thus inescapable.

SEE ALSO *Beard; Butch/Femme; Film, Gender and Eroticism: IV. Lesbian, Gay, and Queer Film; Hermaphrodites; Ide and Olive.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

ANIMALS, SEXUAL SYMBOLISM OF

Humans have always shared their world with other animals, both feral and domesticated. As predator, prey, and companion, animals have served a variety of purposes: source of food, provider of clothing, assistant in hunting and herding, source of spectacle and amusement, and docile laborer. Some of the earliest human attempts at representational art center on beasts, which are portrayed in cave paintings in vigorous hunt scenes. Every culture has its favored animals, fauna that seem suspended between the human and the diabolical or divine: Egyptian cats, jackals, and beetles; the biblical Leviathan; Cretan bulls; Hindu cows, monkeys, and elephants; early Christian fish and lambs; American Indian buffalo and deer; and Inuit whales and seals.

The animals that haunt the imagination most are what might be called intimate aliens: undeniably familiar but intransigently strange. Even if they seem vaguely anthropomorphic, such beasts remain inhuman, residents of a liminal or in-between state that only increases their allure. This combination of intimacy and otherness typically is found in animals that have been given a sexual charge in specific cultures. Although certain creatures, such as snakes, have a seemingly universal aura of lasciviousness, whether a particular animal will be employed as a sexual sign is culturally specific and depends greatly on the animals that populate a particular geography. This expanse is as imaginative as it is physical: Dragons and unicorns can coexist in such spaces with dogs, horses, serpents, and hares.

As erotic figures animals have an ancient and enduring history, from Stone Age artwork to contemporary Internet sites devoted to zoophilia, zoomorphism, and furries (fans of anthropomorphic animals in contemporary media). During the Bronze Age (1800–500 BCE), for example, unknown residents of what is now the northern Bohuslän district of Sweden carved illustrations of men, women, and fauna into the local rocks. Many of those figures seem to be engaged in fertility rites. One scene depicts a man with an enormous phallus copulating with a cow, a union of human and animal that probably was motivated by a desire to ensure a productive year. Roughly contemporary carvings in Italy depict one man engaged in coitus with a donkey and another attempting to mate with an elk.

Representations of humans sexually conjoined with animals make cultural sense in pastoral societies in which survival depends on the increase and multiplication of flocks. The mutual dependence of human and herd is underscored by mutual ardor and life-giving union. Depictions of bestiality also can be found among peoples whose way of life was mainly agrarian, because the sexuality of plowing oxen was intimately related on a symbolic level with the sexuality of the farmer guiding them and the fecundity of the fields. In both cases the erotic charge of the animal is in some ways utilitarian, motivated by the human desire to exert control over an unpredictable world.

However, cultural use value and attempts at asserting human dominion over nature cannot be the whole story. Because they combine haunting similarity with perturbing difference and proximity with otherness, animals have long been the vehicles through which humans explore their own identities. Through the beast, humans fantasize of new possibilities and enact forbidden desires. Thus, it is not surprising that one of the most ancient functions of the animal is as an erotic symbol. In ways both positive and negative humans have always realized that amatory desire is, like other bodily drives, a passion *Homo sapiens* shares with other animals.

Leda and the Swan. *This nineteenth-century painting depicts the seduction of Leda by Zeus, who takes the form of a swan.* **PAUL PROSPER TILLIER/FINE ART PHOTOGRAPHIC/GETTY IMAGES.**

ANIMAL IMAGERY IN THE CLASSICAL WORLD

The rooster was a familiar ancient Greek erotic symbol, forming the animal counterpart to the god Priapus. A bronze Corinthian mirror illustrates Eros grasping the bird in front of his crotch, and there are numerous vase paintings on which the active lover in a homosexual tryst holds a cock, the symbol of his victory in love over his partner. Classical myth depicts many unions of mortals with animals, though in most cases the beast turns out to be a god in disguise. Zeus impersonates a swan fleeing an eagle to be admitted into Leda's protective embrace. He has his way with her, and their union produces twin progeny. Zeus seduces the maiden Europa while shaped like a bull. In punishment for her husband's offense of admiring a beautiful white bull too much to sacrifice it to Poseidon, Queen Pasiphae of Crete is made to fall in love with the animal. Their amorous conjoining is enabled by a special device fashioned by the inventor Daedalus, and the son of their union is the Minotaur. This creature forever suspended between the human and the bestial embodies the animal as erotic symbol, for no beast can symbolize human sexuality or activate human desire until it has been partially (but *only* partially) anthropomorphized.

Writers in ancient Greece and Rome exhibited what seems to be a timeless male penchant to speak of the penis as if it has an existence and personality distinct from the body to which it is attached. The male member was described variously as a snake, a lizard, or a bird that follows its own inclinations (Adams 1982). Of these three animals the snake has the most cross-cultural currency as a phallic symbol, probably by reason of analogy. Animal doppelgangers of the vagina in classical sources appear less frequently, though *porcus* (the piglet) apparently was used in Roman nurseries (Adams 1982). The psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) described the snake-headed Medusa as a representation of the female genitals, but it is unclear if Greek and Roman mythographers saw the same fearful image there. Although Medusa heads are familiar icons on Greek vases and in Roman mosaics and although the writhing serpents that form her tresses have an undeniable sexual charge to their undulations, what is significant about the Medusa in classical literature and art is her stunning beauty, her animal-enabled allure. This attractiveness does not seem different from what remains in the mortal love objects of the gods once the goddesses have transfigured them out of human shape. Io, formerly a priestess of Hera adored by Zeus and later a snow-white heifer, is radiant in either form.

ANIMAL IMAGERY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The playful connections between genitals and animals found in classical sources have a medieval analogue in the fabliaux, short stories with sexual or scatological themes. Sex organs are described with animal epithets such as "ferret" and "horsy" for the penis and "little hare" for the vagina. Fabliaux are unusual among extant medieval texts for their frank celebration of the erotic.

Building on a vocabulary developed by the Church Fathers, authors in the Middle Ages more typically employed animals to underscore the necessity of human mastery over the flesh. Thus in the *Life of Saint Anthony*, a desert-dwelling hermit who has renounced sexual relations is haunted in his solitude by his lust. In his visions this return of sexual desire takes the form sometimes of women and sometimes of beasts, making clear another enduring twinning: The female body frequently is coded as more animalistic than the male. In Saint Jerome's *Life of Saint Hilarion* (late fourth century), when the aspiring ascetic is tormented by the onset of puberty, he beats his body into submission. Hilarion describes his flesh as an ass in need of brutal domestication, articulating a logic that will hold true in much medieval thinking about beasts: Animals are carnal and lascivious and do not hesitate to act on their lusts; humans are affected by the same desires, but what sets humans—especially the holiest humans—apart is their ability to triumph over their animal-like bodies. Medieval rhetoric linked sexuality to bestiality so often that the connection between lust and animals was commonplace.

A compendium of allegory and lore called the *Physiologus* was among the most influential texts on animals to have been bequeathed to the Middle Ages. Composed originally in Greek, perhaps at Alexandria, this widely extant text was circulated by the end of the fourth century. Its entries combine science and folklore deriving from Egyptian, Roman, Greek, Jewish, and Indian sources. Early translations of the book into Ethiopian, Syrian, Armenian, and Latin survive; later versions include Old English, Old High German, Icelandic, Flemish, Russian, and Provençal (*Physiologus*, preface). The work remained popular in Europe through the early modern period.

The appeal of the *Physiologus* lay in part in its transformation of animals and natural phenomena into biblical truths. The owl, for example, represented the Jews, whose refusal to see the light of Christ's truth doomed them to perpetual night. The Phoenix, reborn from his own ashes, was a type for Jesus, who similarly returned from the dead. Several of the animals described in the *Physiologus* are noted for their sexual habits. The female viper, for example, is said to possess a human form from the face to the navel and a crocodile's body thereafter. Because she does not possess genitals, the viper must have oral sex with her partner (which, it is mentioned, has a male's face as well as—one is led to assume—a penis). After drinking the semen of her lover, she castrates and kills him. Because she has no vagina, however, the young vipers engendered through this mating must rip their way through her belly, ending her life. The entry concludes by describing the viper as a figure for the Jews, who cannot think symbolically but only in literal terms. Jews practice circumcision on their flesh, for example, rather than seeing this ritual of covenant with God as an act to be undertaken only spiritually (that is, metaphorically). The viper thereby assists in articulating Christian identity by distinguishing it from the Judaism from which it emerged.

The weasel also is said to copulate orally, though she gives birth through her ears (right for boys, left for girls). Weasels, it is pointed out, are a symbol of those who allow wicked sayings to enter their minds and engender sin. The beautiful unicorn cannot be captured by hunters, but if a chaste maiden offers her lap, he is happy to lay his head there; lest the image become suggestive, the reader is told immediately that the unicorn is Christ, the virgin is Mary, and there is (by implication) nothing sexual about this strange equine's ardor for placing his long horn in maidenly laps.

The *Physiologus*, like much early Christian writing, stresses the value of chastity and the dangers of desire. One of its animals is notable for its complete absence of amorous feeling. The elephant and his wife symbolize Adam and Eve, who before the snake led them into temptation never desired each other and had no knowledge of coitus. Elephants, *Physiologus* asserts, mate only out of necessity and even then would not be able to copulate without the use of the aphrodisiac mandrake root. Elephants thus are the purest of animals and an inspiration to abstinence.

It is hard not to wonder whether the eroticism of animals such as vipers, weasels, and unicorns can be displaced so easily through allegorization. Surely one of the appeals of the *Physiologus* is its narration of fellatio, hermaphroditism, and homosexuality among beasts even as it transforms those stories into tidy Christian morals.

Thus, the fascinating story of the hyena is repeated almost obsessively in most medieval bestiaries. A creature of two natures, this desert-dwelling animal sometimes acts the part of a male and sometimes that of a female. According to Clement of Alexandria (died c. 215) and many later writers, the lewd hyena possesses the sexual organs of both sexes and employs them promiscuously (Boswell 1980). The hyena may simply, as the Latin *Physiologus* asserts, be a figure for the inconstant Jews, who once worshipped the true God but have turned away. Perhaps the double-gendered beast is simply a representation of the synagogue, metaphorically an unclean animal. However, perhaps the hyena as an erotic animal grants something not otherwise available within circumscriptive systems of allegory and abnegation: a figure through which can be dreamed potentialities and desires that otherwise are not easy to express.

Sexuality brings humans outside themselves; it is the surrender to a loss of individuality. Animals as erotic symbols in the Middle Ages often represent the anxieties that accompany such potential loss, but they also convey a certain inventiveness, a certain promise of possibilities beyond the limits of the merely human.

The twelfth-century writer Marie de France knew this liberating potential of the animal. In a narrative poem she called *Yonec*, the heroine is imprisoned for seven lonely years by an elderly husband whom she cannot love. After she has declared wistfully that she wishes that the world depicted in romances were true, a regal hawk flutters into her room and transforms itself into a knight. The hawk was considered an aristocratic bird, as revered as the warhorse and the greyhound; it makes a perfect animal counterpart to the lady's new love, mixing hints of danger (it is, after all, a raptor) and desire (the bird is meant to be adored; the use of spikes by the lady's husband to kill the hawk is the ultimate proof of his exclusion from the story's erotic world).

The ethnographer and apologist for the English invasion of Ireland, Gerald of Wales, another twelfth-century author, employed animals as sexual symbols in a way that bears little resemblance to the aesthetic pleasure attached to the hawk in *Yonec*. Eager to depict the Irish as a degenerate people in need of English civilization, Gerald wrote that bestiality was their favorite vice. The sin was practiced most often, he asserted in the *History and Topography of Ireland*, against cattle. This was particularly insulting because the Irish were a society that reckoned wealth and status not according to money as in England but according to the number of cows a person owned. Gerald sexualizes this bond between the Irish and their culturally revered beasts, insisting that through coitus with their livestock the Irish had engendered numerous man-animal hybrids, Hibernian Minotaurs. A cleric who had much at stake in maintaining the supremacy of a celibate identity, Gerald also wrote of a woman who had sex with a lion and another who lay with a goat. So great was his distaste for the subject that he illustrated the bestial encounters in prurient detail. The goat and the lion serve as sexual symbols for Gerald, but rejected ones; in both cases, so do the women, as well as the Irish. All are part of a world denied to him, a world he defined himself against, and therefore a world to be denounced as never having been desirable anyway.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF ANIMAL IMAGERY

Rock carvings of couplings with oxen, queer Greek roosters, Pasiphae's longing for the white bull, Gerald's fantasies about Irish sexual practices, and King Kong's love for a beautiful visitor to his lonely island all have this in common: When an animal serves as an erotic symbol, it erodes the boundary between species, sometimes through joyful commingling, sometimes accompanied by horror mixed with fascination. As intimate aliens, animals embody a very human ambivalence. Because the encounter with the erotic is an encounter with the other, interspecies ardor reminds people of the inhuman within and the human without. Animals as sexual symbols suggest the insufficiency of using other animals as creatures to define humanity against and the inability of humans to control completely the meanings of the animal world. By bringing people out of their proper, individualized identities, by bringing embodiment to its limit, they offer a glimpse of a less anthropocentric and thus more unpredictable world.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome; Erotic Art; Fabliaux; Folklore; Mermaid.*

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Jeffrey Jerome Cohen

ANOREXIA

SEE *Eating Disorders.*

ANORGASMIC

The term *anorgasmic* (experiencing *anorgasmia*) refers to a condition in which individuals do not achieve orgasm during sexual intercourse. Also known as orgasmic disorder, orgasmic inhibition, orgasmic dysfunction, inhibited sexual excitement, and delayed ejaculation, anorgasmia occurs more commonly in women than in men. Anorgasmia has both physical and psychological causes. It is treated primarily by means of therapy and counseling.

Women may be affected by one of four categories of anorgasmia. *Primary anorgasmia* is a condition in which an individual has never experienced an orgasm. Although women with this condition may enjoy the sexual excitement produced by kissing, touching, hugging, and other forms of foreplay, they do not achieve climax. If a woman enjoys sexual intercourse, her lack of an orgasm may make her frustrated or irritable and she may suffer pelvic pain.

It is not always clear why an individual has primary anorgasmia. Some women are medically unable to climax because they have been victims of genital mutilation in which the clitoris has been removed or the opening of the vagina has been restricted. They may suffer genital pain (*dyspareunia*), may have scarring from an injury, or may have nerve damage. Often, however, the causes of primary anorgasmia are psychological or cultural. Individuals may be ignorant about sexuality. They may be inhibited by familial or cultural attitudes or may have performance anxiety. They may have had a traumatic sexual experience that makes sexual activity unpleasant or emotionally and physically difficult. They may have unskilled partners who have no understanding of female sexuality, have difficulty maintaining an erection, or ejaculate prematurely. These women simply may not like the person with whom they are having sex.

Secondary anorgasmia occurs when women who experienced orgasms previously lose the ability to have them. This may be caused by the chemical, hormonal, and emotional effects of substance abuse, alcoholism, medications, illness, or menopause. It also may be a psychological response to sexual trauma such as rape.

Situational anorgasmia is the inability to have orgasms in some situations. This term refers to normal variations in sexual response. For example, a woman or a man may achieve climax only with some partners or in some situations. *Random anorgasmia* occurs when individuals sometimes fail to achieve orgasm.

Males also experience these forms of anorgasmia. They may be unable to achieve orgasm because nerve damage inhibits ejaculation or because they cannot achieve an erection. They may have hormonal imbalances or suffer the effects of substance abuse. They may hold cultural attitudes that prevent them from participating fully in sexual activity or encourage them to "hold back."

Therapy for anorgasmia includes treatment for physical causes when possible but primarily focuses on sex therapies, education, and counseling. Sex therapies involve helping couples focus on sensations, encouraging women and men to discover how their bodies respond by encouraging masturbation or mutual exploration. Counseling helps identify the ideas and emotions that prevent participation and release. Education provides an alternative range of practices and conditions that may help partners find a more satisfying sexual experience.

SEE ALSO *Female Genital Mutilation; Frigidity; Orgasm.*

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Judith Roof

ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology, a social science discipline, explores the multifaceted dimensions of human civilizations and is central to the modern way of understanding sex and gender in contemporary societies. During the nineteenth century, anthropology began to emerge as a separate academic discipline. By the mid-nineteenth century, social evolutionists argued that societies had evolved from the simple to the complex and from the chaotic to the orderly. Progress in society was desired, so simpler societies were seen as inferior. The most well-known evolutionary scheme used by social evolutionists, such as Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881), classified and ranked societies according to whether they existed in a primitive state or whether they had become civilized over time by virtue of the survival of the fittest. The evolutionary explanation was invoked to rationalize women's exclusion from the public realm and their subordinate position to men in Western society. Biological necessities rendered women physically and intellectually inferior to men. Male dominance was seen to have evolutionary origins grounded in the biological differences between the sexes.

EARLY-TWENTIETH-CENTURY ANTHROPOLOGY

By the beginning of the twentieth century, social evolutionary explanations of human social organization were replaced by the functionalist orientation, a leading school of thought in British anthropology. The functionalist orientation, espoused by Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942), and Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955), viewed a society as a bounded whole with all of its practices and institutions working together harmoniously to fulfill individual needs or to sustain the society, and to ensure its continued existence over time. Although this approach to studying human behavior differed from social evolutionism, arguments about gender roles had not significantly changed. Edward E. Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973), a leading British functionalist, saw the differences between men and women to be based on "deep biological and psychological factors" (1965, p. 55). Anthropologists who used the functionalist point of view assumed that both women's exclusion from the public realm and male dominance were natural and necessary.

EARLY PIONEERS IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF WOMEN

American anthropology, when it established itself as a primary field of academic study, heavily emphasized culture instead of society. Therefore the two best known female anthropologists in the early twentieth century, Margaret Mead (1901–1978) and Ruth Benedict (1887–1948), focused on culture and personality. They both wrote about the cross-cultural malleability of "natural" sex roles. Theoretical movements from the 1920s through to the 1960s ignored or naturalized sexual difference.

The early twentieth century brought about a rejection of generalizing theories such as social evolutionism and a desire for more critical systematic examination. Mead and Benedict, early pioneers in American anthropology, made significant contributions to the cross-cultural study of gender by using sophisticated ethnography and rigorous methodology. Mead was one of the first to discredit unsophisticated claims about the biological causes of sex differences with ethnographies, such as *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), about adolescent girls. She argued that individuals are born with the potential to develop whatever gender role society dictates. Mead and Benedict wrote about the cross-cultural malleability of "natural" sex roles. It was during this period of anthropological study up to the 1930s when cultural studies assumed that male dominance was natural and ignored sexual differences. Anthropologists such as Mead, Elizabeth Fernea, Susan Carol Rogers, and Annette Weiner claimed that the women being studied often enjoyed a higher status within their culture than was originally recorded, sometimes even higher than that of Western women. Mead's ethnography titled *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935) claimed that women in the Chambri tribe of Papua New Guinea were dominant with no specific effects on their society. This book became a cornerstone for the women's liberation movement. These figure's works, however, were not considered central to anthropology until feminist anthropologists of the 1970s established gender as pivotal to anthropological concerns.

Beginning in the 1950s an increasing part of academic literature and public discourse began using the term *gender* for the self-identified masculinity or femininity of a person. John Money first used the term in this context in 1955. In the late 1960s, the theory that the division of labor was based on sex/gender was put forward. Sherwood Washburn and Chet Lancaster (1968) advanced the "man-the-hunter" model of human evolution, stating that biology, psychology, and customs were what separated humans from apes. This model was used to explain gender roles, a biased model presuming that behaviors exclusive to men resulted in the evolution of all that is considered uniquely human. Sally Slocum (1975) seriously critiqued this model as problematic in its assumptions that emphasized hunting as the prime motivator in human evolution. The works of feminist archeologists such as Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector (1984) and Joan Gero (1985) have furthered Slocum's pioneering work by calling into question the traditional assumptions about prehistoric gender roles and pointing to the complexities involved in reconstructing gender relations in past societies.

Second-wave feminist Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986), in *The Second Sex* (1949), argued that woman is the essential "other" to the male "self": "woman is made, not born," which both reinforces and reflects male power. Her social constructionism helped create the sex/gender dichotomy. Betty Friedan (1921–2006), in her best-selling book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), was influential in igniting many women's awareness of inequality through the societal definitions of gender roles that restricted women to the home. Over the next few decades, North American society was questioned in terms of its assumptions about the biological differences between men and women that limited women's prospects. The discipline of anthropology, which had traditionally ignored the importance of gender, began to recognize its negligence regarding women in traditional social science investigations.

THE RISE OF FEMINIST ANTHROPOLOGY

When insights about gender roles and inequality arose in the 1970s, the discipline of "feminist anthropology" was born.

The term gender as a category of analysis was introduced. Feminist research had demonstrated that what were then called sexual roles varied widely across cultures and therefore challenged the essentialist pronouncement that biology is destiny. Behaviors could not be reduced simply to the inevitable natural and universal fact of sex differences. Gender analysis transcends biological reductionism by interpreting the relationships between men and women as cultural constructs that result from imposing social, cultural, and psychological meanings on biological sexual identities. As a consequence it became necessary to distinguish between "gender" as a symbolic creation; "sex," which refers to the biological fact of being male or female; and "sexuality," which concerns sexual preferences and behavior. But the development of gender theory has not led to an agreement on the concept of gender itself. Although gender stands for socially defined relationships between men and women, its political meaning and implications are not always clear.

The early phase of feminist anthropology produced a wide range of studies that concentrated on identifying the position and status of women cross-culturally. By looking at how traditional anthropology viewed women, feminist anthropologists uncovered a wide range of variation in gender roles, in the values placed on activities performed by men and women, and in men's and women's access to important societal resources. As a result, they were able to expose biases in earlier anthropological studies and expose how male-centered perspectives had helped create a distorted depiction. Feminist anthropologists not only corrected ethnographic records but also questioned biological determinist accounts of gender. They argued that variation in the roles and status of men and women uncovered by their studies suggested that gender might not be determined by biology. As a result, assumptions about gender differences that underpinned women's inequality in their own society began to be questioned.

Feminist anthropologists write about the variation in gender roles to symbolize their concerns with both sexes and the culturally and temporally changeable relationships of gender roles between men and women. Gender can be understood as the meanings that a particular society gives to the physical or biological traits that differentiate males from females. These meanings provide the individuals of a society with views about how to act, what to believe, and how to make sense of their experiences. Feminist anthropology has made important contributions to assessing the validity of the notions about the inherent differences between men and women that prevail in the United States and other Western societies. Because gender constructs are cultural understandings of physical differences, they are open to alteration.

Although the focus of gender as a cultural construct had begun, there was little agreement among feminist anthropologists as to the best way to conceptualize and understand gender roles and inequality. By 1974 a new school of thought emerged, put forward by Nancy Chodorow, Sherry B. Ortner, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, and Louise Lamphere, which held that gender was constructed by social and cultural factors. Ortner argued that the subordination of women was based on cultural ideologies and symbols. Rosaldo researched the notion that women frequently participate in behavior that limit them, and therefore, one must look at the overall system. Rayna R. Reiter (1975) found that at least some of the time the sexes were treated equally in primitive cultures that were free of Western bias, and that the universal subordination of women was not necessarily a social structure. She concluded that the gender asymmetry that does exist in many societies is caused by differences in power, class, and production. In 1975 Betty Freidl founded another school of thought known as comparative analysis. Freidl argued that women's roles changed to adapt to changes in the technology within society such as agriculture and industry as well as to specializations in the labor force.

Jane Fishburne Collier and Sylvia Junko Yanagisako (1987) expanded Rosaldo's work by analyzing gender forming through hierarchy. Henrietta L. Moore (1988) attempted to compose a theoretical understanding of previous work done in anthropology. Moore outlined three types of male bias that flawed previous anthropological research and theory: the bias inherent in the anthropologist's own beliefs, the bias inherent in the culture being studied, and the bias brought about by the anthropologist's tendency to theorize from Western standards. Anthropologists often take for granted that the asymmetrical relationships of men and women in other cultures are similar to the hierarchical nature of gender relations in Western society. Thus male biases cause the anthropologist to overlook important social structures in which women play a role. Moore asserts that feminist anthropology has made an outstanding contribution to anthropology by developing theories relating to gender identity and the cultural construction of gender.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF GENDER

The early feminist approach to the anthropological study of women, concerned with the revision of Western cultural assumptions, was put aside by certain women who considered it exclusionary because they did not feel that the category of *woman* represented them. The issue of race is subsumed within the argument of gender difference. The new phase of feminist anthropology focuses on gender and culture, but also places gender in relation to the historical and material circumstances in which gender, race, ethnicity, class, religion, and socioeconomic status interconnect and interact on a daily basis. The anthropological study of gender challenges the earlier arguments of biological essentialism and surpasses it by analyzing the ways cultures construct differences between women and men.

This new anthropological approach includes critiques regarding white middle-class feminism by women of color and lesbians, who began focusing on social inequalities. The anthropological publication *This Bridge Called My Back* (first published in 1981), has demanded that feminist anthropologists reevaluate the ways in which First World women have unselfconsciously constructed a cultural other in their images of "Third World" or "minority" women. It underscored the importance of creating new alliances among women that would acknowledge differences of race, class, sexual orientation, educational privilege, religion, and nationality. This new approach recognizes the inextricable relationship of culture to politics, economics, and history. Roger N. Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo (1997) argue that sexuality and gender are intimately connected to the social construction of race and political economy. This reexamination has led feminist anthropologists to uncover the fact that ethnography is itself deeply gendered and situated within relations of power and subordination. It has raised the question of who has the right to write culture (portraying people through the process of cultural representation, which has now become contestable) for whom. It was also during this time that men, within what became known as the "anthropology of men," began to look at the term *man* in a similar manner as feminists had been evaluating *woman*.

The anthropological study of gender has become much more sophisticated and diversified since the 1970s with the development of gender studies, expanding to include such theoretical orientations as postmodernism, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism. di Leonardo's edited work *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge* (1991) investigates gender and power in terms of how relations of production and reproduction are organized in a society and programmed into cultural categories. She states that some feminist scholars have a tendency to define feminist theory as a totality in literary poststructuralist terms, which in turn ignores all of material, social life and leaves out of the equation any means for justifying a feminist-theoretical stance. Although feminist anthropology has itself been critiqued for mirroring the andocentric bias derived from male ethnographers studying men, the field has attempted to address the issue by focusing more broadly on the issue of gender and moving away from an exclusive "anthropology of women."

Research in the "anthropology of gender" in the United States has put an emphasis on the body. Peggy Reeves Sanday (1990) looked at power relationships through rape and argued that the relationship between the sexes had to be explored in terms of conflict and tension, which are at the heart of daily life in many societies. Emily Martin (1997), in a somewhat separate manner, investigated physical science's stereotypes in both its research and its discourse to illustrate how women's biological processes were considered less worthy than those of men. Contemporary research goes beyond including the female voice—it analyzes current and pressing issues such as gender divisions in the labor force, child care, reproductive rights and technologies, pornography, the politics of family values, identity politics, violence and aggression, female genital modification, and motherhood, to name just a few.

Cultures are no longer bounded entities, and cultural entities cannot be mapped onto geographical territories without problems ensuing. Because of globalization and growing relationships between societies, the anthropology of gender's concerns with diversity and difference will continue to steadily develop in the next few decades. As Lancaster and di Leonardo so eloquently express it, "feminism, gay studies, race research, and historical political economy, working together on global materials, enable us to unfasten the intellectual straitjackets binding us as we rethink carnal knowledge, as we work to embody liberatory meanings for all humanity" (1991, p. 7).

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Rubina Ramji

ANTI-GAY VIOLENCE

SEE *Homophobia.*

APHRODITE

The Greek goddess Aphrodite calls to mind ideas of sex, love, pleasure, and beauty. In the Greek language her name has generated the expression *ta aphrodisia*. The semantic field of this word points to what is called "sexuality"—that is, the set practices and imagery associated with sex. Aphrodite is the only Greek divinity whose name generates a word that designates her sphere of intervention. Two fields have to be investigated to understand this divine representation of sexuality: Greek literature carrying myths on the one hand and Greek cult practice on the other.

The first important myth with Aphrodite is the Hesiodic tradition of her birth. According to the *Theogony* (conventionally dated from the early seventh century BCE), the first creatures emerging in the cosmos are the physical entities: earth (Gaia), sky (Uranus), mountains, and so on. Amongst these cosmic gods appears also Eros, whose name in Greek means more or less "Love," the sexual impulse that promotes union and reproduction. Aphrodite emerges as the first anthropomorphic goddess from the genitals of the sky god, Uranus, severed by his son Cronos and thrown into the sea god, Pontos. The poet explains the name "Aphrodite" by the marine and seminal foam (*aphros*) from which she grows. At this moment Eros becomes the goddess's powerful agent. Her sphere of honor and of intervention in the human world will be "virgins' whisperings, smiles, deceits, pleasure and sexual relationship." The deep ambivalence of sexuality, expressed as "works of Aphrodite," is rooted in the description of her sudden epiphany, a subtle mixture of desire and violence, tension and appeasement (*Theogony*, 188–206).

In Homer's *Iliad* (conventionally dated from the eighth century BCE), Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus and Dione, and concerned with the "works of marriage" or "works of sex," according to the translation chosen for the Greek word *gamos* (*Iliad* 5, 429). Aphrodite's genealogy is not the same as in the *Theogony*, but her sphere of intervention remains unchanged: the sexuality legitimated by society (with marriage), as well as its destructive aspect (the rape of Helen by Paris, presented as a reward offered by Aphrodite, is the core of the Trojan war narrated by the Homeric *Iliad*). This ambivalence is exemplified by many other Greek texts, mainly in the classical Athenian tragedies of the fifth century BCE, which illustrate how necessary it is to submit to sexual union and to what extent the goddess's anger can be disastrous to the human, male or female, refusing this destiny. The young Hippolytus, son of Theseus and an Amazon, despises sexual union and marriage, just as do the fifty daughters of Danaos, the Danaides. Hippolytus must die, and the Danaides must each kill her husband

Marble Aphrodite Statue. **THE ART ARCHIVE/ ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM RHODES/DAGLI ORTI.**

during the wedding night (forty-nine do). On the Athenian stage, the contempt of sexuality breeds an outburst of violence and fury. This tradition intersects the theme of submission to sexuality with that of the production of children to assure the survival of the community. As goddess of sexuality, Aphrodite's field of manifestation includes fecundity and fertility in close connection, but it would be inadequate to interpret the Greek Aphrodite only as a "mother-goddess" or a "fertility-goddess." From Sappho to Lucretius, poetry celebrates the power of love, the impact of beauty, the force of desire and its violence, closely connecting them with Aphrodite's sphere.

The common thread that runs through the cult worship of Aphrodite in the Greek cities is her patronage of the sphere of sexuality, in all its complexity. Thus in many cities, girls about to be married sacrificed to Aphrodite so that their first sexual experience might be propitious. Boys, too, may have worshiped her, but the evidence is not so well attested. Widows prayed to the goddess for another marriage. But sexuality is much broader than marriage; Aphrodite protected all forms of sexual union: in or outside marriage, heterosexual or homosexual, with concubines, courtesans, or prostitutes. The city of Corinth was particularly known for the beauty and luxurious living of its courtesans, who revered the local Aphrodite. It is unlikely, however, that her sanctuary on Acrocorinth was the location of an institutionalized form of what is generally called "sacred prostitution" a strictly modern term that associates prostitution with sanctuaries: Girls or women dedicated to a goddess, temporarily or for life, would have sold their bodies inside the sacred place at the financial advantage of the temple. This practice is not documented in ancient Greece. This term amalgamates the Greek practice of manumission of slaves by consecration to a god and some doubtful evidence of prostitution inside sanctuaries in Mesopotamia.

The field of sexuality for the Greeks includes *charis*, "grace" and "charm." As soon as young people become full of active *charis*, Aphrodite is present. In mythology, Harmony is daughter of Aphrodite and Ares, "Love" and "War." Such symbolic associations encompass the goddess's associations with civic harmony, concord, and order. Since the fifth century BCE at least, magistrates honored her in their official capacity at the end of service. Two interpretations, which are not incompatible, have been proposed: on the one hand, these officials thank the goddess for the harmonious performance of their duties; on the other hand, these *aphrodisia* mark the return from duty to the pleasures of private life and the release of tension. This "civic" aspect of Aphrodite's sphere is an extension of her patronage of sexuality: Her powerful ability to rouse up the vital impulse, to unite beings and to mingle their bodies, is connected with social cohesion. Aphrodite is often called Aphrodite Pandemos ("she of all the people"), a qualification that declares the goddess responsible for political concord and civic inclusiveness.

Plato in his *Symposium* (180d–e) opposes Aphrodite Pandemos with Aphrodite Urania ("celestial Aphrodite"). They represent, respectively, vulgar heterosexual love and spiritual love between males. This philosophical fantasy became very popular in antiquity, but it contradicts the evidence for both cults. *Pandemos* does not mean "vulgar love" in the cult (even if comic poets associate the cult's foundation and funds received from public brothels), and the Athenian cult of Urania is deeply rooted in heterosexual love and marriage. On the island of Cos, Aphrodite was worshipped as Pandamos (Doric form of *Pandemos*), just like in Athens, but also as Pontia, "she of the sea." Both aspects are reflected in the worshippers' quality and obligations. All women who marry on the island—citizen women, illegitimate women, and metics (free non-citizens)—have to offer a sacrifice to the goddess within a year: a good summary of sexual and inclusive divine functionality. On the other hand, sea-traders also have to honor the goddess, "she of the sea." Such an association with the sea is widely attested in the Mediterranean by epithets like *Euploia* ("she who gives good sailing") or *Limenia* ("she of the shore"). One way to explain this refers to the peculiar birth of the goddess from the sea foam. Another refers to her general power to provoke but also to calm and to dissolve disorder, be it human or natural.

Another prerogative of the goddess is the martial dimension that characterizes some of her cults. In myth and cult, her relationship with Ares is well attested. A priori, the goddess has little concern for such matters. Once more, one has to engage with the notion of "sexuality": In literature, the martial imagery is used to describe the sexual union itself and the tremendous impulse that it provokes in human beings. Inversely, sexual imagery is used in epic descriptions of the battlefield. Sexuality is an ambiguous force, and Aphrodite's connections with war belong to this ambivalence.

A last prerogative is the connection with the black earth when the goddess is worshiped as *Melainis*, "the black one." One way of interpreting the name is to refer to the blackness of night and the nocturnal sexuality. However the web of mythical imagery comes to support and makes another interpretation possible: Fertilizing moisture and the growth of vegetation are conceived on the model of the sexual union between the sky and the earth. Aphrodite's patronage of vital humors fits well in this context.

The desiring impulse is the very image of life and of its drive, creative and potentially destructive. This impulse and its fulfillment in sexual union constitute the frame on which mythical discourse and cultic performances are woven, the imagery of myths and cults concerned with Aphrodite and her *aphrodisia* are woven. The myths and cults of Aphrodite are closely connected to this imagery.

SEE ALSO *Anahita; Inanna-Ishtar; Venus.*

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Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge

AQUINAS, THOMAS
c. 1225–1274

Thomas Aquinas, born in Roccasecca, near the Abbey of Monte Cassino, Italy, is considered the most eminent Catholic philosopher and theologian of the Middle Ages. Aquinas provided a comprehensive analysis of philosophy and theology, drawing from Greek and Roman philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, the Stoics) as well as from the Christian Fathers, especially Augustine, Peter Lombard, and Albert the Great, who was his teacher. A "Doctor of the Church" who was canonized on July 18, 1323, he was declared in 1567 "Doctor Angelicus" (Angelic Doctor) by Pope Pius V. Thomas was born of an ancient family, descending from Frederick I through his father and from the Norman dynasty of Hauteville through his mother. Thomas's sister Maria became an abbess and played an important role in his canonization. From age five, Thomas was educated at the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino. He died in Naples on March 7, 1274.

EDUCATION AND WRITINGS

Thomas entered the newly founded prestigious University of Naples in 1239, where he excelled in the study of the liberal arts curriculum (the trivium and quadrivium) and philosophy under the tutelage of Peter of Ireland and Peter Martini. He joined the Dominican order in 1243 against his family's opposition and spent the rest of his life studying, teaching, and writing for that order. He studied from 1245 to 1248 in Paris and from 1248 to 1252 in Cologne with Albert the Great, who was his most important intellectual influence. Thomas returned to Italy in 1259, teaching and writing in major centers of the Catholic Church and university centers of the Dominican order. He died en route to the Council of Lyon, in which he was to play a major theological role, at the invitation of Pope Gregory X. Some, including Dante and the chronicler Giovanni Villani, believed that Thomas was poisoned at the behest of Charles of Anjou. Charles feared that Thomas would denounce his political misdeeds.

Aquinas wrote Latin hymns, included in "Liturgy on the Corpus Christi," such as *Pange Lingua* [Sing o tongue the glorious mystery] and *Adoro devote, latens veritas* [Thee I adore, secret truth], as well as more than sixty treatises, including *The Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, reflecting his years in Paris (1252–1256) and including a treatment on the soul and the state of souls after death, and the *Summa Contra Gentiles* [Treatise against the Gentiles] (1259–1264), a comprehensive treatment of non-Christian doctrines in light of the principles of the Christian faith that was directed at nonbelievers. The *Summa* also addresses the ultimate felicity of humanity, affirming that "all human affairs serve the contemplation of truth" (*Summa*, III, 37). *Summa Theologica* [Treatise on theology] was begun in 1266 and left unfinished at his death. It is a summation or synthesis of Aristotelianism as incorporated into Christian theology that is now called Thomism.

Aquinas concentrated on the exposition of reason and faith in their respective operational spheres to provide understanding and intelligibility in terms of the self, God, and the world. He considered the nature of all things in 512 questions, or 2,658 articles. Selected works of Aristotle, translated from Greek and Arabic in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the *Nicomachean Ethics.* the *Metaphysics*, *Physics*, *Politics*, and *De anima* [On the soul], have been incorporated into Christian thought as an intellectual synthesis of the Christian truth.

The *Summae* are considered the basis of Catholic teaching on topics such as war and peace, sedition, unbelievers, justice, homicide, theft, usury, virginity, types of lechery, unnatural vices, abortion, and contraception. Aquinas clearly affirms the prohibition against abortion; he does not believe, however, that the human fetus has a soul until some time after conception. Some commentators therefore think that Aquinas would not have considered an abortion in the first stage of pregnancy to be murder (Sigmund 1988, "Injustice"). For Aquinas, sensuality does not belong to the sphere of knowledge but to that of the appetite, and original sin is equal in all, as libido is equal in all: "The libido which is said to transmit original sin to the child is not inordinate sexual desire actually experienced" (Sigmund 1988, 1a2ae, 82, 4). Baptism can take away its guilt but not its concupiscence, which remains present in human conception (*Summa Theologica*, vol. 26, pp. 128–132).

Thomas Aquinas. **NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY PICTURE COLLECTION.**

In the treatises on law Aquinas discusses moral obligation inherent in the laws under which humankind lives: Those laws are either just or unjust, and they are as binding in conscience as the eternal laws from which they derive ("Law and Political Theory" (Sigmund, 1a, 2ae, 95, 2). His fundamental principle is that the source of obligation is rooted in God's mind and infused into the minds of humans. The three laws—eternal, natural, and human—are united into one and are specified progressively, but they all derive ultimately from eternal law.

AQUINAS ON MARRIAGE AND SEXUALITY

Aquinas's teachings on women and marriage still have great influence in the Catholic Church. He believed that woman is defective and intellectually inferior and was subject to man from the beginning: "Such is the subjection in which woman is by nature subordinate to man, because the power of natural discernment is by nature subordinate to man, because the power of rational discernment is by nature stronger in man" (Sigmund 1a, 92, 1).

An exception to this is the Virgin Mary, to whom he dedicates much of the third part of the *Summa* (vol. 51, *Our Lady*). Her sanctification took place before her birth but only after the infusion of her soul (animation). Christ had no sinful flesh because the Holy Spirit cleansed Mary of all sin, including the original sin. Moreover, Aquinas affirms that there never was a true consummated marriage between Mary and Joseph. Thus, Mary did not transmit the original sin, and her purification was necessary as the vessel of God: "This anterior purification of the blessed Virgin was not required to prevent the transmission of original sin, but because it was proper that the mother of God should shine with the greatest purity. Nothing is worthy to receive God unless it be a spotless vessel, according to the text, holiness, O Lord, becomes thy house" (Aquinas 1a, 2ae. 81, 5).

Because she was the "mother of God," Mary was bestowed with the greatest grace, dignity, and worth ever given to any creature except Christ. Aquinas treats Mary extensively in both *Summae*, in the *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, and in *Expositions on the Gospels of Matthew and John*. However, in his view Mary can be understood only in relation to Christ, and he identifies the major points of her cult as her sanctification, her virginity, her bethrothment, the Annunciation, and the Conception. He concludes that "the blessed Virgin never sinned, mortally or venially" (Aquinas 3a, 28, 4), and when she learned that it was pleasing to God, she consecrated her virginity to Him.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

ARABIAN NIGHTS

The work known in the Europe and North America as *The Arabian Nights* is the translation of an Arabic original, *Alf Layla wa-Layla* [The thousand and one nights, or The thousand nights and a night]. This classic of Arabic literature has stirred the imagination of European and North American authors and artists, turning the *Nights* into an unparalleled work in world literature and culture. Replete with danger; murder; tales of sex, love, and treachery; and supernatural beings able to cross continents, the text of the *Nights* has inspired European and North American artists (e.g., Marc Chagall [1887–1985]), composers (e.g., Rimsky-Korsakov [1844–1908]), novelists (e.g., John Barth [b. 1930]), and short-story writers (e.g., Edgar Allan Poe [1809–1849]). As the most influential literary text to come out of the Islamic world, *Nights* has played an enormous role in shaping European and North American attitudes to Middle Eastern Islamic culture.

This is not to speak of the enormous presence of the *Nights* in world cinema. As Robert Irwin points out, "hundreds of *Arabian Nights* films have been made" (Marzolph 2004, p. 22). The most artistically ambitious cinematic adaptation of the *Arabian Nights* is most certainly Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte* (1974). Pasolini made changes in the structural arrangements of the stories, but his is, of all modern adaptations, probably the only one to have remained faithful to the erotic spirit and omnisexual explicitness of the Arabic original. The animated adventures of *Aladdin*, immortalized by the Disney Studios (1992, and later sequels) have made the *Nights* a major element in contemporary mass culture, not only through the films themselves but also through the aggressive merchandising of children's toys and paraphernalia.

The Arabs themselves have not shied from evoking this part of their heritage. Almost from its origins in the nineteenth century, modern Arabic literature has exploited stories from the *Nights*. Famous stage versions include Tawfiq al-Hakîm's 1934 *Shahrazâd* and Alî Ahmad Bâkathîr's 1953 *Shahrazâd's Secret*. The Egyptian feminist Nawal El Saadawi included a radical revision of the frame story in her highly charged *The Fall of the Imam* (1987). Taken generally modern Arab authors have been more interested in using the *Nights* to explore political and social problems, including the politics of authorship. They have shied away from the sexual focus of so many of the tales.

Despite its frequent use in modern Arabic high culture, the Arabic original was a middlebrow work, normally transmitted orally by professional storytellers in a relatively accessible form of the language (rather than the ornate, sophisticated Arabic of the high cultural Medieval prose works). Ninth-century references exist to a rudimentary form of the text. Over the centuries layers

Shahrazâd and the Sultan. *Illustration of Scheherazade prolonging her life by telling stories to amuse the king.* THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

and stories were added, enlarging it and embellishing upon it. The earliest layer of the *Nights* is undoubtedly pre-Islamic, with other major additions coming at the time of the Abbasids (c. 750–1250 CE) (with the frequent references to the famous Caliph Harun al-Rashid) and the last major additions came in the time of the Mamluks. (c. 1250–1500 CE)

The translation of the *Nights* into French by Antoine Galland (1704) used manuscripts as well as other stories that the French Orientalist collected. Translations by British Orientalists, such as Sir Richard Burton (1821–1890) and Edward Lane (1801–1876), helped give the *Nights* a place in English literature alongside the one that Galland had created in French.

The frame story of the *Nights* is also the best known and most often retold. It is a story of sex and betrayal. *The Arabian Nights* revolves around the tale of two ruler brothers, Shahriyar and Shahzaman, who are both traumatized by the infidelity of their wives. Seeing his wife in the midst of a sexual act with a slave, Shahriyar goes off on a trip with his brother who has experienced the same trauma. On their voyage the two brothers are, against their will, lured into sexual acts with a young woman. This woman is herself being held prisoner by an *ifrit* who had kidnapped her on her wedding night. The lesson the brothers learn is one of sex as betrayal and coercion. Shahriyar proceeds to have his sexual pleasure with a virgin every night and have her executed in the morning. Shahrazâd enters the scene, winning a verbal duel with her father, the vizier, who attempts in vain to keep her from setting foot in a situation that will leave her another victim of Shahriyar. Her self-imposed task is to drastically alter the behavior of this serial-killer ruler. She brings along her sister Dinarzad (Dunyazad in some versions). Shahrazâd's ruse is to narrate a story every night for the king. But Shahrazâd's stories are never completed at the break of day, thus assuring the continuity of her life, as she will carry on her story cycle the next evening. In this way Shahrazâd is able to keep herself and her sister alive. At the end of the text the reader discovers that the storyteller has borne the king three sons. An elaborate marriage ceremony takes place in which Shahrazâd weds Shahriyar, and her sister, Dinarzad, weds Shahzaman. The sexual disturbance with which the text began has been rectified, with the establishment of the patriarchal couple.

The stories Shahrazâd narrates include adventure, chance, dramatic twists, disguises, and rediscoveries. Probably the most consistent topic, however, is human sexuality, both as love and as lust. The full panoply of sexuality is also on display, including orgies, same-sex relations, and play with the physically deformed. The treatment of sexuality in the *Nights* is strikingly open, even nonjudgmental. When there is a morality present, it is most often one of love, trust, and honesty.

This sexual explicitness is seen as threatening by many in the contemporary Arab world. Between the neo-Puritanism of the Islamists, the heritage of Victorian prudery absorbed under European imperialism, and the shame felt by some secularized Arabs that their culture should be best known by such fanciful tales, the unexpurgated Arabic *Nights* is generally unavailable in the Middle East. The famous nineteenth-century Bulaq edition is censored in its native Egypt and can only be purchased on the black market.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

ARETINO

SEE *Sex Manuals: Old and Modern West.*

ARISTOTLE

384–322 BCE

Aristotle was a philosopher whose concepts, theories, and implicit assumptions have shaped the development of Western intellectual and political culture. His views on sex and gender have been as influential as other aspects of his philosophy. Not only in philosophy but also in law and politics, influential arguments that have been used to support the superiority and authority of men over women can be dated back to Aristotle. The standard view of Aristotle as an archetypal sexist is, however, not the whole truth. There are also more egalitarian elements in his discussion of gender issues that have encouraged feminist interpretations of his ideas.

ARISTOTLE ON SEX AND GENDER

Aristotle explored issues of sex and gender in various contexts. He was interested in the relationship between the metaphysical notion of species and the sexual notions of male and female. He insisted that male and female are contrary attributes that belong to the genus animal as such but do not divide the genus into different species. Aristotle also argued that male and female are differences in each animal species but not in their forms. This implies that whatever differences there are between male and female capacities, for example, in reproduction, they do not belong to the essence of what it is to be a member of certain animal species. Aristotle has a clear tendency to play down the difference between the sexes.

Aristotle's biological works include meticulous studies of reproductive capacity, its physiological preconditions, and the sexual behavior of animals. Aristotle never approached his topics from a purely empirical viewpoint but applied his metaphysical notions to achieve a comprehensive theory of natural philosophy.

Aristotle describes a common reproductive pattern underlying the differences between animal species in their sexual organs and methods of copulation. In Aristotle's view the male and the female in each species have different sexual capacities indicated by differences in their sexual organs, but there is surprisingly little difference between the two sexes in the process they undergo in reproduction.

In Aristotle's biology both males and females transform food by concocting it into blood and then into seed, but this capacity is stronger in males. Males are able to produce semen, whereas females merely have menses, although the female product also is called seed. The quantitative difference turns qualitative when Aristotle assumes that the male is the formal cause and the female is the material cause of generation. Their stronger capacity to concoct makes males capable of giving a form of an animal to seed, whereas females are able only to receive the form and provide the matter for future offspring through the menses.

Aristotle's theory of generation indicates a conviction about the supremacy of the male over the female. Aristotle assumed a hierarchical relationship between form and matter, and so the ascription of the formal role to the male gives support to the idea that the male is the more active, governing, and clearly better sex. The female is called a natural imperfection in the species. Aristotle did not provide any evidence for his evaluation of the male as the stronger sex except the greater natural heat and the corresponding stronger ability to concoct blood in the male. His belief in male supremacy seems to have been more ideological than philosophical.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Aristotle also drew political conclusions from his theory of sex difference. He suggested that men should have permanent authority over women in the household and that women should not hold political offices. The claim for male power is derived solely from the nature of the female deliberative faculty, which Aristotle said is "without authority." He did not see essential moral or intellectual differences between men and women except the inclination of women to weakness of the will, but he still endorsed a strict hierarchical and functional division of gender roles.

The social aspect of human sexual life is a peripheral topic in Aristotle's works; this is surprising in light of his biological interest in sex and the prominent role of affectionate friendship in his ethics. He understood sexual appetite as structurally analogous to eating and drinking. These basic appetites are common to all animals. They are directed to the pleasures of taste and touch and related to the bodily processes of replenishment and dissolution.

In Aristotle's ethics the virtue of moderation is concerned with the control of the basic appetites, which are in themselves natural and not morally reproachable. Aristotle also thought that humans are innately disposed to develop correct forms of desires and emotional responses to bodily pleasures. The basic appetites, however, can generate moral problems because without the influence of reason they are likely to develop in harmful directions. Excessive attention to them is slavish and bestial because they belong to people not as humans but as animals.

Aristotle showed only limited interest in the problems of sexual ethics. His view of marriage was, however, exceptional in his time. Whereas the ancient Greeks typically regarded marriage only as a means to produce legitimate children, Aristotle saw broader prospects for the relationship of husband and wife. Despite the permanent hierarchy in family, the husband's rule over his wife is defined as political and thus is understood as being based on a kind of equality. Family life should aim at activities performed together for the common good as well as for mutual affection and delight. Husband and wife may reach the highest form of friendship, based on virtue, if each partner is good in an appropriate way.

Aristotle's remarks about the violations of marriage are again in accordance with Greek popular morality. Adultery is one of the acts he said is always wrong, but the term he used means violating the rights of other men to their wives and possibly their daughters. Extramarital sex with prostitutes or pederastic lovers is not morally problematic, whereas sleeping with a married woman is always unjust, assuming that the adulterer is aware of the status of his partner. Aristotle did not comment much on same-sex relationships but, again following mainstream attitudes, expressed a negative attitude toward the disposition of some men toward sexual passivity and their tendency to assume the passive role in a homoerotic relationship.

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Juha Sihvola

AROUSAL

Arousal is a state of sexual excitation marked by increased blood flow to the genitals, elevated heart rate, and the tumescence (swelling) of the clitoris and penis. Arousal can be initiated by physical and mental stimuli and is profoundly impacted by individual psychology and cultural conditioning.

PHYSIOLOGY

Also called the excitement phase, arousal is the first stage of the human sexual response cycle developed by William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson (1966). Arousal is followed by the plateau stage, in which tensions initiated by arousal are intensified. The third stage, orgasm, involves the sudden release of this tension, and the final resolution stage incorporates the gradual reduction of physiological tension and often includes a period of emotional calm and well-being.

Sexual arousal engenders a variety of physiological responses. Women experience erection of the nipples and, as arousal moves toward the plateau stage, an increase in breast size resulting from vasocongestion, or the swelling of tissues owing to increased blood flow. The heart rate and blood pressure both increase in direct relation to increasing tension. Late in the excitement phase, a female may experience some muscle tension, including expansion of the vaginal wall and tensing of the abdominal muscles. The late excitement phase may also include the sex flush, a red rash that begins on the upper abdomen and spreads quickly to the breasts.

Within the first thirty seconds of arousal, vaginal lubrication appears. The clitoral glans becomes tumescent and vasocongestion increases the diameter of the clitoral shaft, engorges the labia, expands and lengthens the vaginal barrel, and alters the vaginal wall to a darker, purplish color. Expansion and separation of the vaginal walls causes the folded pattern of the vagina to smooth out. Finally, the uterus begins to elevate into the greater pelvis, which lies above and in front of the pelvic brim.

The initial physiological response to sexual stimuli in males is the erection of the penis. Once the penis is fully erect, arousal may continue for only a few moments or for several minutes. When the excitement phase is prolonged, the penis may lose and regain its erection one or more times. Penile erection is often extremely sensitive to the discontinuation and resumption of physical sexual stimulation. The penis is also sensitive to asexual stimuli, which may cause a partial or complete loss of the erection even when physical stimulation is constant.

During arousal, males also experience a thickening of the scrotal covering and an elevation of the scrotal sac and testes. As with females, males experience an increased heart rate and elevated blood pressure when sexually aroused. Men also experience muscle tension, including partial elevation of the testicles and contraction of the abdominal and intercostals muscles (the latter being the muscles that run between the ribs). About 60 percent of men also experience nipple erection, though it is inconsistent and may not appear until the plateau phase.

Though the precise role of the brain in sexual arousal has not been determined, studies have consistently found increased right-brain activity in response to arousal. More complex studies have found that a variety of cortical and subcortical brain regions are implicated in sexual arousal, and some researchers have argued that this demonstrates the complexity of the cognitive, physiological, emotional, and psychological processes involved in sexual arousal.

PSYCHOLOGY

Though Masters and Johnson have been greatly influential in the conceptions of human sexual response, many researchers have taken issue with their exclusive focus on physiological response. Helen Singer Kaplan (1974) modifies their model to a three-stage model that includes desire, excitement, and orgasm. Some find this model more useful in that it allows for a consideration of the psychological effects of desire and motivation on arousal.

Further modifications of sexual response models have suggested distinguishing between spontaneous desire, or libido, and stimulus-driven desire, or arousability. Some researchers find that this distinction allows for an evolutionary explanation of differing modes of male and female desire, wherein men experience a biological drive to successfully disseminate their genetic material whereas female success, which is tied to the rearing of offspring, depends on selecting an appropriate mate, a selection that will be driven by external cues. For some clinicians, this model of sexual response has proved useful in that it allows for the complex mediation between internal and external stimuli that occurs in sexual arousal, as well as for consideration of the physiological, psychological, and relationship factors that affect arousal.

Ultimately, sexual arousal is dictated by an exceedingly complex interaction of psychological, cultural, behavioral, neurological, cognitive, physiological, and interpersonal factors. Though certain kinds of stimulation (of the genitals, for example) seem to be universally interpreted as sexual, whether or not such stimulation is arousing depends on individual and cultural conditioning, as well as situational and relationship factors—all of which are mediated by the central nervous system.

Erotic stimulation in both men and women appears to be largely the result of conditioning in which certain kinds of stimuli become associated with positive sexual outcomes. Though some stimuli are more easily eroticized, studies have demonstrated that people can be quite readily conditioned to respond sexually to neutral objects. Sexual arousal, moreover, is almost always context-dependent; what may carry an erotic charge in one situation does not necessarily in another. Men and women report arousal increases with the sexual explicitness of the stimuli, though men and women are excited by different sexual situations. Men, for example, are more excited by viewing group sex than women, while women report greater arousal in response to films that emphasize the desire and enjoyment of both partners. Sexual fantasy is an important source of arousal for both men and women. Fantasy alone can generate moderately high sexual excitement and a concomitant physiological response; it can moreover serve as mechanism for exerting control over a physiological function often considered involuntary.

Emotional states greatly impact sexual arousal, though the nature of this impact is often complex and little understood. Emotions themselves are multidimensional and can be experienced in varying degrees of intensity. Certain negative emotions, such as guilt or embarrassment, inhibit arousal, while others, such as sadness, do not necessarily. Emotions that themselves invoke a certain physiological arousal, such as anger, often increase sexual arousal, though only to a certain limit. Additionally, the source of the emotion—whether it occurs outside of the sexual situation or arises out of it—changes its relation to sexual arousal. And the valence of certain emotions changes greatly depending on the situation: Anxiety surrounding body image may inhibit sexual arousal, whereas anxiety about getting caught having sex in a public place may be sexually arousing. Finally, there is some evidence that sexual arousal itself may be considered a sort of emotional state, in which persons experience an extremely heightened, positive state of being.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Sexual arousal is intimately related to the culture in which it occurs. The particular stimuli that people find arousing are culturally inflected, either by societal taboos or eroticized representations. Edward Shorter (2005), for example, links the newly common practice of deep tongue kissing in the late nineteenth century to kinetoscope depictions of male–female kissing. Shorter finds a similar tendency at work in the eroticization of various body parts, arguing that an earlier emphasis on the face and genitals as the primary sites of sexual attraction was replaced in the twentieth century with an erotic interest in other body parts, including the breasts, nipples, and buttocks. This shift in the erotic charge of particular parts of the body occurs in tandem with the production of art, photography, and pornography that call attention to these areas of the bodies as legitimate stimuli for sexual arousal. Similarly, an increase in experimentation with different sexual techniques, including oral sex, appears to have followed its depiction in popular pornographic works of the period.

The correspondence between erotics and popular culture has been one of the hallmarks of the film industry, which has legimated as much as it has reflected the cultural eroticization of certain kinds of sexual stimulation. Similarly, the sexual liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s has been consistently linked to the increasing visibility of men's magazines, such as *Playboy*, which valorized alternative forms of sexual expression. Since at least the 1970s, sexual arousal has been an important component of mainstream depictions of sexuality. Sex manuals and men and women's magazines alike emphasize the importance of arousal to sexual expression, often providing detailed instructions for pleasing one's partner. Mainstream films, magazines, romance novels, and soft-core porn often attempt to incite sexual arousal by depicting individuals who are themselves sexually aroused, as marked by parted lips, heavy breathing, and splayed limbs. One effect of this kind of representation is that sexual arousal is constructed as itself sexually arousing.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay.*

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Maureen Lauder

ART

The landmark exhibition *Fémininmasculin, Le Sexe de l'Art* (Femininemasculine, The Sex of Art) presented at the Centre Pompidou, Paris, France, in 1995 attempted to address, through both exhibited works of art and companion catalogue, how twentieth-century art has traversed, transferred, and transformed the issue(s) of sexual difference. The 500 images on display appeared, however, to be divided between the traditional view of the differences between the sexes and an alternate axis that both experimented with and transgressed upon the established biological distinctions between and functions of both men and women. As the exhibition curators sought to clarify what they saw as a series of discrete distinctions between the overtly sexual and the implicitly erotic and the expanding academic boundaries of gender, they offered a new term, *fémininmasculin*, as a solution, especially in terms of art. For them, the issue was not feminine–masculine, sex in art, but rather femininemasculine, the sex of art.

Their point of art historical departure for this new term was the first work in the exhibition *L'Origine du Monde* (The Origin of the World, painted in 1866 by Gustave Courbet (1819–1877). Within his canvas, Courbet depicted only a lower female torso with legs spread open to draw the viewer's eye directly to the exposed genitalia as simultaneously the locus of sexual pleasure and symbolic of fertility and procreation. This new conception of art, then, provides a new way of seeing and interpreting art that presages what would become the twentieth-century preoccupation with discussions, examinations, and debates over the meaning of sex, sexuality, and—ultimately—gender.

Traditionally, art has been understood as performing certain functions, including the pedagogy of manners, social customs, cultural values, and behavior, in addition to beautifying human environs from the domestic to the public. The typical point of entry into seeing or interpreting a work of art is through representational, abstract, or symbolic renderings of the human body. Artists have conferred a variety of forms, shapes, postures, gestures, and costumes upon the human body to conform to the attitudes of different cultures, historical periods, and religious communities. These stylistic and culturally referenced differences allow researchers to see and critique the embedded inscriptions of gender, class, identity, and power in works of art. The reality that body types vary not simply from geographic region to geographic region but also within cultural categories and transmute according to prevailing economic, political, religious, and social attitudes is not lost upon artists, even those dedicated to the depiction of the ideal versus the real.

Analyses of the comparative expressions of mass, weight, and volume coordinate projections of natural versus ideal body types, symbolic patterns of the human body, and nutritional and medical factors that reveal information about sex and gender. One of the significant components in art has been in the social and cultural constructions of gender, that is, what distinguishes the categories of feminine and masculine in modes of behavior, demeanor, dress, and meaning. Biology determines sex, whereas society, from its privileged coordination of culture, economics, politics, and religion, conditions definitions of and attitudes toward gender.

Expressive of a diverse spectrum of cultural attitudes and religious values, artistic renderings of the human body, therefore depictions of sex and gender, has been instrumental in: fertility rites, magic ceremonies, cult objects and rituals, idolatry, natural medicine, social advancement, intellectual achievement, and sacred correspondence. However, an overview of the depiction of male and female forms reveals a dramatic contrast between Asian and European and North American attitudes toward the human, and perhaps thereby toward art, culture, and values. For example, Hindu artists traditionally render voluptuous goddesses and powerful gods engaged in joyful acts of sexual union in contrast to the chaste prayerful postures of asexual male and female saints of Christian art.

ART AS VISUAL COMMUNICATOR AND MIRROR OF SEX AND GENDER

Artistic images provide a venue for understanding cultural perceptions of gender, power, and sex. Universally, human beings convey identity and information through images. The basic human urge to create images is a fundamental form of the communication of ideas, precepts, and concepts. Such expression through and reflection in works of art is premised on the depiction of the human body or anthropomorphic figurations. The transformation of thinking in images into the concrete representation of seeing visions, dreaming dreams, imagining distant lands, recreating ancient the past, and living by memories defines the fundamental nature of art whether categorized individually as painting, sculpture, and, more recently, photography or collectively as fine arts and naive arts. Regardless of the medium art contributes to the shaping of identifiable cultures as the process of visualization translates abstract concepts into visible figures whose major messages, in turn, appeal to and influence viewers.

The symbolic language of the human figures and the ambiance rendered by the landscape, or background, and surrounding objects and attributes, provide a special mode of communication that transcends verbal literacy or formal education and training. Traditionally, even into the twenty-first century images have projected modes of understanding and interpreting gender, sex, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and age in a socially appropriate construction of the self. Artistic images, then, question our notions of sex and gender and challenge our concepts of appropriate social behavior and relationships. What late-twentieth-century commentators have characterized as the multivalent character and personalized receptivity of images may have been at the heart of the professional and societal distrust of images—thereby an (over)emphasis on logocentrism in the Europe and North America, especially within the academic disciplines—since the Enlightenment (1600–1800).

Any examination of sex and gender in art, then, is predicated upon two universal notions: first, that the visual is primary historical evidence equitable to written documentation; and second, that the traditionally textually illiterate masses read images. Art is a critical vehicle for the formation, transformation, and dispersal of cultural and societal histories and their analyses. Images evoke authority and reality in the process elsewhere termed *visual analogy*. Images are internalized and identified as one's own by viewers and thereby have profound effects on individual members of a community. Art is critical to the process of socialization by which one enters into the societal and cultural order and signifies oneself as being male or female within that societal construct. Individual notions of gender, then, are affected by societal expectations premised on cultural definitions and redefinitions. Thus, even in art and for artists, sex is determined biologically, whereas gender is societal and cultural.

The contemporary twenty-first-century situation is made more complex by the pluralism of cultural constructions, societal expectations, religious attitudes, and the expanding power of images through technology and globalization. The historical reality is even more damaging in that many works of art—representative, perhaps, of countercultural or alternate religious attitudes—have been destroyed by war and political conflict. Misogyny and patriarchy, as understood in Europe and North America, have played a crucial role in the loss of art, especially images related to the power or authority of women and other marginalized groups. The permanent loss of art—either through the activity of religious iconoclasm or cultural war, or the passivity of natural disasters such as earthquakes or tsunami—account for an irretrievable diminution of both images of marginalized groups, such as women, and of countercultural attitudes. History may be written by the winners; however, cultural interpretations of societal propriety and excellence are clearly inscribed in art. For many contemporary feminist interpreters, the patriarchal basis of European and North American culture has resulted in the elimination, if not simple diminution, of any visual images of marginalized genders in motifs of power and authority.

Artistic images render visible, tangible, and thereby mimicable, societal perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate behavior for both men and women. The recognition that images are gendered—that is, projecting the proper attitudes, gestures, postures, and dress for what is culturally identified as masculine, feminine, androgynous, hermaphroditic, or homosexual—and that the prevalence of gendering through images is formative as well as reflective of cultural attitudes make it impossible to regard images simply as benign expressions or neutral objects. Prior to the scholarly changes in the late 1960s initiated by recognizing the marginalized, analyses and presentations of the power of images have been premised upon the predominant male-oriented hierarchical structure of artistic creativity, knowledge, and scholarship. Those critical studies of images of the marginalized—whether racial, ethnic, or sexual—did not exist prior to the early 1970s.

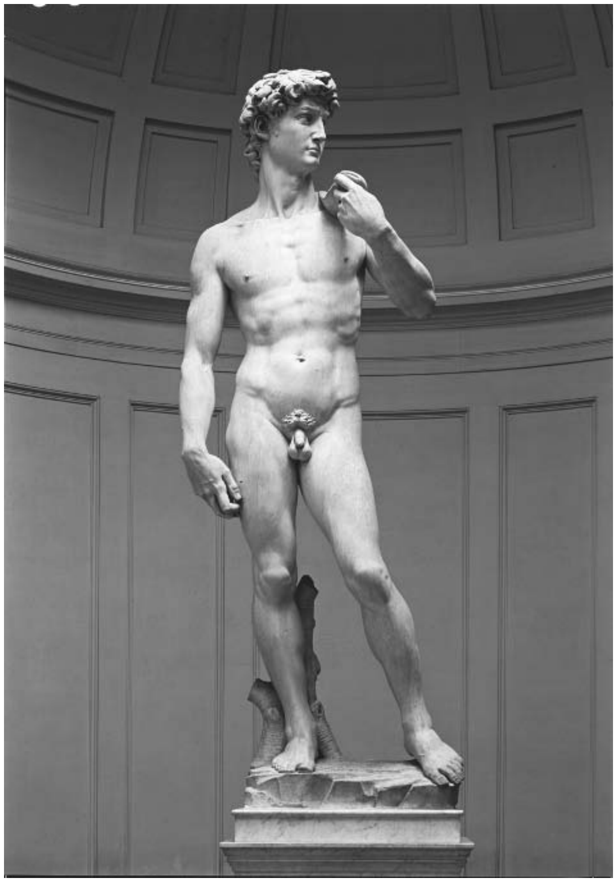
Earlier examinations of the human body and its meaning in art emphasized descriptions of works in the canon of European and North American art to the neglect, if not negation, of critical analyses of the body with all its racial, ethnic, sexual, cultural, or gendered variations. Critical to both a fair analysis of these earlier texts and of directions for future scholarship is the question of whether or not this interest or preoccupation with the identifying of sex and gender in and through art is a universal human concern or simply a European and North American preoccupation. For example, in most languages outside of English, there is minimal to no linguistic distinction between sex and gender; in addition, there is culturally no distinction between art, life, and religion let alone the modern concepts of sex and gender. However, feminist scholars since the late 1950s, affirmed by the landmark ruling of Judge Ruth Bader Ginzburg (b. 1933) on gender discrimination, have sought to examine the European and North American societal and cultural history of women through gendered lenses.

MODES OF ANALYSES OF SEX AND GENDER IN EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN ART

Typically, studies of sex and gender in the visual arts have taken one of two fundamental approaches in analyzing and interpreting images: iconographic or iconological. Iconography, or the reading of the signs and symbols, or iconology, the cultural history of the evolution of an image, can be incorporated within either a thematic or chronological frame. Central to both modes of analysis is a series of questions that delineate the communicative nature of art, which is both reflective and formative upon individuals and societies. For example, inquiry into the rationale and identification of the artist led to considerations of the process of artistic creativity and the nature of the aesthetic experience.

Further, the historical reality as to who was permitted to train as an artist was equally dependent upon sex and gender as upon artistic ability. For example, in Europe, even into the seventeenth century, only those women who were the wives or daughters of artists were able to enter into the studio as apprentices. The role of the patron and the collector in both the commissioning and the cultural valuation of art is transformed through history as the realms of gender, race, class, and economics evolve. So, for example, during those periods when women experienced political and economic power, that power was expressed through the subject matter in the art they created, commissioned, or collected. The cultural receptivity to works of art—the how and the why by which individual works are valued, and their influence on a society or a community—is related to the function of art as well as to artistic merit. Additional considerations would include the variations in cultural meaning when art shifts its center from the ecclesiastical or public domains to the domestic sphere as both media and motif are transformed accordingly.

The following examples of studies in sex and gender in European and North American art—first through thematic motifs and second by chronology—provide the methodological skeletons upon which more detailed interpretations and analyses can be structured. The thematic motif can be developed through a variety of patterns, such as the iconography of a specific event such as childbirth or an individual such as a specific monarch or general, whereas the chronological mode can be concentrated within one specific historical period or artistic style, such as the Renaissance (1350–1600), or survey the centuries. The crucial question, however, is whether or not the contemporary consideration of sex and gender was a distinct or discrete element in the creative design, aesthetic appreciation, and cultural evaluation of works of art throughout human history. For example, in his magisterial study, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, art historian Kenneth Clark (1990) distinguished the physical and symbolic differences between representations of both the naked from the nude and of men from women without direct referencing to sex and gender as overt categories. Rather, Clark's investigation was dependent upon the interdependence of art, culture, life, philosophy, and religion that created an identifiable cultural milieu that either embraced or decried the idea of the nude. His mode of analysis was a journey through a series of motifs that ranged from ideal individuals, that is, Apollo and Venus, to the embodiments of emotions, that is, energy, pathos, and ecstasy.



David. *Sculpture by Michelangelo.* SCALA/ART RESOURCE, NY.

EXAMPLES OF MOTIFS OF SEX AND GENDER IN EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN ART

The Power and Authority of the Male Figure Late twentieth-century feminist scholars have asserted that the male figure was normative in the Europe and North America for the cultural definition of power and authority. Thereby, a brief comparison between a male figure and a female figure can serve as one interpretive mode in the consideration of sex and gender in art. Referencing the High Renaissance sculpture of *David* by Michelangelo (1475–1564) as a fine example of the visualization of the classical principles of harmony and order through the male figure, the handsomeness of this masculine form becomes quickened by muscular tensions, especially in David's arms, legs, and torso, and the intimations of respiration in his diaphragm. This sculpted rendition of male energy and movement can be read as expressive of ideal form, kingship and guardianship, and the prevalent social and cultural order. A figure of extraordinary vitality, *David* visually attests to the so-called European principle of the authority of the male figure. Muscular structure, movement (whether internal or external), and the ability to connote emotion through facial expression, gesture, or pose, are among the sculptor's tools in transmitting both the idea and ideal of male authority.

By contrast, Donatello's (1386–1466) early Renaissance sculpture of *Judith and Holofernes* proffers an image of the female hero who, like David, signified democracy and the defense of the city to contemporary Florentines. The initial contrast between the nearly nude Holofernes and the seemingly overdressed Judith can be read as the Christian dialectic of vice and virtue or the Renaissance values of male potency and female humility. Clearly, the two bodies display overt signs of distinguishing the man (broad shoulders, powerful musculature) from woman (peaking breasts, smaller frame). This Judith is not the visualization of any canon of feminine beauty but, rather, a depiction of societal structures and of the female body more as symbol than organic composition. She is carefully positioned astride her drunken victim who rests between her legs.

Any sexual connotations to this composition of a man and a woman must be surrendered to the larger reading of her entire body posture—bent knees, arching body, upraised right arm, and lowered left arm as her hand clasps Holofernes's tendrils while a rider holds the reins. The energy and power signified in the flowing swirls of Judith's garments move in opposition to the arch of her body in the exact fashion that a rider's costume responds to the dynamism propelled by the horse's gait. Donatello's *Judith*, then, mirrors the well-established constructs of authority, power, and sovereignty of the ruler or general who astride his horse commands his army into battle. Thereby, this female hero garners her identity by her masculine posture, gestures, and symbols of power.

Maternity as the Power and Authority of the Female Figure The universal category of maternity connotes the fertilization, conception, and gestation of a child in the female body and the commensurate acts of childbirth, lactation, and nurture to maturity. Whereas a man can act in a maternal fashion by nurturing, emotionally supporting, and gently guiding his child, partner, or friend, biology denies him the female power and authority of pregnancy and motherhood. A survey of artistic images of maternity transcends historical, cultural, and geographic boundaries, revealing its universality through pregnancy, giving birth, lactation, and scenes with a mother and her child.

Sex as biological thereby trumps gender; however, in so doing it confirms that artistic depictions of maternity simultaneously denote more than the iconographic convention of mother and child as found in the Egyptian images of Isis with Horus, medieval renderings of the Madonna and Child, or Mary Cassatt's (1824–1926) nineteenth-century variations of mothers cuddling, nursing, bathing, dressing, or educating their children. Rather, the limitless importance of female fertility, whether culturally or religiously aligned with that of the Earth, and its achievement in the survival of the species is ahistorical and generic. Thus, the reality behind Courbet's title, *L'Origine du Monde* (The Origin of the World), becomes apparent.

SURVEY OF EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN IMAGES OF SEX AND GENDER

This preliminary survey proffers a series of investigative principles for a chronological model to examine sex and gender in the visual arts. For purposes of clarity this present outline will emphasize the evolution of the female figure in European and North American art. Having their artistic (and religious) origins in fertility figures, women's images appeared as the fulfillment of socially recognized and sanctioned life stages: virgin, wife, mother, and widow. Further, women were depicted in relation to the major elements of the life cycle: birth, puberty, marriage, pregnancy, maternity, and death. Predominately, the female has been depicted as passive—that is, restricted to the domestic setting and engaged in the so-called feminine activities, such as needlework or cooking; by contrast, the male figure was actively engaged outside the realm of hearth and home. The primary visual distinction, then, will be found in the physicality of the male versus the female body, and the secondary visual difference will be in the activities such as familial nurture versus military leadership. These differences will be highlighted through the artistic presentations of the human body and its commensurate gestures, postures, dress, and companion signs and symbols.

Classical art characterizes the female form as a source of maturity, stability, and domesticity. Typically, the female figure was depicted as fully clothed with a thickened waist, small breasts, and wide hips. Those physical characteristics that twenty-first-century viewers would identify as expressive of female sexuality—a narrow waist and voluptuous breasts and hips—were not understood as sites of eros or femininity in the classical world. Evolving from the preclassical models, such as the famed *Venus of Willendorf* (c. 24,000–22,000 BCE) that emphasized the presentation of the female abdomen, genitalia, and thighs as sites of fertility and female energy, classical Greek or Roman presentations of women favored the strength and authority exerted by the almost androgynous—to twenty-first-century viewers—presentations of goddesses such as Hera or Athena and empresses such as Julia or Octavia. Images of even the slender Aphrodite emphasize her abdomen and thighs more than her breasts and waist.

With the establishment of Christianity, depictions of the human body were transformed from the beauty and idealism favored by the classical artists to more symbolic representations in which the reality of the body, regardless of its sexual identification, was suppressed for an emphasis on the theological values of the narrative. Often characterized as asexual stick-like figures, the human body was the locus for symbolic meanings and interpretations, not for sexuality. Therefore, the flattened female body devoid of the classical artistic precepts of mass and volume was a conveyor of the appropriate or inappropriate roles of women in the early Christian world, that is, as humble, chaste, and obedient, as opposed to the seductive charms of Eve and her female descendants. Modes of dress—ranging from the androgynous Greek *chitōn* worn by both men and women, to the eventual Hellenistic interest in the skillful mastery of pleated and flowing drapery—disguised rather than emphasized the sex of the human body. Similarly, the hair—as veiled, uncovered and flowing, or elegantly coiffed—signified the sex and social status of the female figure.

Whereas the societal reality of women as wives, daughters, and courtesans was part of the classical Mediterranean world, it was the early Christian world, especially in the fourth century, that clearly represented the dichotomy of woman as virgin or whore, that is, the good Christian woman following the model of the Virgin Mary or the temptress who was Eve. Church leaders, following the lead of Jerome (347–420), defined appropriate modes of dress even unto hairstyles, cosmetics, and jewelry for the proper Christian woman. The visual distinction here was premised upon the female body as a site of shame or humility that was the locus of wanton sexuality or chaste motherhood.

The transition into the medieval modes of rendering the human body manifested the social and cultural shifts initiated in the fourth century and early Christian art toward a theocentric universe in which God was the origin, locus, and ultimate goal of all creation. The human was merely, as characterized by Augustine (354–430), a player with a clearly defined role in a larger drama of Christian history. Women continued to be interpreted culturally and artistically within the dialectic of the virgin and the whore, and as such, their bodies were artistically rendered as either asexual (almost unto androgyny) or sexually likened to a beast, usually the snake. So, for example, consider the disembodied characteristics of the Madonna as she was carved into cathedral capitols and tympani as opposed to the reptilian characterizations of Eve, as found in the famous image by French sculptor Gislebertus (active 1125–1135) at Autun Cathedral.

As the Middle Ages (476–1350) expanded both in chronological time and geographic regions, a commensurate series of stylistic shifts occurred in the rendering of the human body. As if an accompaniment of the medieval interest in the theology of God's transcendence, cathedral architecture evolved with an emphasis on height—a reaching to the heavens, if you will—and was paralleled in the elongation and thereby slenderizing of the earlier Romanesque figurations of matronly women into the Gothic elegance of shaped postures, which emphasized a more feminine line and softness to the female body. Elongated torsos gently directed the viewer's eye to the swell of the female belly as a sign of fecundity, female sexuality, and male authority. Diminished breasts were bound or hidden by the thick layers of clothing that featured a high waist, tightly fitted sleeves, and voluminous, pleated skirts.

The cultural and social revolution identified as the Renaissance brought new energy and principles of the human body into art. As the transfer into an anthropomorphic, or human-centered, world, the Renaissance has been characterized as being open 360 degrees to all attitudes, ideas, and teachings of the classical world and the more modern sciences, including Aristotelian philosophy, mathematics, and medicine. The commensurate interest in the human led to a retrieval of the classical principles of the body as the site of beauty, balance, and harmony and to the artistic redefining of the body according to the precepts of modern medical knowledge, especially anatomical studies. As a result the female body was refashioned within the purview of the classical nude but with a clear touch of the erotic. Nonetheless, it remained rare to find depictions of women in positions of power and authority, as the fundamental image of woman remained as imperfectly male.

Baroque art, whether created by northern European artists who followed the teachings of the Reformers or southern European artists who stood steadfast with Rome, expanded the dichotomy of the imagery of woman as either alluring temptress or asexual saint. The discovery and refinement of the moveable type printing press allowed for the mass production of prints and engravings, making these modes of artistic imagery easily and financially accessible. The northern European development of the so-called moralizing prints called special attention to the feminine images of vices and virtues. Feminine virtue was characterized by asexual, almost disembodied, presentations of the female figure, with minimal breasts, thickened waists, and other physical attributes almost indistinguishable from what twenty-first-century viewers would categorize as masculine. These women were heavily draped from head to foot and identified by their performance of good deeds or acts of female obedience. Alternatively, feminine vices were orchestrated by either partially or totally naked women whose large, sagging breasts were paralleled by visual emphases on their genitalia as they pursued their often unnatural activities, such as decapitating drunken or sleeping men, riding broomsticks in the sky, or consorting with pigs, horses, or other wild beasts. Southern European artists attempted to expand their iconography of saintly Christian women by reemphasizing the singularity of Mary's virginity and obedience through the visual evolution of new motifs, such as the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of the Virgin.

As the cultural world turned toward the eighteenth-century evolution to the rococo (1700–1760) and later the Enlightenment, depictions of women in the now dominant modes of secular art were highlighted by a softening of the female form and a sentimentalizing of attitudes toward women, especially as mothers and muses. Artists now rendered delicate feminine forms, either in states of frothy dress or partial undress, characterized by rosy skin tones, pale blond hair coiffed with ringlets and gentle curls, and light, airy garments that highlighted the softened curves of the female form from gently peaking breasts to wispy waists. The reintroduction of the stronger, more stable, matronly forms presaged the expanding social and cultural roles of women during the French and American revolutions.

The nineteenth century was a time of multiple artistic and social revolutions, prophesying the pluralism of the modern art styles of the twentieth century. The rapid succession of art styles—from romanticism to impressionism or from realism to symbolism and abstraction—signified both the speed of steam that powered the industrial revolution and the rapid expansion of economic, political, and religious ideas throughout the expanding geographic reach of the Europe and North America. Such a diversity of artistic styles resulted in a commensurate variety of interpretations of the female figure ranging from the idealized beauty of the romantics to the stunners of the pre-Raphaelites, to the sexuality of the symbolists. Thereby, the female form could be interpreted as a conveyor of societal attitudes and mores more than as a presentation of the individuality of women.

Multiple attitudes toward female beauty, thereby to the visualizing of sex and gender, paralleled the stylistic variations. Without doubt, the artistic imaging of women was influenced by the invention and development of photography, especially as it moved from a technical recording of events or individual portraiture to a recognized art form in the early twentieth century. Almost simultaneous with the advent of photography as it moved from portraiture of women vis-à-vis traditional high-art portraits to artistic interpretations of the female form in the hands of such distinguished photographers as Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946) to Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989) was a transformation in the understanding of the female body in terms of health and medicine. So the wispy waists and overflowing bosom and hips manifested by the whalebone corset gave way first to the American girl and bloomer girl of the late nineteenth century; then to the slender, waif-like flappers of the 1920s emphasized in the designs of Coco Chanel (1883–1971); then to the stability and strength of Rosie the Riveter during World War II (1939–1945); and later to the voluptuous feminine forms of the 1950s highlighted by both the clothes of Christian Dior (1905–1957) and the celebrity of movie stars such as Jane Russell (b. 1921) and Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962).

Modern art, it is often argued, is about the *shock of the new* as characterized by art critic Robert Hughes (b. 1938). One of the fundamental elements of that shock of the new has been the multiple configurations and refigurations of the human body in terms of abstraction and postmodernism. Those bodily elements, most often large or engorged breasts and highlighted female genitalia, were abstracted from the realistic portrayals of the female body and came to characterize both the sex and gender of woman in twentieth-century art, from the sculptures of Constantin Brancusi (1876–1957) to the canvases of Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) and Willem De Kooning (1904–1997). The latter half of the twentieth century was characterized by the raised voices of the marginalized, especially feminist scholars, authors, and artists, who called for the recognition of the female presence in the arts as artist, muse, and subject.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE STUDY OF SEX AND GENDER IN ART

Gendered images are more than a mode of sexual identification or socialization into a community; they are a symbolic communication through gestures, postures, dress, attributes, and activities of the common experiences of being human. A comparative or cross-cultural study of sex and gender in art, such as the motif of divine messengers or warriors, reveals the gendered interpretations of being male and female in any given cultural or historical epoch and serves to sharpen perceptions of the historicizing of sex and gender. This is especially significant for European and North American viewers who learn that the scholarly presuppositions in the categorizations and structures of their cultures are not necessarily valid universally or, perhaps, that traditional their concepts of both sex and gender, and the power of images, must be reconsidered.

The diversity of characteristics and roles in which men and women are represented in non-European and non-North American art points to the racial, ethnic, and nutritional diversity of both globalization and the marginalized that is otherwise lost to the art of elite monotheistic and patriarchal cultures of Europe and North America. This is not to propose that non-European and non-North American cultures are not patriarchal in religious, cultural, or social structures but, rather, proposes that sex and gender may be imaged and experienced differently. The potential exploration of these *differences* opens new avenues for investigation and revised formulations for the iconology of sex and gender in art within the expanding parameters of globalization.

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Diane Apostolos-Cappadona

ART, DRAMA/ PERFORMANCE

The initial appearance of performance in many cultures took the form of public rituals and ceremonies involving dance, speech, masks, costumes, and performers with special roles. With the addition of an audience and a stage, those rituals evolved into the early beginnings of drama, or theater, which often reflected the cultural mores of a society, particularly in relation to gender values, expected behaviors, and traditional roles.

GREECE

In ancient patriarchal societies in which men had all the power, cultural values sometimes were expressed in performances lauding masculinity. Many components of Greek comedy in the fifth century BCE resemble ceremonial phallic rites of that era, which celebrated the phallus as a symbol of creative energy, with choruses that sang and danced as they carried large phallic symbols on poles. Greek tragedies from that period were written by men, were performed by all-male casts, and played to predominantly male audiences. Women generally were depicted as passive and suffering; when written as characters with power, they often were presented as negative and destructive, such as Clytemnestra, Medea, the Gorgons, the Sirens, and the Harpies. In ancient Greek tragedies sexuality is addressed thematically most notably by Sophocles (c. 496–406 BCE) in *Oedipus Rex* (c. 430–425), which deals with incest, and by Aristophanes (c. 446–385 BCE) in *Lysistrata* (411 BCE), in which a sex strike is conducted to end a war.

ROME

In the ancient Roman era theater was male-dominated, with men accounting for the majority of actors. The one format in which females were allowed was mime, which was erotic in nature and was known to involve nudity. For that reason actresses were regarded as being on the same level as prostitutes; both were denied religious rites unless there was a deathbed repentance. However, in the sixth century the mime actress Theodora (c. 500–548) not only made a name for herself as an entertainer but also became the mistress of Justinian (c. 482–565), the heir to the throne of his uncle, the emperor Justin I. Although Justinian wanted to marry Theodora, that was prohibited by an old Roman law that did not allow government officials to marry women of the theater. After successfully petitioning for the law to be repealed, they married in 525. When Justin became emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, Theodora influenced him to pass laws banning forced prostitution.

INDIA

The association of female performers with prostitutes was not unique to the Romans. In ancient India, where theater also originated with public ritual—in this case temple dances—*nati* dancing girls, though valued for their physical talents, which were thought to please the gods, received little respect even though their performances were given under the authority of temple priests. The ancient epic Sanskrit tale *Ramayana*, which, along with *Mahabharata*, has been the revered source material for many dramatic productions, mentions theatrical dance performances as well as feasts and gatherings with dancing girls for entertainment. Nonetheless, the *Dharmasastras*, or metrical law books, state clearly that if married, dancing girls need not be treated with the respect typically accorded to another man's wife. In *Kama sutra* a dancing girl's position is the lowest among the courtesans.

JAPAN

Another form of dramatic performance that began with dance is Kabuki, which can be traced back to 1603, when Okuni (c. 1572–1613), a female dancer from the Izumo Grand Shrine, started doing public performances on an improvised stage in a Kyoto riverbed. Her Kabuki programs, which were sexually suggestive, cast women in both male and female roles in comic playlets that were interspersed with dances. As the popularity of the programs quickly increased, many imitation Kabuki troupes formed, presenting equally lascivious material so that eventually Kabuki came to be associated with prostitution. In fact, the earliest skits were referred to as *keiseikai*, or "hiring a prostitute," and *chaya asobi*, "playing in a teahouse brothel."

In 1629 the shogun's government decided that the eroticism of Kabuki and its practice of having women play men were immoral and banned women from appearing on stage. Immediately after the period of women's Kabuki came young men's Kabuki, in which young men played all the female roles; those performances attracted raucous audiences clamoring for seductive material. *Yaro hyobanki* (critical guidebooks) rated the young male actors more for their sexual attractiveness than for their acting skills.

When fights broke out at performances over the attentions of the young actors, the shogunate banned young men from the stage in 1652; this gave rise to men's Kabuki the next year. In this form only mature men were allowed to perform, and they did so in a more sophisticated, highly stylized manner. Nevertheless, the shogunate required that the *onnagata*, male actors who specialized in women's roles, shave their heads to render them less sexually desirable and less likely to tempt audiences. As a result the *onnagata*, who typically came from a family of specialists, wore a silk head covering over the shaved forelock that remains a standard part of the costuming.

THE MUSLIM WORLD

In Muslim passion plays from ancient times to the present the dramatic representation of women on stage has been curbed to discourage lustful reactions. Whereas representations of men or masculinity are uninhibited, women are portrayed by men who are discouraged from physically mimicking femininity and instead rely on language or other signifiers; alternatively, they are portrayed by women in a manner that downplays sexual attractiveness.

CHINA

In the Beijing opera, which began in the late eighteenth century, actresses were not banned from the stage, but during feudal times it was considered unfitting for men and women to appear on the same stage. In addition to the male *sheng* roles of the Beijing opera, which are subdivided into old men (*lao sheng*), young men (*xiao sheng*), and warriors (*wu sheng*), men played the female *dan* roles, which are subdivided into the quiet and gentle (*qing yi*), the vivacious and dissolute (*hua dan*), warrior maidens (*wu dan*), and old women (*lao dan*). In fact, the most famous performers, such as Mei Lan Fan (1894–1961), Cheng Yanqiu (1904–1958), Shang Xiaoyun (1900–1976), and Xun Huisheng (1899–1968), have been men known for their portrayals of female roles.

MORALITY AND PROPRIETY ON THE EUROPEAN STAGE

Across cultures the prevalent casting of men in female roles is usually done because of societal morals related to propriety. However, in traditional Kathakali, which originated in Kerala in southern India in the seventeenth century, it was not uncommon for dancing, musical, and ritual performances featuring performers with vividly painted faces and elaborate costumes to last as long as seven or eight hours (an entire night). In light of the stamina and energy required to sustain such a presentation, the casting of young boys in female roles was rooted in practical physical concerns, not solely societal values.

Thematically, concerns involving sexual propriety such as marital infidelity and the unwitting husband, or cuckold, received much comic attention on stage in European drama in the late Middle Ages. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) in his 1528 satire *The Mandrake* pokes fun at a gullible older husband who agrees to let another man bed his wife for convoluted fertility reasons. John Heywood (c. 1497–1580) in his 1533 play

Johan, Johan shows a henpecked husband as a farcical subject who finally manages to drive off his condescending wife and her lover, a priest, only to continue fretting about what they are doing while away from him. In Italian *commedia dell'arte*, or comedy of professional players, which reached its height in the period 1550–1650, this form of comedic improvisation with stock characters and stock plots frequently used cuckoldry as one of the main plot points to explore the follies of people and love.

In England in the Elizabethan era (1558–1603), when cross-casting young boys in female roles was the norm, William Shakespeare (1564–1616) explored themes of gender identity, mistaken and otherwise, in two plays written around 1600. In *As You Like It*, Rosalind is a girl (who would have been played by a boy) who disguises herself as a boy, Ganymede, who unwittingly attracts the love interest of a woman who believes that Rosalind is male; at the same time Rosalind (as Ganymede) plays the role of a girl in a mock wooing scene with her male love interest, Orlando. In *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* the protagonist, Viola (who also would have been played by a boy), spends the majority of the play disguised as a boy, Cesario, again attracting the unwanted affections of another female, Olivia, while Viola is in love with the Duke, who has accepted her in disguise as a trusted male confidant. Both plays are comedies, and so the mistaken identities ultimately are resolved and end in happy marriages.

Also benefiting from the prevalence of cross-casting were the troupes of young actors, or boy players as they were known. Consisting largely of boys between the ages of eight and twelve with prepubescent voices, the players often were educated in grammar, logic, and rhetoric; they were musically talented, and some spoke Latin. The most accomplished of them included Christopher Beeston (c. 1579–1638), who continued acting well into maturity and parlayed his knowledge of the theater into a career as a theater manager; Nathaniel Field (1587–1620), who was a favorite of the playwright Ben Jonson (1572–1637), penned his own plays, and was a member of the King's Men, the company to which Shakespeare belonged, which often played at the Royal Court; and Edward Kynaston (c. 1640–1712), who was one of the last prominent boy players and a main character in the 2004 film *Stage Beauty*.

During the Restoration period (1660–1700) Charles II reigned with a promiscuous enthusiasm that was reflected in brazenly sexual plays. One of the most notorious was *The Country Wife* (1675) by William Wycherley (c. 1640–1716), in which the protagonist, a licentious womanizer, convinces all the men in town that he is impotent, giving him access to all the married women, whom he proceeds to seduce. Also notable in that era was the introduction of professional actresses into theaters. Many productions took advantage of the novelty of having women on stage by casting them in "breeches roles," or roles in which actresses wore tightly fitting male clothes that outlined their figures and showed off their legs. Those roles were so successful in drawing an audience to the theater that they would be inserted gratuitously in revivals of older plays; among all the plays produced in London between 1660 and 1700, it has been estimated that nearly a quarter included a breeches role. Successful actresses of that era include the witty Nell Gwyn (1650–1687), who overcame illiteracy. She was one of Charles II's mistresses, bore him two sons, and said to her coachmen (who was fighting a man who had called her a whore), "I *am* a whore. Find something else to fight about." Elizabeth Barry (1658–1713) had a talent for tragic performance that is credited with popularizing "she-tragedy." Susanna Moutfort, also known as Susanna Verbruggen (c. 1667–1703), had many breeches roles created especially for her. The sexual liberation of the Restoration period also nurtured the career of Aphra Behn (1640–1689), one of the first successful woman playwrights.

THE MODERN ERA

In contrast to the morally carefree theater of the Restoration period, the modern realist movement in theater that began in the mid-nineteenth century was concerned with depicting brutal social truths; those plays often were met with popular resistance and controversy. When the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) attempted to stage *A Doll's House* (1879), in which a young wife leaves her husband and two children after realizing that her husband regards her as little more than a doll, some theaters refused to present the play unless the ending was changed. At theaters where Ibsen retained the original ending asserting a woman's right to individuality, critics attacked the work as unrealistic and incendiary, for what woman would dare leave her family in such an irresponsible manner? *A Doll's House*, which many consider the first true feminist play, was banned in England for a time. Despite resistance to his work, Ibsen continued to raise awareness for women's rights in plays such as *Ghosts* (1881), which dealt with venereal disease, incest, illegitimacy, and adultery through a protagonist who has suffered her husband's philandering only to find out that her son, who is dying of syphilis inherited from his father, wants to marry their maid, who is his half sister, a product of the husband's infidelity. This depiction of an individual who is victimized by her dutiful adherence to societal morals was equally difficult for critics and audiences to stomach. However, Ibsen found support among his artistic peers, such as the Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), who was influenced by Ibsen's example to examine social concerns in his own work.

In *Mrs. Warren's Profession* (1893) Shaw, who spent most of his time in England, frankly portrayed (and condemned) the social circumstances that led women to prostitution. His matter-of-fact characterization of the protagonist as a working-class woman neither young nor beautiful and not enamored of finery or self-indulgence was a distinct departure from popular fallen woman narratives of the nineteenth century, as exemplified by Alexandre Dumas (1824–1895) in *La dame aux camélias* (*Camille*), in which a youthful pretty heroine who is full of love and life, fond of luxury, and financially and emotionally dependent on men faces an inevitable downfall, sacrifices herself for the sake of others, and dies tragically. In contrast, Shaw's title character enters prostitution and becomes an independent, prosperous business owner. This notion was so scandalous that *Mrs. Warren's Profession* was banned in England, and when it was publicly staged at a theater in New York in 1905, the house manager was arrested and warrants were issued for the cast and crew.

As a theatrical performer the American entertainer and playwright Mae West (1893–1980) presented a highly unconventional depiction of prostitution, which she parlayed into great success. In 1926 West staged *Sex*, casting herself as the heroine, a sexually charismatic entertainer and prostitute who is boldly unapologetic about her opportunistic aims. Unlike other Broadway plays of the 1920s featuring prostitutes as women who eventually met with ruin, West's characterization was that of a sassy, empowered female who took the lead in all her sexual relationships. Her sexual aggressiveness was criticized by the *New York Times*, which called *Sex* "crude and inept," and *Variety* described it as "nasty, infantile [and] amateurish." The show, however, was popular with audiences.

On February 9, 1927, after 350 performances, New York policemen raided the show. Along with the producers, the theater owner, and the cast, West was arrested for corrupting morals, sentenced to ten days in jail, and fined $500. She used the ensuing public attention to publicize the wrongs done to her and went on to stage more successful theatrical productions—*The Wicked Age* (1927), *Diamond Lil* (1928), *The Constant Sinner* (1931), and *Catherine Was Great* (1944)—all of which featured her as a prostitute or kept woman who takes wealthy men for lovers, only to cast them aside when a richer one comes along. An outspoken advocate of sex as a basic human rights issue, West was also a proponent of gay and transgender rights. She wrote *The Drag* (c. 1927) about homosexuality; it was banned from Broadway but was a box-office hit in New Jersey.

Geraldine Farrar as Madame Butterfly. *Famous opera singer Geraldine Farrar leans over a stage surrounded by flowers as she assumes her role of the submissive Madame Butterfly.* **© CORBIS.**

Contemporary theater has witnessed a great deal of identity reclaiming in the realms of sex and gender as well as a continued commitment to social issues. In the 1960s the Saudi Arabian playwright Ali Ahmed Bakthir wrote a play calling for the general education of Arab women. In 1975 the African-American playwright Ntozake Shange (b. 1948) wrote *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow Is Enuf: A Choreopoem*, which explored numerous aspects of black female identity via poetry, dance, and theater. In the same year the Nigerian playwright and Nobel recipient Wole Soyinka (b. 1934) penned *Death and the King's Horsemen*, calling attention to the sacrifices sons must make for their fathers, families, and society. *Care and Control* by Michelene Wandor (b. 1940), the first British play about the rights of lesbian mothers in custody battles, was staged in 1977. Eleven years later David Henry Hwang (b. 1957) reworked the stereotype of the submissive Asian female from Puccini's opera *Madame Butterfly* in *M. Butterfly*, recasting the passive, suicidal Japanese geisha as a cunning Beijing opera diva and spy who, unknown to his European lover and mark, is really a man. The year 1988 saw *The Heidi Chronicles* by Wendy Wasserstein (1950–2006), which reflects the evolution of feminism through the protagonist, Heidi Holland, who was regarded as embodying the new feminine feminist.

In the late 1980s and 1990s gay, lesbian, and bisexual solo performance artists were active in American theater as AIDS awareness and issues of queer rights emerged. In 1989 Michael Kearns (b. 1950), the first openly HIV-positive gay actor in Hollywood, wrote *Initimacies*, an award-winning multicharacter solo performance exploring the personal stories of HIV-positive individuals. The bisexual Japanese-American solo performance artist Denise Uyehara subverted many common Asian female and sexual stereotypes with *Hello (Sex) Kitty: Mad Asian Bitch on Wheels*. The queer solo performance artists Karen Finley (b. 1956), John Fleck (b. 1951), Holly Hughes (b. 1955), and Tim Miller (b. 1958), all recipients of a solo performer fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in 1990, suddenly had their funding revoked when political pressure groups deemed their sexuality-focused and body-focused work inappropriate for federal funding. The "NEA 4," as they were dubbed by the media, took their case to the Supreme Court, which upheld the NEA's decision on the basis of general standards of decency, thus implying that those artists' work was indecent. The NEA then stopped funding individual artists.

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Lan Tran

ARTEMIS DIANA

The Greek goddess Artemis, the daughter of Zeus and Leto and twin sister of Apollo, was a strict virgin without any male lover and any offspring; she was typically in the company of the nymphs, young women of nubile age. Images represent her as a young woman, often a hunter in short dress and with bow and quiver, sometimes accompanied by a stag. Her counterpart in Roman myth was Diana.

In Greek and, by extension, Roman cult, Artemis had multiple and widely varying functions, most clearly gendered. Their common denominator was her protection of human activities in marginal space and time.

SPACE FUNCTIONS

In space, Artemis oversaw the uncultivated area outside the city and the cultivated land that is the space of transition between individual cities. Here, hunting, traveling, and warfare were the dominant human activities. Artemis protected hunters and presided over their prey, the wild animals; as such, she was closely connected with deer, especially the stag, and acted as "Mistress of Animals," the divine protector of wild animals.

From the Neolithic epoch onward, hunting was an exclusively male occupation, one whose performance excluded any sexual interest or activity: Sexuality belonged to the secluded space of the city and its houses. Several myths tell about the disastrous consequences of disregarding this separation. In the myth of the Calydonian hunt, the female hunter Atalanta provoked the love of Meleager, who forgot the rules of hunting and was subsequently killed by his mother. Whereas this story warns against importing sexuality into the realm of Artemis, the myth of Hippolytus

Marble Statue of Artemis. THE ART ARCHIVE/EPHESUS MUSEUM TURKEY/DAGLI ORTI.

warns against extending Artemis's realm into the city: The young hunter Hippolytus worshiped only Artemis and refused sexuality; Aphrodite, the goddess of erotic love, punished him by making his stepmother Phaedra fall in love with him, which caused his death through his father's curse.

Warfare is closely connected with hunting and as defense of the city's borders with the uncultivated surrounding spaces; Artemis Agrotera ("the Wild One") received regular sacrifices before a battle. In a few cases, the goddess also acted as a protector of cities under siege. At some point in time, she also was identified with Selene, the moon goddess, paralleling her brother Apollo's identification with Helios, the sun god.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

A major area of Artemis's concern was the life of adolescent humans of both genders; she presided over this socially all-important transition from childhood to adulthood, to the roles of citizen, husbands, and warriors, and of childbearing wives, respectively. Many relevant cults took place in a sanctuary outside the cultivated area of the city and its fields: This combines spatial and temporal liminality and transition.

With respect to young men, two cults should be singled out. One is the festival of Artemis Tauropolos in Halae Araphenides on the east coast of Attica. During its rites, a young man received a small knife cut in his throat to draw blood, an action meant to incarnate Orestes being sacrificed to the savage Artemis of the Taurians (north shore of the Black Sea). This Artemis had the epithet Tauropolos, literally "steer herder," because the male adolescents were designated as young steers; this meaning, however, got lost early, and later Greeks understood the name as referring to the Taurians (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*).

The other cult is the annual ritual in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. In its older form, it was a contest between two groups of young men, one trying to steal cheese from the altar, the other fiercely defending the altar. Later, it was turned into the annual flogging of young men, until they bled. The priestess of Artemis carried the goddess's small image, which signaled by its weight whether the flogging was hard enough. As was the case with the Artemis Taurpolos cult, the Spartan rite was understood to replace an original human sacrifice. It was famous throughout later antiquity and even attracted Roman tourists.

For girls and young women, Artemis guarded two passages, the entry into adolescence (becoming a *párthenos*) and the final passage to childbearing womanhood (becoming a *gunē*). At the age of about ten, girls retired for some time to a sanctuary outside the city where they danced or even performed athletic contests, as in the case of Brauron on the east coast of Attica where vase paintings show footraces of naked girls. When marrying, they dedicated the toys of their childhood, such as balls or dolls, in a shrine of Artemis. The goddess also helped with childbirth (often under the title of Lochia, "Lady of Birth"). A myth told how Artemis, born a day before her brother Apollo, helped her mother Leto give birth to him. Her shrine in Brauron received the garments of women who had died in childbirth; in other shrines, women dedicated garments to Artemis to thank her for safe delivery and in the hope of further births.

ANATOLIAN CULTS

A few Anatolian cults of Artemis are somewhat different from the above, most conspicuously the cult of Artemis in Ephesus. In the latter, Artemis combines aspects of the Anatolian Mountain Mother with her pan-Greek image. The famous many-breasted statue of Ephesian Artemis reproduces an archaic Near Eastern statue type. Already antiquity regarded her as many-breasted (*multimamma*);

modern scholars agree that they are not breasts, but disagree as to what they are.

ROMAN DIANA

Roman Diana shared mythology, iconography, and many cult details with Artemis, although Diana played no role as protector of young males, a role given mostly to Juno or Minerva. Diana's role as moon goddess, however, was more prominent in Rome and might be original. Like Artemis, Diana was regarded as protector of women and as protector of hunters whose dedications she received; animal heads could be suspended in her sanctuaries as a trophy, and a very important shrine was in a grove in the forests around Lake Nemi (Diana *Nemorensis,* "She of the Grove"). Unlike Artemis, however, she also played an important political role: Her sanctuary on the Aventine in Rome was the center of an age-old alliance of Latin cities under Rome's leadership. In Christian belief, she became the demon of witchcraft because she shared, as goddess of wilderness and transitions, traits with the goddess Hecate; as such, she is still worshipped among contemporary Wiccas and neopagans.

SEE ALSO *Anahita.*

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Fritz Graf

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION

Artificial insemination refers to the techniques of fertilization employed for reproductive purposes by means other than sexual intercourse. Artificial insemination began in the 1700s and in most cases was used for livestock reproduction. The first attempt at human artificial insemination took place in 1780, when the Scottish surgeon John Hunter impregnated a woman by transferring semen from husband to wife with a syringe. Later attempts were relatively unsuccessful until the 1940s because little was known about the female reproductive cycle. Not until 1936 did the scientist C. G. Hartman determine that the menstrual cycle of a female is approximately twenty-eight days, with the most fertile period occurring eleven to fourteen days after the first day of the cycle. That knowledge greatly increased the odds of fertilization, and by 1955 approximately 55,000 women had become pregnant through artificial insemination despite the fact that the practice was condemned by religious institutions as unnatural and immoral.

THE FOUR TYPES OF ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION

Artificial insemination (AI), or assisted reproductive technologies (ART), continues to become more sophisticated. By 2006 artificial insemination took the form of four medical procedures, with each progressing to a more invasive form: intravaginal (in the vagina), intracervical (in the cervical canal), intrauterine (in the uterine cavity), and intratubal (in the fallopian tubes).

Intravaginal insemination (IVI) is the least invasive artificial insemination technique although it is not often performed in fertility clinics due to the ease of performing the technique at home. Semen is placed directly into the vagina using a sterile syringe. There it enters the cervical opening, traveling through the cervix, uterine tract, and fallopian tubes to the egg waiting for fertilization, replicating to a certain degree the process that occurs during sexual intercourse. IVI is most often used in cases where women choose to become pregnant using donated sperm, or in cases where the male partner is not able to sexually perform.

Although not the least intrusive method, intrauterine insemination (IUI) usually is considered the most common method because of its success rate. This procedure bypasses the cervical opening by using a surgical catheter and places the sperm directly into the uterine tract to increase the chances that the sperm will reach the egg (ovum) and achieve fertilization. Six attempts may be required for fertilization to take place.

Intracervical insemination (ICI) is another common procedure for artificial insemination. Sperm is placed directly into the cervix to increase the chance that the sperm reaches the ovum. This technique is most successful when there is no underlying medical issue contributing to infertility in the woman. Those using sperm donors in the absence of or due to a fertitlity problem in the male partner often utilize ICI. This procedure is painless and non-invasive.

Intratubal insemination (ITI) places sperm directly into the fallopian tubes in order to increase the chance the sperm reaches the ovum. ITI is the least performed artificial insemination technique due to the level of invasiveness and expense. It is performed either through the insertion of a surgical catheter through the vagina, cervix, and uterine tract into the fallopian tubes, or through a laparoscopic procedure where an incision is made in the abdomen and guided by a surgical camera to allow the surgeon to insert the sperm directly into the fallopian tubes. This procedure is more painful than IUI or ICI and is most often recommended after IUI or ICI have failed.

IN VITRO FERTILIZATION (IVF)

If artificial insemination procedures are unsuccessful, in vitro fertilization (IVF) is usually the next step. In vitro means "in the lab," and babies conceived by this means have been commonly referred to as "test tube babies." IVF is most often used in conjunction with fertility drugs to produce multiple mature eggs during ovulation. These eggs are then surgically removed from the ovaries and fertilized with sperm from the male partner/donor in a petri dish. When embryos are produced, the embryos are surgically implanted into the uterus of the female in hopes that at least one of the embryos will remain viable and produce a child. Most often embryos are cultured three to five days before being implanted. While IVF is one of the most utilized of procedures, it is also the most controversial.

With each IVF procedure, multiple embryos are produced while only two to five embryos are implanted in the uterus. Often couples will preserve a few extra embryos in case they choose to expand their family at a later date. Additional embryos either become the property of the clinic where the IVF procedure was performed, are destroyed or donated to other infertile couples. Religious leaders, ethicists, and some science communities view the destruction of embryos as the destruction of a living human being, often equating the act as equivalent to abortion, or more extreme, as genocide. As property, embryos are often used for genetic and stem cell research, which brings up ethical issues around the preservation of human life as well as issues surrounding the selection of desired characteristics and the elimination of others through genetic modification methods currently being researched using these embryos. These issues also extend to the couples using IVF.

While the hope is that the couple undergoing IVF will have at least one embryo implant and develop into a full pregnancy, with better retrieval, culturing, and transfer techniques, many couples are confronted with multiple embryos implanting and developing. Couples are confronted with having to choose between having multiple births or selecting certain embryos/fetuses to abort and determining the criteria by which to eliminate. Many factors weigh in on these decisions including religious, political, economic, and social pressures.

ETHICAL ISSUES

When artificial insemination became a medical practice in the 1940s, controversy arose over the fact that the act of fertilization occurred outside the act of coitus. The use of donor semen (artificial insemination donor) was deemed a form of adultery and any offspring resulting from the procedure were considered illegitimate despite its use solely in cases of a husband's infertility, with written consent from both the husband and the wife. One way of bypassing this condemnation was by mixing the sperm of the husband with that of the donor in an artificial insemination center (AIC) so that the paternity of the offspring was uncertain.

State court cases began surfacing in 1964 when Georgia became the first state to declare a child legitimate if the husband gave written consent. In 1968 *People* v. *Sorensen* held that a man who had been convicted for not supporting a child conceived with his consent through donor insemination was legally obligated to support the child, relieving the donor of any financial responsibility. In 1973 the American Bar Association adopted the Uniform Parentage Act, which viewed the woman's husband as the natural father of a child conceived with donor insemination if the husband consented and if it was done under the supervision of a physician. The use of donor sperm in unmarried women did not occur until the 1970s.

The women's liberation movement of the 1970s ushered in a new wave of women's independence. As women started to question and challenge the roles and expectations of their sex, many women began to redefine what it means to be a woman. Unmarried women who desired children but not the marriage that traditionally preceded it, as well as lesbian couples, sometimes resorted to a home-based method of artificial insemination. Using a turkey baster or a syringe with a donor's semen, women would impregnate themselves. By the late 1970s sperm banks allowed unmarried women to receive sperm from an unknown donor.

LEGAL ISSUES

Although purchasing sperm remains a relatively easy task, finding a specialist to perform the insemination is more difficult. The decision whether to inseminate an unmarried woman, regardless of her sexual orientation, resides with the individual physician. Physicians in private practice have the right to refuse to serve any individual. The right to refuse under the Hyde-Weldon Amendment signed unto law under the 2005 Omnibus Appropriations Bill (HR 4818) extends the "conscience clause" to apply to any public health entity from health management organizations to individuals working for a public health service to refuse to perform services such as birth control, abortion, eugenics, and infertility services on the basis of religious or moral objections. The attention given to this clause has been focused mainly on birth control and abortion, but the clause also affects the ability of unmarried and nonheterosexual people to receive insemination services. These obstacles can be circumvented through home-based artificial insemination, but the complex legal issues that surface in cases of nontraditional insemination are becoming more politically charged.

Same-sex parenting and adoption, surrogate rights as well as the rights of a couple using a surrogate, legal protection of known donors, and the rights of offspring to receive donor identity are issues that have begun to surface in the courts and vary from state to state. For example, in a 2002 Pennsylvania case, *Ferguson* v. *McKiernan*, which was granted an appeal by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 2005, the lower court found McKiernan responsible for the support of two children he had fathered through donor insemination. The courts decided that the "rights" of an interested third party (the children) cannot be "bargained away" even if the third-party interests are not present at the time the contract is made. The ramifications of this ruling could extend to sperm bank donors as well as known donors and surrogates. A donor's right to anonymity also has been challenged; in 2006 only eight states recognized the parental rights of a nonbiological parent besides the stepparent in a heterosexual marriage, granting sole custodial rights to the biological parent or, in the case of the death or disability of that parent, to a family member of the biological parent rather than the same-sex partner even if the children were conceived as a couple. The relative ease of artificial insemination has created complex social issues that have begun to surface in public debate.

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ARTISTS, WOMEN

There are far fewer well-known women artists than there are male artists throughout history. This is partly because women artists were often overlooked or their works were attributed to male teachers or relatives. It is also because, women have, for various reasons, been prevented from pursuing and developing the sustained careers by which artists gain reputation. Most women lacked the financial and social independence to develop artistic skills. They rarely had access to training either because training was considered to be inappropriate for females, or they had neither the money nor the freedom to take advantage of opportunities to work with and learn from established painters and sculptors. Marriage and childbearing often interrupted artistic careers, preventing women from spending time producing works of art. Women were also not educated in math and science, areas deemed necessary for successful careers in art.

Many women who did have careers as artists were often the relatives of male artists and thus could learn artistic skills in the household. When women did have the opportunity to produce art, their work was often fragile and portable—miniatures and manuscript illuminations—and did not survive or was not considered to be the substance of truly fine artistic expression. Because female artists could not paint from nude male models, the subject matter of women's paintings was often portraits and still lives instead of the more admired historical or religious painting by which fine art was defined. Even with great skill and mastery, women's art simply did not comply with what the art world deemed important. Only since the mid-1990s have women been popularly recognized for their work, a shift enabled by liberalized attitudes about women as well as changes in ideas about what art is.

RISE OF WOMEN ARTISTS: FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

There have always been women artists, though few from ancient history are remembered. Women artists are described working in ancient Greece, and a few women are noted through the Middle Ages. The first women to emerge as artists with reputations and works that have survived came from renaissance Italy in the sixteenth century. The increased emphasis on the individual produced by renaissance ideas about art and education shifted the focus of painting from religious scenes to portraiture, where women excelled. Baldassare Castiglione's influential book, *The Courtier* (1528), which argued for the more complete education of upper-class women, made it socially acceptable, if not necessary, to train such women in drawing. Several female portraitists emerged from the Italian Renaissance, including Sofonisba Anguissola (c. 1532–1625), Lavinia Fontana (1552–1614), and Fede Galizia (c. 1578–1630). There was also a women sculptor, Properzia de' Rossi (c. 1490–1530). Fontana became an official painter in the papal court of Pope Clement VIII and was elected to the Roman Academy of Arts. Following the Italians, the northern center of the Renaissance, Holland, also yielded a few women painters, including Caterina van Hemessen (1528–c. 1587) and miniaturist Lavina Teerlinc (c. 1520–1576).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, women artists benefited from the increased interest in still life painting and portraits. Italy and Holland still dominated artistic production during the baroque era. In Italy painters Artemesia Gentileschi (1593–c. 1652), a follower of Michelangelo Merisi (known as Caravaggio), painted large-scale religious scenes, and Elisabetta Sirani (1638–1665) painted large portraits and historical scenes. Several women specialized in paintings of natural history, including the Italian painter Giovanna Garzoni (1600–1670) and Swiss watercolorist Sibylla Merian (1647–1717). In France Louise Moillon (1610–1696) was renowned for still lives of fruit; in the Netherlands Rachel Ruysch (1664–1750) and Maria van Oosterwyck (1630–1693) painted still lives of food and flowers and Judith Leyster (1609–1660) painted portraits. In the eighteenth century, the policies of art academies became more restrictive, limiting the number of female members. Nonetheless women artists persisted as renowned portraitists, including Italian Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757) and Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807) from Switzerland, and French artists Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842), famous for her portraits of Marie Antoinette; Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803); Françoise Duparc (1726–1778); and painter Jean-Honoré Fragonard's sister-in law, Marguerite Gérard (1761–1837).

THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN ARTISTS INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Women's increasing independence and education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries allowed more women to pursue careers as artists, though the gender biases of European and North American culture still did not deem such art to be sophisticated or important. Although the genres of painting—the kinds of topics seen as acceptable subjects for painting—expanded, permitting more women to be taken seriously as artists, they still lacked access to studios and art education in general. Women were barred from membership in the British Academy of Arts. English and American art became more prominent in the nineteenth century and the advent of Impressionism in the 1870s spurred some women artists to experiment with new painting styles. However, as before, most women who pursued careers in art were the daughters of wealthy families who often had connections with male artists. The expansion of acceptable painting subjects facilitated recognition of such English painters as Sophie Anderson (1823–c. 1898) and Emily Marie Osborn (1834–c. 1893), as well as American painters Lilly Martin Spencer (1822–1902) and Margaretta Angelica Peale (1795–1882), and French painters Marie-Eléonore Godefroid (1778–1849) and Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899). There were more women sculptors in the nineteenth century as well, including Americans Anne Whitney (1821–1915), Harriet Hosmer (1830–1908), Edmonia Lewis (c. 1844–c. 1911), and Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875–1942); French sculptor Camille Claudel (1864–1943); and German sculptor Elisabet Ney (1833–1907).

Impressionism, a style of painting interested in conveying the impression of light and atmosphere, moved painting away from photographic realism to brighter, more dynamic scenes of figures and landscapes. French painter Berthe Morisot (1841–1895) and American Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) were both part of the core group of painters who formulated and developed Impressionism. Another French painter, Eva Gonzalez (1849–1883), a close friend of Edouard Manet, also participated in the move away from a more somber realistic style. Impressionism influenced other painters, especially American painters Lilla Cabot Perry (1848–1933), Helen Turner (1858–1958), and Cecilia Beaux (1855–1942).

In the early twentieth century rapid advances in science and technology permitted more women to travel, gain educations, and work in studio settings. As with Impressionism, the various avant-garde art movements of the twentieth century included women as members of their founding coterie. In the first part of the twentieth century, Paris was still the center of artistic activity, and women as well as men traveled to Paris to explore the most innovative ideas about art. Painting and sculpture had begun to move away from realistic representations to the more abstract styles of Fauvism (a short-lived painting movement whose adherents used bright, violent colors, simple direct lines, and dramatic energy) and Expressionism (the expression of emotions through the use of color and line). French painter Suzanne Valadon (1865–1938) was influenced by both Fauvism and Expressionism, using a wide and brilliant palette as well as more abstracted figures in her paintings. Sonia Terk Delaunay (1885–1979) developed her own form of abstract painting as did another Russian émigré, Natalya Goncharova (1881–1962). Swiss multimedia abstractionist Sophie Taeuber-Arp (1889–1943) was a member of the Dada movement (an anti-art art movement that ridiculed bourgeois art production); the Surrealists (artists who depicted dreamlike irrational, but often realistically painted, images) included American Kay Sage (1898–1963) and Spanish painter Remedios Varo (1913–1963). German painter and sculptor Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945) produced sociopolitical commentaries on the human condition, while Vanessa Bell (1879–1961), English writer

Virginia Woolf's sister, and Romaine Brooks (1874–1970) painted portraits and scenes influenced by post-Impressionist simplicity.

In the United States Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1986) set out to discern her own style of painting, producing stark, simple, yet striking minimalist or abstract images. Lois Mailou Jones (1905–1998) pursued an abstract painting style that included images familiar to African-American populations. Irene Rice Pereira (1907–1971) produced abstract paintings; Mexican painter Frida Kahlo (1907–1954) developed her own style of painting that reflected the colors and images of Mexico.

"Crucifixion," Sculpture by Niki de Saint-Phalle, 1963. *Mixed media, woman, her upper torso made from faux flowers and discarded toys, wearing rollers in her hair, pink garter belt, yarn and dolls with out-reached arms, patchwork girdle, black chantilly lace stockings, black heels, merkin made from tangled yarn painted black.* MUSEE NATIONAL D'ART, GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, NY.

WOMEN ARTISTS INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Since the middle of the twentieth century, women artists have become increasingly prominent, not only because the means of artistic production has become more universally available, but also because feminist movements encouraged women's art and provided a market for it. Abstract expressionism (painting as an assertion of the individual through abstract images) had several accomplished American female practitioners, including Helen Frankenthaler (b. 1928) and Lee Krasner (1908–1984). Other women artists sought to define their own styles. Portraitist Alice Neel (1900–1984) painted frank, unromanticized portraits; Elaine de Kooning (1918–1989) and Joan Mitchell (1926–1992) developed their own abstract styles. British painter Bridget Riley (b. 1931) developed a form of Op (or Optical) Art, and Judy Chicago (b. 1939) worked through paint, ceramics, and embroidery to create group projects on feminist themes.

Women sculptors also flourished in the twentieth century, adopting the abstract and simple forms of painting. Becoming as interested in pure form in sculpture as they were in abstract painting such sculptors as the Russian expatriate Louise Nevelson (1899–1988), British sculptor Barbara Hepworth (1903–1975), and French sculptor Louise Bourgeois (b. 1911) began the move toward less representational sculpture using a wide variety of materials. The evolution of sculpture continued with American Dorothy Dehner (1901–1994), the French Venezuelan Marisol (b. 1930), Chryssa (b. 1931), and the French Niki de Saint Phalle (1930–2002), whose work moved toward installation art, which became prominent in the 1970s.

In the early twenty-first century women are recognized as prominent installation artists as well as photographers and multimedia specialists. Much of this art involves social commentary and invites viewer involvement. Installation artists set up multimedia displays in a variety of spaces. Using photography, sculpture, painting, text, and everyday objects, these installations typically render wry commentary on commodities, gender roles, social class, commercialization, power and oppression, and art itself. Installation artists include Americans Eleanor Antin (b. 1935), Jenny Holzer (b. 1950), Barbara Kruger (b. 1945), French artist Annette Messager (b. 1943), the Germans Rebecca Horn (b. 1944) and Kiki Smith (b. 1954), Palestinian Mouna Hatoum (b. 1952), and Brazilian sculptor Jac Leirner (b. 1961). Performance art, related to installation art, includes live performance, sound effects, text, and other multimedia components. Prominent American performance artists are Laurie Anderson (b. 1947) and Kathy Rose (b. 1949).

Other women artists continue to work in more traditional media, including still life painters Americans Audrey Flack (b. 1931) and Janet Fish (b. 1938), and abstract painters Elizabeth Murray (b. 1940), Susan Rothenberg (b. 1945), and Mandy Martin (b. 1952). Catalan Sculptor Susana Solano (b. 1946) creates art out of everyday objects. American photographers Cindy Sherman (b. 1954) and Sandy Skogland (b. 1946) produce staged photographic portraits and events that comment both on the art of photography and the political and gendered slant of images. Other women artists, such as American Howardena Pindell (b. 1943), concentrate on collage.

Although women artists in the early twenty-first century are still not considered innovators by many in the hierarchy of art criticism, their work is gaining attention and critical acclaim. Observers recognize their work not only as expert and insightful, but as an entirely new expression of the human experience, important in its vision.

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ASEXUALITY

The definition of the term *asexuality* depends on what one means by the term *sex*. One definition of sex is the physical differentiation between males and females. Therefore, to be biologically asexual an individual must lack either male or female reproductive organs and perhaps the corresponding secondary characteristics, such as breasts or facial hair. In this sense, *asexual* may be distinguished from *androgynous*, which can mean having neither set of sexual characteristics or having a mixture of both. However, asexual also has come to mean having a greatly diminished libido or even a lack of desire for sex. It is in this social rather than morphological sense that asexuality became a popular subject of discussion in the popular media in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Asexuality is not synonymous with celibacy or chastity. Celibate people abstain from sexual activity for a variety of reasons, whereas chaste people refrain from religiously proscribed sexual activity (outside of marriage, for instance). In neither case is desire for sex in question. In fact, the celibate and the chaste are subjects of interest and reverence precisely because they are engaged, or are imagined to be engaged, in an internal battle with normal or even rampant sexual desire. For the asexual, the obverse is the case. Although asexuals may engage in sexual activity, perhaps including autoerotic stimulation, and may even have children, they do not desire sex with the intensity or frequency of sexual persons. That is, celibacy and chastity describe acts and choices, whereas asexuality describes desire or, rather, indifference. It is important to note that lack of interest in sex does not mean a lack of romantic involvement or amorous feelings, which may be directed toward members of the same sex, the opposite sex, or both. Thus one can speak of gay, straight, and bisexual asexuals.

Some research suggests that asexuality is rare, occurring in perhaps one percent of the adult population (Bogaert 2004). Until recently, social asexuality generally was seen as a disorder with either a psychological or a biochemical etiology: a past trauma such as abuse or a hormonal disorder, for instance. Medically, for asexuality to be seen as a disorder, either the asexual person or his or her partner must find the lack of desire a problem or must find that it marks a loss of normal desire. The logical consequence for these requirements, some people reason, is that if the persons in question do not see a problem and if there has been no loss of sexual desire, such asexuality is not a disorder but a sexual orientation like heterosexuality or homosexuality and should be respected as such. Far from being a programmatic rejection of human sexuality or a reaction to recent sexual revolutions, asexuality has simply become more visible in contemporary cultural and political environments.

SEE ALSO *Celibacy.*

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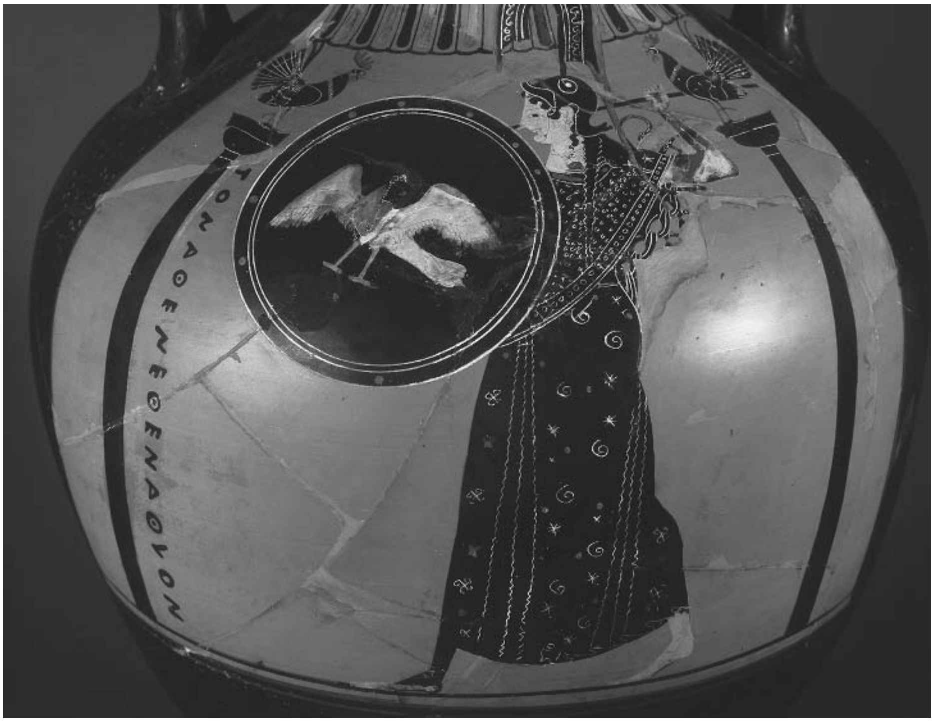
ASHERAH

SEE *Judaism.*



Athena on Amohora. *An amphora featuring the goddess Athena.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO NAZID TARANTO/DAGLI ORTI.**

ATHENA

One of several virgin goddesses in ancient Greek religion, Athena was nonetheless most frequently associated with males. Already at her extraordinary birth from the head of her father Zeus (who swallowed his pregnant consort Metis, or wise counsel), she assumed a military aspect that would be her most identifiable iconographic feature. Although in physique and dress a female, her image bristles with masculine attributes: shield, spear, helmet, and the protective aegis given to her by Zeus, onto which she later attached the fearsome head of the gorgon Medusa. In literature as well as art she is often at the side of heroes (e.g., Odysseus, Hercules, Theseus, Jason) as an adviser and goddess of warfare. In Aeschylus's play *Eumenides*, she states: "There is no mother anywhere who gave me birth and, but for marriage, I am always for the male with all my heart, and strongly on my father's side." Athena made her first appearance in the Bronze Age as a goddess of the citadel, and she continued as the guardian of high places such as the Athenian Acropolis or the Capitoline in Rome (as Minerva). Later she is often depicted fighting alongside her father and the hero Hercules, fending off the mighty giants who threatened to take control from the Olympians. Because of her strong allegiance to males, namely her father and most mythological heroes, Athena was always a popular deity in the patriarchal, male-dominated world of ancient Greece.

Although her first loyalty was to men, Athena also had numerous female associations. Her reputation for technical skill (*sophia*) derived not only from warfare but also from handicrafts, as in her contest with the weaver Arachne. At the Panathenaia, her chief festival in Athens, her cult statue was presented with a new robe, or *peplos*, specially woven by select girls and women of the city. As tutelary goddess of the city she was associated with its small owls (one of her epithets is "owl-eyed") and the olive tree, her winning gift to the city in a contest with the sea god Poseidon. Although steadfastly a virgin, Athena served a maternal role in the rearing of the earth-born Athenian king Erichthonius, who was the result of her attempted rape by the smith god Hephaestus. In one temple in Athens, the Hephaesteum, they were jointly worshiped as patron deities of craftsmanship.

Not without Near Eastern and Indo-European parallels, Athena has affinities with the Egyptian goddess Neith and the Indian war goddess Durgā. After antiquity she has lived on in images of armed females such as the personifications of Roma and Britannia. In modern psychology as formulated by Sigmund Freud, the gorgon head on Athena's aegis was intended to make her unapproachable and to repel all sexual desires. Combining as she does the characteristics of the male world (rationality, wisdom) with those of the female realm (creativity, practicality), Athena is a goddess of polarities, a complex figure of female power and authority.

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Jenifer Neils

ATOSSA

SEE *Queens.*

AUTOMOBILES

The introduction of the gasoline-powered automobile at the end of the nineteenth century provided a mobile platform for sexual adventure and a focal point for the development of a new kind of sex culture. Although courtship already involved forms of transportation—romantic walks, buggy rides, bicycles built for two, and train trips—the automobile offered a new kind of mobility, separation, and privacy to couples who wanted to take romance beyond hand holding, dancing, and perhaps the chaste kiss that once constituted publicly acceptable courtship behaviors. In addition, automobiles are both sexy and symbols of sexuality in the increasingly technological culture of the last hundred years.

EARLY AUTOMOBILES

It took a few years for the automobile to evolve from a barely motorized buggy owned by a wealthy few to a widely affordable mode of transportation. Although versions of the automobile were introduced in Europe and the United States in the 1890s, it was only through Henry Ford's innovations in mass production that the automobile became widely available to working-class families. The first "surrey" cars in the 1890s lacked tops and had high benchlike seats that were hard and uncomfortable. By adding tops and then windows and heaters, car manufacturers moved toward a more comfortable and impervious interior space with bigger, longer, and more padded seats and upholstered doors. By the 1920s enclosed cars whose interiors could be used as mobile beds were being fitted with running boards and fenders that also served as sites for sexual encounters. Some cars came with matching tents or removable seats that made them ideal for camping, transport of goods and people, or sexual activity. By 1927 more than 15 million Model T Fords had been sold.

AUTOMOBILES AS SITES FOR SEXUAL ENCOUNTERS

As automobiles became more enclosed, blocking passengers from prying eyes and weather, they also become increasingly convenient sites for sexual behavior. As more people could afford to purchase automobiles, cars become increasingly available to younger people as vehicles for dating. Because most young people lived with their parents until marriage, romance was limited to what was publicly permissible. The mobility of the automobile, however, enabled new possibilities for sexual encounters, permitting couples to go where they wanted, providing a new site for sexual encounters away from public places such as the parks, church socials, porches, and living rooms that had previously given courting couples opportunities to get to know one another. Couples could move around together, going from social venues, such as a drive-in restaurant, where they could eat alone together with other automotive couples, to lovers' lanes and other parking spots, where the privacy of darkness and the solitude of the closed car permitted explorations away from the eyes of family members and neighbors.

During the first thirty years of the automobile, roadside culture also evolved to accommodate the automobile and its touring passengers. As automobiles became more numerous and reliable, more people began taking road trips and needed places to stay along the road because a tent was not everyone's idea of desirable accommodations. Roads, which had been poorly built, began to improve to accommodate automobile traffic. Food and lodging industries developed specifically for the needs of the automobile tourist, who often found it inconvenient to park in the environs of midcity hotels. Motor courts and motels emerged along popular automobiling routes and provided another trysting place designed specifically for vehicular access. Although most motor courts provided lodging for travelers, some quickly saw the benefits of hosting the sexually adventurous, renting rooms by the hour and asking few questions.

LEGAL REACTIONS

The increased opportunity for sexual behavior was not without detractors. Lawmakers began defining the kinds of activities permissible in automobiles. Although most lovers' lane activities were tolerated or, at worst, lovers were shooed away by the police, some municipalities passed laws against various degrees of sexual activity in cars, including kissing and masturbating while watching other people have sex in cars. In Clinton, Oklahoma, such self-servicing activities were banned in drive-in movie theaters. Chicago enacted a series of statutes, including one that made the car a "public place," which, taken together, essentially outlawed making love in cars. In Carlsbad, New Mexico, couples having sex in a parked vehicle during lunch hour had to have the curtains drawn. If couples having sex in parked cars in Liberty Corner, New Jersey, accidentally blew the horn, they could be put in jail. In Detroit car sex was banned unless the car was parked on the participants' own property. In Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, police officers who suspected that a car's occupants were engaged in sexual activity had to honk their horns three times and wait for two minutes before investigating. What the presence of such laws indicates is the pervasiveness of sex in cars. Those laws testify to the range of social situations sex in cars has produced.

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS WITH SEXUALITY

Automobiles and the culture of the road are associated with sexual behaviors in other ways as well. Prostitution has become associated with automobiles as one of the prime sites for business. Prospective clients cruise for prostitutes, and prostitutes use particular roads, intersections, truck stops, and rest areas as places to attract customers. As a strategy for curtailing prostitution, municipalities such as Los Angeles began seizing the automobiles of citizens suspected of soliciting prostitutes.

Hitchhiking also has become associated with sexuality as sexual appeal has become a pretext for hitching a ride—a tendency exploited in films such as *It Happened One Night* (1934)—and especially as it relates to the opportunity for and risk of potentially dangerous sexual encounters. The phrase "hitchhiking to heaven" refers to male masturbation.

Automobiles not only are sites for sexual activity; they also may produce sexual stimulation. In *Three Essays on Sexuality* (1905), written during the era of trains, the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud noted the way "the shaking produced by driving in carriages and later by railway travel" results in a link "between railway travel and sexuality" produced by the "pleasurable character of the sensations of movement." The same sensation of movement has a sexual connection to the automobile, whose movement and shape, character, and symbolism bespeak sexuality, potency, and allure.

In western culture automobiles long have been thought of as sex symbols both as markers of masculinity and as a marketing strategy. Long, lean, powerful speedy machines became phallic symbols as well as indicators of wealth, style, and sexual prowess. Automobile enthusiasts annually list cars with the greatest sex appeal: Corvettes, Ferraris, Lamborginis, Mustangs, Porsches, and Mazda RX-8's, among others. These cars join more classic expressions of powerful sexiness that often are associated with specifically masculine characters in films, such as James Bond with his Aston Martin DB5 in *Goldfinger* (1964). Sports cars in particular, with their streamlined speed, have been associated with virility, as have jalopies, racing cars, and other custom vehicles whose power relates to the mechanical aptitude and bravado of their drivers. Films featuring drag races, such as *Rebel without a Cause* (1954), *Le Mans* (1971), and *Days of Thunder* (1990), show the ways in which cars, speed, and machismo have become linked in western culture.

In addition to the sexiness of automobile design, sex is used as a way to market automobiles. The association of sexy cars with sexually alluring women is presumed to attract male customers. Phallic automobiles are caressed by ultra sexy female car show models, and although they may have all but disappeared from television advertisements, women still figure prominently on automobile-theme calendars. Advertising tactics that emphasize sleek auto body lines, class status, power, and performance produce an association between the phallic, masculine characteristics of the automobile and its prospective owner, as does nomenclature such as the "muscle" car. Muscle cars such as Pontiac GTOs, Mustangs, and Camaros are automobiles that have been modified to gain maximum horsepower from the engine. They appear bulky and rumbling and outperform normal cars. The status of the car becomes that of the owner. Males are assumed to have driving skills that match the capabilities of their vehicles, and expert speedy driving is associated with masculinity.

At the same time, women are assumed to be poor drivers. Whereas in many advertisements the automobile is an outward sign of the owner's masculinity, few cars are marketed to women on the basis of intrinsic sex appeal. Instead, cars are advertised to women on the basis of practicality, ease of use, and safety.

Cars have also become symbols of courtship and romance, especially in popular culture. Car radios were invented in 1929 and were sold separately (the resulting combination of movement and sound produced the brand name Motorola). Even before the combination of the car and the radio, pop music about sex and romance was circulating, from early favorites such as Irving Berlin's "Keep Away from the Fellow Who Owns an

Automobile" to the Nylons' "Little Red Corvette" and Queen's "I'm in Love with my Car." Sex has been associated with automobiles in films that include *It Happened One Night*, the jalopy culture of *Rebel without a Cause* and *American Graffiti* (1973), and more recently *Crash* (2004).

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Judith Roof

AVUNCULAR

Literally, avuncular means *like an uncle*. Its nominative form, avunculate, refers to the specific relationship between male children and their maternal uncle. The word avuncular has been redefined as a gender position by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. She conceives of the avuncular as a range of relatives, male and female, who are related to children but who are not their parents. In this way they have a relationship and a responsibility to these children, usually the offspring of cousins or siblings, but their relationship is by its very nature tangential, or non-normative. For Sedgwick this places the avuncular in the realm of the *queer*, and establishes a normative link to the queer within the family unit. In *Tendencies* (1993), she writes, "Because aunts and uncles (in either narrow or extended meanings) are adults whose intimate access to children needn't depend on their own pairing or procreation, it's very common, of course, for some of them to have the office of representing noncomforming or nonreproductive sexualities to children" (p. 63). The male relative is part of a spectrum of older men who serve to offer "a degree of initiation into gay cultures and identities" (p. 59). This is not to suggest that there is necessarily a physical relationship between avuncular males and their young relatives, but that they serve as a kind of model for possible alternative sexualities. The female avuncular (often an aunt), serves as a kind of *camp* figure whose presence emphasizes the erotic nature of the male avuncular.

SEE ALSO *Family.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

B

BACKROOM

Backroom refers to a type of illicit sexual practice that is defined by its location: the back room of a bar, club, or other establishment with an otherwise nonsexual function. This is a type of setting that allows for opportunistic sex: Contact is made in the front, or public part, of the bar or club, and then the back room is used for sexual activity. Back rooms are usually dark, and often maze-like. This configuration allows for a person to walk past a large number of other people to look for sex, or to *cruise*. The darkness also allows for a degree of anonymity. Group sexual activity is common in such locations.

Backroom sex is popular mostly with people who are excited by exhibitionism and voyeurism, or by those who are looking for casual anonymous sex. It is most common in bars and clubs with a primarily gay male clientele, although it takes place in heterosexual and lesbian establishments as well. Back rooms are most commonly associated with the leather and bondage and discipline, domination and submission, sadism and masochism (BDSM) communities, but are not confined to them. Because backroom activity is often spontaneous and anonymous, it is considered a risky sexual behavior. Much of the campaign against HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases has focused on back rooms and other locations of casual sexual encounters.

Backrooms as sites for sexual encounters produce a complex legal situation because they are neither public nor private. Bathhouses and sex clubs are often private, and their primary function is sexual activity. Therefore, people who enter them are likely to be aware of their purpose and what kinds of activity they may encounter. Public restrooms (called *tearooms* when used for illicit sexual activity), parks, and other such locations are clearly public and have no intended sexual function. Sexual activity in these locations is illegal in almost all cases. Backrooms are usually in public facilities but are not part of the public space of those facilities. Sexual activity in backrooms is usually considered illegal, but is rarely prosecuted. When police raids of backrooms occur, it is usually in the name of public health enforcement, but is often considered a veiled form of homophobia.

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BAHA'I FAITH

Baha'u'llah, the prophet-founder of the Baha'i faith, was born in Teheran, Iran, in 1817. The religion he founded grew out of nineteenth-century Shiite messianic expectations, much as Christianity grew out of similar expectations within Judaism. In claiming to be the latest messenger from God with new divinely revealed laws, Baha'u'llah irremediably separated the new religion from its Islamic background.

Among the principles promulgated in Baha'i writings was the equality of women and men. That equality does not refer solely to the spiritual plane, for Baha'i scriptures explicitly state that education for women and men should be identical and that women should be active in political affairs. The major exception to that principle is women's exclusion from service in the Universal House of Justice, the Baha'i community's supreme governing body. Nonetheless, representation of women in top Baha'i administrative positions is high. According to statistics cited at the Fourth World Women's Forum in Beijing in 1995, women constituted about 30 percent of the Baha'i leadership at the national level and about half of those serving in local Baha'i communities.

WOMEN IN BAHA'U'LLAH'S WRITINGS

The writings of Baha'u'llah unequivocally proclaim the equality of men and women, asserting that "in this Day the Hand of divine grace hath removed all distinction. The Servants of God and His handmaidens are regarded on the same plane." Elsewhere he suggests that differences between the sexes are the result of vain imaginings and idle fancies that have been destroyed with the new revelation. Baha'u'llah further insists on the education of girls, a requirement that Baha'u'llah's son, 'Abdu'l-Baha, took further by giving girls preference in cases in which not all children could be educated.

The *Kitab-i-Aqdas*, the book that contains Baha'i sacred law, was written in Arabic, a language that requires the use of the male gender for collective terms. For that reason most of its admonitions and laws appear to be addressed to men. Baha'is, however, generally have not understood the greater part of the *Aqdas* in this manner. 'Abdu'l Baha, for instance, insisted that although the *Aqdas* appears to allow bigamy, this is conditioned on equal treatment of both wives, an impossibility that made monogamy alone permissible. Shoghi Effendi, who led the Baha'i community between 1921 and 1957, stated that women have the same rights as men to sue for divorce and that in most cases the laws in the *Aqdas* apply to persons of both sexes except when the context makes this impossible. For instance, since the *Aqdas* allows but does not encourage a man to divorce his wife if she falsely represented herself as a virgin before marriage, a woman may divorce a man in the same circumstances.

When read within the context of nineteenth-century Iran, the *Kitab-i Aqdas* presents startling contrasts to the norms of male-female relations. Although the *Aqdas* makes it optional for women to perform the obligatory prayers or fast during their menses, within Islam they are not permitted to do so at all because they are regarded as ritually unclean at such times, a concept that is not found in Baha'i teachings. Perhaps more surprising is Baha'u'llah's treatment of sexual issues. The sexuality of women in both Judaism and Islam has been seen as a potentially dangerous force that threatens the honor of the family and indeed the entire social fabric. For this reason adultery historically carried very high penalties, usually death. In contrast, according to the *Aqdas*, adulterers are subject to a fine, not the death penalty. There are some minor disparities between men and women in matters of inheritance, with the presumption being that men will provide the major means of support for the family. However, the laws in the *Aqdas* apply only to cases in which the deceased did not leave a will as required by Baha'i law. This leaves Baha'is free to make adjustments in accordance with their individual situations.

As in Islam, women have independent property rights even when they are married. The dowry or bride-price is presented by the groom to the bride, but there are strict limits on the amount of the dowry, making it a largely symbolic payment. Couples are required to obtain parental permission before marriage but are expected to select their own partners. Monogamous marriage between members of the opposite sex is regarded as the only acceptable outlet for sexual relations; thus, both premarital sex and homosexual conduct are not allowed. Procreation is regarded as the primary purpose of sex. Baha'is place no value on celibacy for its own sake, and monasticism is forbidden. Baha'is are encouraged to marry and live productive lives.

It has been argued that the exclusive use of the male gender in referring to God leads to a perpetuation of male dominance. Although Baha'u'llah's Arabic writings necessitated the use of the male gender in reference to God, the Persian language has no gender. However, thus far references to God have been translated using the male gender regardless of the original language. Perhaps more interesting is Baha'u'llah's treatment of the symbol of the Heavenly Maiden, or *huri*. In the Qur'anic vision of paradise black-eyed damsels, or *huri*s, are thought to serve believers. Within the Baha'i context of fulfilled eschatology the *huri* comes to symbolize the holy spirit, the personification of Baha'u'llah's revelation and the vehicle through which he receives it.

WOMEN AND BAHA'I ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS

Initially the prohibition against women serving in houses of justice was thought to apply to all administrative institutions, but in 1909 'Abdu'l-Baha stated that it applied only to the Universal House of Justice. In Iran their inclusion was implemented very gradually. Although women were allowed to vote in the Iranian Baha'i community, it was not until 1954 that they were permitted to serve in Baha'i institutions.

ABORTION AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

According to the Universal House of Justice, abortion "merely to prevent the birth of an unwanted child is strictly forbidden" (from a letter written on behalf of the Universal House of Justice to the National Spiritual Assembly of Ireland, March 16, 1983). However, abortion is permitted for medical reasons and in cases of rape. Domestic violence is condemned in the strongest terms.

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Susan Stiles Maneck

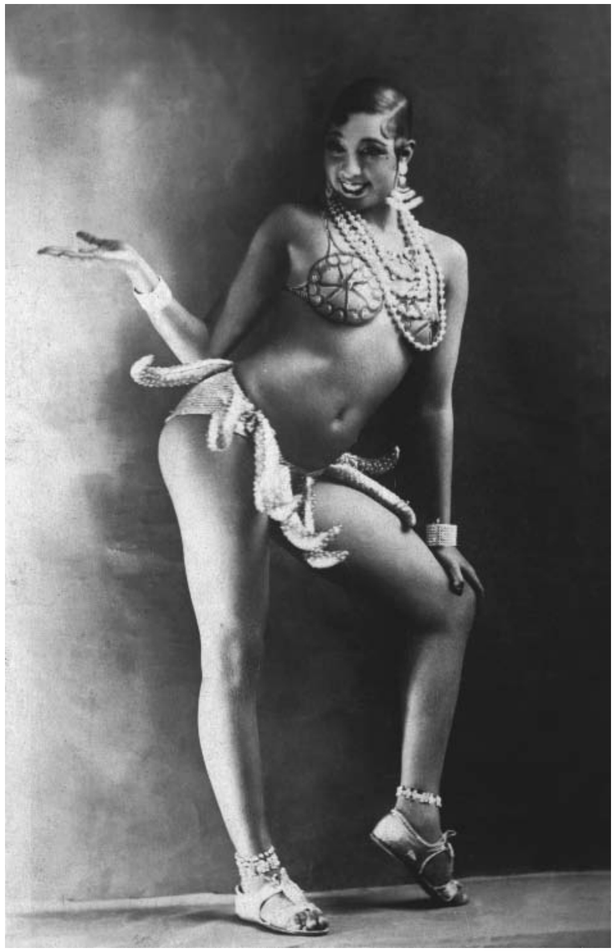
BAKER, JOSÉPHINE
1906–1975

The concepts of gender and race are often perceived as discrete components of an individual's social identity. Yet the official discourse on "women of color," in a racialized and patriarchal order, only magnifies this order's implicit assumptions on women in general. Joséphine Baker's tumultuous life and career in twentieth century-Europe is a reflection of women's broader struggle for acceptance in modernity.

An icon of black female eroticism in interwar Europe, Baker simultaneously submitted to European colonial construction of the *abject* (in Bulgarian writer Julia Kristeva's terms) other, and subtly reframed her performances to fit into an African-American tradition of social commentary through parodic dancing, as exemplified most notably by the cakewalk. The tension between these two dimensions of Baker's persona is summed up in one of her frequently quoted sentences: "Since I personified the savage on the stage, I tried to be as civilized as possible in daily life."

FROM ST. LOUIS TO THE PARISIAN LIMELIGHT

Born Freda Joséphine McDonald on June 3 in Saint Louis, Missouri, to a bar singer, Baker grew up fatherless and in poverty. At eleven she witnessed the East Saint Louis race riots, an experience that may have prompted her to escape the segregated United States later in life. At thirteen she married for the first time. She also landed her first job as a dancer for Southern vaudeville troupes, the Jones Family Band and the Dixie Steppers (1919), and began touring the country. Baker divorced but was soon remarried to a Pullman porter named William Baker and was hired to perform in two Broadway musicals, *Shuffle Along* (1921) and *The Chocolate Dandies* (1924), distinguishing herself in the all-black casts by her constant buffoonery.



Joséphine Baker. *Joséphine Baker in her famous banana dance costume.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.**

Selected for *la Revue Nègre*, a musical production that opened in Paris in 1925, Baker stole the show with her comic rendition of a new dance, the Charleston, and her passionate execution of the *Danse sauvage*, in front of crowds that included the most notable literati of the time. In line with primitivist shows performed in the trendy nightclubs of Harlem's "Jungle Alley," *la Revue Nègre* also exploited the European obsession with the alleged radical alterity of African people—former slaves and now colonial subjects. The craze over Sartjee Baartman, the "Hottentot Venus" of the 1810s, and

Baker, known as the Black Venus in the 1920s, suggests that women's bodies were thought to be the privileged locus of this alterity. Baker's nudity on stage, enhanced by exotic paraphernalia—feathers and jewelry, a banana belt, boa scarves and even a live jaguar—attracted scores of admirers to her shows, to the restaurant she owned in the Montmartre section of Paris, and to the movies she starred in. Worshiped by the primitivist modernists, she posed for Spanish painter Pablo Picasso and American artist Man Ray, and inspired French painter Paul Colin's lithographies. Writers Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Erich Maria Remarque, and Paul Morand paid tribute to her talent.

But her seemingly compliant impersonation of the feminized subaltern earned her harsh criticism in a time of heightened pan-African consciousness. Indicted for being "an agent of minstrelsy," and "prostituting Negro talent" (Borshuk 2001, p. 42), Baker was also rebuked for sporting the dubious title of Queen of the 1931 Exposition Coloniale, while starring in a show at the Casino de Paris designed to celebrate the French Colonial Empire. Many criticized her Tragic Mulatto roles in French films, such as *Sirène des Tropiques* (1927), *Zouzou* (1934), and *Princesse Tam Tam* (1935).

A trend-setter, Baker left her mark on the French fashion of the Années Folles with her corset-free clothing, perfume, and short hairstyle. She even marketed a hair gel, the Bakerfix. As the embodiment of the emergent model of woman liberated from social norms popularized by Victor Margueritte in his novel *La Garconne* (1922), Baker sometimes performed in a deliberately androgynous way, and was rumored to be bisexual. Her alleged affair with Mexican painter Frida Kahlo is briefly mentioned in American director Julie Taymor's movie *Frida* (2002).

Having attained some autonomy as an artist by the mid-1930s, Baker began asserting her talent and philosophy in a more personal way. After a devastating visit to the United States in 1936, where she experienced racial discrimination anew, she married a sugar magnate, Jean Lion. Now a French citizen, she continued touring Europe in an often hostile prewar climate. Recruited as a spy at the onset of World War II, she participated in the Resistance movement both in France and North Africa with such distinction that she was made a lieutenant of the female division of the French Air Force and awarded the Légion d'honneur. Her health began to deteriorate after a hysterectomy in 1941.

LATER CAREER AND SOCIAL IMPACT

After the war Baker, again single, married her bandleader Jo Bouillon with whom she wanted to create a transracial model community in her manor in Dordogne, France. She adopted twelve children of various nationalities and religious backgrounds. But Baker managed her finances poorly, and became heavily indebted. Bouillon left her in 1957, and she was expelled from her manor in 1969, although her friend Princess Grace of Monaco helped her secure another home for her Rainbow Tribe.

During two trips to the United States, in 1951 and 1963, she used her fame to fight racial discrimination. She insisted on having an integrated audience at the Copa City in Miami, the first in the club's history; attacked the Stork Club in New York City for refusing her patronage; and participated in the March on Washington in 1963. She also gave benefit concerts in support of the civil rights movement.

Due to her financial difficulties, Baker could not leave the stage, but performed until the end of her life with great gusto and to much acclaim. She appeared at the Olympia Theater in Paris in 1959; in Monte-Carlo in 1969; at Carnegie Hall in New York in 1973; and at the Bobino Theater in Paris in 1975. The show at the Bobino Theater, a musical retrospective of her life and career, was cancelled when Baker died of a brain hemorrhage on April 12, four days after the opening. She was given a state funeral at the Eglise de la Madeleine in Paris and is buried in the Cimetiere de Monaco.

Baker's spectacular trajectory from the slums of St. Louis to the limelight of the European art scene has inspired several biographies, among which *Hungry Heart* (1993), written by her adoptive son Jean-Claude Baker, figures prominently. Jacques Abtey, Baker's partner in the Resistance described her underground activities in *La Guerre Secrète de Joséphine Baker* (1949). She personally authored a series of autobiographies that included various versions of her life story.

Baker's participation in her own objectification in the first phase of her career in France remains a troubling issue. Her expert self-promotion as the Vogue Nègre's ultimate object of both male and female desire points to her ability to mimic (and expand on) the conventional black female. As Michael Borshuk argues, in adapting an African-American tradition of parodic dancing to the context of European colonial triumphalism, Baker may have intended to subvert race and gender-based stereotypes. Or, as Samir Dayal contends, she may have been "a black subjectivity divided between conflicting self-representations" (Dayal 2004, p. 36). In any case Baker's own comments indicate that she was fully conscious of her contribution to the "blackening" of Europe. In 1927, she wrote: "Since *la Revue Nègre* has hit the Gay Paris, I would say that Paris is getting more and more black" (Colin 1927).

SEE ALSO *Dance.*

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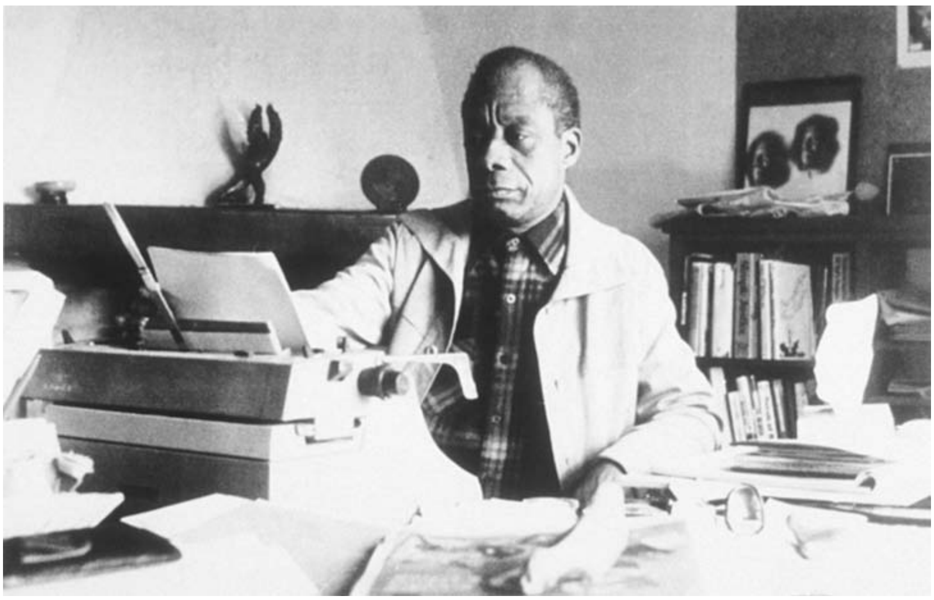
Sylvie Kandé

BALDWIN, JAMES
1924–1987

James Baldwin, novelist, essayist, and political and cultural activist, was one of the finest American intellectuals of the twentieth century. His works not only detail the particular struggles faced by intellectuals, bohemians, and racial and sexual minorities, but they also continually celebrate the fundamental truth of everyone's common humanity and the absolute necessity of the erotic in the maintenance and reproduction of the human community.

Born in Harlem on August 2, 1924, Baldwin passed through a difficult childhood as the eldest of nine children in a strict Pentecostal household. Becoming a preacher at age fourteen, Baldwin honed his gifts as a public speaker until he stepped down from the pulpit after three years, eventually leaving the church altogether. At this stage of his life, the young writer believed that he needed to distance himself from his parochial background in order to "preach the gospel" to a wider audience and he thought that he could most effectively reach that audience through his writing. Thus just out of his teens he began to write and publish in earnest, developing relationships with some of the most important literary journals in the United States. This continued until 1948, when with the support of the novelist Richard Wright, Baldwin received a Rosenwald Fellowship that allowed him to travel to Paris that same year.

In Paris Baldwin became part of the vibrant community of American expatriates who had made their way across the Atlantic in search of artistic opportunity as well as relief from the base insults meted out to racial and sexual minorities in the conservative, segregated, and intensely homophobic United States. He made good use of his Rosenwald Fellowship, publishing perhaps his most significant piece of literary criticism, "Everybody's Protest Novel," in his very first year as an expatriate. This work cast a highly critical eye upon the "protest tradition" that



James Baldwin. *James Baldwin in his home office.* AP IMAGES.

Baldwin suggested began with Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851–1852) and reached its zenith with Wright's *Native Son* (1940). Indeed the essay announced Baldwin as one of the most significant American cultural critics of his time. It also went a long way toward souring his relationship with Wright. There is, however, a sense among many scholars that part of what drove this disagreement between Wright and Baldwin was the way in which the two great American intellectuals seemed almost certain to clash because of their presumably incommensurate sexual "leanings." The younger, effeminate, homosexual, and northern Baldwin was always, one is led to believe, destined to confront the older, macho, heterosexual, and southern Wright. Indeed it seemed that Baldwin's confrontation with his erstwhile mentor had as much to do with a need to end certain silences about sexuality (particularly matters of homosexuality and interracialism) as with any personal antipathy for Wright.

This idea of confronting the silences enacted by one's elders is the theme of Baldwin's first novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), a largely autobiographical work, in which John Grimes, the stepson of a dictatorial Pentecostal preacher, reaches deep into black religious and cultural tradition to challenge his father's authority and create a more comfortable environment in which to explore his budding sexuality. It seems strange then that so many found the publication three years later of Baldwin's gay novel, *Giovanni's Room*, so unsettling. This text, a treatment of a tortured love triangle between the white American, David, his fiancée, Hella, and his Italian male lover, Giovanni, reiterates the theme of a necessary break with long-established tradition as Baldwin "abandons" the subject of race identity and oppression to create a work in which the pursuit of individual freedom and desire is all important.

The great paradox of Baldwin's life, however, was the fact that even though he made some of the finest calls ever heard for the necessity of personal freedom for the creative intellectual he nonetheless became known as a particularly effective *representative* spokesman for the black American community. After returning to the United States in 1957 at the height of the U.S. civil rights movement, Baldwin came to national prominence in 1963 with the publication of *The Fire Next Time*. Released one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, this work is a breathtakingly rendered indictment of the racism that still eats away at the heart of the United States. The difficulty, though—a paradox that would plague Baldwin for the remainder of his career—was that Baldwin's fiery denouncements of racism and hypocrisy came to stand in for the whole of his corpus. After 1963 it became possible to ignore the fact that Baldwin had produced two novels that treated questions of individuality and desire with such care and precision. Instead an increasingly hungry and insistent American audience wanted nothing but fire and more fire from Baldwin as they stumbled through the worst days of the civil rights movement.

This helps one to understand better the famously homophobic critique of Baldwin by the Black Panther minister of information, Eldridge Cleaver. In his epoch-making work, *Soul on Ice* (1968), Cleaver takes Baldwin to task for the "queerness" on display in his wildly successful 1962 novel, *Another Country*. Indeed Cleaver suggests that throughout Baldwin's corpus he takes an unmanly and even sychophantic stance toward whites, while maintaining an awkward and even hostile pose toward blacks. Baldwin is indicted by Cleaver for not reproducing the image of an antisocial and presumably antiwhite black masculinity that he finds in both Norman Mailer's controversial essay, "The White Negro" (1957), as well as within *Soul on Ice* itself. Baldwin's insistent focus on love and reconciliation is read by Cleaver as a species of internalized racism that represented a particularly sad peculiarity of the black homosexual.

Fortunately such small-minded readings became less and less common in American culture as Baldwin, who died in Saint-Paul-de-Vence, France, on November 30, 1987, entered the last stage of his career. The efforts of gays, lesbians, and feminists helped not only to secure Baldwin's place as one of the most significant writers of his generation but also to allow him more leeway in his efforts to break away from suffocating notions of how black Americans should comport themselves as sexual actors. After *Another Country* Baldwin continued to write furiously, producing *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* in 1968, *If Beale Street Could Talk* in 1974, *Just Above My Head* in 1979, and *The Evidence of Things Not Seen* in 1985. All these works continued many of the themes of love, interracialism, and individual freedom that Baldwin began early in his career. Indeed Baldwin attempted throughout his life to wean the American public from its costly tendencies to overprivilege presumably natural distinctions between persons of differing sexualities and genders, while also championing the oppressed and celebrating the beauty of our shared humanity.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Male, History of; Literature: IV. Gay, Creative.*

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Robert F. Reid-Pharr

BARBIE

In 1959 the world of toys changed forever with the introduction of the Barbie (full name Barbara Millicent Roberts) doll at the American International Toy Fair in New York City. The doll proved to be popular with both children and adult collectors, and by 2000 annual sales of Barbie-related products reached $1.9 billion. In the same year Mattel was the fourth largest clothing manufacturer, and from 1959 to 1990 more than two thousand different styles and colors of shoes were available for Barbie. The average American girl owns ten Barbie dolls, and the dolls are sold worldwide. Every second two dolls are sold somewhere in the world (*I, Doll* 1996). In addition to sales of the dolls (Barbie, her friends, and her family members), a massive wardrobe, and various accessories, there have been Barbie television shows and films, games, video games, computer systems, and Web sites.

Adult collectors are numerous, buying and selling various generations of Barbie dolls, clothing, and accessories. For adults there are collectors' sites on the Internet, conventions, stores, and auctions.

The Barbie doll has maintained its popularity as a result of the regular updating of its hair, wardrobe, and accessories. For each generation since 1959 Barbie has served as a symbol of American popular culture. As both a doll and an icon Barbie is both loved and hated.

THE ORIGIN OF BARBIE

Created by Ruth Handler (1916–2002), the cofounder of the Mattel toy company, Barbie was the result of a convergence of two experiences. During a trip to Europe, Handler saw the Lili doll. A popular item in Germany among adult men, Lili was a young sexy single woman, often described as quasi-pornographic, who was sold dressed in lingerie or swimsuits. The Lili doll was an offshoot of a comic of the same name published in the newspaper *Die Bild-Zeitung*. Within a few years and with a few modifications, that doll intended for an adult male audience in Germany became one of the most popular toys for girls.

Handler's sighting of the Lili doll was fortuitous. She had wished her daughter could have a doll that was not an infant or a toddler but the type of young woman her daughter could become. Until that time the toy industry had offered dolls that encouraged girls to play "mother"; the dolls were babies or young children. Dolls representing adults were typically paper dolls. Handler wanted a three-dimensional doll with which her daughter could create a make-believe world of a teen or young adult woman, including the ability to dress the doll. Barbie was a doll that would allow young girls to utilize their imagination in regard to their future possibilities, to be more than mothers in playtime. Barbie was named for Handler's daughter, Barbara.

In addition to being the first mass-produced young-adult doll, Barbie represented a shift in the traditional marketing of toys. Rather than advertising to parents as the purchasers of their children's toys, Mattel focused its marketing effort on children and used television advertising to a great extent. As a result the company created a significant demand for its product.

THE EVOLUTION OF BARBIE

Barbie has evolved over time. A multitude of siblings and friends have been sold by Mattel, along with houses, cars, a recreational vehicle, and a wardrobe representing a plethora of careers. The basic body shape has not changed, however. If the doll were expanded to five feet ten inches in height, its measurements would be thirty-nine inches (bust), twenty-three inches (waist), and thirty-three inches (hips), and it would weigh 110 pounds.

Although Barbie had no eye color in 1959, within two years her eyes became and have remained blue. Although Barbie's eyes were set askance in the 1959 model, they focused farther forward and became wider over time. By the 1990s Barbie had become a doe-eyed innocent. The shape of Barbie's nose—small and upturned at the end—has not changed. She did not speak until 1967, the same year she was able to twist and turn (she was able to bend even more by the 1970s). Barbie smiled for the first time in 1971, the same year she first appeared with a tan. Although the hairstyle has changed to reflect the fashion of the day, she has remained a blonde since the 1960s.

Barbie's friends (by 1996 more than three dozen had been issued) reflect social change. Although her friends look a great deal like Barbie in body shape and general features, her friendship base became more diverse in 1967 with the introduction of the first African-American friend, "Colored Francie." That doll simply utilized the white features of the Francie doll with darker skin tones. In response to criticism, Mattel introduced Chrissy within a year. Chrissy's features more accurately represented her African heritage. Later additional African-American dolls were issued, as were Asian and Latina dolls (Miko in 1987, Teresa in 1988, and Nikki in 1989). In 1996 Mattel issued Becky, a paraplegic in a wheelchair. Unfortunately, Barbie's Dreamhouse remained inaccessible to Becky until the company redesigned the house in 2000.

BARBIE: FEMINIST IDEAL OR HARMFUL ROLE MODEL?

Some would argue that Barbie is and continues to be a positive toy for young girls. From this perspective Barbie represents a strong image of young womanhood. Each Barbie set revolves around an activity, a theme, or a

Barbie Dolls. *Two sisters playing with their Barbie dolls.* AP IMAGES.

career. Barbie has been an astronaut, a stewardess, and a ballerina. She also has been a veterinarian and in 1992 became a presidential candidate. Barbie has represented feminist aspirations for women as independent wage earners with positions equivalent to those of men. Girls who play with Barbie can imagine themselves as young adults pursuing those careers. Mirroring the increasing presence of women in the workforce, Barbie's career roles have evolved over time. Whereas she was outfitted as a nurse in 1961 (with Ken serving as the doctor), she was a physician in her own right by 1973.

Barbie represents more than career aspirations for young women. She is a single independent woman with many friends and a romantic interest (Ken, named for Handler's son, first appeared in 1961). Barbie has her own house and car, travels widely, and enjoys what appears to be a very busy social life. Her fashion tastes are impeccable, reflecting the latest styles from Hollywood and leading fashion designers.

Barbie also celebrates the athletic contribution of women, something that could encourage girls to see physical activity as normal for women. To this end Barbie has been a member of the World Cup women's soccer team and an Olympic champion swimmer. An advertising jingle from television commercials in the 1970s included the line "we girls can do anything" (*I, Doll* 1996).

Criticisms of Barbie focus on the body image the doll presents to girls. Because Barbie's proportions are replicated on the figures of her friends, for many feminists the dolls represent an impossible beauty standard. Because millions of girls play with the dolls as an example of young womanhood, they may believe that Barbie's good life (her friends, careers, and clothing) is connected with her appearance and size. Although Barbie is only one part of a young girl's exposure to the beauty ideal in popular culture, her ubiquitous image has a great impact on the development of body image ideas in young girls.

There is a general focus on appearance that detracts from the advances Barbie has made in her career path. Barbie's outfits, which correspond to her various careers, tend to focus on her physical appearance rather than her occupation. There are tight clothes, a short skirt on the business executive Barbie, and tight belts or sashes added to apparel (such as the sash added to the medical scrubs) that serve no practical purpose. Also, the focus on cosmetics and fashion downplays the significance of Barbie's career achievements.

In 1992 a Barbie doll line was equipped with a recorded voice. While Barbie extolled the typically female pursuit of consumerism ("Let's Go Shopping!"), she also exclaimed, "Math class is tough!" The American Association of University Women (AAUW) protested, fearing that this would enlarge the math and science gap experienced by girls in the American public school system. Taking the AAUW protest a step farther, a clandestine group known as the Barbie Liberation Organization (BLO) highlighted the gendered stereotypes reinforced by children's toys. The BLO purchased talking Barbie dolls, switched the voice track with that of G.I. Joe action figures, and returned the toys to the store. The toys were resold to consumers, who found their G.I. Joe dolls asking, "Will we ever have enough clothes?" and Barbie shouting, "Eat lead, Cobra!"

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Julie L. Thomas

BATHS, PUBLIC

This entry contains the following:

I. GRECO-ROMAN

The Greek baths at Olympia date to the early fifth century BCE. The first baths were pools of unheated water, but baths grew more complex technically and later were heated by coal fires or hot rocks. The region of Laconica gave its name to *laconica*, or hot-air baths. Men and women bathed separately or at different hours of the day. As Greek baths grew in sophistication, specialty bathing developed, including individual tubs, footbaths, and even showers. Customarily, exercise, often in the nude, preceded ablutions, and some baths grew into centers of intellectual activity. Most notably the baths were communal, not totally private.

Those more cultivated aspects of Greek baths were retained by the Romans, who by the second century CE sometimes added libraries and elaborate artistic decorations to their baths. Roman males probably did not exercise in the nude, and it is not certain what they wore while bathing. Communal bathing (*thermae*) was the norm for free Romans, and *thermae* came to occupy huge tracts of urban land. A few people owned private baths (*balneae*) that could be used by others for an entry fee. As in Greece men and women had distinct bathing areas or bathed at different times of the day: women before the early afternoon and men in the late afternoon before dining.

Roman state-owned baths (the *thermae*) were a logical by-product of the construction of water-supply routes into the urban center. By 19 BCE Agrippa exerted sufficient control over the water supply to build an aqueduct and baths. Following the Greek style he combined pools for swimming with Turkish baths. Apart from Rome there is subterranean evidence of elaborate layouts for bathing at sites such as Bath Spa, Somerset, England, where architectural remnants point to the distinct stages of public bathing: perspiring heavily while exposed to steam, soaping and shampooing, and then massaging and cooling.

Nero (37–68 CE) ordered the building of the Thermae Neronianae, and emperor Titus (40–81 CE) built his baths on Nero's baths; later Trajan (52–117 CE) built the Thermae Suranae on the earlier baths. The later baths were enlarged under Vespasian, and all are said to have been highly elaborate in artistic decoration. In the second decade of the second century CE, Caracalla (188–217 CE) completed the baths that his father, Septimius Severus (146–211 CE), had begun: gigantic structures whose remains have been incorporated as a backdrop for performances of Verdi's *Aïda*. In 305 CE Diocletian (r. 284–305 CE) built baths even larger than those; his baths later were converted into the church Santa Maria degli Angeli.

Probably because the baths were so popular and so varied in terms of their social activities, they grew noisy, as the Roman philosopher and writer Seneca complained. Repasts were shared in some. They became locales plagued by petty thieves, and bathers' belongings had to be guarded by a servant in the changing rooms; some were said to become haunts for prostitutes.

Such elaborate processes of ablution, often in sumptuous surroundings, became the stuff of imaginative prose and the visual arts, especially in periods in which people indulged in prurience, possibly because outward social ethics and morality called for the opposite type of behavior. Most evidence suggests that in addition to the obvious hygienic benefits of the baths, their applications were highly varied, and they were used primarily for physical and intellectual cultural activities. In modern times the baths inspired writers and visual artists and were even used as movie sets, but in their time they were fundamentally practical, and their recreational aspects tended to be on a high level.

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Lee Fontanella

II. MUSLIM MIDDLE EAST

Public bathhouses, or *hammams*, are predominant in the Arab-Islamic world. A hammam is made up of mosaic floors and three tiled rooms, each offering a different level of heat and steam. They are called steam baths in Arabic, or Turkish baths in English.

Aakand (1978), Dow (1996), and Ecohard and Le Coeur (1942–1943) have noted that although hammams were modeled on Greco-Roman baths, it is with the advent of Islam that hammams gained prominence and acquired a new significance. It was after the Prophet Muhammad's recommendation that hammams multiplied and became second only to mosques. The prophet's "Hadith," which means "hygiene is part of faith," played a great role in inscribing the ritual of cleanliness where the faithful performed their prescribed ablutions before prayers; therefore, frequenting hammams became a prelude to entering the mosque.

Dow (1996), Al-Ghazali (1999), and Ecochard and Le Coeur (1942–1943) agree that the first and oldest Islamic hammams were in Syria, capital of the Umayyad Empire at the time, where a number of Syrian bathhouses have been preserved as historic monuments (Kayyal 1986). Ibn Khaldun mentions the existence of thousands of hammams during the reign of the Abbassid Caliph Al-Ma'mun (Ibn Khaldun n.d.) who chose Baghdad as his capital.

Hammams have seldom been seen as a source of profit. Their owners are often considered altruistic people since they allow people to purify their bodies and souls after sexual acts, "wash their bones" as the expression goes, and prepare to enter mosques (Ecochard and Le Coeur 1942–1943). There are several maintenance workers for each hammam. *Dallaak*, or *kassal*, is the masseuse who scrubs and washes bathers' bodies.

During the early days, there was much emphasis on covering one's private parts and not allowing any masseuse to clean them or touch them (Al-Ghazali 1999). The dark rooms and hot water served two functions; they cleanse the body and remind the bathers of hell's heat and thus make them closer to their God (Al-Ghazali 1999).

At the dawn of Islam, women were forbidden from entering hammams unless they were pregnant, ill, or done menstruating for the month (Munawi 1987). On Muhammad's recommendation, men were not to accompany their wives to the hammam (Al-Ghazali 1999) lest they engaged in depraved sexual acts (Munawi 1987). In the early twenty-first century, the bride and the groom have to go to the hammam before their wedding day. It is also customary for women to bathe forty days after giving birth.

Throughout the Arab world, each small neighborhood has at least one hammam. Whereas men's main forums are cafes, women's forums remain the hammams, which have evolved into beautification centers and social clubs where women bond with each other whether or not they have previously known each other. Hammams have become crucial to women particularly because many laws have been established to curtail their movement. Women bathers socialize with their friends during entire afternoons and exchange secrets far from men's gazes. They bring with them dried fruits and sweets that they share with the tenants and workers of the hammam (Ecochard and Le Coeur 1942–1943). The hammam is also the best social forum where mothers scrutinize unsuspecting potential brides for their sons. Kayyal (1986) and Aaland (1978) have noted that the mother would provide a thorough visual examination of the likely bride and memorize the minutest details about her breath, walk, and even the smoothness or roughness of her skin.

Entering the hammam is a defining moment in a man's childhood. When he reaches the age of seven, he is no longer allowed to accompany his mother or other women to the hammam. He is then entrusted to the company of his father, uncle, or a close adult male. Men rush to hammams on the eve of religious holidays and on Fridays at dawn before the prayers. Hammams have been known to be a sanctuary for the homeless and the poor and certain individuals stricken by illnesses (Ecochard and Le Coeur 1942–1943).

In the 1960s and 1970s, a hammam site was shared by men and women at different times of the day. Women could use hammams generally after midday prayers and afternoons (Ecochard and Le Coeur 1942–1943). In the early twenty-first century men and women have their own hammams where they could bathe day and night. Sometimes, affluent men or women rent an entire hammam and invite their close friends and families for a celebration.

In the Islamic tradition, using hammams has been associated with healing and curing a number of illnesses, such as indigestion, exhaustion, and diarrhea (Munawi 1987). One of the main drawbacks to going to hammams

Turkish Bath in Gaza City. *Two men relax in the Hamam Samra Turkish bath, in Gaza City.* © AHMED JADALLAH/REUTERS/CORBIS.

is loss of appetite. Arabic poetry is laden with chanting the rewards of going to the hammam where steaming naked bodies arouse pleasure seekers. Some equated a trip to the hammam to a long day of lasting desire. It is attributed to Abu Jaafar, a poet from Seville, courting a handsome young man in the hammam (Munawi 1987).

Though the hammam is entrenched in the Islamic tradition, baths in modern homes have lessened the number of hammams' clients, particularly among the wealthy.

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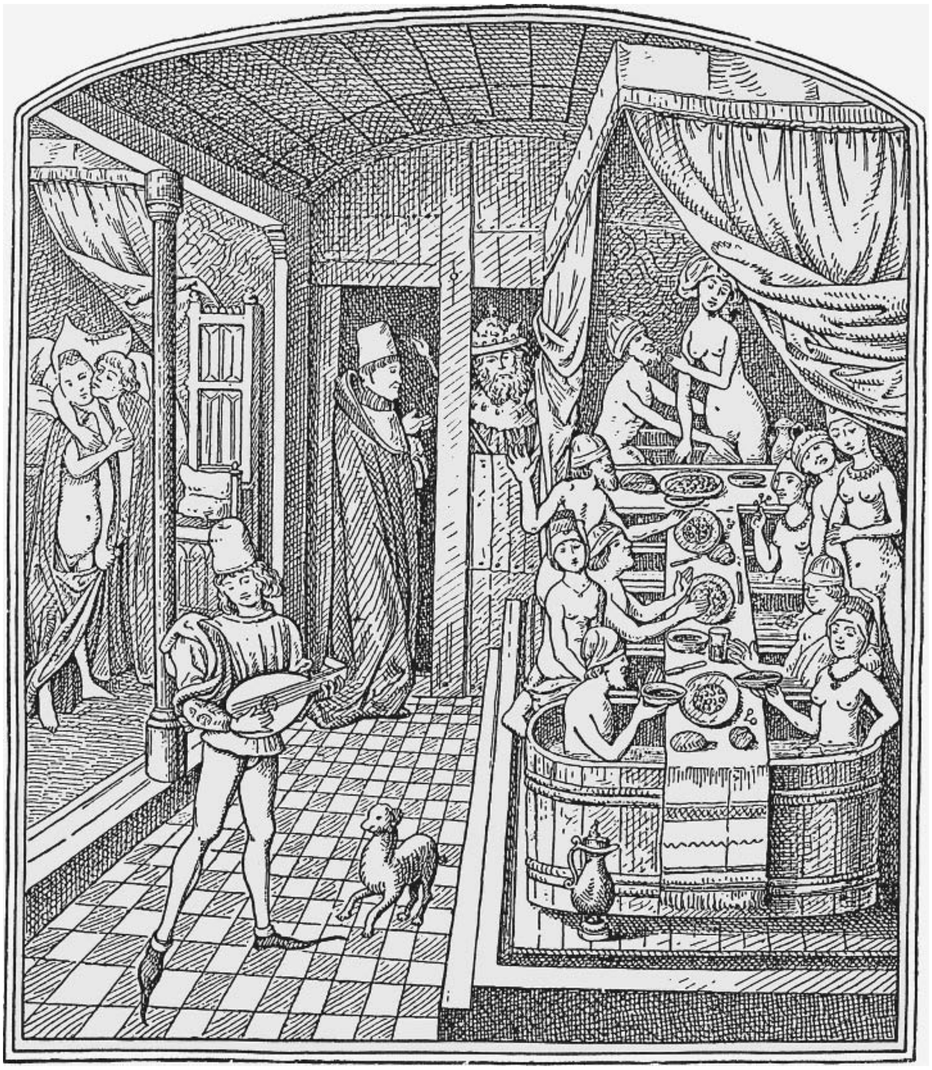
Hamid Bahri

III. WEST, MIDDLE AGES—PRESENT

Public bathing was strongly discouraged in the early Middle Ages by such Christian moralists as Jerome. Nevertheless, it remained a common practice. Medieval illustrations of people in public baths are not infrequent and bathing seems to have been a social activity, involving both sexes, who, at times, banqueted and exchanged intimacies. Some baths allocated separate bathing days to men and women; however, such a



A Medieval Bathhouse. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

separation is not seen in all drawings. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, public baths were a common place for sexual encounters: men and women as well as men and men, women and women, and men and boys, although the last is rarely talked about in the early twenty-first century. Michael Rocke notes of fifteenth-century Florence: "Many men and boys consummated their sexual relationships … in the several public baths spread across the city" (1996, p. 160) in a sexual culture in which roles were based on a hierarchical model of male sexual relations strictly defined by age, in which boys were passive and those older were active. While the sociability of the public baths was distinctly different from the sociability of the brothel, the baths were often used for prostitution. A blurring of lines may have been facilitated in the fourteenth century, when cities such as London tried to segregate prostitution by banishing it to areas outside the city where "stews" and bathhouses were found. From the fourteenth century, the term *stew*—another word for a bathhouse with hot baths—also became slang for brothel, as did *bagnios* (similar to modern Turkish baths) in the sixteenth century.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, public baths as places of pleasure and encounter fell out of fashion until the nineteenth century when bathhouse culture experienced a revitalization among Western cultures, particularly in Australia, New Zealand, and North America. Several factors contributed to this boom: the discovery of germ theory in the 1880s; the building of baths for the poor that were often heavily policed, segregated, time-limited and aimed at safeguarding their health and improving their moral character; and the development of curative and regenerative baths which sought to revive the sociability of such establishments as the Turkish baths—hammams.

Surveillance hampered, but did not prevent, opportunities for sexual encounters.

By the late nineteenth century, some bathhouses within such cities as New York and Sydney were known to tolerate sex between men. In the early twentieth century, when bathhouse patronage declined due to the emergence of private bathrooms, proprietors saw benefit in actively supporting the use of public baths as sites for furtive sexual encounters between men. These bathhouses were distinct from baths which just tolerated sex between men, in that their management excluded non-gay customers and safeguarded—rather than merely tolerated—homosexual activity.

In the later 1960s with the emergence of gay culture, a new generation of bathhouses became established as major gay institutions. In addition to standard cubicles and baths, other spaces such as theaters, restaurants, specialist rooms, mirrors, porn rooms, and mazes were introduced to foster sexual experimentation and exploration, as well as cultural and social activities. Such places as New York's Continental Baths and Sydney's Roman Baths were renowned for opulent interiors dripping with ferns—and men. Although designed for men, these baths would, on occasion, have women-only nights. In these new environments, Michel Foucault, among others, saw a potential starting point for the development of a culture that could invent new ways of relating, types of existence, types of values, types of exchanges between individuals that had been impossible within the world outside the baths at that time; a culture in which sexuality and pleasure were imbedded in sociability in a similar way to that which had existed in the Roman *thermes*.

The arrival of AIDS in the 1980s represented a possible crisis point in the acceptance of gay bathhouses, not only by authorities but by patrons themselves. Baths in the United States were closed in the belief that they spread contagion. Baths in other countries such as Australia and Belgium, however, continued to flourish and remained open on the basis that, if properly managed and designed, they could operate as venues for the practice of safe sex and dissemination of safe sex education. During the 1990s, this approach in Sydney, Australia, resulted in formal legal recognition of the importance of bathhouses to the city's sexual culture, and recognition of the distinct consensual environment they provided for male sexual encounters severing the blurring of lines between the sociability of the brothel and bathhouses that emerged in the Middle Ages.

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Jason Prior

BEARD

The beard occupies a significant symbolic terrain across time and cultures, and can be metonymical of the male person or of maleness, although this association is at times complicated by signs of cultural identity.

Thus, Hittite iconography, confirmed by Egyptian representations, indicates that while Hittite men, including warriors and priests, remain beardless with long hair (Haroutunian 2002, pp. 47–50), the mountain gods, weather gods, and vegetation gods represented at Yazilikaya rock sanctuary are bearded, signifying manliness, fertility, and power (Haroutunian 2002, p. 51).

The ancient cult of a bearded Ishtar may have combined the morning warrior star with the evening erotic star, but both the Cypriote Aphrodite (Krappe 1945) and the Venus Calva worshipped in Rome (Eitrem 1923) were coded as androgynous, with a beard and a comb. Both appear connected to marriage and fertility.

The beard could focalize anxious struggles between men over masculinity and virility, acting as an object of symbolic sexual transference. This is evident in the old Spanish *Poema de Mio Cid*, where the Cid grabs his beard and swears an oath by "this beard that no one has ever plucked" to avenge his daughter of the affront done to them (vss. 2829–2832, 3185–3186). Before appearing at court to confront the insulters, in a careful performance of power and manliness, he covers his hair with a coif so no one can pull it, and ties up his long beard with a cord, safeguarding it from attack, "to protect his entire person from direct personal physical insult"(vss. 3085–3100). He then insults an enemy by boasting of having pulled out his beard instead (vss. 3273–3290). This conflation of personal honor with manliness, virility, power, and the beard has been claimed in relation to other cultures throughout the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East, ranging from early modern Byzantium (Horowitz 1997) to modern Syria (McCartney 1938). Insistence on the beard as proof of virility and hostility towards beardless men are rife in the early medieval West. In the early twelfth century, shaving one's beard lumped a man with priests and women, and the new Christian militia, the Templars, was enthusiastically praised by Bernard of Clairvaux as a manly brotherhood, celibate and bearded, eschewing the effeminacy of worldly knights (McNamara 1994, pp. 9, 17). In the fabliau of the "Santier battu" (beaten path) a lady berates an unresponsive knight as beardless and effeminate: he bests her, claiming that she has no pubic hair "because grass does not grow on a beaten path" (Montaiglon 1973, R 3:247). Beyond insults, the text underscores that beard and hair are simulacra located in sex.

Yet, perhaps as a result of fashion, or because of ambiguity attached to facial hair, the Western European fifteenth century was largely beardless—a fact attested to in painting, as in the portrait of Pierre II, Duke of Bourbon by the Master of Moulins (Moulins cathedral) circa 1500, or of Etienne Chevalier by Jean Fouquet, circa 1450 (Berlin, Deutsches Museum)—apparently reflecting a conscious intent of setting oneself apart from those familiar "Others," Jews and Muslims, represented as very bearded. However, with the travels to the New World, and the encounter of Native American populations who seemed to carefully eschew any bodily hair, another European discourse of othering associated beardlessness, sodomitical tendencies, and an alleged inferiority that would justify enslavement and imprisonment of Native Americans. European men thus returned to wearing the beard in the sixteenth century (Horowitz 1997).

The beard marked enforceable gender-differentiation in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. There was a post–Civil War campaign for male rights and the new masculinity, reflecting anxiety about the status of women. Thus, clergyman Horace Bushnell's 1869 tirade against women's suffrage extolled masculinity and the distinguishable emblems of a man's authority over women, specifically, "...the base in his voice and the shag on his face...." For him, women who sought the right to vote were such a "radical revolt against nature," that "the claim of a beard" could be no worse. Gender conservatives in the 1900s attacked pictorial portrayals of Jesus for showing him as too feminine, with "a womanly sweetness," as if the portrayal was that of "Christ with a woman's face, and an added beard," such a "scant beard" almost suggesting "a bearded lady" (Morgan 2005, pp. 213–215).

"Why do men have beards?" asked Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860). The answer, that a beard is a mask made necessary to combat the wiles of women, may reflect "... a worldwide mythology of great complexity" (Taussig 1995, p. 108). The rituals of secrecy enacted and enforced by men have created a "theater of men making men," and justify another "theater of concealment and revelation playing with ... the gender line fatefully implicating holiness and violence." This theater is real "as long as the men are looked at by women not as men acting but what it is they represent" (p. 113).

Thus, when women have beards, gender borders are dramatically raided, and the "natural" gender order is literally "defaced." The bearded androgyny of crucified female saints in the Middle Ages has been interpreted variously as linked to marriage rituals (Krappe 1945) or to fears of pollution and female danger (Sautman 1995, pp. 78–79). But late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century Western sexology theorized transgendered women as deviant and abnormal, enshrining the natural order as stable and unidirectional. Their views were unshaken by the existence of actual bearded women, and the bearded woman was relegated to and contained by the status of freak and anomaly. Thus "bearded women" in carnival and circus midways were and are a rich and contentious site of visual culture and gender construction. The fascination exercised by the bearded woman, including her eroticization, is paralleled by attempts to recuperate and soften anomaly by feminizing it (Adams 2001, pp. 117, 222). However, the bearded woman has remained a resilient icon of denaturized sex and gender. In the late twentieth and in the twenty-first century, bearded women have exercised strong agency to revisit and correct their marginal and disavowed status, offering radical readings of gender, especially in modern U.S. lesbian communities. The performance work of Jennifer Miller, active in the Coney Island counterculture "freak shows," is a strong expression of this perspective (Adams 2001, pp. 135–136, 219–228).

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Masculinity: I. Overview; Sex Roles.*

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BEATRICE
1265–1290

Beatrice Portinari is the central figure in Dante Alighieri's *Vita Nuova* (New life, c. 1294), in his *Divine Comedy* (1308–1321), in several other lyric poems outside of the *Vita Nuova,* and in Book III of the *Convivio* (The Banquet, 1308). The *Vita Nuova* was assembled after Beatrice's death as a book of memory with the author's love poems for her. Beatrice is historically identified by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) in his *Life of Dante* as the daughter of Folco Portinari, an eminent figure in the City of Florence, and as wife of Simone dei Bardi, a member of a rich Florentine banking family. Folco died in 1289 and his will records that monna Bice (lady Beatrice) born Florence, Italy, was one of his eleven children.

Within the *Vita Nuova*, a "libello" (little book) that is at once a psychological confession and work of self-examination as well as an experiment in the craft of poetry, there are sufficient biographical references to justify the historical existence of the lady Beatrice Portinari whom the poet idealized and sublimated as Beatrice. The author states that he first saw her when he was nine and at the beginning of her ninth year, and that she became: "the glorious lady of my mind, who was called Beatrice (she who brings bliss) even by those who did not know what her name was" (Musa 1973, p. 3). From this point to when she bids him adieu from the Celestial Rose of the Empyrean (*Paradiso* Canto XXXI: 58–93), Beatrice remained the narrator's inspiration to undertake his spiritual rebirth (new life) both as a man and as a poet.

Beatrice is the figuration of an earthly woman who, breaking all traditions, achieves the highest, most sublime symbolism of a divine being, a "figura Christi" and "typus Trinitatis" (a figure of Christ and a type of the Trinity). This process can be traced throughout the *New Life*: thus, Dante, quoting Homer, labels her "daughter not of a mortal, but of God"; when she denies him her greeting ("saluto"), for him the summation of all bliss (Dante plays with the words *saluto*, *salute*, *salutare*, both as greeting or salutation and spiritual health), he feels empty of any joy and beatitude (Musa 1973, p. 16). The elevation of Beatrice to divine-like status is at the core of the *Vita Nuova*, and intensifies in the canzone (song) "Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore" (Ladies who have intelligence of love), in which the Blessed dare tell God that Heaven lacks perfection because of her absence (Ch. XIX). This both announces her death and the composition of the *Divine Comedy*. Further, in Chapter XXIV, the author proposes an analogy between Beatrice and Christ, as he sees Beatrice in a dream preceded by Giovanna Primavera (the lady of Guido Cavalcanti, Dante's oldest friend to whom the *Vita* is dedicated), as John the Baptist preceded Jesus: "since the name Joan (Giovanna) comes from the name John (Giovanni) who preceded the True Light" (Musa 1973, p. 52). This is followed with the most famous of Dante's sonnets, "Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare" ("So winsome and so worthy seems to me"), Chapter XXVI, in which he writes: "... sweetly and mantled in humility,/ away she walks from all she's praised by,/ and truly seems a thing come from the sky/ to show on earth what miracles can be" (Alighieri 1992, p. 51). The symbolism of Beatrice as a type of the Trinity is reinforced upon her death (1290) when Dante speaks of her as number nine—that is, a miracle (Ch. 28, p. 62): "this lady was accompanied by the number nine so that it might be understood that she was a nine, or a miracle, whose root, namely that of the miracle, is the miraculous Trinity itself." In the last chapter of the *Vita Nuova*, Dante prepares the reader to the presence and role of Beatrice in the *Commedia*, stating that he hopes to say of her "that which has never been said of any woman."

This is the link to Beatrice's appearance in *Inferno* (2:52–108) within a type of Feminine Trinity who has descended unto Limbo, urging Virgil to come to the rescue of the pilgrim Dante lost in the dark wood, the *selva oscura*. Beatrice is moved by a love, "Amor mi mosse che mi fa parlare," which originated with Mary, "donna è gentil nel ciel" (there is a gentle lady in heaven), who asked a second woman, Lucia, "nemica di ciascun crudele" (enemy of any cruelty), to plead with a third one, Beatrice, sitting in heaven next to the ancient Rachel, and to rescue the one "who loved you so much" (II, 100–108). Dante the author thus builds a feminine Trinity and Godhead: Mary; Saint Lucy, patron saint of Syracuse and of eyesight; Beatrice. Thus begins the role of Beatrice as a divine guide and teacher for the pilgrim Dante, to take over from Virgil in the last three cantos of the *Purgatory* and in the *Paradiso*. She comes to embody not only the Divine Guide but also Theology, Divine Grace, Revelation, and the one who, transcending gender (as evidenced in the image of the Admiral in *Purgatory* 30:58) never loses her power as earthly woman (catalyst of courtly love at first) while being transformed into a divine one.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Dante Alighieri.*

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BEATRICE OF THE KONGO
1686–1706

The relative paucity of clergy in African religions, imputable to their decentralized and non-proselytizing modes of worship, may have obscured women's leadership in the spiritual realm. When missionaries brought Christianity to Africa, women sometimes resolved to combine selected aspects of the imported religion with the previous system of beliefs—in which they occupied key positions as founding ancestors, oracles, mediums, rainmakers, healers, midwives, and initiation moderators—and emerged as larger-than-life prophets of a new syncretic faith propagated through an independent church.

Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita was such a charismatic woman who, at the turn of the eighteenth century, spearheaded a messianic movement in the name of Saint Anthony and on behalf of Kongolese peasants of both sexes. She was born into aristocracy in 1686, two centuries after the conversion of the king of the Kongo, João I, to Catholicism under Portuguese influence (1491), and twenty years after the defeat of Mbwila (or Ambuila, 1665) in which King Antonio I was killed by the Portuguese army. Kongolese political factions soon began vying for succession in a series of civil wars that left the capital city, San Salvador, depopulated, and the region open to European slave traders. This religious and political context informed Beatrice's push for the restoration of a unified Kongo and for the Africanization of Christianity.

Beatrice began her religious career as a *nganga marinda,* a priestess specializing in the social dimension of illness. In 1704 Saint Anthony possessed her and revealed her new mission: He instructed her to save Kongo from its current chaos. Beatrice, who claimed direct communication with the divine, established her headquarters in San Salvador where she attracted flocks of followers with her sermons and miracles. Bernardo da Gallo, one of the two Italian Capuchins whose diaries record Beatrice's epic, thus acknowledged her popularity when he wrote: "… The false saint became the restorer, ruler and lord of the Congo, and was acclaimed, adored and esteemed as such by everyone" (Thornton 1983, p 109, note 60).

Much of her power resided in the hybrid nature of her teachings and mission. She proposed a rich vision of a new kingdom of Kongo where Christianity would be the instrument of liberation from foreign yoke and internecine strife. Her symbolic death, dream, and communication with a "lesser spirit" through possession were in line with African religious experiences. Her sense of entitlement in nominating the king among rival lineages similarly derived from a local notion of high priesthood. She also insisted on relocating the founding episodes and major actors of Christianity into sacred Kongolese sites: Jesus was born in San Salvador and Mary in Nsundi. Moreover, Beatrice readily reenacted specific moments of Christianity, such as Christ's death, the foundation of a church, the establishment of a dogma, and she dispatched emissaries, the "little Anthonies," to preach her Gospel throughout the land. Yet she rejected both the "fetishes," including the cross (that had indeed been appropriated by *ngangas* under the Kongoized name *kuluzu*) and the main Christian sacraments (namely baptism, confession, and even marriage), and often revised official prayers.

Beatrice's fate was sealed when she unsuccessfully approached King Pedro IV for national reconciliation and nominated to the throne Pedro Constantinho da Silva, who provided the ever-growing Antonine movement with an army. Concerned over the effect of Antonianism on Catholicism and the colonial project, Capuchin missionaries colluded with politicians to arrest Beatrice and her newborn child, whose existence challenged her claim to sainthood. While the infant was whisked away by the priests, the "false Saint Anthony" was burnt at the stake as a heretic and a witch on July 1, 1706, and her remains were reburnt the next day.

In spite of Pedro's two campaigns in 1709 and 1715, the Antonian movement survived probably until the 1720s in rural strongholds. Many of the prisoners taken during the Kongolese civil wars were deported as slaves to South Carolina and Saint-Domingue (later Haiti). Kongolese veterans, Catholic and Antonian alike, may then have contributed to the Stono rebellion (1739) and to the Haitian revolution (1791).

Beatrice's project of Africanizing Christianity is reminiscent of the Donatist movement in the third century in North Africa. It was also a blueprint for Kimbanguism in the 1920s Belgian Congo. Often compared to Joan of Arc, Beatrice of the Kongo is one of the many African women, such as Nehanda, Nongqause, Mai Chaza, and Alice Lenshina Mulenga, who best exemplify the spiritual dimension of anticolonial resistance.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Colonialism; Virginity.*

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Sylvie Kandé

BEAUTY PAGEANTS

Displaying young unmarried women in a ritual competition, beauty pageants crown one of the contestants as queen. She might be Miss America or Miss Ghana, Miss Gay IU (actually a male competition), Miss Rodeo Idaho, or even Miss Penitenciária. Although fictional, the title carries rewards ranging from large sums of cash, flashy cars, and scholarships to the symbolic power of representing one's community or nation and the pride inherent in being the one chosen above all the others. In all of its multiple variations, the beauty contest reflects the interests, purposes, values, and goals of the organizers and their perceived audiences. The majority of these values concern gender roles. In the social process of defining the ideal woman, queen contests often become the site of debates—particularly those concerning femininity and masculinity and the roles assigned to women and men. Consequently, the contests respond to pressures by incorporating changes. In some instances, however, differences may develop into major controversies and lead to unanticipated outcomes.

THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL

Classified as popular culture, beauty pageants are nevertheless viewed around the world as events that embody modernity and signify Western values. Consequently, every nation state that aspires to be modern holds a competition and forwards its winners to the annual television-mediated global competitions, Miss Universe and Miss World. Being represented on the global stage of national beauties and competing against world powers in a ritual performance of symbolic females creates the illusion of full participation in the global arena for those nation states that might otherwise be accorded second rank.

In addition to the national hierarchical stand-alone competitions culminating in the selection of the queen of the universe or the world, beauty contests are organized within events such as county or state fairs and rodeos, and by institutions, organizations, and industries. They also are produced as the expressions of identity for social groups and to recognize age groups, and to bring recognition and fundraising to churches and schools, businesses, and any socially organized unit that can be imagined. The power and money generated by these competitions accrues to the sponsors and participants as well as the winners; moreover, the event can be replicated with ease on a very small scale or a very grand one, and the subject (young women) is available as an infinite resource at no cost. This combination makes it possible for every variation of human organization to produce beauty contests and pageants.

GENDER ROLES AND THE INTRODUCTION OF CHANGE

The creation of gender roles is a dynamic process, negotiated among members of specific communities in response to historical and socioeconomic circumstances. Beauty contests bring this process into the public eye, revealing contradictions, conflicts, and changes as they are evolving. Tracking the modifications in the Miss America contest reveals a close parallel with changing gender issues in the larger culture. Major transformations have affected the pageant since it began in 1921 as the "Fall Frolic on the Boardwalk," an attempt by Atlantic City to continue to draw crowds after the summer season. The swimsuit competition has been the most controversial and debated issue over the years, confusing "wholesomeness with sex appeal, creating a paradox that still exists," as Angelina Saulino Osborne explains. As identified by Susan Powell, Miss America 1981, the platform concept forced a major change because the contestants then had to be willing to contribute time and energy to a worthwhile cause. An equally momentous change occurred with the introduction of scholarships (1945), supporting the contestants in the pursuit of higher education. The scholarships sent a different message and also attracted more serious contestants. Bess Myerson, a music major at Hunter College, entered because of the scholarship and became Miss America that year. She also was the first and only Jewish Miss America. It was not until 1983 that the first African-American Miss America, Vanessa Williams, was chosen. When Heather Whitestone won the contest and became Miss America in 1995, she represented a new recognition of people with disabilities as she is deaf. In 2006 a reality show component was announced in the hope of boosting waning ratings.

Change in any contest results from negotiation. Not acknowledged as such, however, this cultural process elicits the ideas, values, and opinions of those involved in the production, or it may engage opinions expressed through media, protests, organizations, money, and other modes. With regard to the Miss America Pageant, this latter process became transparent when the CEO of the organization was fired in 1999. The action occurred just after the CEO and the Pageant Board had revoked the ban on divorce and abortion for contestants in order to comply with state laws against discrimination. In response, state pageant directors, former winners, and other traditionalists vehemently opposed the change, and the CEO was removed. This controversy reflects similar ones throughout the country around the turn of the twenty-first century as debates over women's sexuality and reproductive rights, the female body, marriage, and the ideal woman have continued. In one instance, a crisis developed at a small midwestern university in 2000 when a queen was forced to give up her title because it was discovered that some years previously she had been raped, became pregnant, and then miscarried. Pageant rules in the United States generally stipulate an age group (late teens through early twenties), and a rule against marriage and pregnancy. (These rules were clarified for the Miss America Pageant in the early twenties after several married women with children entered.)

Perhaps no change has been as significant as the role of the sponsors, which expanded throughout the twentieth century. Sponsors are businesses and corporations that provide vast sums of money for the pageant and the queen, who then tours for and appears with the sponsors, adding her glamour to their products for the full year she wears the crown.

COMPETITION AND REPRESENTATION

Beauty contests motivate both contestants and audiences through competition and representation. Young women compete against each other in a ritualized competition. The competition creates a system of signification in which women are expected to embody values that symbolize the ideal female. The contests constitute a secular ritual due to the repetition of their form and purpose, the enactment of social/gender relationships, and the transformation that occurs: one of the contestants is judged to be more ideal than the others and she is crowned the queen, receiving recognition, rewards, and responsibilities. The other contestants are also affected by the ritual: they appear before an audience in a variety of attire, participate in the competition, and submit to being judged.

Ritual often develops as a response when transition, ambiguity, or conflict threatens the status quo, especially the structure of social relations such as that between male and female. Distinctions between adult and child and between female and male are fundamental to all societies, and are generally established through rituals of initiation. As the competitions to select a queen function to define and distinguish females who have reached maturity and present them to the public, they function like initiation rites in modern societies, defining femininity and the ideal woman.

In beauty contests ritual links the individual to society through the process of sponsorship by a business or political unit such as a town, state, nation, or organization. The contestant then represents that entity and learns her role as the symbol of something other than herself. Obfuscated by the glitz and glamour of bodies, lights, and music, the flow of money through sponsorship links the ideal unmarried woman to the social relations of capitalism. In the beauty pageant economy funds are exchanged through: entry fees for the contestants; wardrobe, accoutrements, and travel; tickets for the public; and prizes awarded the winners. The selection process determines that a contestant must obtain the support of a sponsor (a business, a community, or another public

Miss Universe 2006 and Miss Indonesia 2005. *Miss Universe 2006 Zuleyka Rivera Mendoza (R) of Puerto Rico and Miss Indonesia 2005 Nadine Chandrawinata pose for photographers.* © MAST IRHAM/EPA/CORBIS.

entity). The sponsor then provides the entry fee and other expenses if the contest is a large one, and the name of the sponsor is indicated on the ribbon the contestant wears across her body.

One privately organized pageant in 1998 in a small but economically upscale town offered a contest with three segments: a swimsuit preliminary, an evening gown preliminary, and a final contest. Tickets were $20 for each event or $50 for all three, and the entry fee for contestants was $795.00. The contestants sought sponsors at the national and the local level. At a state level contest or a very large event, thousands of dollars will be necessary to support a queen candidate. Sixteen businesses were required to support the campaign of Miss Rodeo North Dakota in 2004, and many more sponsors were required to send her to the national competition.

INNOVATION AND VARIATION

As twentieth-century immigrant groups have settled into the United States and become citizens, they have introduced innovation into the beauty contest paradigm. These groups have now established contests with the titles Miss Vietnam USA, Miss Ethiopia North America, Miss India USA, Miss Liberia USA, Miss Asian America, Miss Latina U.S., and Miss Haiti USA. These are not the first contests to recognize cultural identities, however. Native American groups have long produced a variation of the beauty contest. In a pan-Indian event considered to be the largest in the United States, the annual Gathering of Nations Pow Wow in Albuquerque, New Mexico, native women from all over the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Central America compete in a contest titled "Miss Indian World Pageant." With a female mistress of ceremonies directing the pageant, the contestants compete on stage by performing traditional skills, dressed in native costumes. Young Native American women can also compete for the title of Miss National Congress of American Indians in a contest in which individual tribes send their representative princesses to perform both a traditional and a modern skill.

The queen contests that involve the majority of young women in the United States and other countries as well are those localized contests attached to the annual festival celebrated in almost every small town and suburb.

Closely linked to the town and the festival, these queens have specialized names and are known to their audiences. At the Rattlesnake Roundup in Sweetwater, Texas, the winner of the beauty contest receives the title "Miss Snake Charmer," and is rewarded with the opportunity to handle a rattlesnake. In contrast to the annual events, some contests may be held in conjunction with a one-time special event. This was the case in Ghana, where organizers of the celebration to mark the forty-year anniversary of the creation of the Brong Ahafo region featured a beauty contest in 1999. The Anniversary Beauty Queen was awarded a trip to London, cash, and a television.

Yet another variation of the beauty contest, with quite a different focus on the body, are the bodybuilders' contests. In a turn-of-the-twenty-first-century phenomenon, both females and males engaged in building muscular bodies compete in contests that display them for the public. However, females in these contests develop massive physiques that are not consistent with the viewing public's concept of femininity, confusing it with masculinity. Consequently, bodybuilding shows added two other sporting events in the mid-nineties: Ms. Fitness (showcasing athletic women softer than their bodybuilding counterparts who perform routines in stiletto heels) and Ms. Figure (in which contestants are not bodybuilders but have good muscle tone and also wear stiletto heels).

Whatever purpose they claim to serve, beauty contests address the question of gender with seriousness. For gay men, who do not conform to the heterosexual model of female and male, the beauty contest provides an excellent opportunity to challenge assumptions about sexuality and satirize sanctioned gender roles. Defining themselves as women and producing the event, the participants in a gay beauty contest perform lip synch to recordings of female singers, give themselves female names, and include an evening gown competition, modeled on the mainstream contests. Paralleling the Miss America contest, gay men produce the Miss'd America Pageant, held in Atlantic City, on the night following the original pageant. While the performance is a satire, it takes its fundraising seriously and raises thousands of dollars annually for AIDS programs. Also familiar is the annual New York City contest featured in the award-winning documentary *Paris is Burning* (1990), in which the costumes reflect the dreams and hopes of the participants. University campuses and gay bars are also sites of gay male contests. At Indiana University in Bloomington, the contest is titled Miss Gay IU and attracts straight as well as gay audience members, female as well as male. Like similar events, in 2006 this one emphasized awareness of AIDS and donated the considerable contribution from the audience to YouthAIDS, an organization dedicated to educating youth about AIDS. In the Southern Philippines a very different system of signification applies, given that transvestite men have traditionally played a role of ritual specialist and performer. There, gay men combine the cultural concept of *bantut* (referring to a long established tradition of performers in the Muslim Tausug and Sama communities in the Philippines who are designated with the term *bantut* who are considered to be men who act like women) with the contemporary concept *gay*, and perform in "international" contests in which they dress in the costume of nations and ethnicities. In the Philippines as elsewhere, transvestite performances challenge hetereosexual concepts of gender, both masculine and feminine, reversing and rearranging them on stage.

DEBATE AND CONTROVERSY

Debate and controversy have followed beauty contests since P.T. Barnum proposed them in the nineteenth century. Depending on the site of the contest, the scale, and the system of signification in place, debate may be expressed on the local level. But in instances where the event is large scale, as it was in India when the Miss World pageant was held there in 1996, the controversy was nationwide and became international news. Protests were staged by conservative religious groups, political parties, feminist activists, student groups, and secular intellectuals, but the global contest went forward in the city of Bangalore and state of Karnataka. In São Paulo, Brazil, where 603 female inmates from ten prisons competed in the Miss Penitenciária pageant in 2005, some individuals felt the prisoners were being glorified instead of punished (Prada 2005). In Nigeria, the Miss World global contest set off political and religious debates in 2002 when it was scheduled during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. Riots were triggered when a newspaper article claimed that the Prophet would have chosen some of the beauties for wives. Coinciding with the contest was the sentencing of a young mother to death by stoning for adultery by an extremely conservative Islamic court. Though ultimately she was not killed, others died during the ensuing riots. Even in war zones beauty contests are adapted to local circumstances. The first contest to select the Beauty of Chechnya in 2006 was held amidst controversy after Muslim clerics gave their approval, and the swimsuit competition was ruled out.

Riddled with contradictions and a subject of considerable controversy, the first recorded children's contest was a P.T. Barnum baby show in 1855, attended by 61,000 patrons. Children's beauty contests are common in small towns and suburbs and often take place in shopping malls in the midst of an ordinary weekend. Some locations include all ages, beginning with a division for babies that will include boy babies as well as girls. The next two divisions only have females (six to nine years, and ten to thirteen years). In small towns parents may organize these events, but entrepreneurs have also developed them as profit-making ventures, capitalizing on young parents' eagerness to gain recognition for their small children, as well as the photographs that are often associated with the process. In either case, very young children are often made up with lipstick and mascara, in an attempt to give the appearance of mature young women as they stroll down the runway, eliciting praise from some parents and adjectives like "disturbing" from others. Children's and girls' pageants differ in this regard from the first half of the twentieth century when contests were often held, but no attempt was made to portray children as adults.

The most significant debates in Europe and North America center around issues raised by the feminist movement, religious groups, and others, who have objected to the display of the female body, often comparing it to a cattle auction. These criticisms forced changes in the Miss America pageant, shifting the focus from the measurements of a woman's body to the contestants' abilities to think and to speak, and the swimsuit competition was removed for several years, though it has since been reincorporated. In 1997 the Miss America Organization issued a list of word substitutions in an attempt to improve the image of the event, which was losing popularity, proposing "scholarship program" in place of "beauty contest." Again in 2001 it attempted a major overhaul, labeling the swimsuit competition as the "Lifestyle and Fitness" event. These changes have succeeded in attracting serious young women as contestants, many of whom have become doctors or media stars or performers. In the 2007 talent contest, even opera was to be featured (the winner of Miss Indiana 2006 was a music student). Not the first talent competition to feature classical music, Bess Myerson, also a music major, performed Gershwin and Grieg in 1945 when she won the crown and the first scholarship ($5,000).

In spite of these language changes and success in attracting serious and talented young women, the focus remains on the body, indicated by the fact that some contestants have undergone cosmetic surgery, although this is not openly debated. Once again, the contest reflects a practice from the larger society.

Because cultures differ in their definitions of gender and how values are assigned, and the same culture can change these values and definitions, a beauty pageant must be considered in view of the social and historical context in which it occurs. The meaning it is assigned, the debates it generates, and the outcomes it produces will be determined by the hierarchy of values in place in the culture. Thus the meaning of a beauty pageant can only be understood within the system of signification in the culture where it has been produced. In the United States in the early twenty-first century, opposing views on femininity and the role of women are struggling to establish dominance, and these are debated in and through beauty pageants.

SEE ALSO *Physical Culture.*

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Beverly J. Stoeltje

BEAUVOIR, SIMONE DE
1908–1986

French philosopher and author, Simone de Beauvoir is most famous for her analysis of gender oppression in her 1949 study, *The Second Sex*. Friend and partner of the existentialist philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, Beauvoir was a prolific writer and astute commentator on politics, existential philosophy, and society. She brought issues of sex and gender into intellectual consideration. In addition she wrote novels, biographies, and several volumes of memoirs. She is one of the most famous philosophers of the twentieth century, a major intellectual force in the emergence of the Women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s, and an example of her own arguments that women are as capable and valuable as men.

Simone de Beauvoir. EVENING STANDARD/GETTY IMAGES.

FORMATIVE YEARS

Born in Paris on January 9, 1908, Beauvoir was the elder daughter of a bourgeois Parisian family. In her childhood she was an enthusiastic devotee of all things normatively bourgeois: family, patriotism, religion. She loved teaching her younger sister, which she credited with developing her later pleasures in pedagogy and writing. Beauvoir was a superior student, passing baccalaureate exams in both mathematics and philosophy. She pursued the study of mathematics as well as language and literature, but philosophy was her main interest. She enrolled at the Sorbonne in 1926 to study philosophy and there met Sartre, who was taking classes at the Sorbonne while enrolled at the École normale supérieure. Beauvoir earned certificates in seven areas, including general philosophy, ethics, sociology, and psychology. She wrote a thesis on the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz and did her practice teaching with classmates Claude Lévi-Strauss and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. When she was twenty-one, though not enrolled at the École normale, she took second place in the philosophy exam, the youngest person ever to do so. First place went to Sartre.

Because of her success on the exam, Sartre asked to meet her, and Beauvoir became a part of Sartre's somewhat elitist group of intellectuals. Attracted to Sartre's intellect, which she felt was equal to her own, Beauvoir became Sartre's lifelong "essential" lover. Although they never lived together or had children, they remained partners until Sartre's death in 1980. They each had other "contingent" romantic relationships in addition, Beauvoir with both women and men, including the American novelist Nelson Algren and the French filmmaker Claude Lanzmann.

Beauvoir began teaching literature and philosophy in Marseilles, then moved to Rouen. She often discussed politics with the students, especially issues concerning the disparate treatment of women. She was reprimanded for her classroom critiques of patriarchy, was fired when the Nazis took over in 1940, and, returning one last time to teaching, was finally dismissed for a liaison with a female student.

WRITING CAREER

She turned to writing, which had always been her ambition. She began with a collection of short stories about women, *When Things of the Spirit Come First*, which was not published until she had become a more accomplished author. But she succeeded in publishing a novel about a triangular love relationship between a man and two women, *She Came to Stay* (1954). During the German occupation of France, she began writing fiction with a moral flavor, and with Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, and others founded a leftist political journal, *Les temps modernes* (Modern times). Although influenced by Karl Marx, Beauvoir did not have an unbothered relation to communism. She worried about the relation between politics and ethics, especially about what responsibility individuals had to themselves and to oppressed groups. Her writing consisted primarily of trying to work out an existentialist ethics in *The Ethics of Ambiguity* (1948) and "Must We Burn Sade?" (1955).

Beauvoir is best known for her landmark two-volume treatise on the oppression of women, *The Second Sex*. The book examines the assumptions of every relevant discipline and mode of social thought from science and biology to sociology, psychoanalysis, literature, and history. In the first volume, she traces what biologists, psychoanalysts, and Marxists have thought of women and how they have situated women within their own sets of assumptions. She also traces the history of how women have been treated in different kinds of cultures from the nomads to modern times. The first volume ends with an analysis of the myths surrounding women through history, in literature, and in everyday life. She points out whose interests are served by myths of women as emotional, illogical, and weak, and how those myths work as a system that elevates the male at the expense of and in relation to the female. In this way Beauvoir also works out the ways that cultural systems define and use the figure of the "Other" as a means of self-definition and promotion.

The second volume analyzes the reality of women's lives in the twentieth century, tracing the various roles and possibilities available to women through their lives from childhood, puberty, marriage, maternity, and old age to alternative roles such as prostitute and lesbian. Beauvoir examines various other positions available to women including being mystics, narcissists (i.e., being that which people like to look at), and lovers. She ends the book by considering the various possibilities for female independence.

Publishing *The Second Sex* established Beauvoir as a central feminist voice. The book itself was controversial, praised and criticized by both men and women. Beauvoir began working with feminist movements, helping to start the women's liberation movement in France, and writing and speaking about women. She also continued to write both fiction and philosophy. From the time *The Second Sex* was published to her death, she wrote an additional thirteen books, including her four-volume autobiography, which begins with her childhood in *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter* (1958). She also wrote a compelling description of Sartre's decline and death in *Adieux: A Farewell to Sartre* (1981). Unlike most philosophers, Beauvoir had become a visible public figure with the notoriety and attention expended on the famous. Disliking so much limelight, both Beauvoir and Sartre limited their associations to the close friends they had had since university. Beauvoir traveled, however, touring the United States and China. She also continued to think and write about oppressed groups, including the aged. In *The Coming of Age* (1970), which takes an approach similar to that of *The Second Sex*, Beauvoir traces the ways older people have been treated as less capable others.

After Sartre's death, Beauvoir continued to write. She also adopted the female companion who lived with her. Beauvoir died in Paris of a pulmonary edema on April 14, 1986.

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Judith Roof

BEGUINES

Beguine (Latin: *beguina*) was the name given in medieval Europe to a woman who led a religious life without taking solemn or perpetual vows. Although the Beguine lifestyle initially drew strong criticism and some Beguines were persecuted as heretics, they gained a certain respectability in parts of northwestern Europe, where the single-sex communities formed by such women (known as Beguinages) survived until the late twentieth century.

The earliest evidence of Beguine life can be found around 1200 in the region of what is now Belgium, where in various places lay women started to devote themselves to asceticism, charity, and prayer while living alone or with their families. By the 1230s, their numbers in cities like Liège, Leuven, Ghent, and Bruges had grown significantly, enabling them to pool their resources, buy property for communal residence, and create organizations for mutual support. While some Beguines continued to live as solitaries, most of them lived together in small Beguine convents or in larger Beguine courts (enclosed neighborhoods arranged around a church, a hospital, and other service buildings), which in many cities of the Low Countries and the adjacent Rhineland could house several hundreds to one thousand or more women. The Beguine movement spread before 1300 to the rest of Germany, Switzerland, and northern France, with extensions into southern France and central Europe.

The status of such women was controversial from the very beginning. Despite their evident religious interests, Beguines never formed a recognized religious order, and significant differences existed between the various communities, which drew up internal regulations and elected their own superiors independently from each other. Women who joined a Beguinage promised to obey such internal rules, to observe a simple lifestyle, and to refrain from sex, but they did not give up property, nor did they assume a lifelong obligation. The arrangement thus allowed single women to exercise a profession in the urban economy as laborers, nurses, or teachers, while participating in an informal religious life that was not only more flexible than traditional monasticism but also provided these women with greater opportunities to carve out their own spiritual itinerary, with the assistance of male clerics.

In a society deeply suspicious of female sexuality, adult women who were neither under the control of their husbands nor bound by perpetual monastic vows easily aroused skepticism and distrust, as the name *Beguina* (from the Indo-European root *begg-* signifying "to mumble," hence "to simulate") indicates. While certain clerics praised individual Beguines and even wrote hagiographical texts to support the movement (Jacques de Vitry's *Life of Mary of Oignies*, written in 1215, became the most popular of such vitae), the more conservative figures of the Catholic Church disapproved of their intellectual activities, in particular their teachings on mysticism, for which Beguine writers such as Hadewijch of Brabant and Mechtild of Magdeburg became well known in the thirteenth century. When in 1310 the French Beguine Marguerite Porète was condemned as a heretic for alleged antinomianism in her treatise *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, the movement as a whole became the target of large-scale investigations and sporadic persecution by Church authorities, resulting in the suppression of many Beguine communities. Beguines of northern France and the Rhineland were forced to adopt a recognized religious rule (usually the Third Rule of St. Francis) or to give up their lifestyle. The large court Beguinages of the Low Countries, financially more secure and often protected by influential members of the ruling classes, remained largely unscathed but gradually adopted stricter rules of discipline and submitted to greater outside control, especially under the influence of the Modern Devotion movement of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century closed down the last Beguine houses in Germany and in most of the Netherlands. In Belgium and in the predominantly Catholic parts of the Netherlands, however, the Beguine courts were revived and even flourished again during the seventeenth-century Counterreformation, now with full support of the Catholic Church. In the late twentieth century, dwindling fervor for the religious life among Catholics finally put an end to Beguine traditions in Belgium and the Netherlands; a few small communities of women invoking the Beguine example were newly created in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States.

SEE ALSO *Monasticism.*

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Walter Simons

BEHN, APHRA
1640–1689

Aphra Behn is one of the more controversial and fascinating women writers of the English Renaissance. Virginia Woolf (1929) acknowledged Behn's contribution to the world of women's letters by suggesting "all women together ought to should let flowers fall upon [her] tomb . . . for it was she who earned them the right to speak their minds" (1977, p. 63). Catherine Gallagher (1993), however, is less certain. She argues that Behn "did not take up the pen with fear and trembling, deeply impressed by its undoubted resemblance to a penis . . . Nor do her writings reveal a hidden female culture or firm bonds of solidarity between women." Janet Todd's biography confirms that Behn "is not so much a woman to be unmasked as an unending combination of masks"

Aphra Behn. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

(2000, p. 1). Her date and place of birth is uncertain, although it is thought she was born in Harbledon, on December 14, 1640. It is probable she grew up in Kent in the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth and was a royalist sympathizer. During her lifetime she was known as Aphra or Ann. But Astrea, the goddess of justice, was the name she adopted for herself as both spy and author.

To assist her family after the death of her father en route to a top administrative position in Surinam, the young Aphra Johnson married a German merchant, Mr. Behn (c. 1664). Little is known of Behn or the marriage, but by 1666 Aphra was an impoverished widow, a status that usefully enabled her to travel to Antwerp as a spy to gather information on Dutch activities in the West Indies for Charles II. Behn was poorly paid if at all, and she returned to England in 1667 penniless and confined in debtor's prison where she was forced to write to support herself. Her lack of visible means of support led many to conclude that she was a kept woman or prostitute, but there is no evidence for such a claim. Her "Memoirs" state that after Antwerp, her life was entirely dedicated to pleasure and poetry, writing, she said "for bread, fame and my cause." She is widely accredited with being the first English professional woman writer.

Behn supported herself mostly by writing for the theater. Nineteen plays were performed in her lifetime. The first was the witty *The Forc'd Marriage* (1670); the best known, *The Rover* (1677, 1681 parts 1 & 2), is still performed in the early twenty-first century. The theater, however, was never a secure living and Behn frequently endured financial crises. During her lifetime, her reputation was controversial but her talent never in doubt, winning her strong supporters like the Earl of Rochester, as well as powerful detractors. Later critics found her difficult to place. Algernon Charles Swinburne admired her as a "sweet songstress"; Julia Kavanagh argued that her plays were "so coarse as to offend even a coarse age." Behn's way of life as well as the topics she chose for her verse have often been criticized for their lack of propriety.

Behn is a writer of remarkable range. Her contemporary reputation was highest for her plays and prose writing; the latter has recently been acknowledged as contributing to eighteenth century developments in prose fiction. Her imperialist romance novella set in Surinam, *Oroonoko*, is notable; despite the Eurocentric beauty of its black slave hero, the piece lent its voice to the anti-imperial and anti-slavery movement of its time. Behn's provocative verse remains as problematic as it was in the seventeenth century, for different reasons. While she describes the circuit of female desire, she does not directly promote a female cause. In *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* (1988), Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar include only five of her poems, all featuring a distinctly female voice or ungendered speakers. Janet Todd's more recent edition of the complete poems suggests, however, that it is hard to detect a consistent poetic persona or sustained voice, in part because many of the poems are loosely adapted from French originals often employing the male voice. Even her original pieces are frequently occasional, written as poetic exchanges among friends or in praise of another writer's work. A favorite poetic form is the pastoral, but, against the idealizing bent of the mode, Behn frequently depicts relationships that degenerate into something closer to the comic, as in *The Disappointment*.

Despite the controversial nature of her writing, Behn's professional reputation was such that she was asked to write a poem commemorating the ascension of William III to the British throne; she stood by her principles, however, as a partisan of the Stuart cause rather than the House of Orange, and refused. She died on April 16, 1689, shortly after William's coronation, and was buried in Westminister Abbey—an odd triumph! The inscription on her tomb is fitting: "Here lies a Proof that Wit can never be/ Defence enough against Mortality."

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Claudia Marquis

BESTIALITY

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

BETA MALE

SEE *Male.*

BETTY BOOP

If Mickey Mouse is the world's most recognizable male animated character, Betty Boop must be his female equivalent. Though Betty Boop films were in production for fewer than nine years in the 1930s, the character gained a following that has extended into the twenty-first century.

Betty Boop was created in 1930 to play opposite a lecherous, piano-playing dog character, Bimbo, in the Fleischer Brothers' "Talkartoons" series. In her first appearance in an episode called "Dizzy Dishes," she was an ugly half-dog, half-human creature. By the ninth episode in the series, "Minding the Baby," she had metamorphosed into the completely human, Jazz Age sexpot, the role for which she became famous, and she was given her name. Henceforth, the cartoons were renamed the "Betty Boop" series.

Rather quickly, Betty Boop became a significant popular culture figure, attracting "appearances" by jazz musicians such as Cab Calloway and Louis Armstrong, spinning off into daily and Sunday comic strips and a national radio show, *Betty Boop Fables,* and supporting a line of merchandise that included dolls, clothes, and dishes. Some American women adopted her famous hairdo, and people everywhere echoed her famous "Boop-oop-a-doop" line.

Known for their humor, sexual innuendoes, jazz-oriented scores, and the squeaky voice of Mae Questel, some Betty Boop cartoons are now cult classics, particularly "Minnie the Moocher" (1932), "Snow White" (1933), "The Old Man of the Mountain" (1933), and "Poor Cinderella" (1934). These and other cartoons between 1932 and 1934 featured Betty Boop at the peak of her popularity, when she was a fun-loving, not to-be-taken seriously female, who, at the same time, exhibited some of the early stages of liberation her gender was experiencing.

Before the Motion Picture Production Code took effect in 1934, Betty Boop cartoons were outrageous—extremely funny and sometimes racy, incorporating Cab Calloway soundtracks with references to drugs, alcohol, and sex and featuring lascivious male characters who ogled Betty Boop, threatened to take her boop-oop-a-doop away, and even touched her forbidden parts. Betty's attire was often provocative. In "Bamboo Isle" (1932), she appeared topless; in "Mysterious Mose" (1930), she revealed more than usual cleavage, and in all of the cartoons, her legs and trademark garter were exposed.

Betty Boop lost her appeal after the 1934 code lowered her hemline, removed the garter, raised her neckline, and generally took the fun out of the character. The cartoons thenceforth highlighted a demure woman in a long dress, and the stories revolved around less interesting characters such as a dog or Grampy or Fearless Fred. In 1939, with interest in the series waning, Max Fleischer retired his famous character.

Even without new cartoons produced, Betty Boop has stayed popular, her cartoons showing up on television in the 1950s and after, and her merchandise appealing to fans into the twenty-first century. In 1988 she appeared in the successful *Who Framed Roger Rabbit,* and anytime animation masterpieces are discussed, her name is evoked.

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John A. Lent

BHAKTI

SEE *Hinduism.*

BIBLE, NEW TESTAMENT

Sex in the ancient world may be regarded as a biological identity. Gender is a "social construct" indicating the ways in which men and women are taught values and behaviors appropriate to gender roles and social expectations. Practicing *sophrosune*, for example, is self-control for men but discretion and even silence for women. The gender ideology of the public and the private implies leadership roles in the public sphere for men, while women's domain is the household. However, this differentiation cannot be taken too far because the ancient household was also a public space regardless of its size or economy.

IDEOLOGY AND INTERPRETATION

"Let a woman learn in silence with all submission," writes the author of I Timothy 2:12, imitating Paul. "I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve." However, the injunction reveals more about the writer than about the social position of women in early Christian movements. The focus in the text is on the problem of "women," and by means of such texts one can see the ideological uses of interpretation to authorize and sustain certain relationships of domination.

The ideal of restricted women's behavior in the public space is relevant to understanding the contradiction in Paul's first letter to Corinth on the proper role of women in worship and the harshness of the prohibition on women teachers (1 Timothy 2:11–12). Although Paul expected women to take an active role in worship in terms of prophetic speech (1 Corinthians 11:5), he also demanded women's silence in the assembly (1 Corinthians 14:34–35): "The women should keep silence in the churches. For they are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as the law says. If there is anything they desire to know, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is shameful for a woman to speak in church."

In this context Paul can be seen as an orator adopting a role as head of household to preserve order in the Christian community through personal authority. This is best seen in the fiat in 1 Corinthians 11:16: "If any man will not be ruled in this question, this is not our way of doing things, and it is not done in the churches of God." Through the ordering and gendering of the household Paul exercised control over the community, placing special emphasis on particular hairstyles and veiling practices. This is also part of Paul's promotion of an ordered, moderate, upright community that reflected the "glory" of both Paul and God.

Thus, female conduct at Corinth or anywhere else was incidental to the main argument establishing Paul's domination and power over those constructed as being in need of control. Of course, the ecclesial body benefits from stability. However, the predominant cultural value system in which Paul was operating and that he inscribed on the Corinthian body and sought to promote as the basis for his own identity for the audience has to be seen from a Greco-Roman male perspective. Paul was trying to control women who prophesied. In the ancient world prophesying was anarchic and not gender-specific. Paul intended to counter what the early Church Fathers and he regarded as chaos with an ordered and structured Christian community in which women "know their place."

CONTROL OF BODIES AND HOUSEHOLDS

The argument begins with control of his own body (1 Corinthians 7), which is the starting point for domination of others (1 Corinthians 11). The female body in turn becomes the cultural and rhetorical battleground for the maintenance of custom in Paul. In so ordering the Corinthian "household" Paul realizes the stability of an ordered empire. Seen in this light, early Christian witnesses such as 1 Corinthians 11:2–16 become a powerful statement about Paul's status as head of household and maintainer of Corinthian order.

The household is the projection of Paul's ability to control, order, and dominate, and it becomes the model for the author of I Timothy.

Some scholars have proposed that the injunction of I Timothy is an interpolation on the basis of concerns about female modesty in the public space. I Timothy 3:5 describes an overseer (bishop) as the husband of one wife and the manager of the household, arguing: "For if a man has not the art of ruling his house, how will he take care of the church of God?" It can be suggested that the text serves as a witness to a reading of Paul's exclusion of women from the emerging leadership role of monarchical bishop and the use of a rhetoric of shame to ensure women's silence in public arenas.

Such understandings of Paul's letters to the Corinthians echo in analyses of his letter to the Romans and its condemnation of sexual relations between men and men and women and women. Bernadette Brooten concentrates on same-sex relations between women in the ancient world and shows that "throughout Western history we find the male creators of culture and of ideology wavering between assuming that sexual relations between women do not exist at all—indeed cannot exist—and imagining that if they do, then the women must be capable of penetration" (Brooten 1996, p. 190). In regard to that notion, "this focus on penetration as the principal sexual image led to a simplistic view of female erotic behavior and a complex view of the erotic choices of free men" (Brooten 1996, p. 49). In the Roman imperial era the phenomenon of female same-sex love received increased attention and then broad societal recognition. However, it is important to examine the source of that hostility.

In ancient Mediterranean concepts of sexuality "active and passive define what it means to be masculine/feminine" (Brooten 1996, p. 125; cf. p. 157, n. 43). If a female played the penetrating (i.e., active) role, she transgressed those fundamental categories, acting "contrary to nature." However, this was also the case if a woman allowed herself to be penetrated by another woman. The logic is skewed, but Brooten shows that "female homoeroticism did not fit neatly into ancient understandings of sexual relationships as essentially asymmetrical" (Brooten 1996, p. 76). Only Christians wanted homoerotic women to die and burn in hell. "Paul condemned sexual relations between women as 'unnatural' because he shared the widely held cultural view that women are passive by nature and therefore should remain passive in sexual relations" (Brooten 1996, p. 216).

It is important to realize that before the author of I Timothy wrote, women such as Phoebe were patrons in a community of Roman believers (Romans 16:1–2) and that there were female apostles before Paul, such as Junia (Romans 16:7). Lydia was a God fearer and wealthy householder who was baptized by Paul with her whole household. She was a patron to the house church and a traveling apostle (Acts 16:11–15).

Washing the feet of Jesus. *Mary Magdalene washes feet of Jesus Christ in this detail from the Meal at the house of Simon, c. 1560.* THE ART ARCHIVE/GALLERIA SABAUDA TURIN/DAGLI ORTI.

REPRODUCTION AND THE COMMUNITY OF GOD

Recent study of John's gospel demonstrates how the author sought to eradicate sex by envisaging the generation of new members of the Johannine community from not of God without conception and birth (John 1:12–13). In Chapter 1 Jesus exists as God's word. In Chapter 3 Nicodemus explores what being born anew (or from above) means. To be born from above or born anew does not mean entering the mother's womb a second time (John 3:4). As Jesus explains to a mystified Nicodemus, it means being born of water and the spirit.

If John's gospel describes human generation in a nonbiological way, one can see why Jesus' parents and family of origin are absent from the gospel. Jesus has a mother, but he never addresses her as such. Except at Cana neither of them makes claims on the other as family members in a way that those in the same household might be expected to, and even at Cana the claim is not framed in terms of family obligation. Jesus' words in John 2:4, "Woman, what have I to do with you?" distance him from his earthly mother and cause more distress to interpreters than to his mother. Moreover, Jesus distances women from men: To the Samaritan woman he says, "You are right in saying, 'I have no husband,' for you have had five husbands, and the one you have now is not your husband. What you have said is true" (John 4:17–18); to the woman taken in adultery he says, "No one has condemned you, neither do I," although the law condemns both the man and the woman (Leviticus 20:10; Deuteronomy 22:22). Similarly, in John's gospel parents separate or differentiate themselves from their children: The parents of the man born blind say, "Ask him, he is of age" (John 9:23).

At the crucifixion scene Jesus consigned the Beloved Disciple to replace him as son to his mother (John 19:25–26). Affiliation was not through birth; Jesus' mother is now mother or guardian to the prototypical disciple in whatever community exists after Jesus' death. From the cross, in a last will and testament, Jesus affiliated a new son to his mother. He created a mother-son bond through his last words. The new son takes his new mother into his realm (or house) and in so doing sustains the bond. Jesus creates through words a new family of his disciples: brothers, sisters, and friends he loves, the most prominent of whom becomes son to his mother. The

Beloved Disciple is thus a (re)born child of God not by desire, by man, or by the will of the flesh.

SEE ALSO *Bible, Old Testament or Tanakh; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern.*

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Deirdre Good

BIBLE, OLD TESTAMENT OR TANAKH

The Hebrew Bible (known to Christians as the Old Testament and to Jews by the acronym *Tanakh*) is an anthology of religious literature of different genres written in various settings of Israelite society over a period of approximately one thousand years. This diverse collection of sacred books, which reached its final form in the first century CE, played a central role in the development of the post-biblical religious traditions of Judaism and in shaping attitudes about sex and gender in Western society.

The diversity of the Hebrew Bible on the topic of gender and human sexuality is evident in the two biblical creation stories at the beginning of Genesis. Genesis 1:1–2:3 recounts that both males and females (unspecified in number) were created simultaneously in the divine image and equally charged to multiply and to assume stewardship over the earth and their fellow creatures. Genesis 2:4–3:24 preserves a tradition of male priority, where woman is a subsequent and secondary creation, formed from the body of the uniquely created man to fulfill male needs for companionship and progeny (Gen. 2:24). Despite the pains of childbirth, a woman desires her husband sexually and he rules over her (Gen. 3:16). Until very recent times, this image of differentiated and unequal gender roles was far more influential in the post-biblical development of Judaism than the first, egalitarian vision.

Biblical narratives offer vivid portraits of fascinating and complex women who determined the national destiny (Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Miriam, Deborah, Yael, Hannah, Abigail, Bathsheba, and Huldah, among many others). However, biblical legislation assumed a woman was subordinate to the dominant male in her life, whether father or husband. This man controlled a woman's sexuality, including the right to challenge both her virginity and her marital faithfulness (Deut. 22:13–22; Num. 5:11–31). Legal concerns in the Hebrew Bible about women's sexual activity really have to do with relations between men. A man could be executed for having intercourse with another's wife (Lev. 20:10) because he had committed a crime of theft against a man; similarly, a man who seduced or raped a virgin had to pay a bride-price to her father and marry her (Deut. 22:28). Israelite society was polygynous, although biblical narratives display ambivalence about this practice in their frequent depictions of hostilities between co-wives and half-siblings.

In the patriarchal culture of ancient Israel, where women were essentially the daughters, wives, and mothers of particular men, women had virtually no property rights. Unmarried women inherited from their fathers only if they had no brothers; in such cases, women had to marry within their father's clan to prevent the dispersal of tribal property among outsiders (Num. 36:2–12). Widows did not inherit from their husbands but were dependent on their sons or the generosity of other heirs. According to the biblical practice of levirate marriage, childless widows were the legal responsibility of their husband's oldest brother (Deut. 25:5–10) or in some cases, his nearest male relative (Ruth 4:1–11). Some women were prostitutes, an occupation condemned in priestly texts but presented as part of the larger Israelite landscape in narratives about Rahab (Joshua 2, 5) and Tamar (Gen. 38), and the two women who brought their dispute to Solomon (1 Kings 3:16–28).

In the ritual regulations of Leviticus, menstruating and postpartum women were considered ritually impure and sexually unavailable to their husbands for prescribed periods of time (Lev. 12, 15), during which they could also render people and objects they touched ritually impure. A woman was ritually impure for a period of seven days after giving birth to a male child, and fourteen after a girl. For thirty-three additional days after a boy and sixty-six after a girl, she was forbidden to enter the Temple or to touch hallowed things (Lev. 12:1–8). Although such ordinances were part of a priestly system in which other genital discharges, male and female, could cause ritual impurity, they applied particularly to women, due to the biological consequences of fertility, pregnancy, and childbirth. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, when most other forms of ritual impurity lapsed, the practice of separating menstruating and postpartum women from conjugal contact and communal religious life until their cleansing in a ritual bath continued in rabbinic Judaism.

Scholars suggest that so long as Israelite society was mainly agricultural, social and religious gender roles were relatively egalitarian. With the emergence of a monarchy, political state, and the institutionalization of religious life in the Temple cult and priestly bureaucracy (beginning in the tenth century BCE), women were increasingly excluded from the public arena and lost access to communal authority, a social approach maintained in the rabbinic Judaism of the post-biblical era.

Public religious rituals in ancient Israel were mainly male. The priesthood was a hereditary position, limited to men of the tribe of Levi. According to Leviticus 21:14, the high priest may not marry a widow, a divorcée, or a harlot, but only a virgin. Other priests may marry a widow. Women participated in communal festivals, brought sacrifices, and sang and danced at festivals and as part of victory celebrations (Exod. 15; Judg. 5:1–31; Judg. 21:19–23; I Sam. 18:6–7). Hannah, the mother of Samuel, Israel's last judge, is depicted as praying alone at the Tabernacle at Shiloh (I Sam. 1:19). Her prayer (I Sam 2:1–10) became the model for supplicatory prayer in rabbinic Judaism (*Babylonian Talmud: Berakhot* 31a). Women had no publicly recognized religious leadership roles in ancient Israel, although there are references to "wise women" (2 Sam. 12:1-6; 2 Sam. 14:1-20; 2 Sam. 20:16-22) who were consulted in times of crisis. A few women, including Miriam (Exod. 15:20), Deborah (Judg. 4:4), and Huldah (2 Kings 22:14–16), are designated as prophets.

Sexuality is affirmed in the Hebrew Bible as a powerful human force with both positive and negative potentialities. Channeled within marriage, heterosexual intimacy leads to both pleasure and progeny. The Song of Songs preserves an idyllic vision of human sexuality and an established vocabulary of female-male erotic love. However, from the early post-biblical period on, this book was read as an allegory of the divine-human relationship. Heterosexual love and potential betrayal also underlie the powerful biblical metaphor of God and Israel as husband and wife (e.g., Hosea). Conversely, Proverbs warns young men to shun the snares of enticing and seductive women (Prov. 5 and 7, 31:2–3), and post-biblical Jewish writings frequently represent women as temptresses and sexually unreliable. Male homosexual relations are forbidden in Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13 and this prohibition continued in rabbinic Judaism. There are no allusions to lesbian sexual activity in biblical legislative or narrative texts.

Contemporary Judaism exists in diverse movements; in recent years, Reform, Reconstructionist, and Conservative Judaisms have affirmed the equal status of women and men in all aspects of Jewish life, leadership, and ritual practice. Reform and Reconstructionist Judaisms also endorse the full participation of gay and lesbian Jews in every area of Jewish life. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, conservative Judaism continued to struggle with this issue. Orthodox Judaism, which also exists in many forms, professes separate (generally lesser) social, communal, and ritual roles for women and maintains traditional negative attitudes towards homosexuality.

SEE ALSO *Esther; Judaism.*

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Judith R. Baskin

BIG BAD WOLF

Wolves get bad press, much worse than they deserve. Consider their much-vaunted fierceness: that of the big bad wolf that ate the first two little pigs; the dangers of a wolf in sheep's clothing; the foolishness of the boy who cried wolf; the need to keep the wolves at bay. In early versions of "The Three Little Pigs" (the first written edition of which appears in the late eighteenth century), the wolf devours the first two pigs, who built houses of straw and sticks, enabling the wolf to huff and puff and

An illustration from "Little Red Riding Hood." © CORBIS.

blow their houses in; the clever third pig, who built his house of bricks, outsmarts and eats the wolf. Walt Disney's little pigs might be foolish to sing "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf" in the immensely popular *Three Little Pigs* cartoon short (1933) and its sequels, yet Depression Era viewers adopted the song as their anthem, hoping to keep the wolf from the door. Despite attributions of dangerous ferocity, however, in North America at least, there have been few cases of healthy wild wolves attacking humans. (Europe and Asia are another matter, though attacks recorded there may have been by rabid or hybrid wolves.)

Then there's the wolf as sexual creature, especially as a sexual predator. Yet wolves do not in fact howl wolf whistles. Nor are they particularly rapacious: they pair off in long-term bonds and form cooperative packs that share in the care of the young. "Little Red Riding Hood," of course, promotes a rather different wolf. In different tellings, Red is simply eaten, as in Charles Perrault's cautionary version (1697); is released by a hunter from the wolf's belly, as the Grimm brothers would have it (1812); escapes her predicament through her own wits, as in the early oral versions of the story cited by Jack Zipes; or, as in Angela Carter's retelling in "The Company of Wolves" (1979), is dangerously yet deliciously complicit with the wolf, embracing sexuality. The sexual wolf—almost always male, almost always heterosexual—has been featured by artists too, from Gustave Doré to Sarah Moon.

For humans, in short, the wolf has represented embodiment, sexual and otherwise. It seemed the most humanlike of the animals with whom Europeans and North Americans came into contact, a convenient figure onto which to project needs and desires. It especially came to represent the physical body of humans, for good or ill. It could suckle Romulus and Remus and hence nurture Roman civilization. It could also represent the threats to civilization—not least as the sometimes-wolf, sometimes-human werewolf (perhaps most memorably embodied, during the twentieth century, by Lon Chaney Jr., in *The Wolf Man* [1941] and its sequels). More recently the wolf could represent an escape from the hyper-civilized, the freedom of running or dancing with wolves. The wolf is the physical human, whether we menace others, make love, or wolf down food: its representation raises questions about what it means to be human.

SEE ALSO *Fairy Tales; Little Red Riding Hood.*

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LES BIJOUX INDISCRETS

Denis Diderot (1713–1784), a towering philosopher of the French Enlightenment, published an early novel titled *Les Bijoux Indiscrets* ([Indiscrete jewels], translated as *The Indiscreet Toys* in an English edition of 1749) in January 1748 without an author or a publisher name. It recounts the lengthy divertissement of a bored sultan in an Orientalized Congo who is curious about the faithfulness of women, especially the favorite of his harem. He turns a magical ring on all the women of the realm, enjoying its ability to force the "jewel" hidden in their bodies—their sex—to speak frankly and unreservedly about its owner's exploits. This allows the sultan to observe the sexual profligacy of any and all of his subjects and the corruption, venality, hypocrisy, and mendacity of the entire culture: Women sell themselves to cover gambling debts, priests are the first to profit from promiscuity, and husbands seek advancement through their wives' lovers.

SOURCES

Bijoux belongs to the eighteenth-century genre of Orientalist fiction and generally is considered to be an imitation of *Le sopha-conte moral* (1740) by the fashionable Crébillon Fils (Claude Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, 1707–1777) and perhaps of *Nocrion, conte allobroge* (1747), which has been attributed to Caylus (Anne Claude Philippe, Comte de Caylus, 1692–1765). However, *Bijoux* is also a direct heir to a medieval tradition and has been associated with a fabliau in which a knight makes women's sexual body parts speak, and Diderot might also have been influenced by Renaissance texts called *Blasons* in which a particular part of a woman's body is extolled and described in detail, sometimes as the result of an exploration by an outside force, which could be the eye, the hand, or even an emboldened insect.

LEGAL RECEPTION

Although the book was an immediate commercial success, Diderot was denounced to the chief of police on February 14, 1748. His bad reputation in matters of religion and morality had intensified before and after this publication. In 1746 he had completed the *Pensées philosophiques*, which marked his conversion to deism; that work was condemned roundly by the French parliament on July 7 of that year. On June 20, 1747, he was denounced to the police for irreligiousness for writing *De la suffisance de la religion naturelle* (published only in 1770) and the *Skeptic's Promenade* (published as late as 1830). On June 3, 1749, his *Lettre sur les aveugles, à l'usage de ceux qui voient* ([Letter on blindness, for the use of those who have their sight], which was translated in 1770) immediately garnered him the dangerous label of an atheist. This time the police searched his home, and he was arrested and jailed at Vincennes.

Subjected to an interrogatory, Diderot first denied any wrongdoing and then, on August 11, 1750, broke down and confessed his role, betraying his mistress, Madame de Puisieux (Madeleine d'Arsant de Puisieux, 1720–1798), as the responsible party. Somehow he got out of jail, probably through the distributors of the *Encyclopédie*, a massive project that Diderot and his friend d'Alembert (1717–1783) officially undertook in 1747 and whose first volume appeared in 1751.

While in Vincennes, Diderot began to blame *Bijoux* for his troubles. With time he increasingly disowned the work and publicly professed to have committed an embarrassing youthful error and to regret it as a respectable writer, moralist, philosopher, and art critic. His publisher, Naigeon, claimed that he lamented the work's existence every day of his life. However, that contrition might have been theatrical in that Diderot added material to the text well after 1750, including three chapters that went into the 1798 edition on his explicit instructions. In 1761 he still was apologizing for the work, calling it abominable and still blaming his mistress. He circulated an ugly story that she asked him for fifty louis that he did not have and that in despair he wrote the novel in a hurry and according to popular taste to earn that sum.

This was a murky episode in Diderot's relationship to Madeleine de Puisieux, a respectable author who wrote on pedagogy and manners and translated a work on the equality of women and men. Diderot fed the misogynist stereotypes of his time, casting Madeleine de Puisieux as the instigator and a prurient female lover of salacious literature, the force behind the indecent parts, whereas philosophical thinking remained the province of Diderot, the male, much as was the case with the characters in *Bijoux* (Rustin 1979).

CRITICAL RECEPTION

The work elicited massive invective in the early nineteenth century, followed by decades of silence and obscurity in the early twentieth century and then a more accepting attitude after the 1960s. However, the work still was treated with some discomfort by modern editors. Scholars in the late twentieth century recognized its importance and commented on it extensively, although they may focus less on the blatant sexual aspects of the work in relation to its other dimensions.

Already incontrovertibly linked to the history of erotic literature (Rustin 1979), *Bijoux* completely breached the bastions of propriety with a section that is one of the earliest European works of identifiable verbal pornography, in which a "traveling jewel" recounts its adventures in what seems to be the most explicit detail. But is it so explicit? Those pages are written in languages other than French: English, Latin, Italian, and Spanish. This creates a screen or the semblance of a screen for Diderot's educated contemporaries between the ribald and the literally obscene. Further, the degree of crude graphic rendition of sex acts varies considerably from text to text. The English version, for instance, is filled with the strings of sexual metaphors (both explicit and concealing) characteristic of erotic French literature since the late Middle Ages and certainly since the Renaissance. Diderot thus created at once a linguistic tour de force, a rhetorical experiment in verbalizing the obscene, and a representational puzzle, signaled by that deliberate act of veiling and unveiling.

All these aspects of the work have intrigued interpreters of Diderot's oeuvre, eliciting scholarly reflections on the interface of sexuality and textuality and on the scripting of desire in text (Creech 1979; Wall 1994). Michel Foucault used *Bijoux* to illustrate his thesis of the constant sex talk of modern Western European culture: "We willingly imagine ourselves under a 'victorian' regime," he wrote in a brief essay. "It seems to me instead that our kingdom is the one imagined by Diderot in *Les bijoux indiscrets*; a certain, nearly invisible mechanism makes sex speak in a virtually inexhaustible chatter. We are in a society of speaking sex" (Foucault 1978, p. 6). Foucault deemed the text extremely important for the history of sexuality and its discourses, for part four of the first volume of his *History of Sexuality* begins with the statement: "The aim of this series of studies? To transcribe into history the fable of *Les bijoux indiscrets*" (Foucault 1990, p. 77). Foucault saw the fable, and the device of the ring, as allegorical of the Western will to know about sex and make others speak about it, to understand "what is it that we demand of sex, beyond its possible pleasures, that makes us so persistent?" (p. 79).

Scholars have thus responded to Foucault's reading of *Bijoux*, making the sultan into a form of critic who adumbrates the will to see and know contained in the *Encyclopédie* (Creech 1986). Some have attempted to move beyond the ribaldry of the text or correct its apparent misogyny (Meeker 2003), stressing that in the end the virtue of women is upheld (Humphries 1989, Fowler 1997), or that, in fact, it is not about the sexuality of women at all, but about male desire (Fowler 2000). Others, on the contrary, have read it as an historical contribution to building the misogynistic view of woman as disease, specifically linked to the theme of smallpox (Goldberg 1984). Others have underscored its carnivalesque and operatic quality (Didier 1984), or showed its intrinsic connection to the wider philosophical problems addressed by Diderot elsewhere, in particular its relationship to libertine philosophy (Richard 1998, Meeker 2003) and to the critique of metaphysics (Deneys-Tunney 1999).

SEE ALSO *Pornography.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

BINGEN, HILDEGARD OF
1098–1179

Born in 1098, the tenth child of Hildebert and Mechtild von Bermersheim, Hildegard of Bingen was a product of the German nobility. Hildegard is remembered as a mystic, a scholar, a playwright, a poet, and a musician. The earliest manuscript of her great visionary work, *Scito vias Domini*, better known to modern readers as *Scivias*, was illuminated with sensitive and creative images of her visions made in the scriptorium at Rupertsberg in 1165. Medieval evidence suggests that the illuminations were painted by a "gifted Rupertsberg nun, or perhaps a monk from St. Disibod" (Hart and Bishop 1990, p. 26). The illuminated *Scivias*, perhaps the best known of Hildegard's works, embodies in its unique artistic and theological approach the creativity, originality, and spirituality of Hildegard's life and work.

Hildegard began her spiritual life with Jutta von Spanheim, who lived as an anchoress at the Benedictine monastery in Disibodenberg. Although she is most famous for the visions that occurred "in the forty-third year of [her] earthly course," Hildegard confessed later in life that she had experienced visions beginning in early childhood. Sickly as a young child, she had much time for introspection and thought, and although she would not write about them until much later in life, her visionary experiences seem always to have been a part of how she approached God and her world. In 1106 Hildegard went to live with Jutta, and stayed with her for thirty years. She followed Jutta's example and served as abbess of Disibodenberg starting in 1136, and she founded two additional convents, at Rupertsberg near Bingen and at Eibingen.

Hildegard traveled throughout Germany and the Low Countries, and she was a prolific writer of letters. These letters—written to the leaders of her time, such as Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204), Henry II of England (r. 1154–1189), Abbot Suger (1081–1151), and Frederick I, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1152–1190); to friends, leaders, and to lay supporters and advocates—represent an excellent cross-section of twelfth-century society and culture, both within and beyond the circle of Church authority, and demonstrate Hildegard's contemporary reputation for wisdom and theological knowledge. Among her more well-known correspondents is the Benedictine nun, mystic, and author Elizabeth of Schönau (1129–1165). Hildegard's mystical authority was actually sanctioned by a pope, based on an investigation requested by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), who brought her work to the attention of Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–1153).

In the early twenty-first century, Hildegard can be seen as participating in a literary tradition through such female authors and mystics as the ninth-century Carolingian writer Dhouda, the tenth-century playwright Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, and the visions of the early Christian martyr Saint Perpetua (d. 203). However, these women were unknown to her (Hart and Bishop 1990, p. 9), so her independence and both her theological and literary authority have seemed, traditionally, to be anomalous for a woman of her time. Hildegard was also fairly well educated for a twelfth-century woman, although her Latin was imperfect and she questioned her own literary abilities. Thus, she dictated her works to several scribes, among whom the best known was Volmar; he transcribed her works until his death in 1151. Her final scribe, Guibert of Gembloux, was one of her most vocal admirers, including in his transcriptions some of his own opinions about Hildegard, such as comparing her to the Virgin Mary in her influence and sanctity.

During the time in which Hildegard flourished, female mysticism, as it has often been termed, was a new concept: much of what would later be attributed to this genre has its origin, to some extent, in the works of Hildegard. Two major influences on these works—the biblical Song of Songs and Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on this text—seem to have influenced all devotional writers of the twelfth century but particularly the women who experienced mystical encounters and those who recorded those encounters. It is clear that Bernard's sermons reached Hildegard, who frequently uses the language of bridal mysticism in her works, particularly in *Scivias* and *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum* (a separate publication that compiles the musical compositions found in part III of *Scivias*). Hildegard and Bernard probably never met, but Hildegard uses Bernard's own language from the sermons on the Song of Songs when she writes to him in 1147: "And so I beseech your aid, through the serenity of the Father and through His wondrous Word and through the sweet moisture of compunction … and through the sublimity

Hildegard of Bingen. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

of the Father, who sent the Word with sweet fruitfulness into the womb of the Virgin, from which He soaked up flesh, just as honey is surrounded by the honeycomb" (Baird and Ehrman 1994–2004, pp. 27–28). This is a clear echo of the Song of Songs: "Thy lips, my spouse, are as a dropping honeycomb, milk and honey are under thy tongue" (Canticles 4:11). Thus, although Bernard makes every effort to avoid sexualizing the relationship between the soul and Christ in his own works, he may have unwillingly influenced Hildegard's erotic imagery and, through her, the erotic language and sensual imagery of medieval mystical writers after the twelfth century, such as the authors of *Ancrene Wisse*, *Hali Meiðhad*, and the Wooing Group in England, as well as the works of Elizabeth of Schönau and Mechthild of Magdeburg, who allude directly to Hildegard in their own mystical writings.

The nature and impact of Hildegard's relationships with other women is still being investigated by scholars, some of whom interpret her affection and intimacy for her female companions as "queer," or at least as being edged with erotic desire. The most obvious case for this argument is her relationship with Richardis von Stade, a nun with whom she lived for several years, first in Disibodenberg and then in Rupertsberg when Hildegard became abbess. Richardis may have served as Hildegard's scribe for a time, and she is pictured with Hildegard (and her scribe Volmar) in a well-known miniature from the thirteenth century. Richardis had been a long-time companion and friend to Hildegard, nursing her through bouts of migraines and illness, and encouraging her writings. When, in 1151, Richardis was elected abbess of the neighboring convent of Bassum, Hildegard protested strongly to Richardis's family and to church authorities, including the pope, who deferred to Heinrich, Archbishop of Mainz (who had already clearly indicated his approval of Richardis's move to Bassum). In letters she wrote to Richardis, Hildegard seems to reveal her love for her, although the nature of that love is unclear. Some see their relationship as that of a mother and her prodigal daughter; some see it clearly as an articulation of lesbian desire between the two women. Susan Schibanoff, for example, has argued that Hildegard experienced a "homoerotic attachment" to Richardis (2001, p. 69). Citing Thomas Stehling, whose work includes a study of medieval "lesbian love letters," she argues that Hildegard's echo of Lamentations in her letters to Richardis ("let all who have sorrow like my sorrow mourn with me" [Baird and Ehrman, 1994–2004, p. 144]) follows the pattern of other homoerotic letters by medieval women that derive from Song of Songs, a source well known and frequently used by Hildegard.

Although it is not possible to fully understand Hildegard's relationship with Richardis, it is clear that the younger nun's absence generated for her, in Schibanoff's words, "a desperate and physical loneliness" (p. 54). In her work *Ordo virtutem*, composed about the time that Richardis was sent to Bassum, Hildegard seems to struggle with the power of the flesh and a desire to enjoy the pleasures of the world. This allegorical text tells the story of a virtuous soul who is tempted by the Devil and must be brought back to God through the virtues (such as chastity, humility, and patience). When the soul asks for salvation, she thus describes her sinfulness: "a scorching sweetness devoured me in my sins" (Zaerr translation 2005), indicating Hildegard's own knowledge of the seductiveness of sin and transgression. Homoerotic desire may also be present in Hildegard's *Symphonia* when she describes the beauty of the Virgin Mary using the language of erotic desire (she writes, for example, "the sweetness of all delights / is forever in you" in *O clarissima Mater*) (Gentile translation 2006). However, other scholars have countered that very often when desire, even erotic desire, was expressed for the Virgin Mary, it was not understood as erotic in the same way that such desire is understood or expressed for modern audiences—indeed, it has been viewed as not queer but "aheterosexual" (Holsinger 1993, p. 119)—and thus, although compelling, the homoerotic voice of Hildegard is difficult to ascertain in her works without extensive modern interpretation.

The impact of Hildegard's life and writings cannot be underplayed. As Barbara Newman noted, "if Hildegard had been a male theologian, her *Scivias* would undoubtedly have been considered one of the most important early medieval summas" (quoted in Hart and Bishop 1990, p. 23). Hildegard influenced Elizabeth of Schönau and Mechthild of Magdeburg directly, as well as any number of other authors, male and female, mystic and traditional, who have made use of her imagery, language, and theological insight for more than eight centuries. She is an important participant in the history and development of female experience, spirituality, and authorship, but her place in history is beyond the influence of gender and places her as a leading voice in the tradition of medieval spirituality and thought.

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BIOLOGY

Biology is the scientific study of the processes of life. Biology gradually came into existence as a coherent field of study in the nineteenth century. It combined into a single field what had previously been called natural history and natural philosophy as well as elements of medicine, zoology, physiology, botany, chemistry, and pharmacology. Biology is an empirical, experimental science, which means that hypotheses made about the character and functioning of life processes are proven through repeatable experiment. Because biology is the science of life processes and reproduction is considered one of the key processes that defines life itself, biology has always been bound up with issues of sex and reproduction. Although biology is an empirical science, it has also long reflected cultural attitudes about sex and gender, both as foundational concepts for theories of life and as categories to be questioned and investigated. In its development of new theories about reproduction, physiology, behavior, and heredity, biology continues to grapple with understandings of sex and gender as well as the ways biological science has produced itself around and through gender and sexual difference.

The term *biology* combines the Greek root *bios*, or *life*, with the Greek *ology*, or *study of*, and was introduced in Germany in 1800 by German physiologist Karl Friedrich Burdach (1776–1847). The idea of combining botany and zoology was soon taken up simultaneously by both German naturalist Gottfried Reinhold Treviranus (1776–1837) in his 1802 book *Biology or Philosophy of Living Nature* and influential French botanist and early theorist of evolution Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829), the major proponent of Lamarckism, or the idea that parents could pass on acquired traits. The concept of a science of life gained support throughout the nineteenth century, catalyzed through the discoveries of German botanist Matthias Schleiden (1804–1881) and German biologist Theodor Schwann (1810–1882) in 1838 that plants and animals were composed of cells. The idea of a single field of life studies was also advanced in 1858 by English naturalists Charles Darwin (1809–1882) and Alfred Wallace (1823–1913) whose development of a theory of evolution disagreed with Lamarck's idea that acquired traits could be passed from generation to generation. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, French biologist Louis Pasteur (1822–1895) developed the field of microbiology, demonstrating the connections between microorganisms and disease. Austrian Botanist Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) published his findings on patterns of heredity in 1866. Although his ideas were ignored until they were rediscovered in 1900, they formed the basis for the modern study of genetics.

Perceiving the continuities among what had been diverse fields of study enabled the development of more comprehensive theories of life, including Darwin's theory of evolution, but also including the germ theory of disease advocated by Pasteur, and the discovery of viruses in 1898. In the early twentieth-century American biologist Walter S. Sutton (1877–1916) and German Theodor Boveri (1862–1915) independently discovered that human chromosomes are paired and are the agents of heredity. In 1905 American researchers Edmund B. Wilson (1856–1939) and Nettie Stevens (1861–1912) independently discovered the chromosomes that determine the sex of humans. Working with fruit flies, American zoologist Thomas Hunt Morgan (1866–1945) linked heredity to evolution and developed ways to map genes on chromosomes and link specific genes to traits. With the invention of technology such as the X-ray in 1895 and the electron microscope in the 1930s, as well as advances in the fields of biochemistry, genetics, physiology, microbiology, and medicine, biologists were able to investigate phenomena happening on the smallest scale. With the development of sophisticated statistical methods, a better understanding of the geological history of the earth, and better modes of gathering data, scientists made advances in studies of paleontology, population genetics, ecology, and evolutionary biology.

The discipline of biology in the early twenty-first century examines molecular and cellular phenomena and issues involving whole organisms as well as their environments and interrelation with other organisms. Molecular biology studies life processes as matters of molecular chemistry and includes studies in biochemistry, biophysics, genetics, and cell biology. Studies involving whole organisms focus on the relations among organisms or between organisms and their environments—ecology, ethology—or on the evolution or development of organisms—evolutionary biology, paleontology, developmental biology, and population studies.

HISTORY OF CONCEPTS ABOUT LIFE, SEX, AND REPRODUCTION

From the time of the Greeks, natural philosophers, such as Aristotle (384–322 BCE), were interested in the nature of reproductive processes. They and those who followed devised a series of theories for how humans and other organisms reproduced, almost all of which assumed the superiority of the male contribution. As with other sciences, biology was influenced by cultural ideas about sex and gender, which it reflected in its assumptions, hypotheses, and theories. Until the mid 1950s most biologists assumed that the male of the species was the more developed and superior entity, and used the male as a model for most interrogations of life processes. They perceived the male as the source of form and intelligence and the female as the source of matter, ideas that indeed go back to ancient times. Assumptions about the character of genders across species have affected most aspects of zoological and biological inquiry from its study of cell processes to reproduction and even to its conceptions of DNA.

Ancient Greek philosophers such as Hippocrates (c. 460–c. 377 BCE), Plato (428–c. 347 BCE), and Aristotle considered the qualities and causes of life and offered various approaches to understanding the nature of existence. Hippocrates, who worked as philosopher and clinical physician, believed that nature could be explained through reason rather than through recourse to supernatural devices, and his approach to medicine involved observation and experience over theorizing. Hippocrates's theory of health was that healthy life required a balance and disease was evidence of an imbalance. Hippocrates believed that the body was governed by the actions of four fluids, or *humours*: black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. When these humours got out of proper balance and one or another dominated, illness ensued. Hippocrates's notion of the four humours persisted until the Enlightenment.

Plato thought that human life was split among spirit, reason, and appetites, each located in a specific organ: spirit in the heart, reason in the brain, and the appetites in the liver. Advocating measure in all things, Plato was far more a philosopher than an observer; the importance of observation was advocated by his pupil Aristotle. Aristotle believed in the reasoned and careful observation of all kinds of natural phenomena, from the weather to animals to plants. He believed that in nature everything had a function, and he sought to find both what caused phenomena and what those phenomena themselves caused. Aristotle dissected animals and discerned that the heart and blood seemed to be the first causes of life in living organisms.

Aristotle's empirical approach to nature enabled him to provide his own account of the agents of reproduction, which disagreed with the account formulated earlier by Hippocrates. Hippocrates had formulated the theory of pangenesis to account for how parental traits were passed on to offspring. He believed that sperm concentrated elements from all of the organs of the body as well as physical changes and traits that an individual acquired over a lifetime. Sperm then carried all of this forward in creating offspring. The female might also contribute her *seed*, though that contribution was also imagined to be like semen, because the female was understood to be a lesser-developed version of the male.

Aristotle introduced a different concept of how semen worked. He believed that semen had a *vital heat* that molded new individuals by its heating action on menstrual blood. He also believed that the parts of individuals developed gradually from this original heating action. Aristotle disagreed with Hippocrates's idea that acquired traits could be passed on, showing that individuals who lost limbs did not father limbless children. He, too, included the female as a part of the reproductive process, but as the contributor of brute matter upon which the shaping action of semen worked. The idea that semen was the primary determinant of the characteristics of a new generation persisted until the eighteenth century.

Galen (129–c. 199) was a Greek doctor who practiced and theorized about medical care during the Roman Empire. An enthusiastic anatomist, he identified the functions of many of the organs. In contrast to the Aristotelean model in which sexual difference was a matter of degree rather than kind, Galen envisioned two sexes whose genital parts were different but which were rearrangements of one another; the uterus, for example, was the counterpart of the scrotum. As with Hippocrates, Galen believed that reproduction was the result of the contribution of two seeds, both of which were versions of semen. During the Middle Ages, Islamic philosopher Avicenna (980–1037) picked up Aristotle's ideas about sexual difference, as well as the idea that sperm was like the agent that clots milk and female sperm like the milk itself.

During the Renaissance, which witnessed the revival of Aristotelean ideas in Europe, British physician William Harvey (1578–1657) introduced a refinement of Aristotle's theory about the mechanism of human reproduction: epigenesis. Epigenesis adopted Aristotle's idea that organs were not all present from the beginning, but developed gradually as the fetus developed. This was in contradistinction to another widely held theory about reproduction, preformationism, which held that each sperm contained a minute, fully formed individual, called a homunculus. The ideas of preformationists came from what early microscopists thought they saw when they looked at magnified sperm. Still there was no real role for the female in these theories. Partly this was because of cultural preconceptions about the superiority of the male. It was also partly because human eggs were not available to be observed through the microscope.

When scientists did look at eggs, as Aristotle had and as German anatomist Caspar F. Wolff (1734–1794) did in the late eighteenth century, they noticed that more seemed to occur in the egg than could be accounted for by a preformed, sperm-conveyed individual. By studying chicken eggs, Wolff reaffirmed Harvey's notion that individuals developed gradually. Mathematician and natural philosopher Pierre de Maupertuis (1698–1759) revived Hippocrates's notion of pangenesis, at least in so far as he believed that sperm carried particles from every organ. Maupertuis also assigned a role to the egg, although he believed that the qualities carried by the sperm were dominant.

Darwin also ascribed to a theory of pangenesis, believing that sperm carried gemmules from around the father's body that were passed on to offspring. Lamarck also believed in a theory of pangenesis. Only in 1863 did German biologist August Weismann (1834–1914) disprove the idea that parents passed on acquired characteristics.

The paternal bias of all of these theories of reproduction accompanied, paradoxically, the fact that without circumstantial corroboration, one could never be absolutely certain of who was a child's father. The role of the mother, so obvious in pregnancy and gestation of the fetus, was ignored or denied in the matter of passing on traits. The idea that maleness was the source of reason and form and that the female supplied only matter was so pervasive and unquestioned that only the invention of microscopy, the discovery of human chromosomes, the development of genetic studies, and diligent and unbiased observation finally showed that parents each contributed one-half of the genetic material for each child.

With the advent of sophisticated understandings of genetics as well as advanced concepts of physiology and development, the role of the female has become in many ways more central and important in human reproduction than the role of the male. Modes of artificial insemination and in vitro fertilization have made the contribution of genetic material less a challenge than the gestation of a child. The interaction of genetic contributions from each parent has become a matter of hypothesis and study, especially as the x chromosome, contributed by the female, carries many traits that are only expressed by male children.

SEXUAL DIFFERENCE AND PHYSIOLOGY

Theories about human reproduction depended upon and reflected ideas about the differences between the sexes. Understandings of reproduction as the action of formative semen upon the more material female required an understanding of the sexes as being the same, different only in degree of development. From the time of the ancient Greeks until the eighteenth century, male and female anatomies were seen as counterparts of one another that differed only in their relative arrangement and size. Male reproductive parts had equivalents among female reproductive parts. Both males and females contributed semen; both had testes. Male testes, however, were large; female testes were small. According to Galen, the penis and vagina were homologous, and the female's exterior genitalia (labia, clitoris, vulva) were analogous to the head of the penis at the end of a vagina shaft.

The one organ that was considered to be specifically female was the uterus (despite Galen's attempts to compare it to the scrotum). The uterus was believed to generate a host of ills and female diseases, as it was also believed to be the repository of poisons that caused female diseases. Even through the nineteenth century, many believed that the uterus could get loose and wander around the body, causing a number of symptoms—a condition referred to as *hysteria* from the Greek word for womb. Speculation about the nature and functioning of the uterus produced a number of theories—from the idea that the character of the uterus determined the sex and quantity of offspring, to the notion that it had a chamber for every day of the week, to the theory that it was divided into male-producing and female-producing sides (and sometimes with a center section that produced hermaphrodites), to the hypothesis that women had two uteruses that matched the number of breasts, to the belief that the uterus had horns—all gleaned from analogies to mammalian physiology. Anxieties about female difference were displaced on to the uterus as the locus of difference. At the same time, quandaries about the origins of sexual difference and disease were resolved by recourse to the mysterious qualities of the uterus.

The male reproductive system did not receive the same kind of fascinated attention, partly because the organs were visible and partly because they served as the norm against which the female differed. Because both males and females were believed to have semen, much more attention was devoted to trying to discern its origin. Where did semen originate: In the brain? From blood? The persistent notion of male and female commonality also supported the belief that if males lost portions of their reproductive anatomy, they would become like females. Venetian surgeon Alessandro Benedetti (c. 1450–1512) noted that when males lost their testicles, they became more like women, an opinion seconded a few centuries later by Harvey. Until the Renaissance many anatomists also believed that females could turn into males at puberty, having their interior organs drop out.

Only in the sixteenth century did scientists discover more details about the female anatomy, which made it much more difficult to support the idea that men and women were two versions of the same sex. In 1559 anatomist Realdo Colombo (1515–1559) identified the clitoris, which undid the neat symmetry that Galen had contrived. Anatomist Gabriele Falloppio (1523–1563) described the fallopian tubes, though their function was a mystery. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, Dutch anatomist Reinier de Graaf (1641–1673) found what he thought were the eggs of the human female (but which were in fact the ovarian follicles). De Graaf's discovery of the follicles and naming of the ovaries, however, supplied a new source for the possible location of a preformed homunculus in the egg and challenged the notion that females contributed little other than matter to the reproductive project.

SEXUAL DIFFERENCE, HORMONES, AND BEHAVIOR

In most patriarchal cultures, sexual difference has been interpreted as a difference in the intrinsic qualities and capabilities of individuals. Male and female have been regarded as oppositions and as complementary to one another. Males have been perceived as strong, wise, reasonable, intelligent, governing, aggressive, and generally more developed than females, who have been considered correspondingly weak, less wise, less intelligent, followers, of a passive disposition, and generally less developed than males. Males were form; females were matter. The biological basis for these differences was for centuries thought to be a difference in development instead of anatomy. But from the Renaissance, with its burgeoning studies of human anatomy, internal differences between males and females, such as the uterus, offered other bases for understanding sexual difference.

In the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century, the discovery of hormones and their regulatory roles provided another way to understand the differences between the sexes based on the effects of hormones that derived from the reproductive organs. In 1849 German physiologist Arnold Berthold (1803–1861) demonstrated that testes secreted a substance into the bloodstream. Other glands and their role in the body became a topic of interest, particularly the thyroid gland, which was affected by goiters, but also the adrenal gland and adrenaline, which was the first hormone to be synthesized outside of the body. The term *hormone* was introduced in 1905, and research continued into the role of the pituitary gland (linked to growth), the hypothalamus (linked to regulation of the pituitary), and the pancreas and its production of insulin.

Sex hormones were also a subject of interest. The part played by the testes had been suspected for a long time, because Renaissance anatomists noticed the effects the loss of testicles had. Because the testes were visible and their effects known, male sex hormones such as androsterone and testosterone received initial attention. Testosterone was isolated and synthesized in the 1930s by scientists who ground up animal testicles. Female sex hormones were more difficult to isolate, partly because they came from more than one source in the body—the ovaries, the follicles—and menstrual cycles and pregnancies involved a more complex interplay of several hormones—progesterone, progesterol, estrogen, estriol, and estradiol. Discovering and understanding the role of hormones in body development and regulation enabled the development of pregnancy tests and the birth control pill.

In the early twenty-first century scientists attributed many gender characteristics to the actions of hormones, although these attributions still reflect old ideas about the inferiority of women. Testosterone endows strength, whereas estrogen causes irrational emotion, unreliability, and moodiness. These ideas come from the differences sex hormones produce in their actions on the body. Androgens, estrogens, and progestins, which both males and females have in differing amounts, spur sexual development in the womb and at puberty, regulate sex drive, and control reproduction. Androgens such as testosterone, produced by the testes but also by the adrenal gland, influence the apparent sex of a fetus. Androgens present in the womb stimulate the development of male genitalia, which even occurs in female embryos if too much testosterone is present. Male fetuses that develop in the womb without sufficient androgens will not develop normal male genitals.

At puberty high concentrations of sex hormones (testosterone for males, estrogen for females) spurs the development of secondary sex characteristics, such as facial and body hair and vocal chord and genital growth in males, and the development of body hair, growth of breasts, and the onset of menstruation in females. Sexually mature males have a constant supply of testosterone, whereas mature females experience menstrual cycles governed by the complex interplay of estrogen and progestin that govern uterine lining, the release of eggs, and the shedding of the uterine lining. Pregnancy is also governed by sex hormones: When the ovaries reduce their production of estrogen, female humans enter into menopause, which is when menstrual periods cease.

SEXUAL DIFFERENCE AND GENETICS

Even the production of sex hormones is itself an effect of the actions of genes, whose discovery and function have been the object of much research since the twentieth century. Sexual difference plays through genetics in two main ways. First, the sex of individuals is determined by the kinds of chromosomes they receive from their parents. One set of the twenty-three pairs of human chromosomes is called the sex chromosomes, and this pair consists of two different kinds of chromosome—an X chromosome and a Y chromosome. Females have two X chromosomes and males have one X chromosome and one Y chromosome. Gametes (eggs and sperm) each carry one-half of a set of chromosomes. Female parents contribute gametes with X chromosomes only. Sperm can carry either an X or a Y chromosome. X chromosomes are longer than Y chromosomes and contain more genes. In the other pairs of chromosomes, the genes from each of the pair are matched, which means that dominant and recessive forms of a gene often temper one another. Recessive genes for various diseases may not be fully expressed when the other gene of the pair is a normal variant.

In the pairing of X and Y chromosomes, however, the recessive traits for such problems as colorblindness and hemophilia have no corresponding gene on the Y chromosome, and so they express themselves in male children. These traits are called sex-linked traits and involve primarily males. Occasionally gametes may carry more than one sex chromosome as the result of a mistake. Children born with three or more sex chromosomes express different varieties of sex/gender traits. Some individuals are born with genes for both male and female sex organs; these individuals are called hermaphrodites.

A growing belief in the genetic basis for behaviors also offers a way to understand the differences between genders. Genders—feminine and masculine—represent one way cultures and individuals have interpreted the qualities of sexual difference—a difference in reproductive gonads and roles. Femininity and masculinity have been considered effects of nurture and culture instead of nature since the work of Austrian Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and other psychologists and sexologists at the turn of the twentieth century. Discovering that the behaviors of fruit flies were partly determined by genes, genetic researchers turned to human behavior, looking for genes that account for aggressiveness, antisocial behavior, nurturing, and homosexuality. Because human behaviors are far more complex than the behaviors of fruit flies, and because behavior is also culturally taught and reinforced, genes can likely only partly explain gender behavior.

The second way sexual difference plays through the genes is in the ways genes from each parent govern different developmental or life processes, with genes from the father, for example, governing the development of the placenta or social skills and genes from the mother dominating matters of brain function. Research continues into how genes affect one another, how they influence sex and gender expression and behaviors, and the vast variation there is in the possible combinations of sex and gender in human beings.

BIOLOGY AND GENDER

As with all sciences, biology is affected by cultural ideas and preconceptions. For example, the kinds of phenomena scientists choose to examine are sometimes defined by their ideas of what phenomena are important, which is in turn influenced by assumptions about the relative centrality of males and females. Twentieth-century investigations of heart disease, for example, focused on males, not only because males were believed to be more afflicted by heart disease, but also because females were still assumed to be lesser versions of males. Studies of reproduction in females lagged behind understandings of male contributions. Only by the late twentieth century did scientists begin to undertake more systematic studies of major diseases specifically in women, acknowledging the differences between female and male biology and physiology. The understanding that some processes and diseases are specific to females or males has also enabled a wider recognition of male-specific disorders, such as prostate problems.

Feminist scholars such as Evelyn Fox Keller, Anne Fausto-Sterling, and Sandra Harding have examined the ways scientists, including biologists and geneticists, incorporate presumptions about sexual difference into the ways they define issues to examine and hypotheses to offer, how they decide to test these hypotheses, and the relative importance of various issues. The argument that female reproductive mechanisms are more monstrous and less influential than male contributions delayed research into female anatomy as well as specifically female diseases such as ovarian cancer. The assumption that all mammals pattern their behaviors on human sexual difference skewed the ways zoologists understood the complexities of animal social organizations, such as packs. Assuming the empirical truth of a cultural phenomenon such as gender (instead of sexual difference) turns objective empiricism into a protocol marred by biases. Assuming that there are only two sexes produces the conclusion, for example, that hermaphroditic or intersex children must be made to conform with cultural gender norms, a conclusion that then supports invasive surgeries and other types of coercion aimed toward making the children comply with a rigid type. Assuming that culturally defined genders and sexualities are natural spurs some scientists into looking for genes that produce such behaviors.

Perhaps the greatest problem of all is the way females have long been understood as irrational and emotional and thus not good scientists. The bias of the sciences toward a rational, empirical norm that barely veils the masculinist assumption has made it difficult for female scientists to contribute to scientific research. The result is a dearth of important female scientists and the consequent marginalization of influential biologists, such as Barbara McClintock (1902–1992), in the scientific community.

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Judith Roof

BIRTH

For most of human history, birth was exclusively the work of women who labored to push their babies from the private inner world of their wombs into the larger world of society and culture. Yet in the early twenty-first century, increasing numbers of babies are pulled from the vaginal canal with forceps or vacuum extractors, or are cut from their mothers' wombs via cesarean section. The medical definition of birth is the emergence of a baby from a womb—a definition that ignores women's involvement and agency.

BIRTH AND HUMAN EVOLUTION

Higher primates walk on all fours and have pelvises wide enough to allow the direct descent of the fetal head, making for easy labors and uncomplicated births. When humans began to walk upright, the pelvis narrowed, so that the human baby has to rotate as it descends through the birth canal. Non-human primate babies can climb onto their mothers' backs and cling immediately after birth. But the larger brains of human infants make it necessary for them to be born earlier in the developmental cycle, ensuring that human babies are relatively helpless at birth and require immediate nurturing. These factors encouraged the evolution of birth as a highly social process; women give birth alone and unaided in very few societies.

Evolutionary scientists postulate that midwifery evolved along with human birth. The presence of other women at a birth would have enhanced the success of the birth process, as these women acquired skills such as turning the baby in utero to ensure the optimal position for birth, assisting rotation of the head and shoulders at birth, massaging the mother's uterus and administering herbs to stop postpartum bleeding, and facilitating breastfeeding. For these reasons, more mothers and babies survived in societies that developed midwifery traditions early on, giving them a distinct evolutionary advantage.

BIRTH, CULTURE, AND WOMEN'S STATUS

Although childbirth is a universal fact of human physiology, the social nature of birth and its importance for survival ensure that this biological and intensely personal process carries heavy cultural overlay, resulting in wide variation in childbirth practices: Where, how, with whom, and even when a woman gives birth are increasingly culturally determined. In 1908 French ethnographer Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957) noted that cultures ritualize important life transitions—of which birth is a prime example. Birth practices reflect and reveal the core values and beliefs of the culture, telling the observer a great deal about the way that culture views the world and the place of women in it. Many religions, including Judiaism and Zoroastrianism, regard birth as polluting and require ablution and isolation for purification afterward.

Where women's status is high, a rich set of nurturant traditions tends to develop around birth; where it is low, the opposite may occur. For example, in the highly patriarchal Islamic society of Bangladesh in which the status of women is low, childbirth (like menstruation) has traditionally been regarded as highly polluting. Before modernization, women gave birth on dirty linens, attended only by female relatives or traditional midwives who were themselves regarded as polluting. In contrast, in the matrilineal societies of Polynesia where the status of women is high, pregnant women are pampered and nurtured. Skilled midwives administer frequent full-body massages during pregnancy and have a rich repertoire of techniques for assisting women during labor and birth.

THE EFFECTS OF PLACE OF BIRTH

Anthropologist Brigitte Jordan's comparative study of birthing systems in the Netherlands, Sweden, the

United States, and Mexico's Yucatan, originally published in 1978, was the first to comprehensively document the wide cultural variations in birth. Her biocultural approach utilized the definition of birth, the place of birth, birth attendants, artifacts utilized to facilitate or control birth, and differences in knowledge systems about birth as foci for cross-cultural comparison.

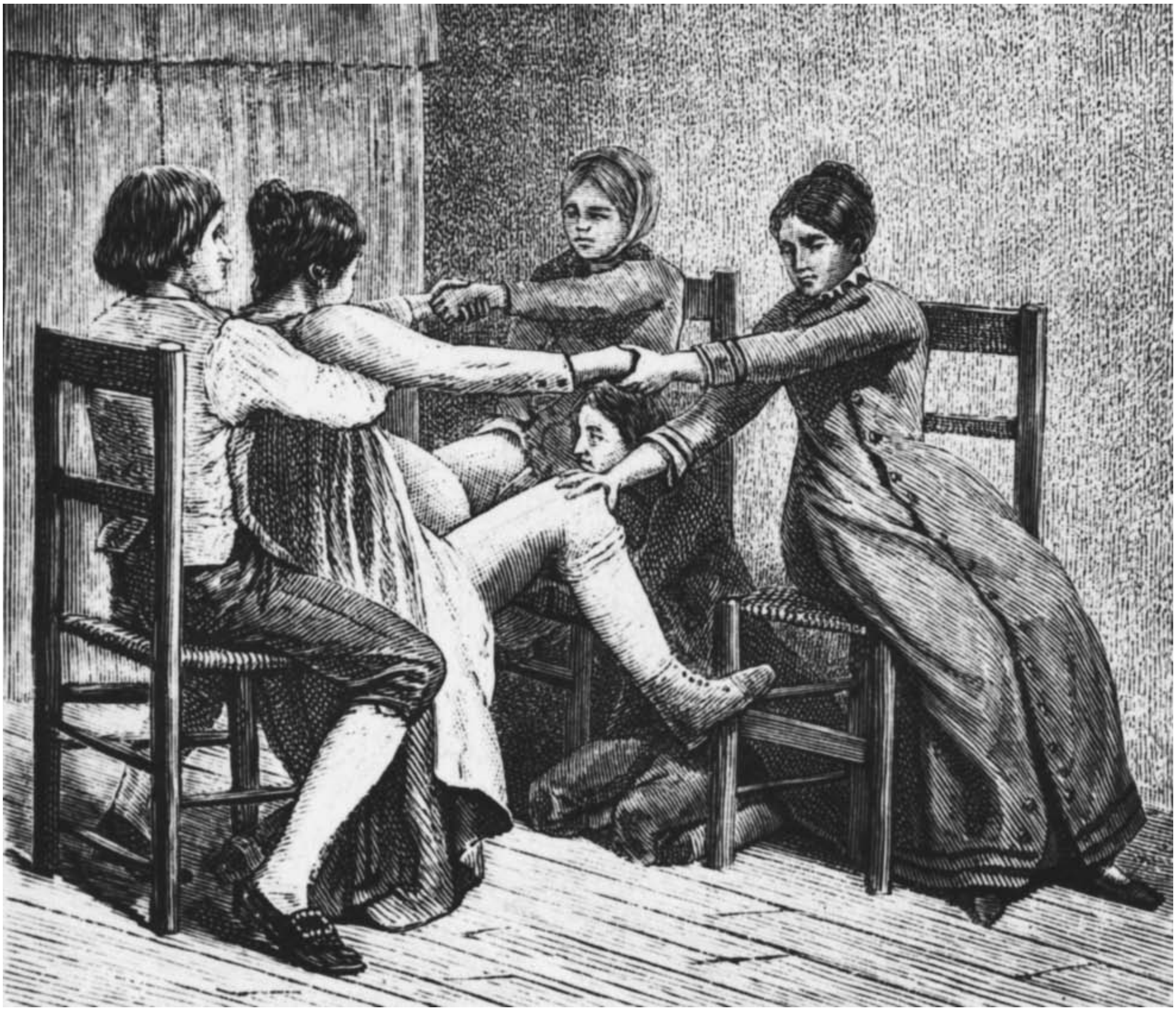
Among these factors, place of birth has emerged as most salient for how birth happens. In home settings across cultures, from huts to houses, childbirth occurs according to the natural rhythms of labor and women's social routines. In early labor, women move about at will, stopping their activities during the 45 seconds or so per contraction, and then continuing their activities (which may include doing chores, chatting, walking, eating, singing, and dancing). Such activities subside as the women begin to concentrate more on the work of birthing, often aided in this labor by massage and emotional support from their labor companions, who are usually midwives. Many cultures have set patterns about who should be present at the birth (sometimes the father, sometimes only women, sometimes the whole family and/or friends), how labor support should be provided, what rituals should be performed to invoke the help of ancestors or spirits, and what herbs and hand maneuvers may be helpful to assist a birth or stop a postpartum hemorrhage. When birth is imminent, women at home usually take upright positions, squatting, sitting, standing, or balancing on hands and knees, often pulling on a rope or pole or on the necks or arms of their companions, and work hard to give birth. Postpartum practices vary widely: Some cultures encourage early breastfeeding, some define colustrum as harmful and feed the baby other fluids until breastmilk comes in (a practice now known to be medically dangerous—many babies die from imbibing contaminated water). Steam and herbal baths and periods of postpartum confinement are often culturally prescribed, varying in length from a few to forty days.

Where freestanding birth centers exist staffed by professional midwives, the experience of birth is resonant with the experience of birthing at home—a free flow. There are no absolute rules for how long birth should take. As long as the mother's vital signs are good and the baby's heartbeat is relatively stable, trained attendants allow the birth process to proceed at its own pace, keeping their focus on the needs of the mother, encouraging her to eat and drink at will, and to move about freely, adopting positions of her choice.

Birth in the hospital is an entirely different experience. The biomedical model dominant in hospitals demands that birth follow a certain pattern, including cervical dilation of 1 centimeter per hour—an arbitrary rule unsupported by science but consistent with industrial patterns of production. Ensuring the mechanical consistency of labor requires frequent manual checking of cervical dilation, which, if determined to be proceeding too slowly, will be augmented by breaking the amniotic sac and intravenous administration of the synthetic hormone pitocin (syntocinon) to speed labor. Women are often not allowed to eat or drink, and thus are routinely hydrated through intravenous lines, which also facilitate the administration of pitocin and other drugs. Electronic fetal monitoring to record the strength of the mother's contractions and the baby's heartbeat is pervasive in hospitals in developed countries, in spite of the fact that its routine use does not improve birth outcomes but does significantly raise cesarean rates because hospital personnel often misinterpret the monitor tracings, seeing an impending crisis where there is none. (Intermittent auscultation by a nurse, doctor, or midwife has been proven to be far more effective in identifying emerging problems.) Episiotomies to widen the vaginal outlet at the moment of birth are also common, although scientifically demonstrated to be unnecessary in 90 percent of births. Such routine obstetric procedures have been interpreted by cultural anthropologist Robbie Davis-Floyd as rituals that symbolically enact and display the core values of the technocracy, which supervalues progress through the development and application of increasingly advanced technologies to every aspect of human life, including reproduction.

IMPACT OF THE BIOMEDICAL MODEL ON BIRTH IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The growing worldwide supervaluation of high technologies has induced many developing countries to suppress viable indigenous birthing systems and import the biomedical model from developed nations even when it is ill suited to the local situation. Hospitals built in the Third World may lack basic supplies such as bandages, clean sheets, and fresh needles yet be stocked with high-tech equipment. Hospital staff often has little understanding of or respect for local birth traditions and values, with the result that local women often avoid such hospitals. From northern India to Papua New Guinea to Mexico, indigenous women voice concerns about biomedical hospitals and clinics in both rural and urban areas: "They expose you;" "they shave you;" "they cut you;" "they leave you alone and ignore you, but won't let your family come in;" "they give you nothing to eat or drink;" and "they yell at you and sometimes slap you if you do not do what they say." Ironically none of the rules and procedures



Colonial Childbirth. *Illustration of a colonial woman in childbirth.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

these women find so alarming are essential to good obstetric care; rather they reflect the importation of the culturally insensitive technocratic approach.

The transglobal imposition of this model on childbirth, sold to goverments as *modern health care* and to women as *managing risk* and *increasing safety in birth*, has resulted in an explosion of technological interventions in birth unprecedented in human history, including numbers of cesarean sections. Despite the World Health Organization's (WHO) demonstration that cesarean rates should never be above 15 percent, cesarean rates for Taiwan, China, and Puerto Rico are well above 40 percent; for Mexico, Chile, and Brazil are at around 40 percent; for the United States are 30.2 percent, and for Canada and the United Kingdom are 22 percent. Physician convenience and economic gain, combined with deeply ingrained medical beliefs that birth is a pathological process that works best when technologically controlled, are other factors in the recent rise in the number of cesareans performed. The WHO standard is met in the Netherlands, with a cesarean rate of 12 percent, and is reinforced by the excellence of birth outcomes in that country. This success is entirely cultural: The definition of birth as a normal physiological process in the Netherlands, in combination with Dutch cultural values on family, midwifery care, and careful attention to scientific evidence, have led to minimal interventions in hospital birth and the high home birth rate (30%) in that country. In contrast, in most of the developed world, home birth rates hover around 1 percent, despite the demonstrated efficacy and safety of a planned, midwife-attended home birth.

CONTESTING BIOMEDICAL HEGEMONY

The massive disparity between the scientific evidence in favor of less intervention in birth and the increasing interventions in actual practice reflect widespread acceptance of the technocratic model of medicine—a model developed by white male physicians—as *the* model on which to base developing health care systems. The hegemony of this approach is ensured by the political and economic benefits to physicians and technocrats from the imposition of the model, the forces of globalization and their concurrent trends toward increasing technologization, and women's concomitant faith in the model as the safest practice.

Nevertheless this hegemony is heavily contested. In addition to the thousands of local birthing systems, two other paradigms for contemporary childbirth exist throughout the world: The humanistic and holistic models. The highly patriarchal technocratic model of biomedicine metaphorizes women's birthing bodies as dysfunctional machines and encourages aggressive intervention in the mechanistic process of birth. The reform effort located in the humanistic model stresses that the birthing body is an organism influenced by stress and emotion and calls for relationship-centered care; respect for women's needs and desires; and a physiological, evidence-based approach to birth. The more radical holistic model defines the body as an energy system, stresses spiritual and intuitive approaches to birth, and places high value on the feminine. In dozens of countries, humanistic and holistic practitioners and consumer members of growing birth activist movements are utilizing scientific evidence and anthropological research to challenge the technocratic model of birth. They seek to combine the best of indigenous and professional knowledge systems to create healthier, safer, and more cost-effective systems of birth care.

Yet, from a crosscultural point of view, the focus on care of the individual limits all three paradigms. For example mortality resulting from birth is widely recognized as a massive global problem; more than 529,000 women die annually from complications of pregnancy and birth (including unsafe abortion). Biomedicine identifies conditions such as hemorrhage and toxemia as major causes of maternal death, and advises investment in doctors, hospitals, and rural clinics to provide prenatal care to prevent toxemia, and active intervention immediately after birth (i.e., administration of pitocin, cord traction for rapid removal of the placenta) to prevent hemorrhage. This biomedical approach makes it appear that problems inhere in individuals and should be treated on an individual basis, patient by patient, hospital by hospital. In contrast social science research in countries with the highest maternal mortality rates highlights the general poor health of women, who in many patriarchal societies suffer from overwork, exhaustion, anemia, malnutrition, and a variety of diseases resulting from polluted water, showing that the most important interventions required for improving women's health and for increasing safety in birth are clean water, adequate nutrition, and improved educational and economic opportunities for women.

BACK TO THE FUTURE: SCIENCE AND MIDWIFERY CARE

In the United States, obstetricians solidified their control over birth during the first half of the twentieth century and nearly eliminated midwifery by the 1950s. Since then the demands of many women for natural childbirth, coupled with scientific research into the dangers of interventionist hospital birth and the benefits of planned, midwife-attended births at home or in freestanding birth centers have generated a midwifery renaissance. Indeed in the four countries in which infant perinatal mortality statistics are the lowest in the world—Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark—more than 70 percent of births are attended by midwives who serve as the woman's primary caregiver throughout pregnancy, birth, and the postpartum period.

SEE ALSO *Anthropology; Fatherhood; Motherhood.*

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Robbie Davis-Floyd

BIRTH CONTROL

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

BISEXUALITY

The concept of bisexuality is notoriously unstable. Historically, the term has signified a wide range of often-contradictory definitions, many of which have shifted in line with transformations of Western paradigms of sexuality. There are at least five meanings of the term:

1. A synonym for biological hermaphroditism;
2. A form of psychological androgyny;
3. A psychological capacity of individuals to sexually desire both men and women;
4. A sociological adjective describing sexual behaviors or practices;
5. A collective and political identity category.

Although these five meanings of bisexuality might at first glance seem somewhat disparate, contingent, and unrelated, there is a series of important historical and epistemological relationships and continuities among them (Angelides 2001).

A SYNONYM FOR BIOLOGICAL HERMAPHRODITISM

Bisexuality appears to have been first used as a biological concept. In nineteenth century evolutionary and embryological theories it was widely used to refer to the state of human primordial hermaphroditism. Evolutionists such as Charles Darwin and his contemporaries assumed bisexuality was the missing link in the descent of humans from invertebrate organisms. Some "remote progenitor of the whole vertebrate kingdom," declared Darwin, "appears to have been hermaphrodite or androgynous" (Darwin 1901, p. 249). Within this paradigm, human development was thought to pass through various stages beginning with a state of originary bisexuality (or biological hermaphroditism), wherein the embryo displayed both sets of sexual organs before the atrophy of one of them after the third month of development (Darwin 1901). It was believed that the more advanced a racial group, class, or civilization, the more they had progressed beyond this phase of primordial hermaphroditism. In other words, the so-called "higher" races, classes, and cultures were seen to exhibit greater degrees of sexual differentiation. There was, of course, also a gender difference in this model, and men were deemed more advanced than women by virtue of having developed further beyond biological bisexuality. Existing racist and sexist social hierarchies were legitimated with this evolutionary paradigm, revealing the ways in which both "nonwhites" were sexualized and Western notions of sexuality racialized.

With the advent of sexology in the latter part of the nineteenth century, men of science such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), and their contemporaries appropriated the theory of bisexual evolution in order to explain deviations of the "sex instinct." Individuals exhibiting homosexual desire were believed to have either regressed to, or be developmentally arrested at, this ancestral bisexuality. It was partly on the basis of this concept of embryological bisexuality that the nineteenth century classification of individuals into two opposing types, the homosexual and the heterosexual, hinged. As Ellis, the venerated sexologist, noted around the turn of the nineteenth century, "Embryologists, physiologists of sex and biologists generally, not only accept the idea of bisexuality, but admit that it probably helps to account for homosexuality" (Ellis 1928, p. 314). Bisexuality was not itself considered a separate ontological typology or identity category but was rather that out of which either homosexuality or heterosexuality developed.

A FORM OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ANDROGYNY

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the founding father of psychoanalysis, inherited the theory of primordial bisexuality and made it the bedrock of his psychoanalytic framework. Aiming to erect a psychological theory of gender and sexuality that would complement the biological foundations of psychoanalysis, he posited a kind of psychological bisexuality as an analogue to evolutionary notions of embryological bisexuality. Borrowing the idea from his friend Wilhelm Fliess (1858–1928), Freud argued that just as primordial bisexuality manifests physically in every individual by "leaving behind only a few traces of the sex that has become atrophied" (Freud 1905, p. 141), so too does it manifest mentally such that each individual is "made up of masculine and feminine traits" and desires (Freud 1925, p. 255). For Freud bisexuality also played a pivotal role in the theory of the Oedipus complex. "It would appear … that in both sexes the relative strength of the masculine and feminine dispositions is what determines whether the outcome … shall be an identification with the father or with the mother. This is one of the ways in which bisexuality takes a hand in the subsequent vicissitudes of the Oedipus complex" (Freud 1923, p. 33).

Freud also referred to the third meaning of bisexuality—what is often referred to as a bisexual orientation—that is, the psychological capacity of individuals to sexually desire both men and women. However, like the sexologists, he also to a large extent foreclosed the possibility of a bisexual orientation or identity, in spite of his theory of psychological bisexuality (masculinity and femininity). This was because it was difficult to reconcile, on the one hand, bisexuality as both cause (biological) and effect (psychological), and on the other, an individual being capable of simultaneously desiring and identifying with the same gender. That is, in the Freudian schema an individual could only sexually desire the opposite of his or her gender identity. In order to be bisexual in the third meaning of the term, therefore, an individual had to have a shifting gender identity.

In the three decades following Freud's death the concept of biological bisexuality (and its role in psychological androgyny and bisexual desire) was largely repudiated within the disciplines of psychoanalysis and psychiatry (for example, Rado 1940; Bergler 1962; Bieber 1962). This coincided with a shift toward environmental or adaptational approaches to the study of sexuality. Rather than view an undeveloped embryonic structure as bisexuality, Sandor Rado (1900–1980) argued that it ought instead to be viewed as possessing "bipotentiality of differentiation." "Under normal developmental conditions, as differentiation proceeds and one type of reproductive action system grows to completion, the original bipotentiality ceases to have any real significance" (Rado 1940, pp. 143–144). The notion of a capacity to be sexually attracted to both sexes was also largely denied by psychologists and psychiatrists at this time. Psychoanalyst Edmund Bergler described it as "a state that has no existence beyond the word itself" (Bergler 1962, p. 80). People were assumed to be at core heterosexual, resorting only to homosexual sex as a result of neurosis, stress, or in instances when the opposite sex was not available. As psychoanalyst Irving Bieber, a widely touted expert in the 1960s, put it, "We assume that heterosexuality is the *biologic* norm and that unless interfered with all individuals are heterosexual. Homosexuals do not bypass heterosexual developmental phases and all remain potentially heterosexual" (Bieber 1962, p. 319).

Despite its apparent irrelevance to dominant twentieth century psychological theories of sexuality, bisexuality has been shown to be instrumental in propping up a binary model of sexuality by virtue of its erasure as an authentic sexual identity (Angelides 2001).

A SOCIOLOGICAL ADJECTIVE DESCRIBING SEXUAL BEHAVIORS OR PRACTICES

Although hegemonic psychiatric and psychoanalytic discourses rejected bisexuality, the concept played an important role in describing individual biographies of sexual practice with both men and women. Within the discipline of sociology, several important studies demonstrated the prevalence of bisexual practices and the need for more expansive terminology for describing the variability of human sexuality than that provided by the rigid and exclusive binary of hetero/homosexuality.

The groundbreaking studies of Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956) and his associates in the late 1940s and 1950s spearheaded an implicit challenge to what he perceived as the normative and homogeneous psychomedical categories of hetero- and homosexuality. Bisexuality was recast in the sense of the third meaning noted above, as "the capacity of an individual to respond erotically to any sort of stimulus, whether it is provided by another person of the same or of the opposite sex." This, it was argued, "is basic to the species" (Kinsey 1948, p. 660). Kinsey backed up this claim with data that revealed around 46 percent of men and up to 14 percent of women had engaged in both heterosexual and homosexual activities in the course of their adult lives. Eschewing psychomedical concepts of "normal," "abnormal," "homosexual," and "heterosexual," Kinsey instead referred to sexualities as mere "statistical variations of behavioral frequencies on a continuous curve" (1948, p. 203). The Kinsey seven-point scale was created to describe more accurately this statistical variation. The aim was "to develop some sort of classification which could be based on the relative amounts of heterosexual and homosexual experience or response in each [person's] history" (1948, p. 639). Notwithstanding the broad-ranging critiques made of Kinsey's methodology, his data revealed for the first time the reality of widespread bisexual behaviors in American society.

Other researchers have attempted to refine Kinsey's scale and further his efforts to provide an alternative to the binary model of sexuality that might incorporate a more accurate concept of bisexuality. The most notable of these is Klein's Sexual Orientation Grid (Klein 1978). The shift away from viewing sexualities as reflective of ontological typologies and toward viewing them as reflective of behavioral variations was also bolstered by cross-cultural and cross-species research, which similarly revealed that bisexual variability was the norm and not the exception (Ford and Beach 1951). More recently, burgeoning global HIV/AIDS research has reinforced the need for thinking about bisexuality as an important sociological category for describing (usually) men who have sex with men but who do not identify themselves as homosexual (Aggleton 1996).

A COLLECTIVE AND POLITICAL IDENTITY CATEGORY

The emergence of a collective and political identity category of bisexuality has certainly been constrained, if not often foreclosed, by the history of bisexual erasure within Western binary models of sexuality. Until at least the 1970s (if not beyond) a prevailing psychomedical view was that bisexuality did not constitute a sexual identity or "orientation." Instead it was routinely envisioned as a form of immaturity, a state of confusion, or a transitional state on the way to either hetero- or homosexuality. This is in stark contrast to homosexuality, which has formed the basis of collective self-identification at least since the late nineteenth century. However, it was not until the 1970s and 1980s that bisexuality constituted a palpable collective and political identity category in many Western societies. In addition to a perceived absence in the historical and cultural record, self-identified bisexuals were animated to assert a political identity due to the experience of marginalization within gay liberation and lesbian feminist movements in the 1970s and 1980s (Rust 1995).

With steadily expanding bisexual activism, identities, organizations, and publications, activists and theorists of bisexuality have issued wide-ranging critiques of binary models of sexuality. They have attempted to expose how the historical neglect or cultural trivialization of bisexuality has been fuelled not by scientific "fact" but by misleading historical, cultural, and political assumptions. Terms such as "biphobia" and "monosexism" have been coined as a way of highlighting the cultural, political, and theoretical bias against people who sexually desire (or who have sexually desired) more than one gender in the course of their lives (Ochs 1996). Activists and theorists of bisexuality have also attempted to interrogate the political, theoretical, and cultural interconnections between feminism and bisexuality (Weise 1992), and between bisexuality and gay, lesbian, and queer cultures and theories. (Hall and Pramaggiore 1996; Angelides 2001).

Existing research has demonstrated that, far from being marginal to broader representations and practices of sexuality, bisexuality is in fact centrally implicated in the Anglophone epistemology of sexuality and the global production of sexual desires, behaviors, and identities.

SEE ALSO *Sexuality.*

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Steven Angelides

BLACK ARTS MOVEMENT

Hailed by its practitioners, pundits, and critics as the cultural "aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept" (Neal 1989, p. 62), the Black Arts Movement marked black Americans' turn away from a white, Western paradigm to embrace their own "Black Aesthetic" during the tumultuous era of the 1960s. Perhaps the Black Arts Movement, like its political double, is rooted in U.S. blacks' collective exasperation with the perceived inadequacy of nonviolence as a response to the vicious persistence of violent racism in the "dominant American culture" (Heacock 1995, p. 34). Amiri Baraka says that the 1964 Broadway play *Blues for Mr. Charlie* by James Baldwin (1924–1987) "announced the Black Arts Movement" (1996, p. 96). Critic Houston Baker Jr. (1994) cites Baraka himself as its progenitor, stemming from Baraka's unsparing and scathing critique of the *middle-classness* of "Negro literature" in his 1962 article, "The Myth of a Negro Literature." Early on, when he was still LeRoi Jones, Baraka had termed the West "a grey, hideous space" (Jones 1964, p. 62), and thus a bankrupt model to which black writers should owe no allegiance. Henry Louis Gates Jr., no lover of Baraka, says it is Baraka's founding of the Black Arts Repertory Theatre/School in Harlem in 1965 that ignites this movement for a Black Aesthetic (1987, p. xxvii). This period, both for the Black Arts and Black Power movements, is as crucial to the politics of U.S. black culture as the modernist Harlem Renaissance, because of its rate of cultural production and because of its role in transforming the consciousness of a whole generation of post–World War II African-American women and men.

Poetry was the cultural engine of change for the Black Arts and Black Power movements. Dudley Randall (1914–2000), who was dubbed the "father of black poetry" by *Black Enterprise Magazine* in 1978, established Broadside Press in 1965 in Detroit. Between 1965 and 1984, Broadside Press published the poetry of more than two hundred black poets in broadsides, individual collections, anthologies, records, and tapes, including Sonia Sanchez, Nikki Giovanni, Gwendolyn Brooks, Margaret Danner, Haki R. Madhubuti, Etheridge Knight, Carolyn Marie Rodgers, Everett Hoagland, Stephany, Melvin W. Dixon, as well as Baraka, and many other less well-known writers during the period. "Broadside Press [was] a cultural marker of an epic generation" (Clarke 2005, p. 172), and it cornered the market on the publication of Black Arts Movement poetry.

The Black Arts Movement is also marked by critical innovations in jazz, notably in the music of Sun Ra (1914–1993), John Coltrane (1926–1967), and Pharoah Sanders (b. 1940), among many others. During the late sixties, poet Jayne Cortez (b. 1936) also became well known for combining her lyric verse and jazz music in explosive critique and exhortation of the black world, as did the immortal Last Poets collective; both are progenitors of the spoken word genre (Nielsen 1997, p. 221).

Even though the first books of Nikki Giovanni (*Black Feeling, Black Talk*, 1968), Audre Lorde (*The First Cities*, 1968), Carolyn M. Rodgers (*Paper Soul*, 1968), and Sonia Sanchez (*Homecoming*, 1969) are each synonymous with Black Arts aestheticizing, the Black Arts Movement was still a story of black heterosexual manhood's coming of age, with black womanhood standing at the edges of the birthing stool, greeting the entry of the angry infant, hollering down the birth canal of the new blackness. Yet each of the afore-named books attests to black women's vibrant militant literacy. Giovanni's critique of the "nigger" in black people and Sanchez's cautionary censure of the West and its cultural inventions were as strong and strident as the work of any black male poet of the time.

Nikki Giovanni. *Author of Black Feeling, Black Talk.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

Gwendolyn Brooks, upon witnessing students' adulatory responses to the poetry of Baraka at a black writers' conference at Fisk University in 1967, decided that she must stand in blackness with her poetry. Her 1968 book *In the Mecca* marked her final publication with Harper's, her press for twenty-five years. This collection was also Brooks' swan song to the lyric (i.e., the sonnet). Her subsequent collections were published by Broadside Press and then, after 1985, Haki Madhubuti's Third World Press.

Cortez's first book of poems, *Pissstained Stairs and the Monkey Man's Wares*, was self-published in 1969, and uttered profane critiques of racism and colonialism with vatic intensity.

With the publication of *The Black Woman, An Anthology*, Toni Cade Bambara's 1970 anthology of writings by black women, readers began to notice black women's contributions as writers, revolutionists, and theorists of this militant turn of cultural events in the black American world. Emergent black feminism influenced the understanding of black women's role in leading and endorsing this hallmark period of black American creativity.

Lesbian feminist poet Audre Lorde's third book, *From a Land Where Other People Live* (1973), was published by Broadside and nominated for a 1974 National Book Award along with those of two other feminist poets, Adrienne Rich's *Diving into the Wreck* and Alice Walker's *Revolutionary Petunias*. Rich's book won, but she demanded that Lorde and Walker share the award. Alexis Deveaux, in *Warrior Poet*, her biography of Lorde, reveals that Randall requested that Lorde omit "Love Poem" from this collection, because of its explicit reference to sex between women. Lorde acquiesced, feeling betrayed by her desire for the "prospect of another published book" and "her own need for the black community's embrace" (p. 131). This is an indication of how proscribed were gender and sexuality within the Black Arts Movement. Yet the sharp angle of the period's critique of the racism and colonialism of the West still continues to influence black cultural production.

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Cheryl Clarke

BLADDER INFECTIONS

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

BLAXPLOITATION FILMS

Blaxploitation films—action films with black subject matter made in the 1970s—have powerfully shaped the vocabulary of images of black masculinity and femininity in American culture. Blaxploitation's roots might be found in the growing political consciousness of the civil rights movement. In contrast to past successful black film figures of respectability, such as Sidney Poitier or Diahann Carroll, the heroes and heroines of blaxploitation privileged the style, language, music, and social landscape of everyday black America, eschewing assimilation into the white world.

Melvin Van Peebles's *Sweet Sweetback's Baad Asssss Song* (1971), produced through Van Peebles's guerilla tactics of borrowed equipment, actors, and time, sparked the genre. *Sweetback*'s odyssey is a defense of black masculinity by any means necessary: the murder of white cops, subterfuge, revenge, hand-to-hand combat, rape, and consensual sex with white women and with black women. Whether police, pimp, or pusher, the blaxploitation heroes that followed were similarly tactical and spectacular in their performance of masculinity, from *Shaft*'s suave John Shaft to *Superfly*'s mack-daddy Priest to the ghetto gangster title character in *Black Caesar*. According to the cultural historian Stephane Dunn, these films' defense of black manhood reflects contemporary nationalist discourse that called for the restoration of the black man's place on top in the black family and community. For Van Peebles and fans such as Huey Newton, films such as *Sweetback* were revolutionary. Yet many saw this construction of the sexualized and often violent black hero as a none-too-revolutionary revision of the black buck stereotype, the "Superspade," in Thomas Cripps's terms (1978). In 1972 the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led boycotts protesting blaxploitation films' use of sexualized violence and their limited range of black heroes (Guererro 1993).

While women's bodies were a key selling point in posters and other advertisements, in many blaxploitation films women waited in the background as "local color"—flat stereotypes of bitches, mammies, and whores. But a few standout performances remain. In *Cleopatra Jones* (1973) and its sequels, for example, Cleopatra is a crime-fighting, butt-kicking superheroine, the central figure of justice and revenge. Many of Pam Grier's films, including *Coffy* (1973), *Foxy Brown* (1974), and *Friday Foster* (1975), reverse the hierarchy of heroism in sometimes radical ways. Like Van Peebles's Sweetback, Grier's Coffy uses her body as a means of power. Within the same scene Coffy's body might be depicted bared and vulnerable to the eyes of the viewer and then used to avenge an act of sexual violence. Grier herself attributes the films' success as part of a larger zeitgeist: "All across the country, a lot of women were Foxy Brown and Coffy. They were independent, fighting to save their families, not accepting rape or being victimized" (Martinez 1998, p.53). Blaxploitation heroines have been a significant site of spectatorship for many black women. The continued cult status of Coffy, Foxy, and Cleopatra is evident in the work of many black artists and thinkers, from the rappers Lil' Kim and Foxy Brown to feminist critics such as bell hooks and Jennifer Brody, to the filmmaker Cheryl Dunye.

Cleopatra Jones. *Tamara Dobson, seen here in 1973, played Cleopatra Jones in two blaxploitation films.* AP IMAGES.

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Francesca T. Royster

BLOOD

As the fluid of life, blood has abundant literal and metaphorical meanings that vary across cultures and genders. Women's blood and men's blood differ in both composition and cultural associations, and this distinction is most often linked to women's menstruation. In sexual practice, blood can be an erotic fluid comparable to other bodily fluids. Blood also designates family relations and racial distinctions, both based on genetic material in blood.

PHYSIOLOGY

The heart pumps blood throughout the body, where the blood delivers nutrients and oxygen to organs and tissues and removes waste products such as carbon dioxide and lactic acid. Physiologically, the blood of men and women differs in the amount of hemoglobin, which carries iron and oxygen to the body's cells. This difference is due largely to women's loss of blood through menstruation and to men's greater muscle mass. It also means that women are more likely to become anemic, and this illness is a particular danger to pregnant women. Babies born to anemic mothers are at high risk of being developmentally retarded. Leonard Shlain (2003) argues that women's need for iron, most readily available in red meat, encouraged the development of hunting in pre-modern society.

FEMININE AND MASCULINE BLEEDING

Cultural connotations of blood reveal its relation to gender stereotypes, so that women's blood is feminine and weak, whereas men's blood is masculine and virile. Women's blood is most often associated with their reproductive ability and is thus linked to menstruation, the loss of virginity, childbirth, and menopause.

Menstruation has disparate meanings in different cultures. It is considered variously as a simple act of elimination, a positive experience linked to fertility of women and of the earth, and an unclean process that is regulated by taboos. One euphemism used in the United States and elsewhere, "the curse of Eve," reflects sentiments that menstruation is an unwelcome experience for women and an uncomfortable topic of discussion for men. A symbol of the arrival of puberty, a woman's first menstruation is called the *menarche*. As a rite of initiation, some cultures celebrate this flowing of blood; in many Western cultures, this event goes largely unacknowledged. In tribal cultures such as the Loango of East Africa, menstruating women are isolated from the rest of the community in menstruation huts. The Bible, in Leviticus, warns against associating with or having sex with menstruating women for fear of contamination with the unclean fluid. Some feminist critics argue that the taboos on and fear of menstruation are a suppressive reaction to the implicit procreative power to which menstruation attests.

Many women bleed when they lose their virginity, since sexual intercourse can break the hymen, a membrane covering the vaginal opening. However, other activities, including the use of tampons and involvement in sports, may stretch or break the hymen before initial intercourse. Despite knowledge that the existence of the hymen is not an infallible indicator of virginity, many Mediterranean, African, and Islamic cultures require proof that a woman is a virgin on her wedding night, asking for evidence of the broken hymen by such means as a bloody sheet displayed to wedding guests. Other feminine bleeding occurs during and after childbirth due to straining and tearing of the genital area and the uterus. Women thus bleed both at regular intervals—through menstruation—and at significant moments in their reproductive lives. At menopause, with the cessation of menstruation, women's sexually associated bleeding ceases.

Men's blood is generally associated with wounds resulting from physical conflicts and war, and thus is a symbol of heightened masculinity, virility, or dominance. Representations of violence normally include blood, and film and television may be censored for extreme violence as demonstrated by excessive amounts of blood. Barbara Ehrenreich (1997) argues that the link between violence, blood, and masculinity, supported by the prevalence of phallic weapons, may have replaced previous mythical representations of vaginas as both bleeding wounds and predatory, bloody mouths.

Some tribal cultures have rituals for men that parallel menstruation, in which men make a small incision on their penises and allow a certain amount of blood to flow out before bandaging the wound. In Judaism, as Lawrence A. Hoffman (1996) points out, the circumcision of infants is a similar male initiation rite that involves the symbolic loss of blood from the genitals. Ehrenreich (1997, p. 106–107) lists many other cultural practices that compare women's vaginal bleeding with ritual acts of bloodletting for men:

> In Papua New Guinea, the self-induced ritual nosebleeds are seen as parallel to menstruation; the Australian Aborigines who subincise their penises reopen the wounds regularly in order, they say, to simulate menstruation. In ancient Hawaii blood sacrifice was understood to be a "man's childbearing," just as childbearing was a "woman's sacrifice," and the Aztecs similarly equated men's death in war to women's death in childbirth. War as a kind of ritual bloodletting is linked to menstruation in the myths of the Ndembu people of Africa, and the Plains Indian mythology studied by Claude Lévi-Strauss.

SEXUAL PRACTICES AND BLOOD

Sexual fetishes involving blood are termed *blood play* or *blood sports*; these involve individuals licking or drinking the blood of their sexual partners after cutting or otherwise wounding them. This practice is related to bloodletting, vampirism, and self-mutilation. Such practices are grouped with other sexual activities based on sadomasochist tendencies or sexual dominance and submissiveness.

Vampires, mythic figures who drink the blood of the living to maintain their own lives after death, are highly sexualized in cultural representations. The act of drinking another person's blood involves seduction to attain physical proximity and a life-threatening "kiss" that transfers bodily fluid. While representations of female vampires exist, most are men, a stereotype that relies on the connection between violence, sexual aggression, and masculinity.

In Japanese anime and manga, male characters who are sexually aroused are shown to have nosebleeds. The exact reason for this connection is unclear, but one theory is that the rush of blood to the genitals is so intense that it floods the whole body and spills out through the nose. The depiction of blood and sex is common in Japanese culture, which is notable for its eroticization of violence, usually against women.

BLOOD-BORNE SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASE

Many sexually transmitted diseases, such as herpes and AIDS, are carried in the blood as well as in other bodily fluids like semen. Beginning in the late twentieth century, AIDS became a major concern for citizens of all countries. Originally considered a gay male disease, due to its initial prevalence among gay men and the ease with which gay sex transmits the virus, AIDS was rarely spoken of nor were treatments readily available. After discovering this disease can be transmitted through heterosexual encounters and blood transfusions, the United States took a more active role in educating the public about the virus, including advocating safe sex with condoms. In Africa, AIDS is an epidemic due to a lack of knowledge about virus transmission and ineffective folk remedies. One such remedy, the belief that an infected man may cure himself by having sex with a virgin female, has led to the mass rape and infection of young women.

BLOOD RELATIONS: KINSHIP AND BLOODLINES

As the carrier of genetic material, blood is linked to family or clan identity and racial groups. Thus, kinship is often referred to as bloodlines, distinguishing bonds of blood relationship from friendship or marriage. People who are not related by blood but who want to symbolize their strong connection with each other may become *blood brothers* or *blood sisters* by partaking in various rituals that may involve sharing or commingling their blood.

Bloodlines establish taboos on marrying or having sex within one's immediate family, a practice known as incest, or within larger groups or relations such as clans, also defined as endogamy. Such taboos are practical for cultural and health reasons. Culturally, the ban on endogamous relations helps create connections among multiple clans or families, which can increase wealth or form protective alliances. In addition, bans on incest maintain harmony within smaller family units by both discouraging any natural sexual attraction to one's immediate relatives, such as the Oedipal desire of a son for his mother, or the Electra complex (in which a daughter is sexually attracted to her father), and reinforcing natural aversions to such sexuality. Physiologically, continued incestuous relations lead to problems such as a diminished gene pool and increased susceptibility to disease. One such disease is hemophilia, or the inability for blood to clot properly, which notoriously affected members of the royal families of Europe beginning with Queen Victoria of England (r. 1837–1901). It can also be traced back to the Talmud and other Jewish religious texts, dating from the second to fifth centuries CE, that regulate circumcision based on previous family members who bled to death following the act. Hemophilia is most often manifested in men, while women are almost always only carriers.

In Western society, bloodlines and kinship are marked by patrilineal naming, so that fathers pass their surnames on to their children and thus show the continuation of their bloodlines. Several anthropologists argue that patriliny has not always been the standard mode of determining kinship. In 1861, J. J. Bachofen published *Das Mutterrecht* (Mother right), in which he argued that matriliny, which figures the mother-child relation as the basic social unit, preceded patriarchy and patriliny. Patriliny and patriarchy followed to demonstrate and secure the father's role in reproduction, family, and society.

In the United States, the historical preoccupation with racial difference, particularly the distinction between white and black Americans, resulted in the "one drop of blood" rule, which holds that a single drop of blood from a non-white ancestor results in a non-white person. During slavery, this rule kept many mixed-race individuals in bondage, and often the white male slave owners had sex with or raped their female slaves to increase their property and wealth. Following slavery, racial discrimination continued to categorize mixed-race individuals as black and relegate them to an inferior social status. Due to increased mixed-race births, such emphasis on racial groups as categories of identity has waned. To account for this demographic and social change, the 2000 U.S. census was the first census to offer respondents the opportunity to classify themselves as belonging to more than one racial group.

SEE ALSO *Female Genital Mutilation; Incest; Menstruation; Miscegenation; Vagina; Vampirism.*

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BLOW JOB

SEE *Oral Sex; Sexual Practices.*

BLOW-UP DOLL

SEE *Sex Aids.*

BLUES

Blues is a genre of American popular music that attained national prominence in the 1910s and 1920s. Coinciding with the advent of the recording industry, blues helped foster a distinct cultural sphere in the mass media for African Americans. Often mistakenly interpreted as an unmediated expression of individual sorrow, blues is a highly stylized and constantly evolving art form that affirms the lives and communal values of its audiences. Although it commonly is perceived as "folk" music, in its first few decades blues was synonymous with a variety of types of black popular music and thus cannot be characterized by style alone.

ORIGINS AND INCEPTION

The blues is an African-American invention that was a reworking of European-derived conceptions of song form, melody, harmony, and meter along African cultural lines. Musical techniques born of that negotiation include bent or "blue" notes, syncopation, and the twelve-bar blues form. As a commercial genre, blues emerged in the 1900s from ragtime. Songwriters who were looking for the next big craze began to combine the vernacular music of African Americans with Tin Pan Alley song forms. Foremost among those musical entrepreneurs was W. C. Handy, the self-proclaimed "Father of the Blues," who set off a publishing explosion in 1912 with "Memphis Blues."

Black vaudeville theaters and the traveling tent shows that visited remote areas of the South were the main institutions that supported early blues. As blues gained notice through sheet music sales, popular singers, both black and white, fashioned themselves as purveyors of authentic "Negro" blues. Popular dance bands in northern cities such as James Reese Europe's New York–based orchestra began arranging blues numbers for a mainly white middle-class audience.

RACE RECORDS AND BLUES QUEENS

In 1920 the success of Mamie Smith's "Crazy Blues" proved the existence of an African-American audience for recorded blues, and record companies rushed to develop "race record" catalogues, targeting the musical preferences of the black working class. The biggest stars of that period were women, the majority of whom had honed their talent on tent show and black vaudeville stages, environments that demanded they cultivate powerful voices and commanding stage presences. Backed by the most sophisticated jazz bands of the day, singers such as Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Ida Cox used their recordings to create larger-than-life personae, singing as women who were glamorous, sexually independent, and often rowdy. Their bravado was full of entertaining off-color humor, yet the music also provided a way for its predominantly African-American female audience to confront issues of gender and sexuality: Ma Rainey's sarcastic "Prove It on Me Blues" (1928) laid claim to a lesbian identity, and Bessie Smith's "Hard Time Blues" (1926) asserted independence from a no-good man.

BLUES AS A MALE-DOMINATED GENRE

For African-American women after the blues queens greater fame and fortune could be found in more mainstream jazz and pop genres. Singers from Billie Holliday to Dinah Washington sang blues numbers throughout their careers but were not associated exclusively with blues. Thus, blues became largely male-dominated, a genre in which competing versions of masculinity vied for popularity. From 1926 until his untimely death in 1929 the best-selling blues artist was the Texas-born guitarist and singer Blind Lemon Jefferson, whose "down home" guitar style and moaning vocals began a boom in recordings by country blues artists. Songs such as "Black Snake Moan" (1927) used thinly veiled metaphors to express sexual yearning ("some pretty mama better come and get this black snake soon"). Not all sexual content in country blues, however, was heterosexual. Although not big hits, recordings such as Charlie Jordan's "Keep It Clean" (1930) and Kokomo Arnold's "Sissy Man Blues" (1934) celebrated homosexual desire.

As African Americans continued to migrate north, blues took on an increasingly urban character. The piano-playing crooner Leroy Carr exploited the potential of microphone recording, crafting smooth, seductive blues that earned him legions of female admirers and dozens of male imitators. In contrast, virtuosic boogie-woogie pianists such as Pine Top Smith were mainstays at late-night Chicago parties, using a steady bouncing beat to encourage women to "shake that thing" on the dance floor. Fusing the rhythmic drive of boogie-woogie with humorous double entendre, as in the song "Let Me Play with Your Poodle" (1942), the guitarist-singer Tampa Red created a smart-talking version of blues known as hokum. A notable exception to the overwhelming male bias was Memphis Minnie, whose guitar technique and strong singing voice earned the respect of her male peers.

BLUES AS THE DEVIL'S MUSIC

Blues musicians rejected the puritanical attitude toward matters of sexuality and bodily pleasure that marked early American culture. Whether one hears the ubiquity of sexual topics in blues as the legacy of an African worldview or understands it as a matter of class and race (working-class blacks were not expected to adhere to normative moral standards and were thus "freer" to refer to sexuality in music), blues made many people uncomfortable enough to charge that it was Devil's music.

Certainly some of those charges were the result of well-meaning guardians warning young girls (or boys) to stay away from the sexually charged atmosphere of blues clubs. Some scholars argue, however, that direct references to the Devil in blues demonstrate the survival of African and circum-Caribbean religious beliefs. They

John Lee Hooker. *John Lee Hooker on stage playing a B. B. King "Lucille" brand guitar.* JACK VARTOOGIAN.

maintain that blues betray a familiarity with African-American "cult religions" such as hoodoo in which African deities such as Eshu-Elegbara were reinterpreted as the Devil. Other scholars disagree, charging that white fans, eager to hear blues as "dangerous" and "primitive," blew the Devil myth out of proportion. According to this camp, most references to the Devil were meant as humorous gestures, not serious religious incantations.

PRESENCE IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN LITERATURE

Some of the artists and intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance (c. 1920–1930) took an interest in blues. For example, the poet Langston Hughes and the writer Zora Neale Hurston considered blues an authentic expression of "Negro" subjectivity. They defended the music against middle-class highbrow critics in the hope that they and other black artists would be able to use blues as a foundation for their own works. Blues also have figured prominently in the work of more recent African-American writers and critics. Alice Walker's award-winning novel *The Color Purple* (1982) contains a character modeled on an early blues queen, and the scholar Houston A. Baker, Jr., has made blues a focal point for creating an African-American school of literary criticism.

IMPACT AND LEGACY

Since the 1960s white enthusiasts largely have shaped the history of the blues. Their preference for Mississippi-style country blues performers such as Robert Johnson and for electrified Chicago-based musicians such as Muddy Waters resulted in a skewed historiography that gave short shrift to significant and commercially successful figures such as the blues queens and Leroy Carr. At the same time blues has been displaced by newer genres of popular music. However, despite their greater appeal to younger generations, genres such as rock 'n' roll and soul drew heavily on blues. Rock 'N' Roll pioneers such as Chuck Berry, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Elvis Presley all used blues forms. "The Godfather of Soul," James Brown, who always maintained that he hated blues, based hits such as "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" (1965) on twelve-bar blues patterns. More recently hip-hop artists have modeled a style of ostentatious display, braggadocio, and irreverence that harks back to the days of the blues queens. The impact of blues on American popular music has been far-reaching and undeniable.

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Robert Walser
Loren Kajikawa

BOBBITT CASE

SEE *Castration.*

BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI
1313–1375

Giovanni Boccaccio. **COURTESY OF THE LIRBARY OF CONGRESS.**

Born in Paris, according to legend, but most likely in Florence in 1313, the son of Boccaccio di Chellino, an agent of the Bardi bank, Giovanni Boccaccio was brought up in Certaldo, near Florence where he died on December 21, 1375 in Certaldo. His stepmother, Margherita dei Mardoli, was related to Beatrice Portinari's family. Early on Boccaccio developed a fondness for literary studies; he also studied banking in the Bardi establishment in Naples from 1325 to 1330. The time he spent at the Anjou court greatly influenced his life as a man and as a writer. There Boccaccio met and fell in love with the woman he called Fiammetta, who became his muse. His love lyrics, or *Rime*, which were influenced by the style of Dante Alighieri and Petrarch, are mostly dedicated to Fiammetta. *La caccia di Diana* (c. 1334; Diana's hunt), to be read by women, is a long poem in a mythological frame contrasting Venus and Diana, love and chastity, and presenting Neapolitan maidens in a hunt. It may very well contain the *senhal* (an allusive pseudonym) of Fiammetta that appear in his subsequent works. *Il filostrato* (1335), a poem in octaves, is the story of the tragic love of Troilus and Cressida derived from Benoît de Sainte-Maure (fl. twelfth century) and his *Roman de Troie*. *Il filocolo* (c. 1338), a prose romance in five books, written at the behest of Fiammetta, recounts the story of the pagan Florio and his Christian love Biancofiore. *Teseida* (c. 1340–1341), the first epic poem in the Italian vernacular, in twelve cantos, retells the love of Arcita and Palemone for Emilia, the Amazon princess. Next came the *Commedia delle ninfe*, or *Il ninfale d'Ameto* (1341–1342; Ameto's story of the nymphs), an allegorical work with a number of amorous confessions, and the *L'amorosa visione* (1342–1343; The amorous vision), prose verse in Dantean terza rima celebrating the triumphs of fame, wealth, and love. The *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (1343–1344) is considered the first Italian psychological realistic novel dealing with the torments of a woman jilted by her lover, and is dedicated to ladies in love. His two works in the vernacular are the *Decameron* (1349–1353) and *Il Corbaccio* (1353-1355). The latter is a novella containing a bitter invective against women, a seed of which can be found in the *Decameron*, day VIII, story 7, the tale of a misogynistic scholar who takes his revenge on the woman who scorned him.

Boccaccio's close relationship with Petrarch and his devotion to classical studies led him to write several treatises in Latin, among them the *De genealogia deorum gentilium* (1350–1375; On the genealogy of the gods of the gentiles), which affirms his aesthetic doctrine as well as his notion of poetry as a sacred science and as theology. The mythological content of the work fosters the inclusion of a number of women. Boccaccio's views of women are represented cogently and exemplified in his masterpiece, the *Decameron*, a collection of 100 tales dedicated to women, for their entertainment and relief. The cornice, or author's foreword, places the narrative during the plague of 1348, when seven young Florentine maidens and three young men repair to a villa outside Florence (Fiesole) to escape the ravages of the pestilence, symbol of death and decrepitude, and to opt for life and joy by telling tales for ten days, each day with a different theme. He also titles his work "The Book of Prince Galahad," alluding to Guinevere and Lancelot's go-between, as an analogy with his role as writer/intermediary with his female audience.

Boccaccio's fascination with women is unique among the authors of the Middle Ages, but his views are also ambiguous and perhaps influenced by his religious fears and prejudices. This ambiguity is noticeable from the *Decameron* to the Latin compendia, specifically *De claris mulieribus* (c. 1360–1374), his treatise on famous women. In the preface to the latter work, Boccaccio states that "women are endowed by nature with soft, frail bodies and sluggish minds," and thus one cannot fail to admire them when they have acquired "a manly spirit and if with keen intelligence [they] have dared undertake and have accomplished even the most difficult deeds." Indeed, the *Decameron* reflects these deeds and exalts women, for the power of love and nature cannot be hindered by any force or law. A bevy of women embody a new conception of womanhood and the loftiest form of femininity, including the Marchioness of Monferrato who reproaches the king of France (day I, story 5), the lady of Gascogne who ennobles the king of Cyprus (I, 9), Madam Beritola (II, 6), Alatiel (II, 7), the wife of Bernabò (II, 9), Ghismonda (IV, 1), Elisabetta of Messina (IV, 5), and Ginevra (X, 10). Yet they remain subjected, reverent, and obedient to men, as stated by Elissa in the introduction and again by Emilia (IX, 9).

Boccaccio's *Decameron* provides a complete picture of society in a mercantile and bourgeois world. The author reveals the eroticism present in every level of human society, including religious people. He also alludes to incest in the tales of Titus and Gisippus (X, 8) and that of Ghismonda and her father Tancredi (IV, 1), and to homosexual practices (V, 10), all as part of a natural process. Boccaccio remains constant in his strong belief that intelligence, reason, wit and the power of love and nature are found in everyone (IV, 7). Thus Madam Philippa (VI, 7), who is about to be burnt at the stake for adultery, convinces the judges that the laws are wrong and that they should spare her because she never refused her sexual services to her husband, and what then should she have done with what was left? Another commanding figure is Alatiel, the sultan's daughter, who manages to survive and find a happy ending after so many misadventures and unwanted lovers (II, 7). The entire seventh day is a triumph of women and their ingenuity, tact, and intelligence in pursuit of the sexual pleasures to which they are entitled. The typology of Boccaccio's tales may not be novel, but his approach to and characterization of women certainly are. Nevertheless, Boccaccio returns to the misogynistic conception of women in *Il Corbaccio*, already present in the tale of the scholar (VIII, 7) or in the stupidity of Calandrino who regularly beats and abuses his wife (VIII, 3). In *De claris mulieribus*, his portrayal of women is more synthetic and critical, and in *De genealogia deorum gentilium*, more faithful to sources. In the former, for example, Dido is portrayed different from that of the Virgilian tradition—she is courageous, decisive, and coherent—and the author seizes the opportunity to moralize on the virtue of widowhood.

Overall, Boccaccio offers a mixed picture of traditional misogyny and some fresh views. Most importantly, he opens a door to a more complex characterization of women, and at the very least initiates an enduring debate with readers on the question of women.

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

BODHISATTVAS

SEE *Buddhism.*

BODY, DEPICTIONS AND METAPHORS

Frequently asked questions and issues concerning the social, cultural, and physical aspects of the human body and its metaphorical projections include the following: What is a human body? Historically, what have been the most prominent representations of the body? What are the predominant body metaphors (basic images and schemata of the body)?

Throughout history the human body has been a source of inspiration for artists and scholars in different disciplines. It has received considerable attention in fields such as anthropology, feminist theory, history, law, philosophy, and sociology, among others. Since the mid-1980s there has been an intensified interest in notions of embodiment; that interest has coincided with enormous changes in modern society.

WHAT IS A HUMAN BODY?

It is difficult to define the human body and the ways in which people conceptualize it because that definition constantly is modified and reconstructed. From Egyptian and Sumerian depictions of the ideal human form, through the Greek and Roman idea of the balanced and symmetrical human body, to the medieval image of the body functioning to confine the soul, the body has been a primary source of information about society and culture.

In premodern societies the body, both male and female, was an important site on which cultural and social values were inscribed through painting, scarification, piercing, and tattooing. Those bodily markings carried a wide range of different meanings referring to social status, gender, and identity.

As soon as people are born, they are designated as male or female. This dualism has been reflected in differences in the treatment of men and women, cultural practices, and metaphorical projections. Women's identity traditionally was associated with the sinful, mortal, irrational body, and men's identity with mind, immortality, and reason. Many images of the female body were influenced by religious beliefs.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HUMAN BODY

The human body is perceived universally as a composite of the physical body and the mind and/or soul. Since the ancient Greek philosophers Western tradition has supported the view that the mind and the body are opposites (mind-body dualism). The body was conceived as a "prison of the soul" and mind. This concept can be traced back to Plato, Aristotle, and the Christian tradition, all of which supported a mind-body dualism in which the soul was associated with immortality and the body and/or flesh was associated with sinfulness and mortality. Shakespeare and many other authors held similar views.

The consequences of this negative perception of the physical body are far-reaching and often are expressed in social, cultural, and linguistic practices. In contrast, the Eastern perception of the body as it is expressed in Taoism and Zen Buddhism advocates the nondualistic nature of the human body. This concept sees the human being as a union of body and mind working together.

By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries more naturalistic images of the body resulted from growing interest in the human form, especially among artists such as Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo. Vitruvian man is a symbol of the ideal and symmetrical human body, demonstrating perfection through harmonious proportion.

Until the end of the eighteenth century the human body was perceived mainly as an ungendered, universal, and generic body. The male body and/or man was considered the norm, and female characteristics were conceptualized on the basis of masculine parameters. The residues of that conceptualization are still visible in modern language, for example, "All men are equal in the eyes of law" and the "evolution of man." In these metaphors *man* refers to all people, male and female.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a revolutionary reconceptualization of sexual difference emerged. The discourse on the body shifted from man-made language to neutral naming. In that period the linguistic landscape of the female body changed; for example, in referring to a woman, *postal worker* became *post officer* and then *postwoman*. An emerging vocabulary has been used to signify new identities: *gay*, *lesbian*, *bisexual*, *heterosexual*, and so forth.

In modern society the form of the human body has changed through practices such as bodybuilding, cross-dressing, and cosmetic surgery. Virtual reality and its vocabulary disseminate the image of a new body in terms such as *robots*, *android*, *cyborgs*, *cyberterrorists*, and *computer nerds*. Donna Haraway (1991) claims that the cyborg functions as a metaphorical projection of the disintegration of traditional boundaries.

BODY METAPHORS

There is a growing body of evidence that conceptual metaphor is a pervasive imaginative structure in human understanding of the world (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Metaphors are used particularly frequently when new experiences are introduced. They allow the unfamiliar (technical terms) to be grasped in terms of the familiar (body terms). Examples of these terms include *grabber* *hand*, *palmtop*, and *nipple*. Body metaphors reveal that apart from male-female differences, all human beings have a common set of concepts based on their common body structure and sensual experiences.

Symmetry and Balance The human body is symmetrical and balanced. It can be folded over in the middle into left and right halves (vertical axis). The experience of balanced posture gives rise to metaphors such as *balanced personalities*, *balanced views*, *the balance of power*, *justice*, and *inner balance*.

Interior-Exterior The view of the body as a physical object presupposes its three-dimensional form in space and time. In the majority of metaphorical projections the body functions as a container. It consists of many entities: mind, soul, words, emotions, thoughts, and so forth. In proverbial and figurative speech people reach their inner part through their eyes: "Eyes are the window of the soul."

Up-Down The posture that is regarded as typical of the human body is upright. This concept is universally accepted. Accordingly, activities that are viewed positively are expressed as up (a higher value, an improvement). Metaphorically, if someone is down, that person is in a weak, desperate position: "Tim has been feeling down."

Front-Back The posture of the human body is such that the senses are directed predominantly forward (the eyes, nose, and mouth). This experience generates the view that the front part is equivalent to progress, dignity, and knowledge: "Seeing is believing."

These embodied linguistic patterns do not remain the private property of the person who experiences them. They become shared cultural and linguistic models of experience.

When the body is mentioned in literature, philosophy, and similar disciplines, it often is conceptualized as a *plant*, an *animal*, a *cage* or *confinement of the soul*, a *machine*, a *container of emotions*, a *computer*, a *communication network*, and so on. Some metaphorical projections of the human body are widely used. For example, Plato describes humankind as a "heavenly plant," and women often are perceived as fragile flowers or small animals. The human body often is used as a metaphor for society (the head of the state, the face of the law, etc.). The explosion of human-machine images in science fiction has changed human thought and perception.

Besides the concept of the body functioning as an integrated system of experiences, the body parts have individual functions. They can become symbolic models of stable meanings in different parts of a person's experience. For example, the head is thought of as the seat of the intellect: a director, a leader, and a container of thoughts, ideas, and memories. The heart is considered the seat of emotion (sadness, fear, and love) and the center of bravery. The hand is thought of as an agent of power and control as in the expression "to have someone in one's hands."

Linguistic and visual categorization of the body reveals that all human beings have a common set of conceptual metaphors that are based on their common body structure and sensual experiences. At the same time the body and its individual parts are used in metaphorical projections as symbols of specific cultural and social values.

People unconsciously project their own bodies into the external world, describing it in terms of their own measures: the *leg of a table*, the *arm of a chair*, the *foot of the mountain*, and so on.

The ideology of gender studies has been constantly focused on efforts to understand and study bodies and body dichotomies: male-female, mind-soul. This division between male and female will inevitably be based on cultural and social explanations. Concepts that were considered masculine—such as light, straight, good, reason, mind, spirit, power, and the public sphere—are opposed to concepts associated with femininity: darkness, left, bad, irrationality, body, emotion, passivity, inferiority, and the private sphere. These associations have been perpetuated within Western languages and cultures. A reconception of sexual difference is visible with changes in society, and sexual awareness.

SEE ALSO *Body Modifications.*

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Danica Skara

BODY IMAGE

The expanding body of work available on the connection between body image, sexuality, and gender is a direct result of the progress made by the feminist movement and gender studies in twentieth-century European and North American culture. When people discuss sexuality and gender, it is very likely that the dialog will turn to the subject of body image. The links between body image and sexual practice, performance, and preference have increased during the twentieth century, largely due to the widespread consumption and availability of media images. These links can be identified in a body-building culture, or the *hard body* aesthetic, in the increased visibility of eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa, bulimia, and overeating, and in the rise of subcultural groups that directly relate their sexual practices to body image. These subcultures include the feeder/feedee culture, sadomasochistic or dominant/submissive culture, and transsexual and transgender cultures. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, reality television programs made the effects of *extreme* self-improvement more accessible and visible. Viewers witness the physical transformations of *regular* people (as opposed to celebrities), whether these people have lost several pounds or have undergone plastic surgery in order to drastically alter their appearances.

Although how one develops a body image is debatable, there is no doubt that the individual experience of body image is directly related to the subjective interpretation of other bodies. Body image affects sexual practices, drives, and performance, and there is a relation between body image and sexual preference.

LINKS BETWEEN BODY IMAGE AND SEXUAL PRACTICES

The increasing visibility of different representations of bodies both complicates the process of and opens up greater possibilities for exploring sexual practices. Indeed such visibility is essential in describing any sociocultural link to body image. In addition a greater number of sexual subcultures is evolving, largely due to the increased availability of media images (i.e., the Internet) and the mainstreaming of pornography. Further the visibility of *extreme* bodies, whether excessively thin or excessively obese, continues to grow. As subcultures evolve and overlap, the topic of body image and its links to sexual practices continues to evolve.

Whereas body image evokes the interface between the inner and outer representation of any gender, it is also potentially connected to an individual's notion of identity. For example an anorectic individual does not usually say, "I feel fat," but rather, "I am fat." An anorectic person sees a fat body in the mirror, whereas to other people, that same body appears to be skeletal. A characteristic of the eating disorder anorexia nervosa is that the inner image depends on the outer reflection in the mirror as well as how the individual is seen by others. The anorectic's perspective is affected by a collection of images, or bodily ideals, that are dictated by the dominant media: film, television, and advertisements in magazines. In addition widespread research shows that young women in European and North American cultures are particularly influenced by these images because they have been exposed from childhood to the popular notion that the thin female body is a signifier of desire. According to Leslie Heywood, anorexia, "mental or physical, is central to the self-definition of most women, particularly educated women attempting to gain access to the *white male power* that requires them to cancel out their bodies" (Heywood 1996, p. 33). The goal of the anorectic adolescent girl (usually white) is, arguably, to be a woman who is not yet a woman, which suggests sexual timidity or fear. At the very least confusion is often experienced by one whom has an eating disorder because the degree to which one is desired seems to directly correspond to the degree to which one has conformed to the contemporary bodily ideal. Childhood sexual abuse may also account for many cases of eating disorders in women (and increasingly in men).

Body Image and Sexual Practice If anorexia nervosa is a means by which people attempt to deny desire, both for others and as directed toward themselves, then feeder/feedee culture, which is the exact opposite of anorexia nervosa, is concerned with concrete connections between food and eroticism. In the context of *fat fetishism*, the feedee is the submissive counterpart to the feeder. As part of the relationship, the feedee is fed, either for the purpose of gaining weight, or for the sheer pleasure of the act. According to Octavio Paz, "[t]he erotic industry is the younger sister of the food industry. Private business expropriates utopia. During its ascendancy capitalism exploited the body; now it has turned it into an object of advertising. We have gone from prohibition to humiliation" (Paz 1972, p. 81).

As the numbers of obese people increases in the early twenty-first century, especially in North America, the emergence of a *fat acceptance*, or *fat admiration* culture has become more visible. The feeding subculture is often denounced by the mainstream fat acceptance community as misogynistic, because the submissive partners are almost exclusively women. The fat acceptance community also sometimes regards feeder relationships as pathological.

The growth of feederism paralleled the development of feeder pornography, with the increase of Internet websites not unlike those devoted to the celebration of the skeletal beauty of anorexic bodies. On these focused websites, the fed or starved chart their *progress*, whether losing or gaining weight, and have admirers that contact them. The dominant/submissive relationship lies at the heart of feeder/feedee culture, whereas the sadist and the masochist both reside in the anorectic's sense of body image. While the anorectic may deny food as a metaphor for denying sex, or the desire for sex, the feeder/feedee relationship to food functions as a metaphor for the unchecked immersion into unbridled desire.

FORCE FEEDING

Force feeding has had frightening connotations for women throughout history, particularly during the suffrage movement in the United States during the early twentieth century. In the Victorian era, such extreme outward displays, especially by women, of bodily expression such as that which occurred during the suffragettes' public protests, were subdued by police, who arrested the women, and doctors, who force fed them. Many women engaged in hunger strikes because it was the most powerfully visible way to attract attention to the immediacy of the suffrage movement. According to Barbara Green, "no image has been more provocative than the image of the forcibly fed woman.... The gesture of making public the private experience of the female body, exposing its secrets, describing its invasion, takes place in the realm of the spectacular, produces a speaking subject who is embodied, and who speaks from the female body in pain" (Green 1993, p. 71–72). This condition is at the heart of the dominant/submissive tension, where it involves body image and sexual practice. The act of bringing to the outside what has formerly been inside evokes fear, wonder, fascination, horror, and desire. The depiction of a hunger striker forcibly fed—that is, choking, spitting, and vomiting as food is forced down her throat—creates a body image that, due to its spectacular availability, can be considered pornographic.

LINKS BETWEEN BODY IMAGE, SEXUAL PERFORMANCE, AND PREFERENCE

The widespread availability of pornography, or its mainstreaming, has reinforced a hard body aesthetic in terms of body image. Since the late twentieth century, the increased use of plastic surgery, as well as demand for enhancements, such as anal bleaching, which were previously unheard of outside the pornographic film industry, have demonstrated society's growing interest in *perfect* bodily symmetry. Obviously, the term *perfect* is problematic due to its subjective and illusory meaning, but it is the term people of every gender often use to describe the kind of bodies they desire and/or want to attain.

According to Tom Venuto, a body builder, body symmetry "refers to the qualities of balance, proportion, shape and classical aesthetics. It was first described by the Greek philosopher Pythagoras, who explained it in terms of mathematical relationships" (Venuto 2004, p. 1). Venuto lists several male body builders who have historically fit this shape. The key physical qualities include low body fat; a tiny waist; broad shoulders; a wide, tapering back; slab-like pectoral muscles, developed top to bottom with a sharply defined, lower pectoral line; small hips and glutes; and the appearance of long legs. Some theorize that the quality of symmetry is what makes an individual sexually desirable, regardless of gender or sexual preference. Further a healthy, toned, clean body is often considered a signifier of virility and strength.

Whether addressing sexual drive, performance, or practice, and regardless of sexual orientation and gender, the discussion of body image will eventually turn to the issue of visibility and invisibility. Body image is based on a visual representation (inner and/or outer) of an individual. Philosopher Michel Foucault described the body as constantly "in the grip" of cultural practices (Foucault 1988, p. 55). Bodies, no less than anything else human, are influences by culture.

Stereotyping about sexual preference, performance, and gender is especially influenced by the practices of the dominant culture. However, the subject of sexual orientation, performance, and body image is complicated by culturally coded stereotypes that exist beyond the *normal* pressures imposed by the dominant culture on ideal body types.

SEE ALSO *Eating Disorders.*

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Amy Nolan

BODY MODIFICATIONS

Uniting both the physical and the symbolic, the natural and the cultural, the human body is an important medium through which social mores, ideals, and values are expressed. Deliberate modifications to the physical form of the human body serve to communicate a wide variety of information about an individual's gender, age, status, rank, group affiliation, occupation, position in the life cycle, acceptance or rejection of social norms, and so forth. Body modifications thus serve primarily symbolic purposes, although some may be undertaken for therapeutic or ritual reasons in which the final result is less important than the experience itself. Every human society has practiced some form of body modification, from Polynesian tattooing to Chinese foot binding to breast implants, and other contemporary cosmetic surgeries. Such modifications exhibit varying degrees of permanence, severity, and visibility and are undertaken for various reasons. They may be chosen by an individual or compelled by the force of law, tradition, religion, sanction, convention, or social pressure.

Broadly one may divide body modifications into those processes that modify the body's contours or form, and those that mark the body's surface. Procedures that alter the body's form include the following:

- Metabolic manipulation through weight-lifting, exercise, dieting, and use of drugs or hormones
- Cosmetic surgery (liposuction, face-lifts, rhinoplasty) and other chemical processes to firm or plump skin (botox)
- Genital surgery (male and female circumcision) and sex reassignment surgery
- Restriction or compression (corsets, belts, foot binding)
- Abrasion (filing of teeth, scourging, flagellation)
- Elongation (neck, lips, earlobes, penis, testes, labia)
- Partial or full removal of body parts (digits, breasts, testes, penis, clitoris, lips, ears, nose, organs, ribs)
- Implantation of foreign objects (silicone implants, decorative items under the skin)
- Prosthetics (false limbs, fingernails, pacemakers, valves, lenses)

Processes that alter, inscribe or adorn the body's surface include the following:

- Tattooing
- Piercing or perforation and the use of earrings, nose-rings, lip plugs, and other adornments
- Painting, staining, bleaching, tanning
- Scarification and cicatrization (the production of raised scars or keloids)
- Branding or cautery
- Hair removal or addition

The symbolic function of most body modifications means that the social and historical context is fundamental to determining the meaning of a particular practice. For example the ancient Greeks, Romans, Iranians, and Celts employed tattooing for punitive purposes and to indicate ownership: identifying criminals, military conscripts, prisoners of war, and slaves. By contrast early Christians throughout the eastern Mediterranean acquired tattoos voluntarily as a sign of their devotion to Christ or after completing a pilgrimage. Among various indigenous groups in Africa, Asia, India, North America, and the South Pacific, tattooing was performed in the context of rites of passage; to indicate status, tribal, or caste affiliation; or in the course of healing and mourning rituals. Thus the practice of tattooing holds a plurality of meanings, and has been employed to communicate a wide range of socially salient information by different groups at different points in time.

While body modifications may be performed for various purposes—punitive, commemorative, aesthetic, therapeutic—nearly all express socially and historically specific understandings of identity. Because gender may be understood as a socially-determined identity putatively linked to an individual's biological sex, body modifications constitute an important means through which gender differences are constructed and communicated. Physical alterations make a society's gender norms evident in the very material flesh of the body: in its contours (muscular or rounded, lean or curvy), textures (absence or presence of hair, roughness or softness of skin), size (large or small, robust or delicate), and surface (tattoos, scarifications). For example Victorian notions of femininity were exemplified in the tiny waist, exaggerated bosom, and delicate constitution achieved through the use of a tightly laced corset. Similarly contemporary models in the United States of masculinity emphasize a powerful physique attained through long hours of weight training and the use of dietary supplements.

One of the clearest examples of body modification as a process of engendering is female circumcision (also called female genital mutilation). In the early twenty-first century the practice is found primarily in Africa and areas of the Middle East, as well as among immigrant communities from these regions in Europe and North America. Among groups that practice female circumcision, male circumcision is also performed, for the operation is seen as necessary to produce socially acceptable women and men. Circumcision typically occurs at puberty or immediately prior to marriage, although in some cases it may be performed on infants or small children. In most cases a woman cannot marry until she has been circumcised, and often the practice is said to be necessary for reproduction, or to ensure female purity and fidelity by reducing sexual pleasure.

Among the Mende of Sierra Leone, circumcision is performed on girls and boys in the context of traditional puberty rites. The practice is understood to rid the female body of the male element, located in the clitoris, and the male body of the female element, located in the foreskin. The result is a woman and a man who can then unite in marriage for the purposes of reproduction. It is thus the practice of circumcision itself that fully genders the body, and those who have not undergone the operation are unable to participate in the adult world of marriage and family life.

Like circumcision body modifications in traditionally-oriented societies tend to be obligatory, collective, and performed in the context of life-cycle transitions or other transformations in an individual's status. By contrast in Europe and North America tattooing and other body modifications are often undertaken by individuals to indicate their membership in a stigmatized subculture (sailors, the working class, criminals, punk rockers), to express their rejection of the dominant cultural norms of the body, or to affirm an alternative identity or sensibility. Contemporary practitioners describe their modifications as a way of taking control of their body and redefining it to accord with their own sense of self. The notion that the body is an object for endless transformation and a vehicle for individual expression is closely linked to a market-driven consumer culture, which has resulted in the increased popularity of piercing and tattooing in Europe and North America. Whether freely chosen or compelled by social pressure, physical modifications to the human body communicate salient aspects of an individual's identity. The diversity of practices and purposes associated with these modifications suggests that the human body cannot be understood apart from the particular social and historical contexts that give it meaning.

SEE ALSO *Body Image.*

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Kelly E. Hayes

BODY, THEORIES OF

The phrase *theories of the body* refers to philosophical and medical-scientific discourses as well as politically informed cultural critiques such as feminist and queer studies. In all these cases the body emerges as a concept marked by internal division in terms of sex and gender, age, size, and color as well as a word that signals its difference from its implied opposite: mind, spirit, psyche, soul, or any other term used to describe personhood outside its material manifestations.

BODIES AS ORGANISMS AND BODIES AS SOCIAL PHENOMENA

The internal differentiation of the body has been the starting point for most current theorizations of the body in critical cultural studies. The division between the body and its external material context, along with its difference from the immaterial mind, soul, or spirit, has been the subject of philosophical and religious speculation since the beginnings of Western history. The emergence of modern scientific thought in the seventeenth century heralded a new form of interest in the body as organism and as social phenomenon.

The distinct perspectives on the body occasionally become so entwined that they become indistinguishable. However, the different interests these discourses bring to their object of speculation inevitably lead to equally divergent theoretical constructions of the elusive phenomenon at the focus of their attention: the human body. Because no theory of the body is disinterested, contemporary theories of the body should be assessed against the conceptual entanglement of bodies as organisms and bodies as social phenomena.

THE MIND-BODY DISTINCTION

Current critical analyses of the body usually take the eighteenth-century medicalization of the body or the seventeenth-century philosophical preoccupation with the mind-body distinction as their point of departure to call into question what has been characterized as the inalienable dualist nature of Western thought. There are problems with both approaches. Although it may be claimed that from the ancient Greek philosopher Plato (427–347 BCE) to the French philosopher, mathematician, and scientist René Descartes (1596–1650) prevailing Western notions of the body have evolved largely from a split between mind and body, spirit and flesh, psyche and soma, there has been an alternative line of analysis in which the immaterial aspects of human being have been conceptualized as having an intrinsic interrelation with the matter of bodies, inseparable from the flesh.

As early as 360 BCE the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE), investigating the soul and its properties in *De Anima*, claimed that the soul is a "first actuality of a natural organic body" (Aristotle 1987, p. 60), thus introducing a notion of nondualist embodied being that was taken up and elaborated on by a series of later philosophers, including Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), Friedrich Nietzsche (1884–1900), and Giambattista Vico (1668–1744).

Even in Plato the dualist mind-body distinction is complicated by that philosopher's additional supposition of the soul as the directing force of the body (Plato 2005). Plato believed that the body and the mind exist separately and often stand in opposition to each other in that the interests of the body are mere physical needs and sensual pleasures whereas the mind has the ability and will to gain real knowledge of ideal forms. However, it is the soul that tries to bind mind to body, attempting to make them run together rather than allowing them to be pulled in contradictory and opposite directions. Although its undeniably dualist character came to prevail in most modern theories of the body, the complications of Plato's tripartite model reemerge in theological and religiously inspired theories of the body in the period immediately preceding the rise of modern philosophy, that is, in the middle ages and the early Renaissance.

THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

Late mediaeval theologians such as Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) used the Aristotelian concept of the soul as life principle, locating knowing, feeling, and experiencing in the body and thus categorizing human beings in accordance with a threefold principle in which the differences between the levels of spirit and soul often were seen as more important than those between soul and body. The pervasive influence of Christian doctrine in that period may have reinforced a Platonic devaluation of the (sinful) flesh in favor of the higher faculties of the soul or spirit; the medieval fascination with the flesh did not imply a simple rejection of the body to celebrate the soul as a separate entity. That would have been a conceptual and a doctrinal impossibility in the context of a religion that revolved around the divine offering redemption by becoming flesh (Bynum 1995).

Whereas early fourteenth-century theologians tended to follow Aquinas in positing the soul as that which carries the structure of a person if the body is absent, in the normal or desired situation personhood was thought to be determined equally by body and soul. Rather than an unambiguously dualist line running uninterruptedly through theories of the body from Plato to Descartes, it is more accurate to suggest that the newly emerging mathematical and natural sciences spurred seventeenth- century philosophers to develop a rigorous theory of personhood that would install the split between mind and body and continue to predominate in debates for the next three hundred years.

In an attempt to break free from the speculative neo-Aristotelian notions of the person that had triumphed within the Catholic Church and the theological circles of his day, Descartes introduced a reduction of truth to that which can be apprehended by the mind exclusively operating with its own resources (Descartes 1984). Truth thus becomes the product of a self-referential system of cognition that is dependent on nothing but itself: thinking. The elevation of mind over body that follows from this premise institutes the dualist framework in which mind and body are conceived of as separate, self-contained spheres, incompatible and mutually exclusive substances. The Cartesian mind is set up as the essence of the person, existing entirely independently of the body.

The mathematical security Descartes gained from the absolute separation of mind and matter came at the cost of several forms of ontological reduction that it has taken centuries of philosophizing to reconcile. The positing of consciousness—Descartes's term for the earlier notion of soul—as an entity in and of itself that is amenable only to first-person knowledge made it unfeasible to think through any form of interaction between consciousness and body as manifested in movement, for instance, or in the body's response to conceptual demands or requirements. Also, the presumed self-referential nature and radical independence of consciousness renders it autotelic, i.e., having itself as its sole purpose, to the extent that any knowledge or awareness of other people's minds or even of other persons is in effect a logical impossibility. After Descartes the human body has tended to be explained entirely in mechanical terms without any reference to life forces.

The power of the Cartesian heritage can be seen in the fact that until fairly recently the body as matter, as a self-moving automaton, has been marginalized in the history of modern Western philosophy, which has been preoccupied with theories of mind. The fact that certain conceptions of mind may be used to explain the body does not detract from the reductionism of this concept, for whether the mind is reduced to the body or the body is reduced to the mind, either strategy serves to bridge the irreducible gap or explain away the impossibility of explicating their interaction within a rationalist framework. The influence of Descartes is palpable in the fact that since the onset of modernity the body as organism has been regarded primarily as an object of investigation for the life sciences, biology, and medicine (Grosz 1994).

When the body has been studied outside the natural sciences, it often has been treated as a mere extension or map of the human faculties or behaviors that are amenable to the human sciences, for instance, as a cartographic resource for symptoms in psychology, a variably meaningful entity in anthropology, and a transformational force in sociology. In political-philosophical discourses the Cartesian tradition is sustained by the focus on the body as an instrument or tool at the disposal of consciousness or, alternatively, as the possession or property of an autonomous subject. The fact that several of Descartes's fundamental assumptions have continued to prevail through the history of (post)modernity, however, does not mean that there have not been alternative voices that have attempted to overcome the limitations of rationalist reductionism.

ATTACKS ON CARTESIAN DUALISM

The first serious attempts to subvert Cartesian dualism occurred in the nineteenth century among thinkers such as Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770–1831), Karl Marx (1818–1883), Nietzsche, and Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855). Each of these thinkers tried to overcome the mind-body distinction that still dominates approaches to embodied personhood in much of analytic philosophy of mind, cognitive psychology, and artificial intelligence programs. It was not until the rise of phenomenology in the twentieth century, with representatives such as Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) (Husserl 1967), Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) (Heidegger 1962), Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) (Sartre 1956), and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961) (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1964), however, that an effective counterdiscourse developed that could be reworked and extended by post-structuralist and feminist thinkers such as Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), Michel Foucault (1926–1984), Julia Kristeva (b. 1941), and Luce Irigaray (b. 1930), among others.

Phenomenology Phenomenologists reject the (post) Cartesian biological-mechanistic approach to the body as physical object (*Körper*), instead focusing on the lived body (*Leib*) as it functions in the world: With phenomenology the question of the body shifts to the question of embodiment. By investigating and illuminating the interrelation between the body, actions, and perceptions, phenomenology overcomes the reductionism of Cartesian dualism and lays the foundations for theories of the body that supplement philosophical thought with insights from psychoanalysis, social history, literary theory, and gender and sexuality studies.

Freud and Lacan Although his work on soma and psyche was steeped in contemporary medical-scientific frameworks, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the founder of psychoanalysis, complicated prevailing notions of the body by stipulating the difference between the body as organism and the human subject as a psychosomatic being (Freud 1995). The human organism, Freud maintains, knows only needs that must be fulfilled to safeguard its survival. The human subject of desire, in contrast, comes to know itself both in its embodiedness and in its relations to other bodies and other objects under the aspect of the psyche. The human ego derives its primary experience of itself through its corporeal interactions with the outside world, mainly through sense perception. To perceive of the body as mere outside or shell of an independent interiority thus fails to do justice to the irreducible complexity of psychosomatic being. The fact that in his clinical practice Freud came to regard the body as a map from which symptoms of the subject's interior could be gleaned does not detract from the importance of his earlier insight into the irreducibility of the person to soma or psyche.

When Jacques Lacan analyzed Freud's theories in the 1940s, one of his major aims was to integrate a psychoanalytic account of the ego with an account of the body. For Lacan the human infant is nothing more than a "body in bits and pieces" (Lacan 1953, p. 13) until the moment between ages six and eighteen months when the infant becomes capable of recognizing the image of his or her self in the mirror, having its first anticipation of itself as a unified and separate individual (Lacan 1977a). Imaginary from the start and fundamentally dependent on the perception and experience of that which is other—both other human beings and the scene of otherness in which the mirror recognition occurs—the subject's sense of embodiment is marked by alienation and is of a profoundly transitive nature. A further form of alienation takes place when the child enters the realm of language, the symbolic order, in which she or he is assigned her or his predetermined role on either side of the sexual divide. While Lacan's theorization of the human ego, which is "structured like a language" (p. 20) appears to depart even further from the body as matter or flesh than Freud's distinction between the body as organism and the embodied ego, it is the importance of the mirror stage in the Lacanian ego's development that points to the critical role of the body as matter in its imaging of itself as well as the internal connection of the ego to other bodies (Lacan 1977b).

Foucault One of the most influential theorists of the body in the late twentieth century was the social historian and philosopher Michel Foucault. Harking back to phenomenological insights into the intertwining operations of structures and forces to produce the reality and experience of the lived body in the world without a controlling center, Foucault situates the body as a production caught in a network of power relations, each in its own way shaping and disciplining its materiality in accordance with historically shifting standards of normalization and intelligibility (Foucault 1970, 1972). Because the power relations at the focus of his analysis are not the large-scale structures of the economy and the state but the micro-level power relations represented by, for instance, hospitals, schools, and prisons, Foucault identifies the body as the principal target of modern power, that is, power operating in a capillary fashion throughout the social body; this can best be grasped in its concrete and local effects on the human body and in the everyday practices by which established power relations generally are reproduced and sustained (Foucault 1990).

Queer Theory Taking their lead from Foucault (1995), most contemporary queer theorists aim their critiques at the disciplinary and constraining medical and juridical discourses that at the end of the nineteenth century produced the pathologically sexed, perverse, or homosexual body (Ellis 1897, Krafft-Ebing 1939). Aiming at denaturalizing the notion of a biologically sexed and/or sexualized body, such critiques have shown that rather than being biologically given or emerging in nature, differentiated forms of embodiment, whether in terms of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, and/or class, are generated by the socially and discursively constructed frameworks of interpretation or grids of intelligibility that establish and maintain dominant power relations and inscribe strict boundaries between normal and abnormal, healthy and pathological, conceptually and socially viable and nonviable (Laqueur 1990, Davidson 1992).

Although such queer critiques have helped liberate the pathologized homosexual body from the naturalizing disciplinary practices of medicine and the law, they also have demonstrated that discursive practices are productive rather than merely prohibitive, enabling certain categories of being to come into their own rather than repressing or regulating them. However, in their effort to locate the emergence of the category of the sexualized body historically, those theories tend to presume a kind of stability or even a singular quality in such (abnormal) sexualities as sexualities. This not only threatens to result in the kind of essentialization of deviant bodies that these critiques set out to dismantle, it also fails to do justice to the complex interrelations between medical and juridical discourses on sexuality and the equally significant, often contradictory discourses on race, gender, primitivism, and degeneration that undergird early modern biological discourses (Nordau 1990). In other words, the exclusive focus on the medical construction of a deviant sexual body threatens to obscure the operations of the multiple and shifting sociopolitically interested frameworks in which these scientific discourses function and develop (Terry 1995, Somerville 1994, Seitler 2004).

Feminism The problems posed by most mainstream (male-authored) theories of the body for feminist theorists, including contemporary critics, derive partly from the general neglect of the specificity of female bodies and the traditional reduction of women to their bodies as distinct from and secondary to the primary (male) powers of the mind. Female sexuality and women's reproductive capacities traditionally formed the parameters of misogynist definitions of femininity. This explains why the first generation of second-wave feminist theorists resisted reexaminations of (theories of) the body and instead tried to achieve equality on intellectual or conceptual grounds (de Beauvoir 1993, Firestone 1970).

With the gradual establishment of poststructuralist theory and the introduction of so-called French feminist thought (Kristeva 1980, 1986; Irigaray 1977), however, a generation of feminist theorists emerged with a much more positive attitude toward the body, seeing it not as a biological obstacle but as an object of representation and signification in which the markings of masculinity and femininity both find expression and function in the practices of everyday life, although in radically different and unequal ways. Some poststructuralist feminists maintain a relatively strict split between mind and body by recasting dualism as the sex-gender distinction in which the sexed body is seen as the biological base from which the cultural meanings of gender derive and on which they are inscribed (Gallop 1988, Spivak 1988). Others reject the distinction between biological sex and cultural gender and see the gendered body not as passive matter but as a lived phenomenon thoroughly entwined with constitutive systems of signification and representation (Butler 1990, 1993; Grosz 1994).

Although the need to escape from biological determinism initially led to a relative downplaying of the body in the development of feminist theory, an increasing awareness of the body as a site of contestation in a range of economic, political, sexual, and philosophical struggles has resulted in a number of feminist theorists directing their attention to the body from a wide range of disciplinary perspectives. Reacting against a history in which the body has been devalued because of its primary association with femininity, as distinct from the more valuable masculine mind, the more philosophical and theoretical branch of 1990s corporeal feminism posits the body as a primary site of gender constitution whose negation has produced a seemingly immutable sexual difference (Gatens 1996, Grosz 1994). Particularly influential has been notion of the body as a performative act, that is, the idea that gendered bodies are a material production, the result of the repetition and reiteration of preexisting rules and regulations that render certain forms of embodiment culturally intelligible and socially viable while excluding and devaluing alternative forms of corporeality (Butler 1990, 1993). Such excluded bodies, for instance, those marked as lesbian, come to function as that which is abjected from dominant culture. In both of these views the female body is seen as something that must be retrieved from a repressive and negating masculinist metaphysics that situates the female body as a kind of limit point outside representation.

Countering the inherent negativity of corporeal feminist critiques, a more positive approach to the body is offered by contemporary feminist theorists who take their cue from the French philosophers Gilles Deleuze (1925–1995) and Félix Guattari (1930–1992). Warning against the risk of essentializing the female body as a metaphysical limit case and thus precluding an examination of the specific historical regimes that regulate bodies, these theorists offer a positive feminist ethics in which thought, reason, and discourse are seen as bodily events and in which the body figures as the event of expression (Bray and Colebrook 1998, Buchanan and Colebrook 2000). Rejecting the idea that corporeality, materiality, and sexual difference are anterior to thought or are negated by representational regimes, these theorists claim that both bodies and representations are aspects of an ongoing process of negotiation and reconfiguration in which no single event fully determines the meaning or materiality of any body and in which practices of signification function in a positive, enabling manner as much as they may limit or constrain the event of corporeal becoming. The extent to which this positive ethics will help bring about change in oppressive bodily practices in different sociocultural domains remains to be seen. What it does offer is a theory of (female) embodiment that leaves room for both corporeal agency and creative practices of (im)material becoming.

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renée c. hoogland

BOGOMILS AND CATHARS

The Bogomils and Cathars were radical dualistic Christian sects that differed from mainstream Christianity on a number of important doctrinal issues. The Bogomils and Cathars challenged traditional medieval Christian views about marriage, sex, and the religious authority of women. Although both groups ultimately were dismissed as heretical, the alternative notions of sex and gender they purposed had an impact on the development of Christianity.

ORIGINS

The Bogomils emerged in the late tenth century when a Bulgarian priest who took the name *Bogomil*, meaning "worthy of the pity of God," broke with mainstream Roman Catholicism and professed a belief in a dualistic form of Christianity. He preached about a world starkly divided between the forces of good (God) and those of evil (Satan). That interpretation of Christianity quickly spread throughout medieval Europe. In Languedoc in southern France dualistic Christians eventually adopted the name *Cathari*, "the Pure Ones," or Cathars (also known as Albigensians for the town of Albi, which had a high concentration of Cathars). The rest of this entry will employ the designation *Cathar*. By the twelfth century CE the Cathars were the most popular sect in the Christian world and were persecuted vigorously as heretics by the Roman Catholic authorities.

THEOLOGY

The Bogomils and Cathars were Christians who believed in the salvific power of Jesus Christ but differed from mainstream Christianity in their emphasis on a radically dualistic worldview. At the center of Bogomil and Cathar doctrine was the belief that existence is predicated on a battle between good and evil.

That dualism took two forms. The first was a mitigated dualism in which God (the force of good) is the ultimate authority and Satan (the force of evil) is God's subordinate. The other form was an absolute dualism that maintained that good and evil have always coexisted. In both systems the Cathars believed that God is the creator of the spiritual realm but Satan is responsible for material creation, including the earth and bodily existence. The soul technically belongs to the spiritual realm, but it fell and was imprisoned by Satan in the human body. According to Catharism, Adam and Eve were the first captured souls. Cathar myth describes Adam and Eve succumbing to Satan through sexual seduction. Cathar belief also held that the fall of spiritual souls is strongly linked to the expression of sexuality and that imprisonment in the body is punishment for the overt sexuality of the fallen soul. The goal of Cathar religious practice was for the soul to do penance for its sexual transgression so that it could be freed from its bodily prison and return to the spiritual realm.

The Cathar understanding of creation and the plight of humanity shares significant details with Gnostic and particularly Manichaean mythology and its aversion to sex and sexuality. This has led a number of scholars to speculate that Cathar doctrine was influenced by remnants of underground Gnostic communities that migrated to Turkey and central Eurasia after their eradication by the Roman Empire. Others have argued that dualism was an inherent aspect of central European culture and that Catharism was a product of indigenous beliefs.

Because the Cathars regarded the material world as the evil creation of Satan and believed that sexuality plays a significant role in separating the soul from its true nature, Cathar practice focused on antimaterialist asceticism. The Cathars rejected anything related to sex or materialism. Their refusal to marry was meant as a repudiation of sexual intercourse. They also refused to consume foods that they regarded as products of sexual generation. This included eggs, meats (as the product of sex), and most dairy products (owing to their connection to reproductive milk). The Cathars also disengaged themselves from worldly matters such as war, politics, and the swearing of oaths.

The rigorous asceticism of Cathar belief proved impractical for all but a few members of the Cathar community. The few Cathars who actually followed the prohibitions on sex, food, and worldly involvement formed an elite group known as the Perfecti, "the Perfect Ones." The majority of Cathars lived lives similar to those of mainstream Christians, accruing spiritual benefits from their contact with and support of the Perfecti.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Unlike the Roman Catholic priesthood, both men and women could become Perfecti. The ritual of initiation known as *Consolamentum*, or spiritual baptism, was open to both men and women and could be administered by both. Cathar women also were allowed to perform priestly duties such as hearing confession, absolving people of their sins, and leading communal prayers. The highly visible role of women in Cathar ritual has caused scholars to speculate that women made up a large proportion of the Cathar community and that women may have provided support to Catharism. The equality with which women participated in Cathar ritual as well as the repudiation of marriage and sex also may indicate that Catharism did not subscribe to traditional notions of gender. It is possible that because the Cathars saw gender distinctions as a by-product of the unfortunate material embodiment of the soul, such distinctions do not reflect the true nature of the soul and therefore categories of male and female and the rules and restrictions associated with gender were of no consequence to the Cathars. This is only speculation: It is impossible to know with certainty how the Cathars viewed gender, but their inclusion of women in rituals definitely deviates from the position of contemporaneous mainstream Christianity on appropriate gender roles.

PERSECUTION

The departure of Catharism from normative Roman Catholic beliefs and practices caused the Cathars to be branded as heretics. In 1208 the Roman Catholic pope instigated a crusade against the Cathars. Known as the Albigensian Crusade, it lasted twenty years and decimated the Cathar community. The few Cathar men and women who survived the crusade were subjected to the Inquisition. By the middle of the fourteenth century Catharism essentially had disappeared, leaving only traces of its thoughts and practices to continue to be debated and disavowed within the mainstream Christian community.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval.*

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Jennifer Hart

BONAPARTE, MARIE
1882–1962

Great-grandniece of Napoleon Bonaparte, Princess Marie Bonaparte was a writer, psychoanalyst, and devotee of Sigmund Freud. Not a medical doctor, Bonaparte worked in France to help establish groups, including the Société Psychoanalytique de Paris (SPP), for nonmedical psychotherapies. Interested in issues of sexuality, lay analysis (the practice of psychoanalysis by analysts without medical degrees), and frigidity, as well as a translator of essays and Freud's correspondence with Dr. Wilhelm Fliess, Bonaparte used her influence to help Freud escape from the Nazis in 1938. She also maneuvered to get Freud the Nobel Prize, but did not succeed.

The wealthy daughter of Prince Roland Bonaparte and Marie-Félix Blanc, daughter of Monte Carlo real estate developer François Blanc, Marie Bonaparte married Prince George of Greece in 1907 and had two children. Concerned about her own sexual frigidity, Marie consulted Freud, and then trained to become an analyst. She had affairs with Rudolf Lowenstein, who later served as psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's analyst, with whom she cofounded the SPP; as well as with leading French politician Aristide Briand. Bonaparte used her wealth and social position as a platform from which she could study psychoanalysis and anthropology, and approach sexual issues unapologetically. Endowed by Freud with a confidence typically enjoyed in this era only by men, Bonaparte became the most prominent woman psychoanalytic authority in France. Throughout her career, she would battle to empower forms of lay psychotherapy while at the same time advocate to ground psychoanalysis in biology and encourage psychoanalysis to adopt the ethics of medicine.

Lay analysis was an issue particularly bound up with the ability of women to practice as psychotherapists. Most women did not have access to a medical education during the first part of the twentieth century, thus their ability to work as psychoanalysts was hampered if a medical degree was required. Psychoanalysis, itself a young practice, sought simultaneously to secure the professional rigor of the medical community. Part of the importance of the SPP was that it provided some support to practicing lay analysts, such as Bonaparte. In 1934 Bonaparte financed an Institute for the Instruction of Analysts, and she served for many years as both officer and honorary president of the SPP.

Bonaparte is perhaps best known as a friend and sponsor of Freud and as an author and translator. She wrote a psychoanalytic study of the life and works of Edgar Allan Poe, a treatise on female sexuality, a commentary on child psychology, and a book on war and those lost in war. She was interested in the relation between psychoanalysis and folklore as well as in the organic bases for psychical phenomena.

In *The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (1933), Bonaparte began with Freud's idea that dreams and creative writing derive from the same unconscious sources. She analyzed Poe's creative work in the same way that Freud analyzed dreams. Freud theorized that dreams were wish fulfillments often made up of memories and problems suffered by individuals as infants. Much of that infantile material, according to Freud, was sexual. By finding sets of recurrent patterns and preoccupations, an analyst might begin to hypothesize about the character of an individual's infantile material and unconscious memories. In analyzing Poe's writing in relation to his life, Bonaparte tried both to develop a significant practice of psychoanalysis based on an individual's literary production and an understanding of Poe himself as an author whose works reflect Oedipal conflicts and the repeated satisfaction of thwarted childhood sexual curiosity, as evidenced in the clever deductions of Poe's fictional detective, Auguste Dupin.

In *Female Sexuality* (1951), Bonaparte takes up the question of female sexuality that baffled Freud throughout his career. Like Freud, Bonaparte believed individuals begin with bisexual potential, but that females can follow one of two paths to sexual development. Depending on the innate sensitivity of the clitoral and vaginal zones, girl children may either experience excitement and orgasm through the seductions of cleansing and fondling or through masturbation. The method and zone of early excitement establishes itself as a primary sexual pathway for the female who then seeks to repeat the satisfying experience in later sexual encounters. Bonaparte believed that infantile experience marks individuals for life.

Not many psychoanalytic practitioners took up Bonaparte's theories about female sexuality, but her work on Poe did influence the ways some critics analyze literary works as keys to the author's preoccupations.

SEE ALSO *Freud, Sigmund.*

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Judith Roof

BONDAGE AND DISCIPLINE

Bondage and discipline refers to the consensual physical restraint of a sexual partner for the purpose of inflicting pain, punishment, or humiliation. Bondage and discipline is part of Bondage and Discipline, Domination and Submission, Sadomasochism (BDSM), a larger category of sexual activities based in erotic power exchange. Bondage is a common fantasy for both men and women, and it appears that many couples have at one time or another experimented with bondage. Bondage and discipline, however, is practiced by a much narrower portion of the general population and is commonly engaged in by men and women participating in sadomasochism and domination and submission activities.

For the person being bound (generally referred to as the submissive or *bottom*) bondage can generate sexual excitement from the vulnerability associated with being subject to the will of another and from the mental freedom of having given up control of the situation. Some people enjoy the sensation of struggling against bonds; others may enjoy and derive sexual pleasure from the pain and humiliation inflicted by their partner. Bondage may also incorporate an element of torturous sexual teasing that many find stimulating.

For the partner doing the binding (usually called the dominant or *top*), the sight of a bound nude or seminude body may be particularly stimulating, as is the excitement of having a person sexually available and at one's mercy. The power exchange involved in having a submissive capitulate to the will of the dominant and in having the dominant take responsibility for the safety and pleasure of the submissive can be highly exciting to both parties, even when sexual intercourse or genital stimulation does not form part of the bondage and discipline play.

TYPES OF BONDAGE

Bondage may pull parts of the body together (as in the binding of wrists and ankles or some breast and genital binding); separate body parts (as with use of a spreader bar to keep the legs apart); bind a person to an object; suspend a person in midair; restrict movement; or completely wrap (or mummify) the body.

Bondage materials range from the commonly available to the homemade to the professionally manufactured and sold. The most basic bondage item is rope, which is both pliable and adjustable enough to perform a variety of functions. Leather cuffs, handcuffs, and chains are also often used to bind the extremities together or to a stationary object, to tie a submissive in a spread-eagle position, or to hogtie a person with the ankles and wrists both bound behind the back. Gags, blindfolds, ear plugs, and hoods may be used to enhance a sense of isolation, confinement, vulnerability, and helplessness in the victim, as well as to induce a certain amount of sensory deprivation. Eyebolts are often mounted both on furniture and on walls or ceilings to aid in tying down or suspending a submissive. Mummification, or the wrapping of the body in such materials as bandages, plastic wrap, or cloth, completely immobilizes the body and allows the dominant the option of leaving the submissive in a state of sensory deprivation or of stimulating him or her while immobilized. The binding of genitals or breasts is also common and may or may not be done in conjunction with other forms of bondage. Both genital and breast binding (in men and women) may be done so as to prevent or to facilitate access to the body part in question.

TYPES OF DISCIPLINE

The term discipline is often used to refer any kind of sadistic or dominant activity performed in a BDSM context. Such discipline might be as simple as the infliction of pain on the bound submissive. Alternatively activities that both parties consider pleasurable (such as oral sex) might be cast by the dominant as something the submissive must perform or undergo as punishment for some misbehavior. Discipline might also take the form of role-playing in which the dominant takes on authoritarian role (parent, teacher, police officer) and punishes the submissive for some infraction. Such forms of discipline act more as sexual titillation than as punishment per se.

More specifically, however, discipline refers to the training or punishment of a submissive by a dominant. Because the role of the submissive is to please the dominant (whether as a part of master/slave lifestyle or as part of a specific scenario two people are enacting), it is generally accepted that the submissive will require a certain amount of training and discipline in order to best serve the dominant. This discipline might take the form of withholding of a reward, such as orgasm; demanding that the submissive perform a service or degrading act for the dominant; or inflicting physical pain, such as whipping, spanking, or beating. Bondage itself can also be a form of discipline, if administered as a punishment.

SOCIAL CONTEXTS

In the United States bondage seems first to have emerged publicly through gay leathermen, who imitated post-World War II biker culture. In the 1960s bondage began to move into heterosexual culture, where the forerunners of current-day BDSM clubs developed as a means of exploring bondage and the BDSM lifestyle. Western bondage has been influenced by *shibari*, a Japanese style of bondage that originated as a mechanism of restraining and torturing prisoners. *Shibari* techniques emphasize the aesthetics of the bondage and utilize binding that, rather than simply immobilizing the submissive, stimulates him or her sexually by applying pressure to the breasts or genitals.

Though scientific and sociological studies of bondage and discipline are scattered, evidence suggests that many mainstream couples take part in bondage. The fascination that bondage holds for the general population is demonstrated by its prominence in mainstream erotica and pornography and by its frequent mention in mainstream popular culture.

Bondage and discipline in the strictest sense, however, is much more likely to be limited to the BDSM community, a loose conglomeration of individuals and institutions that self-identify as participating in sadomasochistic sexual play. Within this community, bondage and discipline often forms part of a core of common BDSM sexual activity and tends to not be particularly distinguished from other types of domination and submission behaviors; some individuals, however, more specifically fetishize bondage and its accoutrements.

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Maureen Lauder

BORAN

SEE *Queens.*

BOSCH, HIERONYMUS
1453–1516

Jheronymus [Hieronymus] van Aken was born in Dutch Brabant in the small town of Hertogenbosch, whose name he adopted, becoming known as Bosch. From an artists' family, he was familiar with the workshop mode of painting, and some of his works were completed in a workshop environment. His comparatively small oeuvre was enormous in its impact on immediate contemporaries and followers for more than a century, creating a "Bosch style" exemplified by numerous imitators (Koldeweij, Vandenbroek, and Vermet, 2001, pp. 11–28). Many of his sources and models were identified in the 1930s by Charles de Tolnay (1937).

The themes in Bosch's work are mostly religious: *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Last Judgment*, *Saint Jerome at Prayer*, *Saint John at Patmos*, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, *The Garden of [Earthly] Delights*, and works such as the allegorical *Haywain*. He favored the triptych as a medium providing the structural support for complex compositions that organized time and space in a symbolic and relational diachrony.

THEMES AND INTERPRETATIONS

In Bosch's depictions of hell and demonic assemblies hybrid creatures that combine human or animal features with objects or reassembled body parts engage in a pandemonium of taunting, violence, torture, and sexual assaults on apparently helpless, and usually naked, human bodies. The intense visionary quality of his work, and the often disturbing brutality of these scenes, the symbolic surcharge of allegorical figurations, elicited more commentary than for other early modern artists, as art historians have sought the interpretation that would finally shed light on the hidden meaning of this oeuvre.

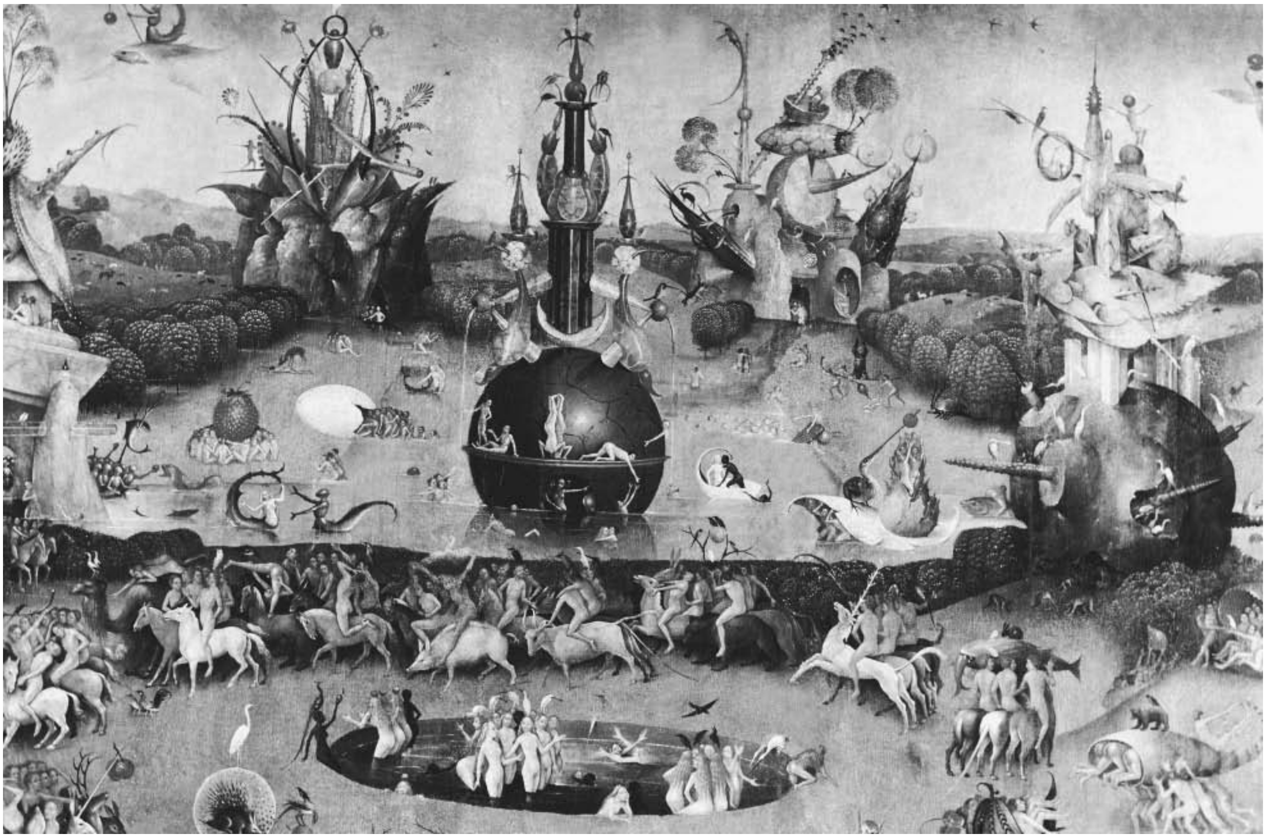
Bosch has been claimed as an anti-orthodox opponent of Church doctrine, and ascribed connections to heretical sects such as the Brothers of the Common Life and the Brothers of the Free Spirit (Fraenger 1952). He has also been read as expressing the orthodox, perhaps mystical, religious piety of an outraged observer of sin (Gombrich 1967). He has been interpreted according to the symbols of alchemy—one of the more convincingly documented readings (Dixon 1981)—and according to alchemical/Gnostic readings (Mettra 1977). It also has been claimed that he merely transmitted the fantastic art of the "grylls" of antiquity and revisited classical models, especially through glyptic art (Baltrusaitis 1981). In spite of the many approaches and the wealth of erudition displayed, the case has not been closed, and no single one is so compelling as to effectively silence the others.

Bosch's vision is rife with intriguing representations of women and gender: In *The Haywain* armed female figures appear to be as violent as the men. In scenes with sinners there is a current of sexual (in)difference in the way some of the naked bodies are represented as markedly androgynous. The mermaids in armor and closed helmets floating on the pools of the Garden of Delights also code androgyny.

THE GARDEN OF DELIGHTS

The Garden of Delights stands out in his oeuvre, a consummate achievement both as a work of art and as an enigmatic composition with multiple elements of sexual and religious symbolism.

The *Garden* was not apparently meant for display in a religious building; as art historians are confident that it was the painting displayed a year after the artist's death in the palace of Henry III of Nassau. It was described by an Italian visitor, Antonio de Beatis, and this contemporary view assigned no particular meaning to the work, taking note of the mixed landscapes of land and sea, the black and white men and women, "*de diversi acti e modi*" (in diverse actions and guises, or comportments; *diversi* also can mean "strange"), birds and animals depicted with great realism ("*naturalitá*"), a work both "*piacevole*" and "*fantastiche*" (Gombrich 1967, pp. 403–404). An often-quoted commentary on Bosch's whole oeuvre close to his time is that of Siguenza in 1605, who also saw nothing untoward or heretical in his work. Trying to



The Garden of Earthly Delights by Bosch. *Detail from the central panel of* The Garden of Earthly Delights *by Hieronymus Bosch.* **© FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.**

decipher a hidden and overarching meaning in it has been a conceit of the twentieth century.

The outside panels of the *Garden* triptych show a transparent ball of glass or a bubble encasing the world, an apparently peaceful landscape surrounded by waters and dominated high up by a minute figure of God the creator done in grisaille. It illustrates the verse of the psalm "*Sicut in utrem aquas maris*" (God gathered the waters of the seas in a flask) (Dempsey 2004). The left panel depicts Paradise, in which Christ shows a newly formed Eve to a seated Adam, who stares fixedly at her; the Fall is implied with details of violence in the animal realm: Peace among them is fissured, as the cat walks off with a mouse in its mouth.

On the right panel, there is a vision of hell, filled with the familiar violent, hybrid figures. However, this section focuses on the discordant noise of the place, and it is the human sense of hearing that is assaulted. It shows the mutilation and martyrdom of ears, bodies strung across giant musical instruments as in a crucifixion, and naked sinners singing in a chorus with a monstrous kapellmeister, reading music from the posterior of a human figure. Merely identifying the panel as "Hell" does not do justice to its symbolic complexity.

The central panel is a vividly erotic but coded rendition of the Garden. However, this garden is not the "*hortus conclusus*," or "closed-off garden," which in medieval symbolism often was an iconographical attribute of the Virgin Mary, whose untouched womb, without breach or rupture, was likened to it. Instead, it contains many enclosures. Its space is defined by concentric pools of water. In the farthest region of the canvas a small pool contains black and white female figures bathing together. Around the largest pool a cavalcade of naked men and women gallop astride giant animals, including camels, stags, boars, cats, and birds. On the pools float various ephemeral conveyances containing amorous couples, including a black man with a pale white woman, and other couples swim together or peer out of nooks and crannies of fruit. Behind it loom the ambiguous horned structures found in much of Bosch's oeuvre, built of spikes and protuberances, architectural marvels made of matter that appears vegetal or carnal—because of its pink hue—rather than made of stone: Some embracing couples are walking toward them. Fruit is of paramount importance, mostly in the form of the gigantic strawberry or split pomegranate: Figures hold them or embrace them or hide in them; one holds the fruit between outstretched legs. In the busy forefront another well-known sexual symbol of that time is the mussel, here containing a couple with intertwined legs. In the far right corner a group of naked figures, one black, stands and watches. Prominent among them is a wild woman, hands on hips, in the observer position.

The overwhelming proliferation of images and the strong sexual content of the work have been noted by critics, often with distaste for unnamed practices—probably a reaction to the few instances of sodomitical representations: a male figure extracting roses from the anus of a leaning and sexually undefined figure and a bird's beak at work on the anus of one of the riders, an image familiar in Medieval manuscript marginalia. The easiest way to interpret the conundrum presented by the *Garden* has been to see it sequentially: From the left, with the ominous presence of Eve, the eye moves to acts not condoned by religion or law and then, to the right, to punishment. Thus, the central panel can be seen as a florid description of the temptations of sin. The nakedness of the figures has been adduced as proof of that interpretation (Glum 1976), yet Laurinda Dixon has countered that the structure of the triptych is identical to "the basic alchemical allegory" (Dixon 1981, p. 99).

One cannot indeed overlook that male and female figures are depicted in the Garden with sustained attention to the beauty of the body and the harmony of its proportions. While the stain of luxury and wantonness may be present, the expression of soft physical beauty underscored by the predominance of curves (bodies, pools of water, bubbles, fruit) exudes an exuberant expression of the erotic that may transcend sin, or at the very least, sequentially add to and expand on it. Indeed, in Bosch's work, demons are hybrid forms, as in the models identified by Baltrusaitis (1981), mostly grotesque, sporting slimy scales and the tails of rodents—symbols of evil (Glum 1976)—and engaged in terrifying acts. There is no such suggestion in the central panel of *The Garden of Delights*, and it seems that the search for interpretative clues must continue. Particularly suggestive are readings that take into account Bosch's multiple layerings between the religious and the profane (Kessler 1997), perhaps a reflection of his painting technique, which used transparent layers of color, visible groundsel, and visible drawing lines to create a sort of palimpsest in his work (Koldeweij, Vandenbroek, and Vermet, 2001, pp. 11–13).

SEE ALSO *Erotic Art.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

BOSWELL, JOHN
1947–1994

John Boswell was perhaps one of the most controversial and influential figures in the fields of the history of sexuality, religious studies, and medieval history in the late twentieth century. Born in 1947 in Boston, he attended the College of William and Mary, and after earning his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1975, he joined the Yale history department as an assistant professor. He became full professor in 1982 and was named the A. Whitney Griswold Professor of History in 1990. A popular teacher and lecturer, Boswell frequently spoke on issues concerning gay rights. In 1987 he was instrumental in creating the Lesbian and Gay Studies Center at Yale. He died of an AIDS-related illness in 1994.

His groundbreaking work *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (1980) won the National Book Award for History in 1981. In it Boswell challenges an idea that had become a commonplace: that Christianity had always considered homosexual acts morally wrong and that it had a longstanding tradition of homophobic practices. He stresses that there had been tolerance for homosexual acts in Greek, Roman, Hebrew, and early Christian societies. He further maintains that neither scripture nor early Christian society demanded a negative response to same-sex relations. He posits that "gay subcultures" existed in both ancient and medieval times, and explores the twelfth century as a period when homoerotic relationships flourished, even among members of the clergy. He positions the rise of homophobia in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Christian writers read their attitudes back into earlier texts. By applying the term *gay* to the past, Boswell suggested a transhistorical identity.

Boswell's research, critical perspective, and conclusions sparked a variety of responses—not all positive. Boswell, himself a converted Catholic, was criticized for advocacy scholarship. He was labeled an apologist for Christianity, attempting to read homophobia out of Christianity. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Catholic and conservative Christian readers attacked his work as a distortion of fundamental Christian principles. His study heightened the essentialist–social constructionist debate over the understanding of same-sex relationships in the past. Boswell stressed that his use of *gay* was not anachronistic; rather he selected the term to indicate individuals who chose same-sex relations. Scholars who disputed this usage advocated the Foucauldian notion that the concept of sexual identity did not become a functional category until the nineteenth century. Criticism also came from feminist scholars, who noted the absence of a serious discussion of women in his study, and viewed it as reinscribing the marginality of lesbian experience and confirming the medieval misogynistic viewpoint.

In his later work, *Same Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe* (1994), Boswell contends that the Christian Church had sanctioned same-sex unions and had complex rituals for these unions, thus offering an historical precedent for same-sex marriage. Basing his analysis on a wide range of manuscripts reflecting practices in the Mediterranean, Boswell draws a parallel between heterosexual marriage and voluntary same-sex unions between males. What remains unclear in these couples is whether their bond was only emotional, not physical. Although none of the evidence that Boswell uncovered in the manuscripts ever indicated an erotic relationship, one may have existed. Some critics maintain that the *adelphopoiesis* (brother-making) rituals were ceremonies pledging loyalty and brotherhood between men.

The controversy that Boswell's studies elicited raises the issue of how we interpret medieval responses to same-sex relationships. Whether one rejects or supports his conclusions, Boswell's work reopens the debate of understanding medieval sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Gay; Homosexuality, Male, History of.*

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Edith Joyce Benkov

BOYS, CONSTRUCTION OF

Boy is a gender assigned to most male children at or before birth. As early as two years old, boys have a sense of themselves as boys and have begun understanding other people in terms of sexual difference. By early adolescence, boys have often begun to emulate the masculine behavior of older boys and to identify themselves more as "guys" or, in the United Kingdom, "lads." Though the term *boys* is sometimes used to refer to teenagers and adult men, it is usually associated with physical and mental immaturity and thus, in reference to adults, is used either ironically or disdainfully.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the term boys was often used to evoke a group of men linked by a certain male camaraderie, as in "one of the boys," "boys will be boys," or the use of boys to refer to the armed forces. This usage has largely been replaced by the use of *guys* in the United States and *lads* in the United Kingdom, terms that encompass a wide age range and can connote participation in a male-oriented, masculine culture.

The common association between immaturity and boys sets up a power dynamic in which boys are subordinated to adult men. This power imbalance is implicit in the nineteenth-century American usage by whites of the term boy to refer to adult male slaves and by its British usage until the mid-twentieth century to refer to native men from the colonies.

Because this power dynamic places the gender boy opposite adult masculinity, boys occupy a somewhat feminized position, and much of young boys' gender negotiations in school revolve around establishing their difference from girls. These gender negotiations begin as early as preschool, by which time young children have already internalized a gender identity and have begun categorizing others as boy or girl. Boys often reject games and activities they associate with girl behaviors, and they very quickly form a community based on the exclusion of girls. They will similarly often refuse to allow girls to participate in games, such as soccer or baseball, that they consider to be the province of boys.

BOYS' ASSERTION OF POWER AND MASCULINE PRIVILEGE

Many researchers have remarked on the degree to which the way boys construct and regulate their gender identities in school depends upon the assertion of power and masculine privilege, which has been noted as early as kindergarten and is directed both at other students and at teachers. Among themselves, boys tend to engage in a great deal of physical violence, usually couched as play fighting, including poking, slapping, hitting, and wrestling. Even routine physical contact, by the fifth grade, has shifted from touching and hugging to hand slapping, shoving, and poking. Though boys are less likely to physically fight girls, there is a well-documented pattern of sexual aggression, both verbal and physical, directed at girls. Girls, it appears, also learn early not to complain too loudly about such aggression. Though girls sometimes strike back at boys or band together to drive them from a common area, they only infrequently report the behavior to authority figures. The behavior is often chalked up to boyish antics (by both girls and adults), but girls in many cases have also learned that telling tales will earn no redress. Female teachers also receive sexually or physically aggressive comments, even from very young boys, which they often choose to ignore rather than engage. Though this phenomenon is fairly common, Barrie Thorne (1993) and others also caution against overgeneralizations about the level and type of boys' aggression. The most assertive and aggressive boys are also the ones who call the most attention to themselves as objects of study, and researchers who have focused on less visible students have found that boys negotiate and assert their masculinity and gender identities in a multiplicity of ways.

GROUPING BEHAVIOR

Although boys commonly interact with girls outside of school, girls and boys are inclined, when possible, to self-segregate in school. On playgrounds, boys tend to coalesce in larger, more visible groups. They generally control some 90 percent of the playground area and concentrate in outlying areas, such as sports fields, rather than areas close to the school building. They are usually more physically aggressive than girls, apparently more competitive, hierarchically organized, and often gravitate toward team sports during playtime. As Thorne comments, however, there is great variability in these patterns. Whereas the most popular and most visible boys tend to be sports-oriented and competitive, more marginal boys may form smaller friendship groups and participate in different playground activities; girls, moreover, may not be less competitive or hierarchical than boys, but rather express these things in terms (such as being nice) that appear more cooperative. Despite this variability in the mechanisms by which boys establish their gender identities, too much deviation from established norms is consistently policed: Boys who spend too much time with girls or who play girls' games are subject to accusations of effeminacy or homosexuality (wimps, sissies, queers, or fags).

Compared to girls, boys tend to interact very differently with authority. Rule transgression and the use of forbidden language is an important part of boys' play activities. Regulations are often flouted in more or less plain view of authority figures. Researchers have noted that boys tend to organize in quite large groups, rather than pairs or triplets, and that much of the thrill of rule breaking seems to stem from doing it in front of witnesses. These groups provide a level of anonymity that often enables individual boys to escape punishment for violating rules. Boys similarly experiment with sex and sexuality in such groups where the excitement of viewing illicit pornography or telling a dirty joke is enhanced by the presence and encouragement of witnesses.

FORMATION OF GENDER IDENTITY

As is the case with girls, researchers have found that the formation of gender identity in boys is as much a project in establishing heterosexuality as it is establishing gender. Whereas girls constitute their identities as heterosexual with consistent reference to what boys will find desirable, boys are more inclined to construct their genders in terms of homophobia and avoidance of the homosexual. Thus, improperly masculine behaviors are often deterred by charges of homosexuality, even when the accusers do not understand the sexual implications of epithets such as "queer" or "fag." As with girls, much of boys' gender construction is concerned with negotiating or maintaining the boundaries between boys and girls. These boundaries are often tested and reinscribed by coed games such as catch and kiss, cooties, and invasions of the girls' side of the playground. Interaction with girls is thus constructed as exciting, but also dangerous and possibly polluting (cooties, for example, usually originate with girls). The culture of boyfriends and girlfriends, which starts as early as kindergarten, is thus somewhat problematic for boys: Romantic contact and success with girls can be one method by which a boy asserts his masculinity, but it also bears the danger of contamination by femininity and possible teasing or ostracization by other boys.

Girls are sexualized early in childhood and tend to construct their genders and identities explicitly in relation to male desire. They initially understand heterosexual pairings in terms of romance, and they actively engage in pairing themselves and classmates in nominally boyfriend/girlfriend relationships. In contrast, boys usually first conceive of heterosexual pairings in terms of sexual bodies and activities, which conception is later modified to include romance and intimacy. (It is noteworthy, however, that for both girls and boys this initial contact with male–female relationships occurs in groups of the same sex, with heterosexual interest and desire being performed for a homosocial audience.) Unlike girls, however, boys largely negotiate gender identities as a homosocial group. For girls, male desire is a crucial aspect of the construction of gender identity, whereas boys establish masculinity and power primarily in relation to other boys. Girls are used as a controlling mechanism in this construction, but the gender identity of boys is created and performed first for other boys. Romantic relationships with girls are thus one option for establishing a heterosexual, masculine gender identity before a boy's peers, but it is not the only one.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme; Girls, Construction of.*

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Maureen Lauder

BRAIN

The literature on brain, gender, and sexuality is subject to an array of interpretations. For example, it is known that individuals can be born with the "external parts" of one sex despite the fact that their cells contain the chromosomal pattern of the other sex or that those "external parts" can present ambiguously at birth as a result of genetic disorders, hormonal aberrations, or trauma, creating a condition called *intersexual*. However, even though technology continues to provide information with increasing degrees of precision, these matters often are confused because of the common misuse of the terms *sex* and *gender* as synonyms. David Haig chronicled this confusion in the academic literature and concluded that the increased use of the term *gender* "appears to be the result of well-meaning attempts to signal sympathy with the ideas and goals of feminism. This has had the paradoxical outcome of undercutting and blurring the distinction which feminists sought to emphasize by distinguishing sex from gender" (Haig 2000, p. 373).

SEX AND GENDER

Although gender controversies probably are as old as the human species, they were not labeled as such until John Money's 1955 adoption of the word *gender* from linguistics and grammar, where it was used to classify nouns. Money's graduate work was with intersexuals, or hermaphrodites as they were referred to at that time. Before he changed the lexicon, the only word or concept available was sex, and that created a dilemma in dealing with intersexuals. An example of that difficulty would be provided by a phenotypic male with the outward appearance of a male, including many male secondary sexual characteristics, and the genotype of a female, with ambiguous genitalia and therefore with no functioning male sex organ. Such an individual would not have a male sexual role in the sense of completing the act of penetration (Money used a new term for that role: *sexuoerotic*). However, that person would be able to present in public performing a male sexual (sociosexual) role consisting of masculine or manly attitudes, behaviors, interests, and actions.

Sex thus is the more restrictive term, tied to biology, and represents one's identification as a male, female, or intersexual on the basis of one's external genitalia. Gender is one's identification as male/man/masculine or female/woman/feminine on the basis of somatic and behavioral criteria. Gender thus is the more inclusive term and can be used to address genital sex, erotic sex, chromosomal sex, and gonadal sex and the expression of those factors as they are presented to society.

THE NUMBER OF SEXES

Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) proposed, partly to be provocative, the concept of five sexes. Although the concept has caught on more than the terminology has, that terminology can be helpful in understanding the group—intersexuals themselves—that appears to be promoting the term intersexual. The five sexes are male and female, with the addition of herms, formerly called true hermaphrodites, who are born with both a testis and an ovary; merms, formerly called male pseudohermaphrodites, who are born with testes and some form of female genitalia; and ferms, formerly called female pseudohermaphrodites, who are born with ovaries combined with some form of male genitalia. Fausto-Sterling revised her earlier estimation of the prevalence of intersexuality down from 4 percent to 1.7 percent, or seventeen in every 1,000 live births. She agrees with Suzanne J. Kessler (1998) that her paradigm of five sexes still gives primacy to genitalia when in fact gender is attributed to individuals in their everyday lives without knowledge of what is underneath their clothing and is performed by those individuals regardless of the idiosyncratic configuration of their genitalia.

SCIENTIFIC STUDIES

The attempt to understand brain, gender, and sexuality has resulted in an enormous literature primarily involved in studying the differences between male and female biology and behavior. In the search for anatomical differences, gross and microscopic anatomical postmortem studies have given way to computerized axial tomography (CAT), positron emission tomography (PET), and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), including functional MRI (fMRI), which allows increased spatial and temporal resolution.

In adults the male brain weighs 11 to 12 percent more than the female brain, and the male head is about 2 percent bigger than the female head. However, MRI demonstrates that in the frontal and parietal lobes the female brain has more folds; it is more convoluted and thus has a larger surface area. Neural and synaptic density is a function of surface area, not volume, and so the female brain has greater cortical complexity.

No area of the male brain is more complex than the female brain. MRI studies of adolescent brains have shown different sizes and maturation rates, with larger volumes found in the male cerebellum, putamen, and globus pallidus and a larger caudate nucleus found in the female. The corpus callosum in very early studies was said to have a greater surface area in the male brain; however, a 1982 study reported thicker fibers in the corpus callosum in female brains. MRI studies have found no differences in this structure in male and female brains. In the hypothalamus the preoptic area (POA), which is known to be involved in mating behavior in animals, is twice the size in the male and has twice as many cells. Functional imaging has demonstrated some different patterns of use of the parts of the brain.

Some research in brain and nervous-system function has involved the structures involved with sexual reproduction. The technical term for the differences between the two genders in the service of sexual reproduction is *sexual dimorphism*. Sexually dimorphic structures have been found in all parts of the neuraxis. Two that have been studied extensively are the sexually dimorphic nucleus, the spinal nucleus of the bulbocavernosus muscle (SNB), and the sexually dimorphic nucleus of the preoptic area (SDN-POA). The peripheral SNB clearly influences sexual behavior. The SDN-POA has confused investigators because although the destruction of the entire POA impairs reproductive behavior, little effect results from selectively lesioning its SDN.

BEHAVIORAL AND COGNITIVE STUDIES

Studies in sex differences in human behavior have focused on social behaviors in children, especially play behavior; social behavior in adults, especially aggression and child rearing; cognitive abilities; and sexual behavior. The studies most pertinent to gender issues and the brain are those of juvenile play behavior, cognitive function, and sexual behavior.

Studies of juvenile play behavior in nonhuman animals show that sex differences can be modified by alterations in prenatal hormones. *Rough-and-tumble* play in males has been linked to prenatal or perinatal testosterone. The administration of androgens in female species such as the rat prenatally and/or postnatally results in more play fighting in juveniles. Early castration in the first week of life *feminizes* this behavior in male rats; later castration does not. In the brain the amygdala has been associated with this sexually differentiated play behavior. In primates only manipulations in the prenatal period can *masculinize* play behavior. In humans studies have reported boys displaying a higher level of play activity with more rough-and-tumble, as well as a preference for male playmates and transportation and construction toys versus dolls, kitchen supplies, and crayons. Such findings appear in many cultures. An *experiment of nature* involving females born with congenital adrenal hyperplasia has revealed similar changes, which often are referred to as *tomboyism*. In both animal experiments and human observations, psychosocial variables that include but are not limited to maternal care, expectations, and general environmental variables are acknowledged as influencing all the sex differences that have been reported.

In terms of cognitive function, although claims have been made in both directions, the question of which sex is more intelligent appears to have been declared a draw. There are, however, particular areas of cognition, thinking, and problem solving that garner much attention. Women most often are reported to perform better in tests of verbal abilities, especially verbal fluency, speech production, language decoding, and spelling; perceptual speed and accuracy; and fine-motor skills. Men do better on tests of spatial abilities, quantitative abilities, and motor strength. Virtually every study, regardless of its bias, includes some form of the same disclaimer, which is stated and then ignored: (1) the range of differences within each sex was usually larger than the average difference between the sexes; (2) sex differences are most marked at the extreme end of the range of ability, such as the most skilled; (3) differences often are found only at specific ages; and (4) the results may be affected by the measurement technique, such as multiple-choice questions, fill-in-the-blank prompts, or essay responses. Studies using meta-analysis have led many researchers to conclude that there are no significant differences between men and women in cognition; others report confirmation of some of the classically reported trends.

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Sexual behavior is one area where concrete findings would be expected and have been reported consistently. Although the fact is often forgotten, sex is not about reproduction but is the process by which DNA from two different members of the same species is exchanged and/or combined for purposes of repair and/or to achieve genetic variation. Sexual recombination of DNA involves differentiation into two genders: male and female. In fusion sex (as opposed to conjunction sex), in which two gametes fuse (as in humans), the female brings to the union nuclear DNA and cytoplasmic organelles such as mitochondria that contain DNA, and the male delivers only nuclear DNA.

All living things have sex, from viruses to multicellular eukaryotes, including humans. In humans but not in all species, sex and reproduction are obligatorily linked. Although the behavior necessary for procreation often is called *having sex*, technically, only the gametes have sex. Fusion takes place after the gametes have been released and the two bodies that produced them have separated. The body serves at the pleasure of the gametes, which are directed by genes. The genes live on, and the body dies. However, it is the body, directed by the brain, that performs the behaviors that allow sex to occur. Those behaviors are modified in each body (partner, gender) so that the bodies can find each other, join, release their gametes, and separate.

PET scans in human males and females have shed light on female orgasm. There is no convincing evidence of an evolutionary purpose for female orgasm. Evidence that shows the difficulty women have in achieving orgasm, especially during intercourse, has been replicated sufficiently to have strong credibility. The role of the clitoris, the homologue of the penis, became muddled by fruitless debates about the supremacy of vaginal versus clitoral orgasm dating back to Viennese psychiatrist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939); this line of argument continued long after data on vaginal insensitivity made it moot. Personal reporting and indirect psychophysiological recording have had to suffice as evidence of the occurrence of orgasm in human females.

However, G. Holstege et al. were successful in performing PET scans in both men and women during orgasm. It has been known for some time that orgasm is closely associated with a series of perineal-pelvic contractions. Holstege reported, "These results demonstrate that, similar to ejaculation and orgasm in men, during female orgasm activation occurs primarily in subcortical parts of the brain. The meso-diencephalic junction comprises the reward-related ventral tegmental area, which might produce the pleasure aspect of orgasm. The finding of involvement of the PAG [periaqueductal gray matter] is interesting, because this area has been shown to play a role in female cat, rat, and hamster sexual behavior. Faking an orgasm only activated parts of the voluntary motor system" (Holstege 2003).

Typical of media fascination with sex differences, this historical identification of a central marker localizing "orgasm in the lower brain stem" was ignored, and attention was concentrated on less dramatic, subtle cortical events as it was announced that women fall into a *trance* during orgasm.

REDUCTIONISM AND APPROPRIATENESS

Studies have demonstrated that differences in learning, cognition, and success in school can be influenced by simple things. For example, it has been shown that there are innate differences in the ways girls and boys see and hear. In his article titled "Six Degrees of Separation: What Teachers Need to Know about the Emerging Science of Sex Differences" (2006) Leonard Sax maintained that *six degrees of separation* between the sexes in ambient temperature produces dramatic effects, leading him to suggest more attention to same-sex schooling.

In regard to understanding gender and its multivariate influences, Money's work let the genie out of the bottle. Haig stated, "Although Money explicitly adopted an interactionist position . . . his work was implicitly read as lying at the nurture-end of the spectrum" (Haig 2004, p. 93). Although biologists, psychologists, and social scientists all *know* that the formation and expression of gender point toward the inadequacy of the term *multivariate*, they often yield to the temptation to bolster their viewpoint, discipline, or prejudice by blurring the boundaries of nature and nuture.

Societies have been rigid in their maintenance of *appropriateness* in regard to issues of sex and gender. For some—the transgendered/transsexuals—this has produced a conundrum that can be resolved only by what many consider mutilating solutions. Others—intersexuals—often have had to have Solomon-like decisions made for them concerning what has been felt to be corrective surgery. Others, whose sexual preferences come into conflict with an unaccepting world, seek legal solutions to establish their rights. At times the battle seems endless between visions that coalesce into opposing factions: the tyranny of the dichotomous versus the anarchy of the androgynous.

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Benjamin Graber

BRANTÔME
1540–1614

The son of a nobleman from Perigord, Brantôme spent his youth at the royal court. Educated first at the College of France in Paris and later at the University of Poitiers, he resumed life at the court sometime around 1556. The next year he was granted the Abbey of Brantôme and assumed the title of abbot despite his interest in pursuing a military career. A riding accident in 1584, coupled with a break with Henry III in 1582, isolated him from the court but left him the time to begin writing his memoirs of the Valois kings.

Brantôme's reputation as a memoirist rests primarily on three works: the *Vies des grands capitaines* [Lives of great captains] and two volumes treating women, *Les dames illustres* [Lives of illustrious ladies] and *Les dames galantes* [Lives of gallant ladies]. The *Grands capitaines* focus primarily on an idealized version of the courts of Francis I and Henry II, and the *Dames illustres* paints a similar portrait of the women at those courts. The *Dames galantes*, a blend of gossip, rumors, and well-known stories, depicts an erotic counterpoint of the court, often reporting on the same figures. The manuscript versions left by Brantôme were published posthumously in 1665–1666.

Brantôme's *Dames galantes* can be viewed as an encyclopedia of scandal. The focus of the text is *galanterie*, the amorous and sexual adventures of the members of the French court. In essence Brantôme equates sex and court life. Although it is clear that the veracity of much of his account cannot be verified, he raises questions about and offers models for gender relations and sexuality in mid-sixteenth-century France.

Divided into "discourses," each with multiple anecdotes, the *Dames galantes* treats a wide range of themes. The first discourse, titled "On Women Who Make Love and Cuckold Their Husbands," examines extramarital relations. The discussion includes a lengthy subsection on female homoerotic relations. Brantôme combines references to classical antiquity, such as Martial and Lucian, with gossip about women at the French and other courts as well as examples from exotic countries such as Turkey.

Brantôme specifically refers to Sappho, and in that section the first concrete use of the term *lesbian* to designate women who engage in same-sex relations appears. There is a notable tension in Brantôme's attitudes toward those "lesbians." On the one hand the significance of such relationships is downplayed somewhat; indeed, Brantôme emphasizes their utility as preludes to heterosexual sexual relationships while maintaining a woman's chastity. On the other hand he mentions some women who maintain long-term relationships. The sexual ambiguity of such women proves more troubling. A marked anxiety in his discussion of women who use prosthetic devices in sex acts is played out in his cautions about the risk of debilitating illness or even death for those women. Nonetheless, Brantôme concludes that erotic relations between women do not constitute cuckoldry, reinforcing a gender system aligned with biological sex. The only true sexual relations are heterosexual ones.

The discourses range from topics such as "On Married Women, Widows and Girls, as to Which Are Warmer in Love Than the Others" to "On One Must Never Speak Ill of Woman and the Consequences of So-Doing." Despite Brantôme's apparent affection for women and the request "Ladies … excuse me if I have offended you," his overarching position in the *Dames galantes* reinforces gender stereotypes.

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Holly E. Ransom

BUDDHISM

Buddhism began in what is now northern India with the life of its founder, Siddhārtha Gautama of the Śākya tribe (c. 563–483 BCE), simply referred to as the Buddha (a title meaning "the enlightened one"). Traditional accounts say he was born the son of a king. At the time of his birth a holy man predicted that he would either rule the world or renounce it. In order to ensure his glorious future as a great king, the Buddha's father brought him up in luxury and prevented him from seeing anything unpleasant. When he was about twenty-nine years old, however, the Buddha traveled outside the palace grounds and was radically changed by four visions created by the gods: He saw a sick man, an old man, a dead man, and a wandering male ascetic, four aspects of human experience that his father had prevented him from seeing. The ascetic represented the solution of the existential problem of suffering posed by the first three visions. He would become an ascetic and seek a way to liberate himself from the repetitive cycle of birth, death, and rebirth that is inevitably attended by sickness and aging. He abandoned worldly life and sought enlightenment, a profound shift of consciousness that frees one from the worldly desires that lead to continual reincarnations. This story is told in all the major biographies of the Buddha along with the other main events of his life: his miraculous conception and birth, life in his father's palace, his years of ascetic practices, and, after great effort, his enlightenment. A pivotal event is the Buddha's departure from home, when he abandons not only his wife but also the many women of his harem. This is a popular textual and iconographic scene that represents women both as sexual temptresses and as physically disgusting when the Buddha sees them asleep, lying in awkward positions, drooling and snoring.

For six years after leaving home the Buddha practiced such severe forms of asceticism that he was near death. His dead mother, Queen Māyā, descended from heaven to remind him of his spiritual destiny, and at her prompting the Buddha decided on a more moderate path, the "middle path," between the severe asceticism he had been practicing and the worldly life of pleasure he had led as a prince. To this end, he accepted the food offered to him by a young village woman named Sujātā. His five male followers, who later became the first monks, doubted that he would now achieve enlightenment, and abandoned him to food and females. Left alone, the Buddha continued his process of reconciliation with females from all realms of existence—human (living and dead), divine, and animal; not only was he refreshed and strengthened by this process, he also reintegrated positive experiences of women and female forces and reversed his earlier rejection of them. Then, and only then, was he ready to move toward the Bodhi tree under which he battled the demon Māra, a battle that turned in his favor only when he met Māra's challenge to find a witness for his merit by calling on the Earth herself, which he did by extending his right hand downward. Iconographically this is one of the most popular Buddha images, called the *bhūmisparśa*, the earth-touching pose. This is the main icon of the Buddha's supreme achievement, enlightenment, and by the gesture of his right hand it signals the necessary female component of that achievement. Historically, however, the Buddhist community has only intermittently lived up to the equalitarian possibilities of this vision.

EARLY BUDDHISM

Most information about the early Buddhist community comes from canonical sources, for instance, the Pali Canon, a multivolume collection of sermons, rules, folklore, philosophical discourses, and poems. The Pali Canon was compiled and edited by Theravāda monks in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) beginning around the first century BCE from much earlier oral sources, although additional material continued to be added until at least the fifth century CE. A significant part of this literature is the shared canon of all Buddhists, although compilers of the Mahāyāna and Tantric canons made additions. In general, at least two basic points need to be made about this literature. First, comparisons of the same events described in different canons show gendered disjunctions that are suggestive of conflicting views about women. For example, in the Pali canon women are absent from the Buddha's funeral, whereas in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (completed about the third century CE) women held the processional canopy over the Buddha's bier, which was carried by the men. Second, as with most of the world's religious texts, the Buddhist canons have been compiled and written by men and have a misogynist edge. Thus, the existence of any information at all on early Buddhist women is strong evidence for the persistence of a powerful female presence and suggests that much more material has been lost. In spite of the foregoing, the canons reveal what Buddhists have believed about women for centuries and provide authority both for women seeking to reform sexist tendencies in Buddhism and those who oppose such reforms. The information provided by these texts gets slippery, however, as they move with an easy fluidity between myth and real life, blurring any distinction between the two, and therefore they must be grounded in the archaeological, epigraphic, and iconographic evidence that documents women's participation, especially as donors (Findly 2003, Schopen 1997).

After his enlightenment the Buddha established a religious community that practiced his ideas, and he continued to preach and shape this community until his death at age eighty, forty-five years later. Its center was composed of the nuns and monks who renounced worldly life. hey were celibate, ate only one meal per day, begged for their food from the laity, and spent most of the year wandering from place to place in order not to become attached to one spot. This path is a model for a moderate life that emphasizes meditation as a way to change one's conscious perception of the world in order to reach enlightenment in this life. Included in this community were the lay supporters who gained merit by giving to the monastics, which helped the former to be reborn in a position deemed more favorable to spiritual progress. The lay supporters adopted five precepts: no taking of any life (animal or human), no stealing, no illicit sex, no lying, and no intoxicating substances. In the early twenty-first century, the Buddhist community retains this general outline with the exception that monasteries were later established as permanent communities and the goal of enlightenment was eventually seen as less attainable in one lifetime. Of interest with regard to stationary versus wandering nuns and monks is a third group, solitary forest-dwellers. Among Buddhists there was and remains an enduring conflict between the ideal of the solitary forest monastic, who may attract a few disciples, and that of monastics settled in monasteries in or near towns who offer time-consuming services to the laity such as being educators and performing rituals. It is widely believed that certain charismatic forest-dwellers achieve greater states of wisdom and power than their city-dwelling brethren. Traditionally, the forest has been a place of greater religious freedom, whereas large monasteries tend to routinize practice and absorb the energies of its members in the numerous activities involved in running a large institution. Significantly, the spiritual abilities of women were more accepted among forest-dwelling renunciants than among those settled in monasteries (Ray 1994).

The Buddha's first female disciple was his stepmother and aunt (his mother's sister), Mahāprajāpatī. She is an important figure in early Buddhism because she became the first Buddhist nun and maintained a lifelong relationship with the Buddha. Although the textual record of her ordination is highly problematic, many scholars accept as historical fact the story that the Buddha was initially reluctant to ordain her and that he created eight additional rules for nuns. Actually this story is quite possibly a later interpolation and/or just a dramatic device (Sponberg 1992, Walters 1994, Young 1994). It is descriptive of existing conditions, the subordination of the nuns to the monks, rather than a prescription by the Buddha that this is the way it should be. Of note, however, is the propagation of this story as fact throughout the Buddhist world and the eventual decline of the nuns' ordination lineage. This whole scenario is perhaps best viewed in light of the routinization of charisma whereby followers eventually retract the innovations of charismatic leaders—in the case of the Buddha, the prominent role of women. Additionally, the legend of the first ordination of women needs to be understood within the context of contemporaneous activities of other ascetic women, such as the Jain order of nuns and their rather different history (Young 2004). Significantly, through this first ordination the Buddha affirmed women's ability to achieve enlightenment, and Mahāprajāpatī's own biography is a testament to that ability (Walters 1994) as are the nuns' poems in the *Therīgāthā*. The main goal is enlightenment, and here women are equal to men, though this was and remains a highly contested issue (Young 2004).

The Buddha's wife, or wives (depending on the tradition), also deserves careful attention, not necessarily for what may have been her actual relationship to the Buddha, but for what various traditions have done with her as a symbol of womanhood (Shaw 1994, Strong 1997, Young 2004, Zelliot 1992). She is also a particularly intriguing figure in the *jātakas*, the past life stories of the Buddha, most of which he shared with her.

Buddhist Monks. *A group of young Buddhist monks standing in line after a flower offering.* AP IMAGES.

In early Buddhism the maleness of the Buddha took on an exaggerated importance that culminated in enduring debates as to whether women are capable of achieving enlightenment or if they must first reincarnate as men. Such a view is not limited to Buddhists; it was part of a pan-Indian view in which male superiority most often looked to female inferiority for validation. In fact, it is all too familiar in the religions of the world as well as in other cultural constructs. Buddha's maleness, which belonged to his historical identity, was misinterpreted as essential to his salvational role. Thus, existing male social privileges were confirmed, in part because male privileges went beyond what was socially permissible for women, and in part because the greater physical accuracy of men's resemblance to the Buddha led to an identification with the Buddha that was physically impossible for women.

Yet the Buddha's life is a redefinition of masculinity, one that introduces new masculine values and reinterprets some old ones, such as the heroic masculine ideals of his early life that were based on his royal status. He chose instead to build on the Indian ideal of the virile ascetic whose sexual abstinence is the source of his power. Indian stories abound with examples of ascetics who by withholding their semen gained tremendous power and even threatened the gods. Though there were stories about female ascetics, and even though many of the early Buddhist nuns are said to have achieved enlightenment, the belief arose that men alone are capable of fully representing and/or achieving what the Buddha did. The power to expound and enact this ideology resided within a male, monastic hierarchy that questioned women's access to ordination, gave official voice and visibility primarily to men, controlled the texts of the tradition, and finally, so completely marginalized women's monastic participation that the ordination of nuns completely ceased throughout South and Southeast Asia.

In early-twenty-first-century Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia there are communities of Buddhist women referred to as eight- or ten-precept nuns. These are women who take the precepts of an ordained monk without an ordination ceremony. They dress all in white, as opposed to the yellow/orange robes of the monks, and most often act as servants to the monks, though some choose to live independently and pursue good works and meditation (Bartholomeusz 1994). The ordination ceremony for nuns did survive in East Asia, where there are flourishing communities of fully ordained nuns.

TYPES OF BUDDHISM

Innovations in doctrine occurred slowly over the centuries, with various schools distinguishing themselves, most of which eventually disappeared. This early period of Buddhism is best described as Nikāya or Sectarian Buddhism. By around the first century BCE two distinct schools of Buddhism had been established. The first is Theravāda, the only surviving school of the early period, which spread south from northern India into Sri Lanka and eventually east to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos. Its ideal type is the arhat, a nun or monk who has achieved enlightenment. The other school is Mahāyāna, which grew out of various sectarian groups, taking shape as a separate school of Buddhism in northern India around the first century BCE; it is the form of Buddhism that spread north to Tibet and east to China, Korea, and Japan. This school understands itself to contain the esoteric doctrine of the Buddha—his nonpublic teachings—and its religious ideal is the bodhisattva, an enlightened being of infinite compassion who postpones final personal enlightenment in order to continue to reincarnate and help all other beings to achieve enlightenment. Bodhisattvas can be human or divine, female or male, thus leaving the path of spiritual accomplishment open to women, though they often met with the usual difficulties of sexist societies and religious hierarchies.

Human bodhisattvas strive to perfect themselves through giving, developing patience, making an effort in whatever they do, practicing meditation, and developing their wisdom. Celestial bodhisattvas are divine beings who can be supplicated by human beings. One of the best known and most complex is Avalokiteśvara, the great protector from all manner of physical danger. In the process of *his* dissemination throughout Asia he was transformed into a female deity known as Kuan Yin in China and Kannon in Japan, and was referred to as the Goddess of Mercy. In Tibet he remained male but is associated with Tārā, a female celestial bodhisattava well known for her compassion and her ability to protect those who appeal to her.

Mahāyāna emphasizes contemplation, visualization, and, most importantly, recitations of the name of particular *male* celestial buddhas such as Amitābha. This had great appeal to a laity who, for various reasons, could not or would not become monks or nuns. Celestial buddhas are believed to have achieved enlightenment many eons ago, long before the time of Gautama Buddha. They, too, were originally human bodhisattvas who, when they made their vow to become a buddha, described the Pure Land they would create. A Pure Land is a celestial realm that has been purified by the presence and teachings of a buddha, in contrast to impure lands that lack a buddha and his teachings.

The Pure Land of Amitābha Buddha, called Sukhāvatī, is the Pure Land encountered most often in literature and art. It is depicted as a sweet-smelling and beautiful garden with lotus ponds and trees made of precious jewels, where all the needs of its inhabitants are satisfied. Rebirth here can be achieved by a combination of good deeds and repeating, in some cases just hearing, the name of Amitābha Buddha. Rebirth in this paradise is one's final incarnation, as it is inevitable that buddhahood will be achieved here, but only males are born in Sukhāvatī. Reincarnating beings gestate and are born from lotuses, thereby circumventing the need for wombs. Pure Land Buddhism became an extremely popular and widespread form of worship throughout Asia.

VAJRAYĀNA BUDDHISM

A third school of Buddhism, variously called Esoteric Buddhism, Vajrayāna, and/or Tantra began sometime around the fourth century CE. This movement had its roots in the popular religions of northern India that contained many magical and shamanistic features as well as in the worship of goddesses such as Tārā and Vajrayoginī and spread throughout the Buddhist world. It stresses enlightenment in one lifetime in contradistinction to the idea of gradual enlightenment over several lifetimes, which had developed in some sects of Mahāyāna and Theravāda, and it emphasizes individual visionary experiences. Its ideal type is the *siddha*, who could be women or men, but most often the tradition is described from the male point of view.

Eventually, Tantra was institutionalized into mainstream Buddhist practice, though the more unruly *siddha* tradition continued to flourish among individual wandering yogis. Tantric practices involve ritually ingesting forbidden substances, such as wine and meat, and engaging in sexual intercourse. Generally, Tantric monks maintained their vows of celibacy by resorting to visualization in Tantric rituals, although many famous, nonmonastic Buddhist saints did the actual practice.

Tantra spread throughout South, Southeast, Central, and East Asia and survives in the early twenty-first century among Buddhists in the Himalayan countries of Tibet, Nepal, and Bhutan; in Japan in the Shingon and Tendai schools of Buddhism; and among exiled Tibetans everywhere. Not all Vajrayāna Buddhists participate in its esoteric rituals. Laypeople and many monks and nuns are content with less complicated practices such as circumambulating sacred structures, going on pilgrimage, chanting, and performing meritorious acts.

Women, both lay and monastic, were instrumental in spreading all three schools of Buddhism as missionaries (Bode 1893, Findly 2003), teachers, practitioners, and donors. Because of the historical importance of royal support in the spread and maintenance of Buddhism, the contributions of royal women were tremendously important. Most of this support, however, was directed toward monks, not nuns. This hinges on the concept of merit (Skt.: *puṇya;* Pali: *panna*), the idea that donations whether monetary or through actions and prayers create merit that will lead to better future lives in Buddhist heavens or other circumstances that will be conducive to achieving enlightenment. In practice merit is usually dedicated to the good of all sentient beings or to the donor's parents, but the donor also receives spiritual benefits. At issue is the belief that monks make a better, more productive, field of merit than nuns, from which inevitably followed, and continues to follow, the wealth of male establishments and the poverty of nuns. Despite such views about the qualities of actual women, important Buddhist values were often conceived in feminine terms such as compassion (*karuṇā*) and wisdom (*prajñā*).

MODERN BUDDHISM IN ASIA

Buddhism was very successful in adapting itself to many diverse cultures, in part because rather than opposing indigenous religious practices, it incorporated them. Modern Buddhism in Asia begins around the sixteenth century with the shock of European colonialism and the consequent rise of nationalism. In Cambodia and Laos the Communist takeovers of the governments were disastrous for Buddhism, especially in Cambodia where tens of thousands of monks were executed and innumerable monasteries destroyed. In the early twenty-first century, Buddhism is slowly recovering in these countries.

In China the rise of the Communist regime in 1949 led to the confiscation of Buddhist properties and forced many nuns and monks to return to lay life. When, in 1950, the Chinese took over Tibet, monks and nuns were imprisoned, tortured, and humiliated for years. In early-twenty-first-century Tibet many of the monasteries have been rebuilt, though some are more like tourist shops than monasteries. The Chinese authorities carefully monitor the monasteries and nunneries, which they continue to view with suspicion because nuns and monks are still active in seeking Tibetan independence. In India there are approximately 100,000 Tibetan refugees, who have rebuilt their monastic institutions there and have established a government-in-exile under the Dalai Lama.

In 1868 the Japanese emperor was restored to power, and this government was initially quite hostile to Buddhism. It took over a great deal of Buddhist property and changed the face of Japanese Buddhism in two important ways. First, it issued a decree that all Buddhist monks should be allowed to marry, with the end result that there are few celibate monks, although nuns have maintained their vows of celibacy. The second change developed in relation to the government's expansionistic and militaristic policy. A new generation of Buddhist scholars redefined Buddhism in relation to Japanese nationalism and Western rationalism and science.

When Japan annexed Korea in 1910 as part of its program of military expansion it changed Korean Buddhism in order to have Japanese Zen be dominant. They also wanted Buddhist monks to renounce their vows of celibacy and to marry. This led some Korean monks to oppose the Japanese, but many did get married. The legacy of this is a divided Buddhist monastic community. After the Japanese left in 1945 those monks who remained celibate demanded that the monks who had married be thrown out of their monasteries and out of the order. Subsequently, the married priests formed their own order.

In the early twenty-first century, Asian Buddhists are deeply involved with social and political issues along with meditation practices and the search for enlightenment. Monks and nuns were involved in opposing the Vietnam War, and in Thailand, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam they are actively participating in social welfare and education programs. Additionally, throughout South and Southeast Asia nuns are striving to raise their status as monastics.

Throughout Asia there is a remarkable acceptance of Western converts, who are welcomed at pilgrimage sites and accepted as disciples. For approximately 2,500 years Buddhism has been a religion that seeks converts of any race or faith. Its enduring success can be seen in the West today, where Buddhist centers have been established by Asian immigrants and by Western converts. Gender can be a hot topic among Western converts who are not comfortable with traditional Asian views of women's place, though some female converts feel feminism conflicts with their spiritual goals (Klein 1995). Other Westerners have embraced what is termed Engaged Buddhism—active involvement with the political and social needs of the larger community such as advocating for world peace and assisting the disadvantaged. Buddhism in the West is a complex of 2,500 years of practices and beliefs as preserved and modified by many different Asian cultures.

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Serinity Young

BUGGER, BUGGERY

For centuries the colloquial terms *bugger* and *buggery* have referred to homosexuals and homosexual activity, particularly anal intercourse. The term appears to have entered Western European usage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in connection with various dualist heresies that had started in Bulgaria. Thus bugger, or the Old French *bougre*, may have evolved from Bulgar or, alternatively, from Bogomil, a heresy that developed in Bulgaria in the early tenth century. The Bogomils were dualists who believed that God had two offspring: Satan and Christ. Their beliefs can be linked back to the Manichean sects of late antiquity. By the mid-twelfth century, there were multiple heretical sects, similar to the dualist Bogomils, in Latin Europe, including the Albigensians and the Cathars. Christians, especially the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, related these heresies to sexual improprieties, especially sodomy. As early as the mid-eleventh century, in the *Liber Gomorrhianus* (*Book of Gomorrah*), Peter Damian had linked homosexual acts with heresy and the work of the devil. This conjunction ultimately extended to witchcraft and became increasingly prevalent throughout the Middle Ages and into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The connection between heresy and sex resulted in homosexual acts, especially anal penetration, being characterized as buggery. Church leaders, in particular, tried to slander the ascetic practices of heretical leaders. The Cathar *perfecti*, who were reputed to abstain from meat and marriage, were accused of practicing sodomy within their group, even though they abstained from sex with women. Thus the heretics, the *bougres*, were also sodomites. Variations of the words buggery and bugger, indicating anal intercourse and those who practice it, occur in romance languages, for example, *buggerone* in Italian and *bugarón* in Spanish. The Germanic languages contain the same conceptual relationships, for example, the German term for heretic, *Ketzer*, can also refer to sodomites.

Much of the rhetoric that linked heresy and sodomy was formal and formulaic. There is very little evidence to support the conclusion that heretics practiced sodomy or that men prosecuted for sodomy also held heretical beliefs. One example, however, is found in the inquisitorial registers of Bishop Jacques Fournier. In the 1320s, Fournier investigated the survival of Catharism in the area around Montaillou in southern France. One of the accused, Arnold of Verniolle, revealed that he had engaged in multiple sexual relationships with young men and boys. Arnold, however, carefully described acts of interfemoral rubbing and masturbation as opposed to anal penetration. Perhaps this explains why he was sentenced to life in prison rather than executed.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Defined.*

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Jacqueline Murray

BULIMIA

SEE *Eating Disorders.*

BULLDAGGER

Bulldagger is pejorative slang for a very masculine lesbian, which often carries a more racialized meaning than its synonyms *bulldyke*, *bulldiker*, and *diesel dyke*. Bulldaggers are associated with physical strength, sexual prowess, emotional reserve, and butch chivalry. The term has roots in African-American communities of the early twentieth century, especially with 1920s Harlem where sexual and gender mores were more flexible. As a queer butch gender, bulldagger is distinguished from lesbian androgyny or femme and, in lesbian-feminist reclamation of the term, helps to enrich what has been a white-washed lesbian history beginning with the figure of Sappho (c. 625–570 BCE) (Bogus 1994).

As Eric Garber argues in "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," American 1920s blues culture "accepted sexuality, including homosexual behavior and identities, as a natural part of life"(1989, p. 320). Songs such as "Sissy Man Blues" and "B.D. [bulldike or bulldagger] Women Blues" dealt explicitly with the gender-bending types who populated this world. Harlem's most famous bulldagger, openly gay jazz singer Gladys Bentley, performed in tuxedos, dated glamorous women, and infused jazz standards with her own lesbian sizzle.

Despite tolerant recognition in 1920s Harlem, bulldagger became an increasingly homophobic and racist expression used to disparage empowered, butch, or openly lesbian African-American women. Thus, the bulldagger exists as a symbol of strength and ridicule in the black lesbian tradition. Scholar, poet, and essayist SDiane A. Bogus explains, "The Black Bulldagger is a link to our ancient and recent Black woman-loving past, and the predecessor of today's Black lesbian. She is a character, an idea, a woman who loved women but was heavily male-identified more often than not. She was the unattractive girl, the tomboyish teen, the independent woman, or any Black sister who repulsed the advances of men" (1994, pp. 30–32). In this sense, the bulldagger of the African-American cultural imagination exposes the intersectionality (the overlap of race, class, sexuality, and gender) inherent in the category of lesbian and offers a past and precedent for lesbians of color. Chicana cultural theorist Gloria Anzaldúa's mythic "La historia de una marimacha" (1993), which was translated into English as "A Bulldagger's Tale," attests to a comparable overlap of racialized butchness and lesbianism in a Latina context.

The linguistic origins of bulldagger, as with the lesbian monikers dyke and the earlier bulldike, are uncertain. Linguist Susan A. Krantz (1995) has theorized that bulldike (with dike a variant of dick, and 1920s American slang bull for *untruthful talk*) could be equated with *false penis*, a meaning that extends to bulldagger, given the dagger's analogous relation to the male sexual organ. From a more lesbian–feminist perspective, writer and poet Judy Grahn (1984) connects the words bulldike and bulldagger with Queen Boadicea (later, Grahn claims, pronounced "Boo-uh-dike-ay"), who led a successful Celtic uprising against Roman colonizers in 61 CE and was a priestess associated with bull sacrifices.

Audre Lorde's *Zami*, *A New Spelling of My Name* (1982) and Leslie Feinberg's *Stone Butch Blues* (1993) are autobiographies that grapple with the term bulldagger in race- and class-conscious historical contexts.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme; Dyke; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview.*

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Emma Crandall

BUNDLING

Bundling (or "tarrying") comprises a number of socially condoned courtship practices primarily documented among northern and northeastern European Christian communities as well as among homogeneous, non-urban Christian communities in the United States. The practice is documentable from the late Middle Ages until its dwindling in the nineteenth century, with some anecdotal evidence of its continued existence into the early twentieth century. The practices of bundling revolve around a young, unmarried man sleeping, fully clothed, in the same bed as a young, unmarried woman. These non-urban communities are usually small in scale and primarily practice agriculture. Communities practicing bundling were close-knit, in that the young men and woman knew each other, as did their respective families.

Details of this practice vary from whether the woman wore clothes or a night dress, was sewn into a sack (bundling sack), lay under the covers and the male above the covers, both lay under the covers or both were on top, whether there was a board placed between them (bundling board), whether the couple was sleeping in the same room or same building as the guardians or in a separate building, whether there was a candle in a particular window, and whether the door or the window must be rapped upon in a particular way. The young man and woman were not normally joined by other young men and women. This practice contrasts with the practice of inviting all the young people of the community to a festival which included sleeping in the same barn or outbuilding.

Bundling was performed with the full knowledge and assent of families and the community. Many reasons are given for this practice: finding compatible marriage partners, permitting courtship while not wasting firewood and candles, and communal recognition of sex without penetration among the young in courting. Another reason given in the United States is that distances between homesteads on the frontier required a young man to spend the night when courting a woman.

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BURCHARD OF WORMS

965–1025

Burchard of Worms, born to a wealthy Hessian family, was bishop of the diocese of Worms (south of Frankfurt) from 1000 until his death. He is mainly remembered for his *Decretum*, an encyclopedic collection of Church canons or regulations, which he and his assistants completed by 1023.

For most of the Middle Ages the regulation of marriage and all other forms of sexual behavior fell predominantly to the Church. As the most comprehensive and systematic compilation of Church canons up to that time, Burchard's *Decretum* constitutes a valuable, authoritative resource for attitudes toward sexuality in the early Middle Ages (that is, the period from the sixth century to the eleventh). Textual evidence suggests that Burchard's work continued to be consulted until the end of the Middle Ages. Two sixteenth-century print versions remain extant, and Book 19, a self-contained penitential manual known as the *Corrector*, served as a source for the *Milan Penitential*, compiled after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) by one of the leading architects of the Counter-Reformation, Cardinal Saint Charles Borromeo (1538–1584). Thus Burchard's *Decretum* also provides important evidence for continuities between early-medieval sexual beliefs and those that existed from the later Middle Ages into early modernity.

THE *DECRETUM*: CONTENT AND INFLUENCE ON CANONICAL LAW

Modern scholars have generally viewed Burchard's *Decretum* as part of the prehistory of the discipline of canon law, which begins with the appearance of canon lawyer Gratian's *Decretum* in 1140. However, the work itself explicitly orients itself toward penance. In his preface Burchard explains that he has compiled the work to aid priests in their administration of penance, and penitential concerns are as prominent throughout the work as juridical or ecclesiological issues. Indeed, even at its most juridical, canon law typically retains some penitential cast, and as canon law grew more systematic in the later Middle Ages, and ecclesiological courts grew more purely juridical in outlook and procedure, precepts that had begun as penitential doctrine became regularized and routinized. Burchard's *Decretum* consists of twenty books. Nine concern Church orders, the nature and sources of Church authority, Last Things (death, judgment, heaven, and hell) and the sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, and the Anointing of the Sick. One book deals with magic. Burchard returns to this topic later, and, concentrating on female magic, is concerned both with proscribing a variety of folk rituals associated with women and denying their efficacy. Four books deal with criminal offenses and legal procedures and punishments, in particular excommunication. The remaining six books are all entirely penitential and most of them concern sexual behavior, marriage, and marital status. Book VII adumbrates the basic framework of the extensive incest prohibitions advocated by the early medieval Church—intermarriage forbidden up to the seventh degree of relatedness. Books VIII and IX discuss forms of celibacy, those in clerical orders and for virgins and widows; Book XVII deals with all forms of fornication.

Book XIX, or the *Corrector*, covers some of the same ground as the earlier books, though it does so in the form of interrogatories, or lists of questions confessors should ask penitents. Consistent with penitential doctrine on sexuality, the only form of sexual activity that the *Corrector* does not view as sinful is that which takes place within marriage for the sole purpose of reproduction. Nonreproductive sexual acts, such as oral sex, are sinful even between married partners. The same is true of sex when a wife is menstruating or pregnant. Though intercourse from the rear "in the manner of a dog" (*canino more*) is reproductive, it too is sinful, perhaps because of its visual analogy with nonreproductive anal intercourse. Christianity had established the teleology of reproduction in marriage as the sole justification for sex in the Pauline letters, that is, in the earliest texts in the New Testament. The penitential writings of the early Middle Ages distinguish themselves from what came before, and most of what came afterward, mainly in the anatomical specificity and detail with which they apply this teleological, reproductive rationale. In his aspiration to provide an authoritative statement of the entire tradition, Burchard is, if anything, even more explicit than his predecessors.

Burchard's treatment of homosexuality offers perhaps the most striking instance of this tendency. Homosexuality has traditionally been known as the love that dare not speak its name; in more properly Christian terms, as an unspeakable sin. Since the late twentieth century, following French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984), many scholars have viewed sodomy as "an utterly confused category." Nevertheless, the penitential tradition of the early Middle Ages provides a counterexample of some considerable duration, when the category was neither confused nor unspeakable. The *Synod of the Grove of Victory*, written by penitentials in Wales in the mid-sixth century, defines sodomitic fornication as comprising four distinct sexual acts: anal intercourse, interfemoral intercourse, mutual masturbation, and masturbation. This definition remained stable for the next five centuries.

Burchard's discussion in Book XX may well be the most explicit in the entire tradition. His confessor is to ask penitents, "Have you committed fornication as the Sodomites committed it, have you thus inserted your rod (*virgam*) in male backsides and posteriors, and have you thus coupled with them in the Sodomitical custom?" And then, with equal specificity, "Have you committed fornication with yourself, as some do, such that you take your male member in your hand, drawing away your foreskin and rubbing so that through this pleasure semen rushes out of you?" Some thirty years later, a more subdued version of this four-fold definition began Peter Damian's *Book of Gomorrah* (1049), arguably the most important treatment of homosexuality in the entire medieval period, and the text which may have coined the actual term *sodomy* (*sodomia*). Nevertheless, the influence of this definition waned, especially in the period after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), as subsequent penitential tradition sought to limit discussion of the topic and offered more abstract definitions.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality in the Christian Church; Homosexuality, Contemporary: II. History; Sodomy.*

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Larry Scanlon

BURLESQUE

Burlesque, like nearly all of American popular culture, began in the hurly-burly of the Victorian age. Industrialization, the creation of a large working class in opposition to a newly powerful middle class, a new mass culture of consumption, and a system of racial and national hierarchies within an empire created the perfect climate for burlesque, a working-class entertainment in which all rules could be broken for comic effect and profit. Indeed, it was exactly this "slap in the face" aspect of burlesque that made it such an important part of the growing entertainment industry. Burlesque routines rewrote so-called higher art forms, such as opera, as comedy and farce. For instance, one of the most popular burlesque acts in America was Lydia Thomson and the British Blondes, whose 1868 production of the Greek myth Ixion attracted large crowds not because of its classical cachet, but because all the women in the show wore body-revealing costumes.

Thumbing their noses at the pretentiousness of bourgeois culture was surely part of burlesque's appeal, but its real naughtiness, and therefore its real attraction, was how it laughed at the Victorian myth of the ideal woman. The ideal woman was emotional (not rational), engaged in the domestic sphere (not the market), innocent of sexual desires, and lily white. (Women of color were not part of this idealized version of femininity because part of the cultural work of the ideal woman was to show that whites were superior.) Burlesque slapped the ideal woman in the face by allowing white women to strut their desires and their bodies across stages all over North America and Europe. Not only were the actresses scantily clad, but they were also aware of their sexual power in ways that made critics rage and audiences blush. In Victorian America, these vamping women in flesh colored tights could shock and thereby attract huge crowds.

As the Victorian age dissolved into the twentieth century, however, competition from other forms of entertainment, including a burgeoning movie industry, pushed burlesque from a primarily satirical art form to a primarily erotic one. The evolution eventually resulted in what has become known as the striptease. Although no one knows exactly when or how the striptease developed, by the late 1890s, burlesque performers were regularly disrobing on stage. Perhaps stripping began accidentally, when a performer's strap broke, as many sources would have it, or perhaps it began at Chicago's Columbian Exhibition in 1893 when a Syrian belly dancer, Fahreda Mahzar (1849–1902), billed as *Little Egypt*, set off a national craze of *hootchy-kootchy* dancers.

Regardless of how the striptease began, the incorporation of scantily clad women into popular culture owed much to the carnival midway, dime museums, and other displays of curiosities. One of the first such erotic acts was brought to the American public by none other than P. T. Barnum (1810–1891). As early as 1864, Barnum was looking for a woman from the Caucasus to display in his American Museum. Playing on Victorian notions of racial types and purity, Barnum sought the whitest of white women, thought to be from Circassia in the Caucasus (thus the term Caucasian). Because the Caucasus were imagined as the center of white racial purity and were simultaneously next to the Ottoman Empire, Barnum concocted a story of a girl nearly sold into sexual slavery to a Turk, but rescued by white men and brought to New York for his audience's viewing pleasure. As Linda Frost notes, "The unsullied purity of the Circassian Beauty therefore seems in part to represent a Northern anxiety about racial mixing, particularly in regard to the anticipated effects of emancipation" (Frost 2005). The quote might help explain why the hundreds of Circassian beauties who popped up around the country were, in fact, not clearly white given that they always had large, bushy hair; nor were they clearly pure, given that Circassian beauties were also displayed in their undergarments.

The craze for Circassian beauties in the 1860s set the tone for consuming white women as sexual objects while simultaneously reinscribing them as racially and sexually pure. (The beauty had been saved from the beastliness of the Turks who would have sexually enslaved her.) The fact that the Circassian beauties were also clearly gaffs, that is, fakes, who spoke English, but had mysteriously forgotten their native tongue, was part of Barnum's general mode of display. In Barnum's freak shows, it was all completely true unless it was not, and then it was a good joke. This Barnumesque wink and nod was so thoroughly familiar to a Victorian audience, that the humor of burlesque was derived directly from Barnum and the American tradition of displaying bodies for fun and profit.

Thus as the striptease developed into the central component of burlesque, it was always mixed with the comedic, "just in good fun" character of earlier modes of display. By the 1920s and 1930s, burlesque was enjoying its golden age, with comedic starts such as Jackie Gleason (1916–1987), Red Skelton (1913–1997), and (Bud) Abbott (1897–1974) and (Lou) Costello (1906–1959) in addition to striptease legends such as fan dancer Sally Rand (1904–1979) or Gypsy Rose Lee (1914–1970), who paired stripping with highbrow recitation, making it both funny and sexy. However, as with many working-class pleasures, a moral panic developed among middle-class reformers about the supposed dangers of burlesque. In New York City, the center of burlesque, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia (1882–1947) managed to shut down the last of the remaining burlesque theaters by 1937. By then, many performers had moved from burlesque and vaudeville into the film industry. Those who did not make it in Hollywood moved from the theaters of burlesque to the backrooms of strip joints and into the two-dimensional spaces of illicit photograph and film.

Although in the 1970s there were still approximately 7,000 women working as stripteasers, the occupation was considered to be *dirty* and *immoral*, even by the performers themselves. Burlesque as a grand theatrical expression of working-class mockery of bourgeoisie prudishness was dead. As a ghost of its former self, stripping survived at the edges of so-called respectability, refusing to disappear. Yet, stripping could not be incorporated into popular culture the way other pieces of burlesque had been. Then, in the 1990s, just when cable television and satellite dishes made stripping and pornography as everyday as sitcoms, burlesque was reborn. The New Burlesque came out naughtier, more clearly critical of the ruling elites, and funny enough to make nearly everyone laugh. At the same time burlesque was being reborn, so were many of the other earlier forms of mass culture, such as freak shows and circuses. In part, people interested in live theater were interested in saving these dying art forms. In part, a post-feminist, post-politically correct, and highly ironic sensibility allowed people to both perform as freaks and hootchy-kootchy girls and simultaneously make fun of the racism and sexism that created these performances in the first place.

One of the best examples of this New Burlesque and its illegitimate marriage to the New Circus is the Bindlestiff Family Cirkus, a New York City troupe started in 1995 as a hybrid of vaudeville, circus, burlesque, and sideshow. Early Bindlestiff performances included classic burlesque routines, such as plate spinning, but the plates were spun not with fingers, but by attaching the pole to a dildo, inserting the dildo into the vagina of Ring Mistress Philomena (Stephanie Murano), and by the contraction of Philomena's kegel muscles. Other New Burlesque performers started showing up for regular Friday night performances at the Coney Island Sideshow, a traditional ten-in-one freak show started in 1983. Coney Island Friday night burlesque also included old burlesque routines, such as Dirty (Linda) Martini's fan dance, and bathing the dancers in red wine at the end and serving it to the audience after their bodies had been washed in it, a homage to an early twentieth-century Coney Island performer named Tirza.

These acts were not necessarily for the audience's unadulterated pleasure. Often New Burlesque was just as interested in invoking disgust as it was desire. For instance, Bambi, the Corn Star, would come out dressed like a chicken (itself a homage to Tod Browning's [1880–1962] classic 1932 horror film *Freaks*), squat, lay a hard-boiled egg out of her vagina, peel it, and force-feed it to an audience member. Across the country, in Los Angeles, Michelle Juliette Carr, creator of the Velvet Hammer Burlesque, was putting on shows with post-punk and postmodern performers of all shapes and sizes debating feminism and swilling champagne in G-strings and pasties. All this edgy performance occurred alongside a general critique of the government, capitalism, and greed as well as a variety of novelty acts from sword swallowing to playing music on tampon applicators.

Unlike the shocking burlesque of the Victorian era, or the sleazy burlesque of the early twentieth century, the New Burlesque has attracted a variety of middle-class fans, from artists, photographers, and performers, to academics and activists. It is both straight (the majority of acts are still performed by genetic females) and queer (the production of straight femininity is poked fun at, for instance, by female to female impersonator BOB). The audiences are mixed women and men, straight and queer. The New Burlesque is generally controlled by the women on stage (i.e., not necessarily exploitative) and it is not necessarily for profit (i.e., none of the performers are getting rich on burlesque).

If burlesque has come back to reintroduce the promise and pleasure of the striptease, it has also come back to reinvent that striptease as a way out of the messiness that seemingly comes along with flesh and desire. In a culture where there is an increasing demand that all bodies look the same and all female bodies be constantly on display, the New Burlesque puts women of all shapes, sizes, and bodily configurations on stage who can hootchy-kootchy even while they make fun of themselves and their audience for wanting them to perform. These are women able to laugh at femininity and the heterosexual imagination even while they celebrate it. Most importantly of all, it shows women who cannot liberate themselves from the chains of sexism and racism, but who can, nevertheless, twist and turn and even jump rope with those chains, all the while tying their audience into knots of painful laughter.

SEE ALSO *Clothing; Hierarchy.*

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Laurie Essig

BUTCH/FEMME

Butch/femme (sometimes called butch/fem) is a form of sexual and gender practice primarily associated with United States and British working-class lesbian communities in the middle of the twentieth century. The term describes an erotic and affective dynamic between women who adopt either a primarily masculine (or butch) gender style or a primarily feminine (or femme) style. Although the relationship between butch/femme and heterosexual (male/female) relations has been a matter of contention, it is important to understand butch/femme as a lesbian cultural form with its own history and specific forms of practice.

ROOTS OF THE BUTCH/FEMME CULTURE

It is difficult to say where butch/femme culture came from. While it is possible to trace similar behaviors and identifications in different cultures and in various historical moments, the importance of gender cross-identification in understanding same-sex relations spiked in Germany, England, and the United States at the end of the nineteenth century with the rise of sexology, a pseudo-scientific study of sex and gender. The writings of important sexologists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, and Havelock Ellis focused on the figure of the sexual invert: the woman who was *actually* a man, and the man who was *actually* a woman. In these writings, the female invert emerges as the iconic figure of female same-sex desire. With her active sexual desires and masculine gender style, she longs for a feminine partner with whom she can complete herself as a man. What is much harder to explain within the sexological framework is the desire of a feminine woman for a masculine woman (or female invert).

Sexology does not, however, provide an adequate explanation for the rise of butch/femme in the twentieth century. As several historians have shown, this practice became dominant in communities that had no exposure to medical accounts of inversion where butch/femme developed as a popular form of identity. In their important history of the lesbian community in Buffalo, New York in the 1940s and 1950s, social anthropologist Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and activist and historian Madeline D. Davis suggest that butch/femme is a survival strategy within a violently homophobic (as well as classist and racist) culture. They argue that butch/femme roles are "the only vital alternative for working-class lesbians" and that they were "the key structure for organizing against heterosexual dominance" (Kennedy and Davis 1994, p. 395). While other (gender-normative) options were available to more privileged women, working-class lesbians in the twentieth century largely embraced the gender-dichotomous roles of butch/femme in order to announce their difference from the heterosexual norm and to claim public space.

Another important account of the emergence of butch/femme can be found in American writer Esther Newton's 1984 article, "The Mythic Mannish Lesbian" in which she describes the importance of masculine identification in the forming of a modern public lesbian identity. Because, as Newton points out, women in the nineteenth century were not associated with sexuality or desire (but rather with its absence), looking like a man was one clear strategy for twentieth-century lesbians to signal their desire for other women. Newton considers the importance of masculinity in a novel that has served as a touchstone for modern lesbianism and for butch/femme, Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). This novel features an introductory note from the Ellis attesting that it is a realistic account of the life of a female invert. It traces the fortunes of Stephen Gordon, a masculine woman who longs to live her life as an English gentleman, but who is instead cast out as a gender and sexual misfit. Exiled from her ancestral home, Stephen can neither fight in World War I nor marry the woman she loves. *The Well of Loneliness* was banned in a public obscenity trial in London the year it was released, but underground copies of the novel circulated in lesbian circles until the ban was lifted in the 1960s. Despite the novel's dark portrait of Stephen's tragic fate, it remains the most widely read lesbian novel of all time.

Butch/Femme Couple. *A lesbian couple preparing to go to a gay youth prom.* © MARK PETERSON/CORBIS.

FEMINIST RESPONSE

Butch/femme *roles* (as they were called) came under attack during the height of the women's liberation and gay liberation movements. Many feminists and lesbian-feminists objected to butch/femme culture, arguing that it imported the worst of heterosexuality and patriarchy into lesbian relationships. In women's groups in the 1970s, many butches and femmes were encouraged to adopt a more normative feminine or gender-neutral style. For butches this meant departing from an image of working-class masculine style; for femmes it meant toning down a hyper-feminine style and asserting themselves as empowered women. Women were also encouraged to promote equality and sameness within their relationships. For many such arguments were based on a dubious logic of *false consciousness* and *internalized oppression*, or the idea that women who adopted such roles must not know what their true desires were. Lesbian feminists were imposing a specific form of white middle-class sexuality and gender presentation as a universal standard, particularly for working-class women and women of color.

While butch/femme (along with pornography and sadomasochism) came under attack during the 1970s and the sex wars of the 1980s, the practice regained visibility in the 1990s. Perhaps the key text in renewing attention to butch/femme in the period was Leslie Feinberg's popular autobiographical novel, *Stone Butch Blues*. The novel traces the difficulties of a Jewish working-class butch named Jess Goldberg growing up in the bars, streets, and factories of Buffalo, New York in the years leading up to Stonewall, the riot that sparked gay liberation. Feinberg recounts the terrible violence, harassment, and stigmatization that Jess is exposed to on a daily basis as a masculine woman. In response to such experiences, Jess becomes more and more *stone*, a word that refers both to a sexual practice (a refusal of sexual vulnerability or nakedness in bed) and to an emotional state, a hardness that is a form of self-protection.

EFFECT ON AND IMPORTANCE IN QUEER STUDIES

Butch/femme has also played a significant role in the turn to queer studies in the academy. During the sex wars, a range of pro-sex feminists and lesbians made arguments about the inevitability of power in sexual relationships; early work in queer studies emphasized the impossibility of escaping from social power in any arena of social or intimate life. Philosopher Michel Foucault's account of the imbrication of power, knowledge, and sexuality in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (1976) profoundly influenced queer studies, and led to interest in topics like butch/femme, camp, drag, public sex, and gay shame. These stigma-inflected aspects of queer life were understood not as utopian escapes from homophobia and patriarchy, but rather as deeply ambivalent sites of resistance.

Writer Judith Butler made both butch/femme and drag central in one of the founding work of queer studies, *Gender Trouble* (1990). At stake in Butler's attention to butch/femme was a familiar charge that butch/femme was an imitation of heterosexuality. Drawing on her own personal experience, Butler wrote in "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," "I suffered for a long time from being told that what I *am* is a copy, an imitation, a derivative example, a shadow of the real" (Butler 1991, p. 20). Rather than argue that butch/femme gender was original, Butler used it to argue that all gender is derivative. Drag and butch/femme were for her sites of gender disruption that make visible how all gender is performative, a copy without an original.

In *Female Masculinity* (1998), gender theorist Judith Halberstam is primarily interested in the way that masculine gender style signifies on a biologically female body. She takes a long historical perspective, considering figures from the eighteenth-century tribade to the contemporary drag king scene. Unlike people such as Newton who provide a historical and cultural frame for the emergence of the butch at the beginning of the twentieth century, Halberstam argues for the durability of this form of gendered embodiment over time. If in the 1990s the figure of the butch came into her own, discussions of femme identity lag somewhat behind. Representing the specific experiences of femmes has proved difficult over the course of the twentieth century. With their inherently heterosexual understanding of desire, the sexologists failed to account for the desire of the feminine woman attracted to other woman: she remains a cipher in their accounts. In many twentieth-century fictional accounts of butch/femme desire, the emphasis often falls on the butch as desiring and suffering hero. The writings of Joan Nestle (*A Restricted Country* [1987]) and Amber Hollibaugh (*My Dangerous Desires: A Queer Girl Dreaming Her Way Home* [2003]) and the 1999 film *But I'm a Cheerleader* stand as notable exceptions to this rule; there have also been a couple of significant collections on femme experience. However the problem of femme invisibility continues to plague both fictional and theoretical accounts of butch/femme experience.

One of the most persistent tropes of butch/femme representation is the sanctuary that an erotic and intimate relation offers from a hostile world. In a dialogue framed as a response to the denigration of butch/femme by lesbian-feminists, "What We're Rollin Around in Bed With" (1983), Amber Hollibaugh and Cherríe Moraga discuss their personal experiences as working-class women both inside and outside the feminist movement. In speaking to Moraga (who identifies as butch), femme-identified Hollibaugh stresses the importance of butch/femme erotic practice as a response to a hostile world: "You see, I want you as a woman, not as a man; but I want you in the way you need to be, which may not be traditionally female, but which is the area that you express as butch. Here is where in the other world you have suffered the most damage. Part of the reason I love to be with butches is because I feel I repair that damage" (Hollibaugh and Moraga 1983, p. 401). While some women have written about the limits of butch/femme as a response to violence and inequality, this persistent notion of *repairing the damage* has marked it as a practice characterized by both extraordinary difficulties and extraordinary intimacy.

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The significance of butch/femme was transformed by several developments in queer culture in the twentieth-century. A shift in perspective in queer studies from a primarily American focus to a more global focus calls for a rethinking of the meanings of butch/femme in a range of national and transnational contexts. While critics and historians have written about the importance of some gender-transitive practices across the globe (*travesti* in Brazil; *berdache* in Native American cultures), early-twenty-first century work has attempted to think through the meeting of contemporary American queer culture and specific gender and sexual formations around the globe.

The meaning of butch/femme has also been transformed by the visible emergence of a transsexual and transgender politics and community since the 1990s. As more women decide to transition and live as men, the limits of butch identity as well as the stability of the butch/femme identity come into question. The mainstreaming of gay and lesbian identity in the late 1990s and early part of the twenty-first century also raises important questions about the relationship between butch/femme culture and social stigma. Understanding butch/femme primarily as evolving in a social context that is intensely threatening and in which it is difficult to signal active desire through a feminine style, one might be tempted to conclude that butch/femme will wither away as a practice as feminism and gay and lesbian activism transform the public sphere. In a 1998 collection on butch/femme, lesbian critic Sally Munt questions the transformation of butch/femme from a way of life to a lifestyle, as she asks "why a primarily working-class identification has become colonized as middle-class, white, and chic" (Munt 1998, p. 4).

The testimonies of several young black and Asian working class women interviewed in the documentary film *The Aggressives* (2005) make it clear that butch/femme is not a style that came and went in the middle of the twentieth century. The women interviewed testify to a deeply-felt masculine identification. At the same time, their stories of hostility and rejection on the street, by their families, and in the workplace, as well as their creative responses to such difficulties testify to the ongoing role that butch/femme practices play as a strategy of survival and visibility.

SEE ALSO *Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview.*

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Heather Love

BUTTOCKS

Buttocks are fleshy protuberances at the rear of the pelvis. They occur in many quadruped species, but are common to primates. The human buttocks are composed of the three gluteal muscles (commonly referred to as the *glutes*), the gluteus maximus, gluteus minimus, and gluteus medius, as well as the fatty tissue that covers them. They are among the strongest muscle groups in the human body, comparable in strength to the thigh muscles. Their general function is to connect the leg muscles to the trunk of the body. In doing so, they provide stability to the core muscles of the trunk, as well as allow for flexibility of the hip muscles and articulated movement of the legs. This muscle group is significant partly because it is separated into two parts by the gluteal crease (the double hemispheres of the buttocks). Thus, this group can work together or allow independent movement of the legs. The gluteal crease is also the location of the anus, which is both the site of excretion of solid waste matter from the body and an erogenous zone. The anus, sphincter, and rectum contain numerous nerve endings, making them sites of potential pleasure and pain. Anal sex, which often involves the insertion of the penis, finger, or an object into the anus, is a common practice, although it is often considered taboo. The rectum shares a muscular wall with the vagina in females and with the prostate gland in males—both sensitive areas that are particularly stimulated by anal intercourse or stimulation.

EVOLUTION AND FUNCTION OF BUTTOCKS

The human buttocks are distinctive among all species in that they are continuously present. The erect stature of humans causes the pelvis to project to the rear of the spinal column, which forces the muscles and fatty tissue of the buttocks into their common configuration. Other species that alternate between an erect stance and walking on all fours have visible buttocks only when their posture allows. Some anthropologists have gone so far as to suggest that the buttocks are responsible for the development of the human brain. The buttocks allow for the upright, two-legged stance distinctive to humans. This stance in turn accommodates two important developments, the freedom of the forearms (previously used for walking on all fours) and the alignment of the spinal column. The use of the arms and hands for tasks other than balance encouraged the development of a complex brain capable of problem solving. Simultaneously the erect stature of humans caused the brain to rest atop the spinal column instead of in front of it, making the frame able to support a larger brain, which in turn was capable of higher-order functions and cognition. There is considerable disagreement about the role the development of buttocks played in initiating the development of the human brain, but it is generally agreed that the unique development of human buttocks was necessary to allow their brain development.

In most primate species, the female buttocks are linked with reproduction. Females signal their readiness to mate by displaying their buttocks, which have become enlarged and swollen. As their menstruation cycle progresses, the swelling becomes more pronounced and, in some species, the color of the buttocks changes to a deep red or purple. After the fertile period of the cycle, the buttocks lose their vivid coloration, and the swelling disappears. The buttocks return to their usual state of being flat and unremarkable. The buttocks of the human female do not change noticeably with the menstrual cycle and have no particular function in the reproductive process. Unlike other primates, the human female is also capable of having intercourse at any time, not just during her menstrual cycle. The configuration of the buttocks and the pelvis orients the human genitalia more to the front of the body than is true in other primates, making face-to-face intercourse possible.

The buttocks contain large amounts of fatty tissue, which gives them their distinct rounded shape. This fatty layer is generally greater in females than in males, which gives the human sexes similar, yet distinct, buttocks and also contributes to the typically wider female hips. This difference in fatty tissue is also apparent in human breasts, which in males are typically lean and flat whereas in women they are fuller and rounder. Anthropologists such as Desmond Morris have linked the development of the human female breasts to the loss of the sexual function of the buttocks. In other mammals, the female breasts are typically flat except when pregnant or nursing. In humans, the female breasts are continuously present, like the buttocks, although they may increase in size during menstruation, pregnancy, or nursing. Morris claims that "the female breasts evolved, quite simply, as buttock mimics" (Morris 1994, p. 122).

The human buttocks became unnecessary for sexual function but remained a site of sexual interest to potential mates. The forward-facing genitalia, however, made the buttocks less apparent, and the breasts developed to resemble the shape of the buttocks and take their place as a visible sexual signal. This is reinforced by the general lack of function of the bulk of human breast tissue. The female breasts are primarily rounded globes of fatty tissue, like the buttocks, and serve little purpose in the manufacture of milk or in aiding breast feeding. Morris further claims that other structures, such as the typically smooth, rounded, facial cheeks typical of female humans similarly mimic the buttocks and are also located in a more prominent, front-facing position.

BUTTOCKS AS AN EROGENOUS ZONE AND IN SEXUAL ACTIVITY

The buttocks have long been an erogenous zone and a source of sexual pleasure and fascination. The shape of the buttocks is pleasing to many and is an often-rendered physical feature in painting and sculpture. As a physical feature common to both men and women, buttocks do not carry the same type of gender-specific taboos typical of the genitals or the female breasts. Because of the excretory function of the anus, however, there is a taboo based in abjection associated with the area. Many people distinguish between the buttocks and the anus, finding one appealing and the other not. Others are stimulated by the taboo associated with the anus as much as by the shape of the buttocks themselves, and take pleasure in both. The popularity of the buttocks as a site of attraction is evident in the proliferation of nicknames for them, including butt, booty, backside, bum, buns, ass, and arse. Fanny is also a nickname for buttocks in American English, but in British English, it is vulgar slang for the female genitals.

In homosexual males, the anus serves as an orifice for intercourse, which makes the buttocks and anus a primary site of sexual activity. Gay men are often divided into groups based upon their preference in anal sexual practice: The receptive partner is called a *bottom*, while the insertive partner is called a *top*. Those who enjoy both positions are called *switch* or *versatile*. Lesbian anal intercourse is also common, and is usually practiced with a hand-held sex toy (often a dildo) or with the use of a strap-on prosthesis. Because the anus has no natural lubrication, anal intercourse always carries greater potential for tissue rupture than does vaginal intercourse or other sexual activities. It is thus considered a high-risk activity for the transmission of disease, and protection (usually in the form of a condom covering the penis or prosthesis) is usually advised. In cultures where women's virginity is valued highly, (heterosexual) anal intercourse has often substituted for vaginal intercourse as a means of being sexually active while remaining technically virginal. This difference, of course, depends wholly upon the way that virginity is defined. Heterosexual anal intercourse, however, is not strictly a substitute for vaginal intercourse. It is also practiced as a primary form of sexual activity among some couples and as an alternate or occasional activity among others. There are few reliable studies on anal intercourse among heterosexuals, but anecdotal references indicate that it is somewhat common.

The buttocks also figure in sexual practices other than intercourse. Anilingus (also known as *rimming*) involves one partner licking the anus of the other with their tongue. Massage of the buttocks is common and often a form of foreplay. The buttocks also are involved in a number of fetishistic practices. Clothing designed to reveal, conceal, or accentuate the buttocks is a feature of some fetish activities. Underwear that has been worn and retains the smell of the body parts it covers (including the buttocks) is a primary form of clothing fetishism. This differs from tactile fetishes, which are more concerned with the feel of the clothing item. According to Valerie Steele, "Smelly fetishes may indicate an obsession with bathroom functions, which would seem to imply an 'infantile' perspective on sexuality" (1996, p. 124). Spanking, or striking the buttocks with the hand or an implement of some sort (often a paddle, strap, or whip), is often cited as a common sexual fantasy, although little data exists to demonstrate the degree to which it is actually practiced. *Fisting* involves the insertion of the entire hand into the anus. It is practiced among heterosexuals, lesbians, and homosexual males, although it is most common to homosexual males. Because the diameter of the human hand and arm (fisting often involves insertion of the arm up to the elbow) is far greater than that of the average human penis or any common sexual prostheses, it involves significant stretching of the sphincter and can be quite painful. It is sometimes incorporated into bondage and discipline/sadomasochism (BDSM) activities or other sexual practices in which inflicting pain or demonstrating dominance over another is desirable.

BUTTOCKS IN HISTORY

The buttocks, particularly of the female, have been the subject of much discussion, fascination, and artistic representation. Some of the earliest examples of human art include carvings of fertility goddesses with extremely ample breasts and buttocks. The most famous example is the Venus of Willendorf, a Paleolithic statuette discovered in Austria in 1908 believed to date back to 24,000–22,000 BCE. Buttocks have also famously been depicted in such varying works of art as Donatello's sculpture *David* (1425–1430) and Paul Cezanne's *Large Bathers* (1899–1906). Fashion over time has alternately hidden and emphasized the buttocks. The most notable example of the buttocks in fashion is the bustle, popular primarily from 1882 to 1888 in Europe and the United States. This structure (made of fabric but often internally supported by a metal frame) was worn behind the waist, giving its wearer a highly exaggerated silhouette. The effect was meant to be evocative rather than to echo an actual human shape, and while short-lived, it is one of the most recognizable fashion trends in history. Anticipating the bustle was the brief celebrity of Saartjie Baartman, a Khoikhoi woman from South Africa who was brought to Europe and exhibited under the name *Hottentot Venus* from 1810 to 1815. She was famous primarily for her buttocks, which were enormous by European standards but thought to be typical of her native people. They projected from her pelvis at an angle almost perpendicular to her back and were several times larger than the average buttocks of European women. She was valued both as an oddity and as a representation of ideal female fertility.

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Brian D. Holcomb

BUTT PLUG

SEE *Sex Aids.*

BYZANTIUM

The civilization of Byzantium, centered on Constantinople (modern Istanbul), was unquestionably patriarchal throughout its long history (330–1453), and Byzantium's self-appointed role as the preserver of Christian Orthodoxy led to a focus on virginity, celibacy, and asceticism as the highest social ideals.

CELIBACY AND ASCETICISM

Total sexual abstinence was always considered the highest state. The early church maintained an order of virgins as a class, and female ascetics would generally take a vow of perpetual virginity. The same standard of virginity existed for holy men, though self-castration for the purposes of moral purity was considered a sin. Monks and nuns, of course, did not marry, though it was not uncommon for men and women to marry young and then separate to different monastic institutions after their children had grown up. Priests and deacons were allowed to have wives, provided that they married prior to taking orders; bishops had to separate from their wives before their appointment, and their wives had to retire to a monastery. A priest was not allowed to remarry after his wife's death. Double monasteries, separate communities of men and women within the same institution, initially common, were finally prohibited in the eighth century because of the dangers caused by the proximity of monks and nuns.

Although all monastics were expected to follow an ascetic regime, it could be taken to extremes by hermits and stylites (*pillar dwellers*), who were committed not only to celibacy and fasting but to mortifying their flesh with hairshirts and chains, self-flagellation, sleeping on the floor or in caves, and continual prayer in pursuit of attaining apatheia (or *freedom from emotion*). Such ascetics (women in early Byzantium as well as men) frequently became saints and are shown as totally immune to sexual temptation. The true holy man is thus capable of indifference even to female nudity, and in hagiography, women often make sexual advances to the holy man, in real life or in dreams, to corrupt him by their devilish wiles. The naked body is seldom depicted in art, and Byzantine costume was careful to conceal what lay beneath.

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, AND ADULTERY

Some of the more fundamentalist Christian sects, such as the Marcionites and Gnostics, considered marriage contrary to the message of the Gospels and as the work of the devil. Mainstream Orthodoxy, however, worked out a compromise between the total rejection of marriage and the type of free marriage normal in the late Roman Empire. The church fathers decreed that marriage was a divine institution (though inferior to celibacy) instituted for the procreation of children and the prevention of fornication. Girls could marry at the age of twelve (though this was not the norm) and boys from fourteen; parental consent was essential. Women (and ideally men) were expected to preserve physical virginity until their wedding night; when possible, to avoid seduction, daughters were kept segregated and chaperoned, meeting only the men of their own family.

Second marriages were permitted a decent interval after the death of a spouse, but a third was generally considered undesirable (St. Basil the Great [c. 329–379] termed a third marriage as prostitution) and was only permissible under certain circumstances (such as childlessness). Third marriages were legislated against by certain emperors, such as Leo VI (r. 886–912)—who, in order to have a legitimate heir, was later in the embarrassing position of himself taking a fourth wife in the teeth of monastic opposition. Divorce was increasingly restricted throughout the empire, and from the eighth century was only permissible on the grounds of a wife's adultery, attempted poisoning, or the lengthy impotence of the husband. The late Roman practice of concubinage was considered as quasi-prostitution and was abolished by Leo VI, though in practice it still continued in some areas. Punishments for adultery could vary, but the eighth- century law code, the Ekloga, specified that the adulterous couple should have their noses cut off, and the woman could be confined in a monastery.

Despite this moral code, immorality and mistresses were often rife at the imperial court and were little frowned on by the church as long as they did not threaten the sacred institution of marriage. The Moechian (*adulterous*) controversy sparked when Constantine VI (r. 780–797) divorced Maria Amnia and married his mistress, Theodote; the situation was unusual in that it provoked extreme monastic opposition, and many churchmen considered the remarriage uncanonical. Constantine's mother, Irene, later used his unpopularity over this as a factor in deposing and blinding him and ruling on her own account (797–802). But emperors, married or unmarried, often publicly kept mistresses. Leo VI married two of his mistresses after the death of his first and third wives, and Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1055) was nearly lynched in 1044 because the people thought he intended to divorce or exile his elderly wife, Zoe, in favor of his mistress, Maria Skleraina. Illegitimate children could also be recognized at court. Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–1180), whose mistress (and niece), Theodora, had a retinue greater than that of the empress, gave his illegitimate son by her high rank at court in default of a legitimate heir. This was not an unknown practice and, under the Palaiologue dynasty (1259–1453), illegitimate daughters were frequently married to Asian rulers, such as Turks and Mongols, as dynastic pawns.

PROSTITUTION

On the streets of the capital itself, prostitution remained a stable feature of Byzantine society, and prostitutes could be found both in organized brothels and in the inns, baths, theaters, and hippodrome (actresses and other female entertainers being considered prostitutes by definition). The church regularly outlawed prostitution, and emperors attempted to provide protection and escape, such as *houses of repentance*, for those girls forced into it, but it was never eradicated. The empress Theodora (wife of Justinian, 508–548), herself an ex-hippodrome performer, founded the Monastery of Repentance for such unfortunates in the sixth century, and saints' lives told of repentant prostitutes attaining sanctity, such as Pelagia the Harlot and Mary of Egypt, following the exemplum of Mary Magdalene.

THE BYZANTINE FAMILY

The family was the fundamental unit of Byzantine society, and though—because of the idealization of celibacy, attitudes toward women were ambivalent—wives and mothers were increasingly seen as playing a decisive role within the household. Unless women went into monastic life, their major preoccupations were expected to be marriage and children. Women in theory were a marginalized group not to be seen or heard in public, and segregation of the sexes was the ideal, but this seldom took place in practice. The women's quarters in the palace and noble homes were not areas to which women were confined but where they could enjoy some privacy and engage in female occupations such as spinning and weaving. While these areas were generally staffed with eunuchs, males were not excluded, but those from outside the immediate family would not enter without invitation. The majority of the female population was often out in public and mingling on the streets as part of their daily routine, and women were deeply involved in retail trade. Aristocratic women could be shop owners or supervise a workshop in their home, and they were expected to take an active role in the maintenance of their household and supervision of family, servants, and property. Byzantine women also had very important rights: A woman possessed her dowry and daughters could inherit equally with their brothers in cases of intestate succession.

Whatever their social status, within the church women were prohibited from giving instruction or from holding any priestly functions. However, the church acknowledged that women were spiritually equal to men, and the Theotokos (Mary, *the God-bearer*) was always a central figure in the devotion of both men and women. Women, moreover, could play an important role as abbesses, and noble ladies frequently founded monasteries to which they could retire upon widowhood.

EUNUCHS: BYZANTIUM'S THIRD GENDER

Byzantium also possessed a third gender: that of eunuchs, a class inherited from the late Roman Empire and from the civilizations of Asia. They could play an important part at court and in the church (and even in the army). Certain high positions within the palace hierarchy, such as that of the Grand Chamberlain, were reserved for eunuchs, who could also be found working in aristocratic families. Considered trustworthy because they were unable to take the throne and distinguished by their marked physical characteristics, they maintained a high profile in the palace, including the women's quarters, and generally acted as the officials of ruling and regent empresses as well as for most emperors prior to the late eleventh century. Although legislation banned castration, the operation was often performed on children and adults—in the case of children, sometimes by their own families to ensure them a glittering future at court. Illegitimate children within the royal family—such as Basil the Nothos (*Illegitimate*), son of Romanos I (r. 920–944)—could be castrated and promoted through the bureaucracy to work alongside the future emperor, their legitimate half brother. Other eunuchs were imported from the Caucasus and the Slav and Arab worlds. Eunuchs were in charge of the imperial bureaucracy until the late eleventh century.

Eunuchs are often linked to the practice of homosexuality and, in sharp contrast to the generally *laissez faire* attitude toward extramarital relationships, church fathers denounced this as the *sin of sodomy*. It could be punishable by death according to criminal law. Homosexual practices are documented in both male and female monasteries, and

Theodora and Her Court. *This mid-sixth century mosiac depicts Byzantine empress Theodora and her court.* THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

several monastic institutions refused access to beardless youths or eunuchs to avoid temptation for the monks, and they also tried to limit physical contact between members of the monastic community. However, there were monasteries especially for eunuchs: the monastery of St. Lazaros in Constantinople was restricted to eunuchs by Leo VI when emperor, and there were other communities of eunuch monks at various periods. Eunuchs were prominent as bishops, abbots, and patriarchs, the last being Eustratios Garidas (r. 1081–1084).

SEXUALITY AND ROMANCE

In general, erotic or romantic love between the sexes was viewed with suspicion. Indeed, sexuality and carnal love were seen in Byzantium as inspired by the devil and as tending to lead to fornication, and worse yet, adultery. But conjugal love was praised, though the church fathers, often recommended limitations on conjugal sex. The Byzantines knew of erotic literary genres. The ancient romances continued to be read in Byzantium, though episodes of extramarital sex within them are severely criticized, and Byzantine readers seemed to have interpreted these works as metaphorical descriptions of the soul's struggle for salvation. Similarly, the terminology of erotic love is often transferred to the relationship between God and man. The romance as a literary genre, however, reappears in the twelfth century, perhaps influenced by contacts with European literature during the crusades, whereas more popular, orally transmitted works from the fourteenth century adapt European plots and love themes into a Byzantine setting. It can therefore be assumed that the later Byzantine public, literate or illiterate, had a taste for love stories and fictional romances despite the negative attitude toward sexuality that prevailed in Byzantium.

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Lynda Garland

C

CALL GIRL

A call girl is a female prostitute whose clients contact her by telephone to arrange meetings. Call girls typically charge higher prices than street prostitutes and exercise a great deal of discretion over which clients they accept. A call girl will generally meet with a client in her own home, in his home, or in a hotel room; meetings are arranged in advance, usually by telephone—hence the term *call* girl. Depending on the wishes and needs of the client, sessions may be brief, with the sole purpose of bringing the client to orgasm, or much more protracted, involving conversation, cuddling, leisurely lovemaking, extended role-playing scenes, or even a traditional dinner date.

Though the term *call girl* is often used interchangeably with *escort,* there are significant differences between the two. Clients make contact with escorts through publicly available means: They may arrange for a meeting through an escort service, or they may find escorts advertised in magazines and newspapers. Call girls generally accept clients by referral only; clients may be referred by a madam (a woman who manages a house of prostitution), by other call girls, or by other clients. This referral system helps protect call girls from the danger of soliciting an undercover police officer and helps ensure discreet clients, thus allowing them to remain more or less invisible to the public. As such, call girls, of all illegal prostitutes, run the least risk of arrest and prosecution.

THE BUSINESS

Call girls are generally considered to be a higher class of prostitute than streetwalkers, escorts, and brothel workers. The most successful call girls are often well educated, intelligent, stylish, sophisticated, and—above all—discreet. Though comprehensive demographic data is largely lacking, existing studies and anecdotal evidence suggest that call girls are overwhelmingly white and that their clientele tends to be middle or upper class. The profession is lucrative, and call girls generally dress and live well. Much of the allure of the call girl stems from her conventional outer appearance, and most call girls, therefore, look very much like the kind of smart, successful woman that the general populace cannot imagine being a prostitute.

As with many sex workers, call girls consider themselves first and foremost to be professionals. In order to best serve their customers and to encourage repeat business, call girls pay close attention to their clients' desires—both expressed and unvoiced. More so than with street prostitutes, whose circumstances often dictate a hurried sexual encounter, call girls are selling a fantasy. Successful call girls are cognizant not only of what sexual activities their clients desire but also of what kind of persona he will find most attractive and exciting in a lover. A call girl might play the role of a first-time call girl, an experienced dominatrix, a raunchy schoolgirl, or a comforting caregiver. She might be passive or demanding, pliant or controlling, depending on the wishes and moods of her client. Often it is left to the call girl to discern which response is most appropriate. As such, call girls are often accomplished at reading and responding to their clients' hidden desires at a moment's notice.

Call girls acquire clients almost exclusively by referral, thus necessitating a close connection to other women in the profession. Many call girls begin by working for a madam, who provides contacts with screened clients—and sometimes a location for the meeting—in exchange for a substantial cut (usually 40 to 50 percent) of the call girl's earnings. Women employed by a madam will often try to develop their own client lists; such women might try to circumvent the madam's participation in the transaction by providing the client with their direct contact information—a practice understandably discouraged by madams—or they might purchase a "book," or client list, from a call girl who is leaving the profession. Self-employed call girls expand their client bases by exchanging referrals. A call girl who is unable to meet with a client might send him to another girl, or she might send a client to another girl in exchange for that girl's previous participation in a threesome or in a role-playing or fantasy scenario.

CALL GIRLS VERSUS STREET PROSTITUTES

Although both call girls and street prostitutes may see the same clients for years, call girls tend to spend more time per session with their clients; this may be because sessions are almost always conducted in a safe and secure location, often a private home. Additionally, call girls are much more likely to engage in conversation and other non-sexual activity with their clients. Whereas street prostitution often aims to bring the client to climax as quickly as possible, call girls and their clients are much more likely to engage in extended foreplay, as well as activities, such as oral and vaginal stimulation, that are aimed ostensibly at female as well as male pleasure.

THE CLIENTS

Studies of call girls and their clients are necessarily somewhat difficult to come by, as call girls' business and safety depend on their own discretion, as well as that of coworkers and clients. Available studies suggest, however, that men may visit call girls for somewhat different reasons than they visit street prostitutes. Though sexual activity is almost always a component of a visit to a call girl, conversation is often also a significant aspect of the session. Call girls frequently report discussing their clients' business and personal lives and often provide support and commiseration after a bad day. Reasons for visiting a call girl vary widely, but for a significant percentage of men this kind of emotional interaction is crucial. Married men may report being able to converse with a call girl about topics they will not discuss with their wives, while single men sometimes indicate that a call girl is an easy alternative to a girlfriend, citing readily available sex and intimacy without the time commitment of a romantic relationship. As Janet Lever and Deanne Dolnick (2000) have suggested, men's visits to call girls are often as much about intimacy and connection as they are about sex.

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Maureen Lauder

CAMILLE, MICHAEL
1958–2002

Born in Yorkshire into a working-class family, Michael Camille earned a first-class B.A. (1980), an M.A. (1982), and a Ph.D. (1985) at Cambridge University. He then moved to the University of Chicago, where he taught medieval art history until his death of a brain tumor.

From the start, Camille's work took up questions of marginality, shifting attention from "official" culture and the great monuments of the past to images and objects that had previously been ignored by mainstream art history. In doing so, Camille was concerned to analyze representations—especially "monstrous" representations connected to marginalized, "othered" sexualities and religious groups—that exceeded and resisted, but also potentially bolstered, dominant cultural constructions. Camille's first book, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (1989), considered depictions of idols and idolatry that showed Christianity grappling with, and in many ways demonizing, its religious and sexual others—homosexuals or sodomites, pagans and heretics, Muslims and Jews. Here, he emphasized how closely related to each other were medieval sexual and religious otherness. Camille's next book, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (1992), moved even more fully to examine scandalous, scatological, and sexual images in the margins of architecture and manuscript illustration. Camille developed a complex argument that shares much with queer theory about how the center or dominant depends for its very existence upon the abjected and disavowed material pushed to the margins. *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator* (1996), while it shifted its attention away from sexuality, continued to think about how the

Middle Ages represented bodies—here, bodies subjected, often grotesquely, to old age, death, and decay. Considering the time of the Black Death, the book might also be read as reflecting Camille's experience as a gay man living during the AIDS crisis. In addition, Camille coedited, with Adrian Rifkin, *Other Objects of Desire: Collectors and Collecting Queerly* (2001), a volume on the collecting of art as a queer practice.

Late in his life, Camille was engaged intensively in thinking about disallowed medieval sexualities, working on an unfinished book entitled *Stones of Sodom*, which was to trace medieval representations of sodomy. Glimpses of what this project might have looked like are available in some of Camille's later published work. Thus, in "The Pose of the Queer: Dante's Gaze, Brunetto Latini's Body" (2001), Camille closely examines one manuscript illumination of the circle of the sodomites in Dante's *Inferno*, analyzing the physical pose given there to Dante's former teacher Brunetto Latini as Dante the pilgrim gazes down at Brunetto's body. Comparing Brunetto's pose, one arm akimbo, to twentieth-century visual stereotypes of gay men, Camille's essay reflects on the resonances and differences between the medieval moment, with its understanding of sodomy, and the modern moment of gay identity, concluding that "I would rather call Brunetto a queer or a queen than a homosexual (or a heterosexual), precisely because these terms do not so much define modern rigid stereotypes as open up possibilities" (p. 79).

SEE ALSO *Gay.*

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Steven F. Kruger

CAMP

Camp celebrates the stylistic and emotional excesses of mainstream popular culture as they are interpreted and redefined by homosexual subcultures. Camp emphasizes that all comportment is artifice; to camp it up is both to behave artificially and to celebrate and call attention to artificiality in everyday life. The word *camp* is associated with excessive displays of gesture and emotion; it was used in J. Redding Ware's 1909 *Passing English of the Victorian Era*, a dictionary of Victorian slang, to describe the showy, theatrical behaviors, affectations, and gestures associated with persons of so-called low character. This exaggerated comportment, or campiness, in which theatricality calls attention to the artificiality of all behavioral conventions, constituted a specifically homosexual set of codes, styles, and gestures in the early and middle twentieth century.

Those codes have been used by gay subcultures since that time to accentuate the distance that exists for queer people between what most people insist are natural behaviors and what gay men and lesbians traditionally have seen as little more than cultural norms. Aspects of camp that play up effeminacy and drag in particular are thought to have been favored by homosexual subcultures because their emphasis on role playing resonated with those for whom acting heterosexual meant playing a role.

THE INFLUENCE OF OSCAR WILDE

Oscar Wilde is considered one of the modern fathers of camp sensibility; his effete comportment and witticisms helped revive the cult of the dandy in the late nineteenth century. His 1890 novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, a bible of aestheticism, constantly undercuts the moral tale of a superficial sociopath with passages celebrating the protagonist's devotion to surface beauty and individual style. His stage comedies, especially the 1895 *The Importance of Being Earnest*, are rife with campy epigrams and double entendres.

Wilde's epigrams, in which conventional sentiments are read backward, adapted, or tweaked slightly so that they are both familiar and strange, are examples of a camp take on mainstream culture in which audiences are forced to reread normative practices through the eyes of a skeptical, if affectionate, outsider. The aphorisms "Divorces are made in heaven" and "In marriage, three is company, two is none," from *The Importance of Being Earnest*, make fun of the sanctity of marriage. The first alters the conventional description of the ideal heterosexual union as "a match made in heaven," and the second alters the cliché that celebrates the couple form as preferable to any other social arrangement: "Two's company; three's a crowd." By flipping these sayings over to suggest that the opposite is true, that divorce is far more heavenly than marriage and that any company at all is a welcome relief from the everyday tedium of married life, Wilde declares that contrary to Victorian popular sentiment, traditional marriage is both hellish and boring. The fact that Victorian audiences found those observations hilarious when they were made in Wilde's plays signifies that they not only appreciated Wilde's wit but relished his send-up of institutionalized heterosexuality.

LATER CAMP

Later examples of camp favored excess as an expressive mode, whether it was the maniacal choreography and extraordinary overhead camera shots signifying a point of view that no audience of a supposed stage musical would ever have of a Busby Berkeley musical, the lurid color palette and tragic melodrama of a Douglas Sirk tearjerker, or the menacing, bitchy femininity of Joan Crawford or Bette Davis. Divas who cultivated a monumental stage presence, such as Maria Callas and Diana Ross, or a histrionic theatricality, such as Bette Midler and Liza Minelli, are camp figures, as are feminine personalities whose extreme artificiality shows that they are aping versions of themselves, such as Marilyn Monroe, Paul Lynde, and Barbra Streisand. The diva's camp artificiality can encompass physical excessiveness as well; Dolly Parton's and Jane Russell's breasts are camp, as is Phyllis Diller's or Michael Jackson's face and the porn star Ron Jeremy's comically hairy and chubby physique.

SONTAG'S ANALYSIS OF CAMP

Although camp remained a homosexual subcultural language and style for decades, it achieved mainstream recognition as a theory of culture, or interpretive lens, with the publication of Susan Sontag's 1964 essay "Notes on 'Camp,'" which remains the best-known essay on the subject. Sontag (1983) argues that camp is a mode of aestheticism, a sensibility and a badge of identity, and a way of seeing that emphasizes texture, decorative surface, style, and frivolity. Among the objects she lists as camp, ostensibly because their design and execution epitomize an over-the-top excessiveness, are Tiffany lamps, Bellini operas, flapper costumes of the 1920s, Flash Gordon comics, the movie *King Kong,* and all things art nouveau. She differentiates naïve camp from intentional camp, insisting that only naïve camp—camp that is trying to be serious and meaningful but fails—can be considered real or pure camp. She discusses the camp sensibility that recognizes objects of value gleaming among the detritus of popular culture, stating that in its appropriation of the low, vulgar, tasteless, and extravagantly tacky as beautiful, camp challenges the hegemony of high culture, setting itself up as a more urban, sophisticated, and generous sensibility.

It generally is acknowledged that Sontag appropriated camp from homosexual subcultures in the essay only to dismiss those subcultures, though that gesture itself is part of the cultural and historical closeting of homosexuality among the 1960s avant-garde. Much of Sontag's essay rests on the work of homosexual and lesbian writers, artists, filmmakers, and actors. She sets herself the task of expanding what she terms a "lazy" definition published ten years earlier in Christopher Isherwood's *The World in the Evening*, she dedicates the essay to Oscar Wilde, and her examples of camp include Noel Coward plays, Aubrey Beardsley drawings, Jean Cocteau films, Oscar Wilde epigrams, Greta Garbo's beauty and lack of dramatic depth, Barbara Stanwyk's and Tallulah Bankhead's mannish acting style, Caravaggio's paintings, Genet's ideas, and the dandyism of Wilde and the aesthetes, to which she dedicates four of her fifty-eight "notes." Though all these figures are gay or lesbian, she never infers, except in her insistence on the camp sensibility of those artists, that their sexual identities place them within the homosexual vanguard.

Sontag was not open about her lesbianism, and this helps explain some of the distance from and ambivalence toward homosexuality the essay expresses as well as its substitution of a Jewish interpretive standpoint for a homosexual one. She does not mention homosexuals or homosexuality until note fifty; in note fifty-one she concedes that homosexuals are in the "vanguard" of camp sensibility; in note fifty-two she equates that sensibility with the Jewish moral sensibility; and by note fifty-three the parallel to a more moral Jewish sensibility allows her to declare camp an oppositional "solvent of morality" (Sontag 1983, p. 118) in which style always trumps content and politics.

OTHER CRITICAL ANALYSES

Sontag's interest in the "mere" surface politics of camp has been contested by cultural critics. Many gay critics have accused her of appropriating a queer style of resistance and neutralizing its politics through her definition of camp as an aesthetic sensibility and moral solvent. Andrew Ross (1989), for example, has countered that camp is political in a Marxist sense in that it registers historical shifts in modes of production. He defines camp as an "effect" created when outmoded products recirculate in contemporary culture and become available for new value and new meaning. Thus, mid-twentieth-century films such as *Sunset Boulevard* are campy because they use aging film stars from the silent era to create melodramatic metanarratives about aging film stars from the silent era. *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?* is similarly campy in its use of the over-the-hill leading ladies, rivals, and icons of the big studio era Bette Davis and Joan Crawford, pitted against each other in a gothic scenario shaped by sibling rivalry. Moe Meyer (1994) is even more literal than Ross about the politics of camp, defining it as "queer parody," arguing that it played a crucial role in the theatrics of gay activist groups such as ACT-UP and Queer Nation, and insisting that any attempts to define camp as

"Hairspray" Opens on Broadway. *Harvey Fierstein, Marissa Jaret Winokur, and the cast of the musical "Hairspray" on stage for curtain call after the opening night performance at the Neil Simon Theater in New York.* © GREGORY PACE/CORBIS.

merely aesthetic undermine its political force as a strategy of queer resistance to normative models of identity, respectability, gender, sexuality, and class.

Noting that most of the leading lights in the pantheon of camp figures are women, recent feminist critics such as Pamela Robertson (1996) have questioned the notion of a one-way exchange in camp in which gay men supposedly appropriate female stars and female styles but women do not appropriate a gay male aesthetic. To see exchanges between women and gay men is to imagine, Robertson argues, that feminism can have a similar critical distance from and opposition to mainstream popular cultural forms. Thus, Mae West's camping could parody 1890s traditions of burlesque and female impersonation to contest contemporary female stereotypes in the 1930s.

DRAG QUEENS AND KITSCH

One of the most recognizable forms of camp has long been the female impersonator, or drag queen. The drag queen performs a reading of culture by invoking the femininity of certain film stars and famous singers and performers past and present and parodying those traits by exaggerating them. Thus, Judy Garland's overly painted face might be parodied to the point of clownishness by huge red lips and gigantic false eyelashes, her need to be loved by her audience reduced to a grotesque and sexualized begging by the drag performer down on his knees in front of the audience, and her signature vibrato amplified to the point of quavery croaking, all of it suggesting both the hardness and the pathos of an over-the-hill performer unwilling to relinquish the limelight. Although such impersonation was read in the past as making fun of women, it is possible to interpret the masquerade of femininity as the butt of the impersonator's joke; indeed, one of the things camp drag emphasizes is the enormous effort it takes to be a woman and a performer. Female drag impersonators are usually effeminate gay men whose femininity has served as a source of both oppression and pride for them, and their camp take on the dignity and burden of femininity is often profoundly sympathetic and identificatory as well as parodic.

That type of drag was even more political and oppositional in the days when it was illegal to dress in the clothes of the opposite sex. In the era when police could arrest men or women who did not have on at least three items of gender-appropriate clothing, the theatricality of drag protected gay female impersonators from the violence meted out to effeminate men who were not in costume and makeup. Other forms of camp, such as the arch enthusiasm for kitschy, sentimental items such as Hummel statues, velvet paintings, onion-head children with huge eyes, and baby animal figurines, signify other kinds of opposition, the cultivation of an aesthetic that rejects the institutionalization of "high" art and instead celebrates the lowbrow, the ugly, and the general trashiness of mass-manufactured collectibles. This type of camp is political insofar as it rejects the self-improving class politics of bourgeois aesthetics. At the same time it takes a certain level of sophistication to appreciate the lowbrow as lowbrow; thus, the camp appreciation for kitsch risks accusations of condescension in its appropriation of lowbrow sentimentality as something that is interesting mostly because it is bizarre.

Whether camp remains a specifically gay aesthetic is debatable only because camp has permeated mainstream culture to such a profound degree since Sontag's essay. Camp has transformed itself dramatically from the camp of an earlier era. The secret language of camp melodrama and emotional excess, in which a group of homosexual insiders and their friends once read Mae West's suggestiveness as nelly effeminacy, Joan Crawford's hard femininity as drag queen hauteur, or Judy Garland's brave vulnerability as the broken-hearted optimism of the gay romantic heart, has become ubiquitous in popular culture. The distinction between naïve and intentional camp Sontag insisted on has disappeared as mainstream audiences have grown more sophisticated.

The best examples of camp from the latter decades of the twentieth century were usually intentional products rather than naïve accidents, whether the invitation to subcultural revelry of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show,* which makes fun of the straightest characters and rewards the naughty ones; the B-movie vulgarity of *Showgirls*, with its cheesy dialogue and over-the-top bad acting; the sissy boys and drag queens playing heterosexual men and women in a John Waters film; or the tongue-in-cheek retro style of *But I'm a Cheerleader*, much of it taken from Waters, in which heterosexual normativity is portrayed as cultish and bizarre. Television series such as the night-time soap opera *Desperate Housewives* deliberately cultivated a camp critical distance between viewers and the characters, encouraging audiences to judge the everyday pursuits of suburban families as bizarre, excessive, and highly entertaining. Reality television became adept at exploiting the camp effect of contestants frantically trying to become famous, its judges acting as critics who ridiculed talentless people who were willing to do anything for money and attention. By recognizing and creating a market of viewers who would tune in week after week to watch people embarrass themselves, reality television read the excessive desire for fame on the part of everyday people as ubiquitous, excessive, outrageous, queer, kitschy, ridiculous, and touching, creating a new take on an old culture of spectacular display in which everyone and anyone, regardless of identity, can imitate the performing style of his or her favorite star and be queen for a day. If camp has become the hip sensibility of contemporary popular culture, it remains to be seen whether the camp gesture or way of reading culture can continue to operate as oppositional or subversive. It is uncertain whether camp has been assimilated to the degree that if everything is camp, nothing is, or whether, instead, if everything is camp, everything is.

SEE ALSO *Dandyism; Drag Kings; Drag Queens; Garland, Judy; Wilde, Oscar.*

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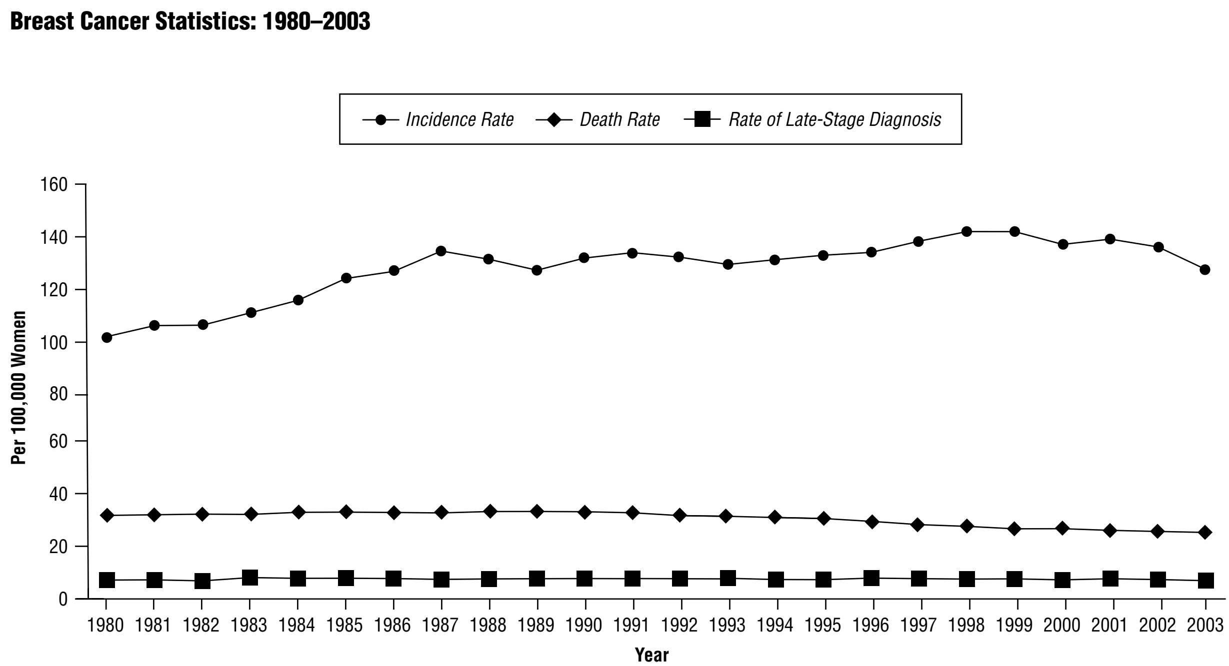
Jaime Hovey

CANCER, BREAST

In 1971 U.S. President Richard M. Nixon declared a war on cancer and poured more than $100 million into cancer research due to public outcry against the disease. Cancer kills more than half a million Americans each year (American Cancer Society [ACS] 2006, p. 4). One of the most common types of the disease was also one of the first identified in humans, breast cancer. Physicians have recognized it for thousands of years. However years of research and hundreds of millions of dollars have not resulted in an exact cause or cure. Breast cancer is still a major health problem in the early-twenty-first century and one out of eight American women was diagnosed with the disease in 2005 (ACS 2006, p. 14; Olson 2002; Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results Program [SEER] 2002, p. 1). The history of breast cancer is filled with controversy because of the highly gendered nature of the disease and the status of the female breast as a cultural symbol of sexuality.



SOURCE: National Cancer Institute. *Cancer Trends Progress Report—2005 Update.* U.S. Institute of Health. Available online at www.cancer.gov.

Breast Cancer Statistics, 1980-2003. THOMSON GALE.

INCIDENCE RATE, MORTALITY RATE, AND TREATMENT OPTIONS

Breast cancer is the leading cancer diagnosis among American women, accounting for nearly one in three cancers in that group (ACS 2006, p. 1). Figure 1 depicts incidence of and death rates from female breast cancer and rates of late-stage breast cancer diagnosis in the United States from 1997 to 2002. Cancer incidence is measured as the number of new cases each year for every 100,000 women while the death rate is measured as the number of deaths each year for every 100,000 women. Overall these figures seem promising; the declining fatalities and increasing five-year survival rates indicate that larger numbers of women survive a cancer diagnosis. However the incidence of female breast cancer has steadily increased since 1980. The increase is largely attributed to more mammography screenings in women ages forty and over. For example, 29 percent of women in the forty and over group were tested in 1987 as compared to 70 percent in 2000. Although the mortality rate declined during the 1990s, rates of late-stage (metastases) breast cancer diagnosis have remained stable since 1980 and hover around 7 per 100,000 women (National Cancer Institute [NCI] 2005a, p.1). Patients diagnosed in later stages are less likely to benefit from treatments or recover as easily as those whose diseases were discovered at earlier stages.

Cancer-related health disparities remain among population subgroups in the United States. Both incidence and death rates generally increase with age—more that 95 percent of new cases occurred in women forty and older. The average age at diagnosis is sixty-one. Caucasian women have the highest incidence of breast cancer (141.1 per 100,000, 1998–2002) but black women have the highest rate of breast cancer death (34.7 per 100,000). Hispanics, Asians, and women of other minority groups have lower incidence of and death from breast cancer (ACS 2006, p. 2). A recent study also confirmed treatment disparities between Caucasian and minority women; minority women with early-stage breast cancer received fewer cycles of cheomotherapy than Caucasian women (Bickell, Wang, Oluwole, et al. 2006).

Early remedies for the cancer were surgical or conservative. Doctors preferred conservative treatment, which included purging, specific diets, bloodletting, and medicines. In the nineteenth century, Viennese surgeon Theodor Billroth confirmed that breast cancer traveled to regional lymph nodes before spreading to other parts of the body. As a result radical mastectomy, also known as Halsted mastectomy, was the major treatment for breast cancer until 1979. The radical mastectomy removes the breast and the underlying muscle in the chest wall or pectoral muscle. In the 1980s modified radical mastectomy became standard, while breast conservation therapy (BCT) was the preferred treatment in the 1990s (Altman 1996, Olson 2002). BCT combines a lumpectomy with radiation therapy. A modified radical mastectomy removes the whole breast, some axillary lymph nodes, and possibly part of chest wall muscle. A lumpectomy removes only the tumor and a rim of normal surrounding breast tissue (NCCN 2005).

Therapies in the early twenty-first century are based on a number of factors, including age, onset of menopause, severity, histologic and nuclear grade of the primary tumor, estrogen-receptor (ER) and progesterone-receptor (PR) status, measures of proliferative capacity, and HER2/neu gene amplification. Patients can choose between standard treatments and clinical trials. Standard treatments include surgery, radiation therapy, chemotherapy, and hormone therapy. Typical surgeries include lumpectomy, partial mastectomy, total mastectomy, modified radical mastectomy, and radical mastectomy. In 1990 the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Consensus Development Panel concluded that BCT provided the same survival rates as women who chose total mastectomy and axillary dissection. Accordingly the NIH recommends BCT for women with early-stage breast cancer (stages I and II). Despite the NIH recommendation, the modified radical mastectomy remains the most common surgical procedure for women diagnosed with early-stage breast cancer (Altman 1996, NCI 2005b). A recent study concluded that more patient involvement in treatment decision making was associated with greater use of mastectomy (Katz, Lantz, Jamz, et al 2005). Concern about disease recurrence was cited as the most influential factor when women chose mastectomies over BCT.

Radiation therapy uses high-energy x-rays or other forms of radiation to destroy cancer cells in the breast, chest wall, or lymph nodes. It is generally used after surgery, especially as part of BCT. The treatment commonly follows a mastectomy in cases with either of the following conditions, a tumor larger than five centimeters in size or positive lymph nodes. There are two different types of radiation therapy: external beam and internal. External beam therapy, which is most common, uses an external machine to deliver the radiation, while a radioactive substance (usually sealed in needles, seeds, wires or catheters) is inserted into the body in or near the tumor in the internal method (NCCN 2005, NCI 2005b).

Chemotherapy and hormone therapy are systemic treatments, meaning they both use drugs to stop the growth of cancer cells. Chemotherapy can be used before surgery (neoadjuvant treatment) and after surgery (adjuvant therapy). The goal for neoadjuvant treatment is to shrink the tumor enough to make surgical removable possible, especially for women who have a large tumor and prefer to undergo BCT. Adjuvant therapy kills cancer cells that break away from the primary tumor and spread through the bloodstream, and do not show up on diagnostic tests such as an X-ray and CT scan or can not be felt during the physical examinations by physicians (NCCN 2005, NCI 2005b). Systemic treatment can be given intravenously or orally and is more effective when combinations of more than one drug are used together. Chemotherapy has been recommended for women with positive lymph nodes since 1985, but younger women are more likely to receive chemotherapy than older women. For example, in 2000, 86 percent of women ages twenty to sixty-four with node-positive breast cancer received chemotherapy as compared to 45 percent of women sixty-five and up with similar conditions. For women whose breast cancers have spread to other organs in the body (metastases, stage IV), systemic treatment is the main treatment.

For women with estrogen- and progesterone-receptor positive tumors, hormone drugs are given after standard treatment to prevent recurrence. There are two types of hormone drugs, anti-estrogen drugs and aromatase inhibitors. Tamoxifen is the most commonly used of the anti-estrogen drugs, which act to block estrogen after it is produced. It is often prescribed for five years. Aromatase inhibitors, which interfere with the production of estrogen, have the same or better effects, but fewer side effects compared with tamoxifen. Accordingly they are the preferred adjuvant hormone therapy for postmenopausal women (NCCN 2005).

In addition to standard treatments, patients can also participate in clinical trials testing promising treatments. A new treatment is normally studied in three phrases of clinical trials before it is eligible for approval by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). The last phase involves enrolling thousands of patients with one group receiving the standard treatment and the other group receiving the new treatment. Between 2000 and 2005, a clinical trial tested the effectiveness of trastuzumab (also called Herceptin) on women who have tested positive for the HER2/neu receptor. The study enrolled more than 3,300 patients with early-stage breast cancers and positive axillary lymph nodes and concluded that patients who received trastuzumab combined with standard chemotherapy had a 52 percent decrease in disease recurrence compared to patients treated with standard chemotherapy alone. Because of this finding, trastuzumab has become part of standard chemotherapy treatment for about 20 to 25 percent of breast cancer women whose tumors are HER2/neu receptor positive (NCI 2005c).

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF BREAST CANCER

Gender-roles in a patriarchal society are established with man in mind and female sexuality is constructed to complement male sexuality. Thus a woman's breast performs both reproductive and sexual functions; a nutrition source for infants also serves as erotic draw for men. Women's subordinate position also manifests itself in breast cancer treatment, where patients tend to be female and physicians male. In the disease's early history, women often delayed seeking medical treatment because of shame and stigma. After diagnosis women usually left the treatment decision entirely in the hands of their male physicians. This paternalistic relationship between breast cancer patient and physician persisted until major social changes transformed medical practice in the 1960s and 1970s (Casamayou 2001, Olson 2002, Young 1998).

At the macro level, post-World War II economic affluence led to significant cultural and structural changes in the United States. As suggested by political scientist Ronald Inglehart, people became more sensitive to quality of life issues such as social justice, equity, and citizen participation in the public decision-making process. Economic affluence also created more than 72 million baby boomers during the period from 1946 to 1964. Social movements in the 1960s such as civil rights, environmental, and feminist movements as well as the anti-Vietnam War movement, were products of these cultural and social changes. These macro-level changes set a new stage for patient advocates to challenge the medical establishment and demand the federal government reexamine issues related to women's health and patient's rights.

At the micro level, the federal government did not have a formal policy about cancer until public concern about the disease replaced fear of infectious diseases in the 1930s. As a result of the new public interest, the NCI was established in 1937. Funding for biomedical research emerged as the heart of federal health policy after the World War II—a triple alliance among congressional representatives, executive agency personnel, and lobbyists was formed to secure funding. Key congressional supporters included John Fogarty, chair of the Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare subcommittees of the appropriations committees of the House and Senate, and Lister Hill. Outside the government, health activist Mary Lasker formed the first lobbyist group for cancer research with her own wealth after her husband died of cancer. Backed by the triple alliance, the medical establishment basked in an unprecedented position of prestige and power over patients.

However other social forces emerged during the 1970s that changed paternalistic relationships between patients and physicians. First media coverage of prominent women's diagnoses and cancer treatments led to a societal openness toward the disease. These women included actress and diplomat Shirley Temple Black; Betty Ford, wife of President Gerald Ford; Happy Rockefeller, wife of politician Nelson Rockefeller; and writer Betty Rollin. Second the 1960s feminist movement created a new generation of educated women with professional and organizational skills. One of them was Rose Kushner whose breast cancer experience led her to become the first patient consumer advocate. She campaigned to change the one-step (biopsy and mastectomy) process to a two-step process of breast cancer diagnosis and surgery, and promoted the patients' rights to shop for the surgeon after diagnosis. Other survivors and advocates shared similar views and believed that more funding was needed to further lower breast cancer deaths and that patients should have greater involvement in treatment decision making. Many were also disturbed by the 1977 FDA policy that banned fertile women from toxicity studies and from initial safety and efficacy studies. Under the guise of *protecting the fetus*, this policy resulted in excluding many women from accessing major clinical trials. Angered and frustrated with unfair medical practices, breast cancer survivors formed grassroots patient advocacy organizations; eventually national breast cancer advocacy groups like the National Alliance for Breast Cancer Organizations (NABCO) in 1986, Y-ME in 1978, Susan B. Komen in 1982, National Breast Cancer Coalition in 1991, and Living Beyond Breast Cancer in 1991 were established. The grassroots breast cancer movement led to the biggest increase in federal funding for breast cancer research. For example, in 2005, the NCI alone invested $570 million in breast cancer research, while the entire public funding for breast cancer research was about $600 million in 1993 (Casamayou 2001, NCI 2006, Oberman 1994).

BREAST CANCER AND THE IMAGE OF WOMEN'S BODY

Breast cancer diagnosis and its related treatment inflict physical as well as psychosocial discomfort on patients. Some discomforts such as fatigue and hair loss are transitory, but others such as weight gain, premature menopause, and the loss of a breast linger on. Research focuses most of its attention on the effect of breast surgery on women's sexuality and body image. The mystique of a woman's breast in popular culture has deeply affected how women and men view themselves and their partners. Popular media reinforces these images by linking a woman's beauty to a slim, fit body with large breasts (Altman 1996, Dinnerstein and Weitz 1998, Olson 2002). Even the ACS held breast cancer survivors to these standards of beauty. During the 1980s, Darlene Betteley, a volunteer for the Reach to Recovery Program, was required to wear a prosthesis for hospital visits because the ACS did not want women who just had a mastectomy to be reminded of how the surgery changed a woman's exterior. According to the ACS, a woman without a breast is not a *normal* woman and volunteers were expected to look normal during hospital visits (Batt 1998).

Contrary to popular belief, a majority of women who had mastectomies did not undergo breast reconstruction,

Mammography. *A woman undergoes a mammography, a test that screens for breast cancer.* **PHANIE/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.**

even when the procedure would be covered by medical insurance. Empirical studies on the impact of breast surgery on the quality of life among survivors revealed mixed findings. Some reported that women who had lumpectomies were more satisfied with their body image and marital relationships than women who had mastectomies, but others reported no significant differences between the two groups in terms of psychological well-being and marital relationships (Altman 1996; Fung, Lau, Fielding, Or, and Yip 2000; Lichtman, Taylor, and Wood 1988). Another effect of breast cancer treatment on a woman's body is weight gain. Studies confirmed that weight gain and obesity are common in women diagnosed with breast cancer. Weigh gain was also related to higher rates of breast cancer recurrence and mortality, in particular in women who had never smoked (Irwin, McTiernan, Baumgartner, et al 2006; Kroenke, Chen, Rosner, Holmes 2005).

The post-World War II generation of women transformed societal reactions toward breast cancer because of their own breast cancer experiences. These courageous women challenged cultural norms about women's breasts and empowered patients' rights in breast cancer treatment. Today breast cancer research and survivors receive unprecedented support from governments and communities. Early-twenty-first-century studies also confirmed that the quality of post-treatment life was better for women who were actively involved in the treatment planning (Hack, Degner, Watson, and Sinha 2006). New patient advocacy organizations targeting specific groups such as Sisters Network Inc and Young Survival coalition were established in the late-1990s. Despite this progress, the incidence of breast cancer remains higher than it was in the mid-1970s and cancer-related disparities remain among population subgroups. Future study should focus on how certain cultural practices or beliefs affect breast cancer diagnosis and treatment decisions. Finally women who are uninsured or underinsured are less likely to receive the same quality of treatment as their peers, which may contribute to these disparities.

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Furjen Deng

CANCER, PROSTATE

Prostate cancer is the growth of malignant cells in the prostate gland, one of the male sex glands. The prostate, which produces a fluid that becomes semen, is walnut-sized, lies below the bladder, and surrounds the urethra. Prostate cancer is the most common cancer found in men and usually occurs after age fifty, with the vast majority of cases diagnosed after age sixty-five. This cancer is usually slow growing; however, it can be aggressive, especially in younger men.

Although the cause of prostate cancer is unknown, several risk factors are associated with the disease: age; African-American heritage; family history (especially a brother or father diagnosed and especially if the cancer occurred at an early age); high fat diet; and frequent exposure to rubber or cadmium. In addition, high plasma testosterone levels may be associated with increased risk.

Although prostate cancer may present no symptoms and may be found in routine physical exams, common symptoms include: problems with urination (e.g., frequent, difficult, or painful); difficulties with erection or ejaculation; blood in semen or urine; and stiffness or pain in thighs, hips, or back. However, these symptoms are associated with other noncancerous conditions as well.

Prostate cancer is curable if detected early, but a lack of symptoms can lead to later detection. The two most common screening methods are digital rectal exams (physician inserts finger in rectum) and blood tests (checking prostate-specific antigen or prostatic acid phosphatase). Other testing methods include urine tests (checking for blood or infection), transrectal ultrasonography (using rectal probe producing sound waves to try to locate tumors), intravenous pyelogram (X-rays of urinary tract), cystoscopy

Prostate Cancer Surgery. *Doctors perform surgery to remove a cancerous prostate gland.*
COLIN CUTHBERT/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

(examining the urethra and bladder with a lighted tube), and biopsy (removing and examining prostate tissue sample). A biopsy is the most definitive test.

Treatment recommendations vary based on the extent of the cancer, a person's age and health, and the amount of risk involved in the procedure. For cancer that is detected early and growing slowly, watchful waiting (periodic assessment of the cancer growth without actively treating it) may be the best approach—particularly for older patients and those with other medical problems. Removing the cancer, adjacent tissue, and possibly close lymph nodes through surgery is another option. This treatment is usually reserved for those under seventy and in good health. Risks involved in surgery include impotence and compromised stool and urine control.

Radiation, which targets malignant cells and shrinks tumors, is another common combatant to prostate cancer. It can be external (targeted from outside of the body) or internal (implanted into the prostate) and may also result in impotence and problems with urination. Hormone therapy is a fourth option that lowers male hormone levels, which can slow cancerous growth and shrink tumors. It can involve surgery (the removal of one or both testicles), taking drugs to help lower or prevent male hormone production, or both. Side effects for this type of procedure include hot flashes, bone weakening, impaired sexual function, heart attacks, and strokes. Among the other options to choose from are chemotherapy, cryosurgery, focused ultrasound, experimental radiation therapies, herbal treatment, and biological therapy.

Generally, agencies recommend that men have yearly digital rectal exams and blood tests after the age of fifty. Men with greater risk factors should begin screening earlier.

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Joy L. Hart

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, which is practiced by humans and other animals, is the act or practice of consuming any part of the body of a member of one's own species. In some cultures the practice is sacrosanct; in others, including the majority of those in the West, it is taboo. Although the origins of cannibalism are unclear, "archeological evidence suggests that cannibalism was practiced as far back as the Neolithic Period and Bronze Age in what is now Europe and the Americas" (Bell 2006, p. 2). According to William Arens's *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (1980), the word stems from an expedition to the West Indies led by Christopher Columbus during which he and his crew purportedly learned of the ritualistic consumption of human flesh among members of the Carib tribe. "The explorers mispronounced the name of the tribe and referred to them as 'Canibs,' which was over time changed to 'canibales,' meaning thirsty and cruel in Spanish. The English translation of the Spanish word became cannibalism," whereas "the Latin form of the word cannibalism is anthropophagy and is a term used mostly in anthropology and archeology" (Bell 2006).

TYPES OF CANNIBALISM

Survival cannibalism (the consumption of flesh to survive a desperate situation) is exemplified by the 1846 Donner Party expedition through the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the 1972 crash in the Andes of the airplane carrying the Uruguayan rugby team, the story of which was told in the 1993 film *Alive*. The most prominent forms of ritualistic cannibalism are epicurean and/or nutritional (practiced for the taste or nutritional value of the consumed flesh), exocannibalism (cannibalizing members outside one's social group), and endocannibalism (cannibalizing members within one's social group).

Exocannibalism usually is associated with violence and the belief that consuming the flesh of an enemy endows a cannibal with the spirit and/or abilities of the deceased. Commonly based on the same belief, endocannibalism most frequently is practiced in the form of mortuary cannibalism (consumption of the already deceased) and may be referred to as compassionate cannibalism. Prominent historical examples include the ancient Aztecs of Mexico, who employed all these forms in their cannibalization of several thousand individuals per year, and the Iroquoian North American Indian tribe, which is thought to have engaged in exocannibalism as recently as 1838. Certain tribes in Papua New Guinea practiced all three types of ritualistic cannibalism until the 1950s and 1960s. Such practices were accompanied by the spread of kuru, a deadly and highly infectious illness similar to mad cow disease. Large-scale ritualistic cannibalism was curtailed by the early 1900s, largely as a result of the activities of Christian missionaries.

Sexual cannibalism (sexualized consumption of one's own species), although widely considered a psychosexual disorder, is not listed in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. *Vorephilia* (sexual interest in things eating other things) may involve sexual cannibalism, although it typically does not (Adams 2004). In 2002 the psychologist Steven Scher of Eastern Illinois University conducted an atypical research study regarding cannibalism

Jeffrey Dahmer. *Serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer may be classified as a sexual cannibal.* AP IMAGES.

and sexual interests in which he and his team "found that people were more likely to eat someone that they were sexually attracted to" (Bell 2006, p. 5). Modern serial killers who may be placed under the heading of sexual cannibalism include Andrei Chikatilo, Jeffrey Dahmer, Albert Fish, Robin Gecht and the Chicago Rippers, Ed Gein, Georg Grossman, Fritz Haarmann, Edmund Kemper, Armand Meiwes, Issei Sagawa, and Sascha Spesiwtsew.

MODERN CANNIBALS

The Russian Andrei Romanovitch Chikatilo (1936–1994), known as the Rostov Ripper, was convicted of and executed for the murders of fifty-two women and children. After his first killing in 1978 Chikatilo was unable to achieve sexual arousal separate from violence, and he was known to mutilate and consume parts of his victims, including their breasts and sexual organs. Furthermore, "Chikatilo claimed that he was disgusted by the 'loose morals' of many of his victims, who served as painful reminders of his own sexual incompetence" (Bell 2006, p. 5).

The American Albert Fish (1870–1936), known as the Moon Maniac, the Gray Man, and the Brooklyn Vampire, was a self-mutilating sadomasochist who enjoyed driving sharp objects deep into his genital region. Although Fish apparently never harmed his six children, whom he raised largely by himself, he tortured and/or killed numerous other children, whose flesh, urine, blood, and excrement he admitted to consuming for sexual pleasure. Fish referred to his implements of torture as "instruments of hell" and used a belt studded with nails to tenderize the flesh of his victims before cooking and consuming them. Fish pleaded insanity in 1935 but was found sane and guilty and electrocuted in Sing Sing Prison in 1936, an experience he predicted would be the "supreme thrill." Fish's final words apparently were "I don't know why I'm here."

The advent of the Internet brought the worldwide subculture of cannibalism fetishism to the surface through a myriad of websites and bulletin boards where individuals can post classified advertisements. The advertisers have been mostly homosexual males seeking men or heterosexual men seeking women. In 2001 such postings translated into actual cannibalistic activities when the forty-one-year-old homosexual computer administrator Armin Meiwes of Rotenburg, Germany, placed an advertisement on the Internet searching for "young, well-built men aged 18 to 30 to slaughter" and received a promising reply (one of approximately two hundred) from the forty-three-year-old Bernd-Jurgen Brandes (BBC: "German Cannibal" 2003). The ensuing activities, which were videotaped by Meiwes, began with the two attempting to flambé, then fry, and then consume Brandes's penis at Brandes's request and ended with Meiwes slowly killing, dissecting, and partially consuming Brandes as well as storing parts of the deceased in his freezer. Meiwes was caught after he again advertised on the Internet ten months later. As in most industrialized nations there are no laws directly governing cannibalism in Germany. Meiwes was charged with murder for "sexual satisfaction," convicted of manslaughter in January 2004, and sentenced to jail for eight and a half years. In 2005 the gay filmmaker Rosa von Praunheim turned Miewes's case into a feature entitled *Your Heart in My Brain*.

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Whitney Jones Olson

CANON LAW

Canon law is the law of the church. Prior to the Reformation in the sixteenth century, canon law was used across Christendom. Beginning as early as the second century CE, the church developed legal norms that it attempted to enforce on the faithful. During the Middle Ages (between approximately 500 and 1400), canon law pertained to virtually every aspect of human activity, although, after the Reformation, with the development of the modern nation-state, the purview of canon law constricted as secular law courts became dominant. Canon law continues to govern many aspects of the life of members of the Catholic, Lutheran, Orthodox, and Anglican churches, primarily in areas influenced by religious belief and morality, especially areas of human sexual activity.

James A. Brundage, the foremost historian of medieval canon law governing sex and sexuality, identified three patterns used to categorize and evaluate sex. The first was according to the reproductive function of sex, which formed the basis for evaluating various sexual activities as natural or unnatural. Second, sex was perceived as a source of impurity, leading to feelings of shame by the participants, or a perception that those who engaged in sex were defiled and required ritual cleansing. Finally, sex was viewed as a source of intimacy and a means of expressing and enhancing love within a married couple. These perspectives influenced various aspects of the moral code governing sex and sexuality as it was enshrined in canon law.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Canon law developed out of a wide array of sources over the course of many centuries. In the early Christian church, councils were convened to settle doctrinal controversies, and their pronouncement or decision was termed a canon. Gradually, multiple councils issued canons clarifying a wide variety of questions, some quite broad with others directed to specific difficult cases. Another means to clarify doctrine or resolve disputes was through ecclesiastical legislation implemented by a bishop. The letters and decisions of the pope, called decretals, carried particular weight. The writings of church fathers, those early theologians who expounded upon the implications and application of religion in daily life, were another source for law. Finally, a body of literature known as penitentials began to appear in western European Christendom between the sixth and tenth centuries. Penitentials were lists of sins, that is, transgressions against the Christian moral code, accompanied by the appropriate penance. All these sources circulated throughout the early Middle Ages and carried varying degrees of authority. That the various sources frequently contradicted each other added to this proliferation and confusion. Thus, early canon law was a complex of disparate documentation that did not provide a consistent interpretation of doctrine or penalties for transgression.

By the eleventh century there were attempts to collect the various canons and pieces of legislation. Two of the earliest attempts, which influenced the subsequent development of canon law, were the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (c. 950–1025), which drew significantly on the penitentials, and the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040–c. 1116), which drew together numerous patristic texts. It was not until the mid-twelfth century, however, that canon law was collected and systemized. Around the year 1140, the canon lawyer Gratian (d. before 1159) laid the foundations of a systematic approach to canon law with the publication of his *Concordia discordantium canonum* (Concordance of disconcordant canons). This work, popularly known as the *Decretum*, included patristic authorities, early church council decrees, and papal decisions, organized according to topic or theme. Gratian organized these varied and contradictory sources and subjected them to logical analysis, reconciling their discrepancies in his own commentary. Through the juxtaposition of various views and assisted by his own critical analysis, Gratian produced a synthetic and systematic summary of church law.

Whereas the *Decretum* formed the foundation of canon law, pronouncements by church councils and bishops and decretals by the popes continued to be issued. As a result canon law continued to grow, and the *Decretum* soon needed updating. In 1234 a new collection of canon law appeared based on new legislation and the thousands of decretals that had been issued after Gratian finished his compilation. Raymond of Peñafort (c. 1185–1275), a famous canon lawyer, was appointed by Pope Gregory IX to compile this new collection, known as the *Decretales Gregorii* or the *Liber extra*. Subsequently, at intervals, similar collections were published to cope with ensuing legislation. The last of these appeared in 1500. Shortly afterward the collections were bundled together and, along with Gratian's *Decretum*, formed the complete collection of canon law, the *Corpus juris canonici* (Body of canon law), which endured from the later Middle Ages until it was revised in 1917. The code of canon law was again revised in 1983. Medieval canon law, then, had currency well into the modern world, formed the basis of western European and North American morality and

A Manucript Page from Gratian's Decretum. © COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM OF BIBLIOTECA CAPITUAL TORTOSA; RAMON MANENT/CORBIS.

informed the values of secular law codes across those societies into the twenty-first century.

ENFORCEMENT

From the initial appearance of organized Christian communities, church leaders attempted to impose rules to govern the sexual behavior of the faithful. In his letters, written in the mid-first century, the apostle Paul certainly admonished Christians to embrace chastity and avoid the libidinous excesses that characterized Roman society. As a marginal group Christian communities had only informal, internal mechanisms to control the behavior of their members. When Christianity was recognized as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, however, church leaders began to hold councils and issue canons, and they developed effective mechanisms of enforcement that were more effective.

Christian sexual morality was built upon the fundamental tenet that legitimate sexual activity could occur only within marriage and for the purpose of procreation. Although some argued that a married couple could seek an outlet for sexual desire with their spouse or engage in sexual activity as a means of developing intimacy and reinforcing marital love, such acts were considered to be somewhat sinful, albeit permissible. Thus, not every sex act that was sinful was necessarily illegal. The distinction, however, between sexual sin and sexual crime was clarified, and some sexual irregularities were relegated to the internal forum of confession and penance. So, for example, canon law did not comment on the phenomenon of men's nocturnal emissions, although this was considered to be a matter of considerable moral concern. Similarly, although masturbation was a prohibited sex act, it was considered to be relatively minor and private, and better left to the confessional. These examples illustrate how the theological and canonical approaches to sexuality were closely linked and mutually influenced each other.

The ecclesiastical courts, charged with enforcing canon law, concerned themselves with more egregious breaches of the moral code, especially those infractions that were public. For example, adultery was a serious crime, not only because it breached the sexual fidelity that was central to marriage, but also because it could result in the birth of illegitimate children who could challenge the laws of inheritance and defraud legitimate children. Canon law considered adultery as if it were a crime pertaining primarily to women. Men were rarely punished for adultery, although they might be required to perform penance for their sin. A woman convicted of adultery, however, suffered disgrace, and could be relegated to a convent, thrown out of her home, deprived of her children and dowry, and reduced to penury.

Frequently, the only economic recourse for an adulterous wife, as for other impoverished women, was prostitution. Although prostitution was also considered a crime under canon law, for both the prostitute and the client, the medieval church tended to treat it relatively leniently. For example, although a prostitute both sinned and committed a crime, she was also a worker and as such was owed her wages. A client who tried to avoid paying her was guilty of theft. The church tended to tolerate prostitution because it was considered a lesser evil. Without prostitutes men's unbridled lust would have no outlet, and honorable matrons and respectable virgin daughters would be subject to harassment on the streets or even to abduction and rape. This indicates some of the compromises that canon law made to accommodate the realities of daily life. Whereas a man who consorted with a prostitute committed the sexual crime of fornication, or adultery if either were married, this act was preferable to the alternative.

If sexual crimes were public and notorious rather than private and secret, the church needed a means to prosecute the wrongdoers. As a result ecclesiastical courts appeared in the early thirteenth century designed, among other things, to regulate and control the sexual behavior of the laity. The attempt to regulate sexual activity was particularly directed at the unmarried, those men and women who committed fornication. Whereas fornication was considered one of the least serious of the sexual transgressions, it was also believed to be the most widespread. The church developed a system of regulation that permitted court officials to summon people to account for their behavior on the basis of rumor or general suspicion. For convicted couples the punishments were relatively minor and could range from paying a small fine to being whipped three times around the church or local marketplace. The church courts could also require a couple who engaged in habitual fornication to marry, assuming there were no impediments to prevent legal marriage.

LAWS: MARITAL SEX

Although many of the provisions of canon law were concerned with constraining sexual activity outside of marriage, others governed sexual relations between married people. One of the requirements for a legal marriage was the ability of each partner to engage in sexual relations. Although, according to various decretals issued by Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–1181), a couple did not need to consummate a marriage for it to be considered legitimate and indissoluble, sexual relations had to be possible. Hence, an impotent man or a woman with malformed genitals that prevented intercourse was prohibited from marrying. This requirement underscored the importance of procreation as the appropriate goal of marriage and sexual intercourse.

The church revealed its ambivalent attitude toward sex in numerous regulations that prohibited sexual relations, even within marriage. Most of these were related to the notion that sex caused impurity and pollution. This accounts for the imposition of clerical celibacy in the eleventh century. Reformers feared that a married priest would perform the sacraments while still polluted by sexual relations with his wife. Even the married laity faced strict limits on when and where they could engage in sex. Based on blood taboos and ideas about ritual purity inherited from Judaism, sex was forbidden when a woman was menstruating, lactating, or pregnant and after giving birth before she had been ritually cleansed by churching. Concerns about how to exclude polluted people from the sacraments and sacred spaces led to prohibitions on intercourse on Saturdays, Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and feast or fast days, and during holy seasons such as Lent or Advent. All of these prohibitions left on average about twenty-two days per year for legitimate marital intercourse. A couple was also forbidden to have sex in a church or cemetery, which would be polluted by the emission of semen. All these prohibitions, however, could be overridden by the doctrine of the conjugal debt.

The conjugal debt recognized that marriage provided the only legitimate outlet for sexual desire. Either spouse was required to grant the other sexual intercourse whenever and wherever it was demanded. This requirement was more important than the prohibitions of time or place or the woman's physical condition. The rationale was similar to the toleration of prostitution: If a spouse did not have a legitimate sexual outlet when needed, he or she might be tempted to engage in adultery. Although the conjugal debt was reciprocal in theory, the real concern was to channel men's lust and protect them from committing more serious sexual crimes such as rape, homosexuality, or bestiality. In practice it relegated wives to being perpetually available for sex, regardless of their personal wishes.

LAWS: EXTRAMARITAL SEX

Canonists were in general agreement that there was a hierarchy of sexual crimes, although they differed on the relative seriousness of different acts. In general fornication was considered the least serious offense because it did not breach the vows of marriage or chastity. Moreover, there was always the possibility that the man and woman would marry in the future. Adultery was more serious because it ruptured the sacramental bonds of marriage. Fornication and adultery, while illegal, were nevertheless considered to be natural. Far more serious were so-called unnatural sex acts that overthrew the natural order. These imperiled the souls of the individuals and destabilized the social order. There were four categories of unnatural acts: masturbation, bestiality, sex between a man and a woman in an unconventional manner, and sodomy. Masturbation, as a solitary and private act, was considered to be the least serious and was not prosecuted by the ecclesiastical courts. Bestiality, sex acts involving animals, had been considered a relatively minor crime in the rural society of the early Middle Ages. By the twelfth century, however, bestiality was the most serious of unnatural acts because it blurred the distinction between human and animal. Although bestiality carried severe penalties, including killing the animal and lifelong penance for the human actor, it rarely appears in the court records.

Adopting variant sexual positions during sexual intercourse was considered a serious offense, although this issue may have figured more prominently in the confessional than in court. The general suspicion regarding the virtually unavoidable pleasure that resulted from intercourse meant that canonists strove to regulate sex positions that might enhance pleasure and exacerbate the sinfulness of the sex act. The only licit position for intercourse was the so-called missionary position: vaginal intercourse, with the woman lying supine and the man prone on top of her. Any other positions were prohibited, although occasionally a writer might concede some variation, such as sitting or standing, if it would increase the probability of conception or if a disability prevented normal intercourse. Standards of morality dictated that a husband should not see his wife naked or engage in foreplay. Fellatio, cunnilingus, and anal intercourse were utterly forbidden because they were judged to be both contraceptive and unnatural.

Sodomy was an ill-defined category of sexual transgression. For most of the Middle Ages and into the early modern and modern periods, the term referred to sexual acts between two men, particularly anal intercourse. Sometimes the term denoted a wide array of *unnatural acts*, including mutual masturbation, interfemoral rubbing, fellatio, and cunnilingus. Sodomy sometimes included sex between women, but because such activity did not involve vaginal penetration and the emission of semen, it was not considered as serious a sexual crime as sex between men. Sex between women was more serious if one of the participants cross-dressed or used a dildo to imitate the male role. After the mid-thirteenth century sex between women was considered generally equivalent to that between men.

Although as early as the eleventh century homosexuality had been denounced by reformers such as Pier Damiani (Peter Damian) seeking to impose clerical celibacy, it was not until the thirteenth century that fear of homosexuality led to widespread prosecutions. Sex between men came under increasing scrutiny, and the pace of accusations and prosecutions increased. Sodomy was considered a capital offense by the secular legal system. Some of the men convicted of sodomy by the religious courts were turned over to secular authorities for execution because capital punishment was forbidden under canon law. The persecution of homosexuals that increased during the early modern and modern periods grew out of cooperation between church and state to enforce the Christian moral code.

FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE MODERN WORLD

The canon laws governing sex and sexuality developed over the course of a thousand years were systematized and codified in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and were enforced across western Europe by ecclesiastical courts. Although in the sixteenth century the Protestant Reformation ruptured the seamless system of canon law and ecclesiastical courts, there was remarkably little change to the laws governing sexual activity. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the older regulations governing sexual activities endured, with perhaps only an increase in the prosecution of both male and female same-sex activities. In continental Europe the regulation of sex gradually moved from religious to secular jurisdiction. In England ecclesiastical courts endured through the breach with Rome, and church courts continued to enforce canon law with remarkably little deviation from their Catholic roots. In Roman Catholic areas, the ecclesiastical courts were more centralized in the wake of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), although the canon laws regarding sex were maintained. It was not until the eighteenth century that church courts ceased to be the main mechanism for the enforcement of sexual norms, even as canon law continued to enunciate those norms.

The principle features of medieval canon law were carried into the modern world and into the secular court systems of modern states. The vestiges of medieval canon law endured in European and North American values and legal systems into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Many jurisdictions in the United States retain sodomy laws that prevent sexual activity between men; some prohibit anal sex within marriage or between any consenting adults. Only in the 1980s and 1990s was the concept of spousal rape recognized. Prior to that the doctrine of the conjugal debt continued to influence society's understanding that a husband had an absolute right to sexual relations with his wife. In some places adultery and fornication remained illegal until the 1960s. Even in the early twenty-first century, the argument endures that the primary goal of marriage is procreation, and consequently, a married man and woman should receive special recognition, status, and privileges from the state. The procreative aspect of marriage is used as a rationale to prohibit same-sex unions. This view can be traced back to the fourth century, when the church argued that the primary role of marriage and sexual intercourse was to produce children. Vestiges of medieval values are found throughout European and North American societies and in those societies that have been influenced by European and North American law and Christianity. Only in the late twentieth century were many of the medieval perspectives on sex and sexuality challenged. Even so, some, such as the prohibition against bestiality, remain deeply embedded in North American and European society's understanding of sexual morality.

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Jacqueline Murray

CANON, REVISING THE

One might best define canon formation as the process by which works of literature come to be considered *classics*. Although the value of particular authors or works has always been debated, it was not until the emergence of feminism and the social movements for racial justice of the 1960s and 1970s, and the academic disciplines they have spawned (women's studies, black and ethnic studies, multicultural studies), that the process of canon formation itself has been questioned. Until then, the canon remained a firmly entrenched exclusionary category whose very raison d'être was to seem unmovable. The higher education curriculum, in particular through such courses as "great books," or rhetorical categories such as "masterpieces," maintained a vision of cultural heritage that was overwhelmingly male, white, and European-derived, and in which the political and aesthetic effects of sexual orientation were carefully concealed. The canon thus enshrined "great men" and projected an ideological message of "greatness" inseparable from normative views about sex and gender and, in literary themes, of a safe handling of women as the objects of writing.

This questioning and the debates it has given rise to form one of the most important critical controversies of late-twentieth-century literary scholarship. In fact, challenging and changing the canon remains one of the principal issues for some literary scholars, whereas staunchly defending it is the objective of others. Charles Altieri, for example, sees the canon as both curatorial and normative, preserving a varied and rich cultural heritage, providing what he calls a "cultural grammar for interpreting experience" (Altieri 1983, p. 47). However, one can also argue that exclusion from the curriculum of works reflecting their gender or ethnic identities makes students feel disenfranchised, or irrelevant, an important aspect of the struggle to open the canon. In the traditional canon, far from finding a "shared heritage," many students—and instructors—do not hear voices that reflect experiences closer to theirs.

WHAT IS THE CANON?

Canon formation has to do with how practices of reading and writing are organized by society, and academic institutions provide the primary contexts within which the canon is formed and revised. The reproduction and legitimating of texts, the regulation of what and how one reads is, to a large degree, determined by the academy, and also by the media and publishing industry. It is through the syllabus and curriculum that works are granted their status as *great* works. Canonical works appear more frequently in anthologies and on class syllabi. They are, typically, studied more often than other works in articles, books, and dissertations. They are more readily accessible in editions and translations, which, in turn, make them more accessible to future generations of students and scholars. They are, then, more present in the collective awareness. "They are culturally important because they have been culturally important" (Scholes [paraphrasing Smith] 1992, p. 148). There is thus a circular, self-perpetuating aspect to canon formation that accounts, in part, for the enormous influence of the canon and for the difficulties involved in reshaping it.

The etymology of the term *canon* provides some useful insight into both its function and its power. The ancient Greek *kanon*, meaning straight rod, bar, ruler, standard, or instrument of measure, eventually acquired a secondary sense of law or rule. Moreover, rich resonances can also be found in the word's relationship to the ancient Greek *kanna* (reed), and its descendant *cane*, which suggest the idea of severity or imposition of power as in "to cane" or beat with a stick (Scholes 1992, p. 139). In Alexandrian times, *kanon* referred to a body of superior texts, models of style and composition (Scholes 1992, p. 140). In the fourth century CE the canon came to signify, in particular, the accepted Christian sacred writings (as opposed to the apocrypha). In a similar vein, individuals seen to have lived exemplary lives were and are *canonized*. Thus, the notions of power, exemplarity, orthodoxy, and of a body of received, institutionally fixed texts are implicit in our current usage of *canon*.

Homogeneity is central to any categorization, including canon-formation. Canonical works are precisely that because they are perceived to share certain timeless qualities. Thus some critics suggest that the alternative to homogenizing works in this static manner involves historicizing them, and the process by which they were canonized in the first place (Guillory 1990). Rather than as repositories of truth and beauty, canonical texts can be seen as the embodiment of certain historically grounded critical practices that privilege one type of reading, and therefore one type of text, over another. For example, New Criticism's valuing of certain types of poetic discourse over others can be seen as promoting the work of the critic. That is to say, complex texts fraught with ambiguity, tension, and irony require the interpretation of the literary scholar as they are not readily accessible to the masses. In addition, the emphasis placed by the New Critics on masterpieces—individual works of art—rather than tendencies, led to disinterest in the social and cultural context in which all works are created. Thus a canon was formed which at once served the interests of the critic and dehistoricized the works of which it was comprised (Lauter 1991).

Texts can be made canonical against an author's full range of beliefs, and certain works can be carefully excluded, in fact, obliterated, from the canon. A case in point is provided by the posthumous fate of the French symbolist poet Paul Verlaine (1844–1896). Primarily seen as producing a dreamy, evanescent, melancholic evocation in rhythmic verse of loss and the passage of time, Verlaine also authored fierce, vengeful, political poetry denouncing the massacres of the 1832 and 1834 insurrections, and the repression of the Paris Commune (in which he participated), praising the insurrectional leader Louise Michel (1830–1905) (Choury 1970). He also penned sexually aggressive and explicit erotic poetry such as *Les Amies* (1867), where he depicts lesbianism (Milech 1994), and *Hombres* (1891), in which he perhaps coded his homosexual orientation (Minahen 1997). All these works are excluded from the "canonization" of this author in school manuals and even university curricula, and rarely, if ever, written about.

Further, a study published in 1998 suggests that graduate reading lists are more idiosyncratic than one would think. Of a survey of fifty-six Spanish graduate course reading lists, only *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) and *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605) appeared on all lists. Among the authors' conclusions are that a substantial canon does not exist within Hispanism, and that canon formation "appears to take place only in microcosm; the canon for each institution evidently is shaped independently at the departmental level. The large numbers of authors and works that appear once only among fifty-six reading lists indicate that in many cases, individual convictions about the canon are just that—the opinion of one language faculty or perhaps even one specialist at a single university" (Brown and Johnson 1998, p. 6). This data suggests, then, that to some degree canons are shaped by the individual ideological and critical preferences of the members of the profession, who then implicitly reinforce and perpetuate the selection through course curriculum, exam questions, dissertation topics, and so on.

CHANGING THE CANON

In the 1980s and early 1990s, the canon was energetically challenged in higher education across North America. With respect to sex and gender, battle lines were drawn over the greater inclusion of women in this institutionalized selection. Another issue was the inclusion, not merely of lesbian and gay figures per se (writers such as Walt Whitman [1819–1892], Emily Dickinson [1830–1896], or Colette [1873–1954] were already part of the canon), but, rather, of sexual orientation and queer sensibilities as crucial to artistic and intellectual production. Important female literary figures that had been heretofore neglected became, themselves, canonic. Examples of canon reformation are found throughout the various languages and literatures. In American literature, for instance, poets like Audre Lorde (1934–1992), named State Poet of New York from 1991 to 1992, Adrienne Rich (b. 1929), and Muriel Rukeyser (1913–1980) enjoyed recognition beyond belonging to a feminist/lesbian canon. French medieval author Christine de Pizan (1364–1430) went from being a mere sideline in the medieval canon to becoming a foundational and authoritative figure (Quilligan 1991) of medieval and early French letters, whose work gives rise to many reinterpretations (Richards et al 1992, Desmond 1998, Brownlee 2005) and to substantial international conferences (Hick et al 2000). In Spanish literature, María de Zayas (1590–c. 1661) is an excellent case in point. Although she was a bestseller in seventeenth-century Spain, she was all but unknown until the 1970s and the veritable explosion of Zayas criticism that followed in the 1980s and 1990s. Because of critical attention paid to her, mostly by female scholars, she has become recognized as an important foundational figure in Spanish women's writing (a status previously enjoyed by only St. Teresa of Avila [1515–1582] and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz [1648–1695]—and not always, at that) and is routinely included in graduate reading lists as well as undergraduate and graduate curricula. In the Luso-Brazilian field, Clarice Lispector (1920–1977) had long been the sole woman writing in Portuguese to be represented in anthologies and reading lists (indeed, she remained the sole Lusophone author included in the 2003 *Norton Anthology of World Literature*), but by the turn of the twenty-first century graduate courses and reading lists were making room for other Brazilian authors such as Nélida Piñon (b. 1937) and Lídia Jorge (b. 1946). Yet the Argentinian poet Alfonsina Storni (1892–1938) is the only twentieth-century female author writing in Spanish included in the 2003 edition of the *Norton Anthology of World Literature*.

However, even with more inclusive bodies of texts, the critical tendency to make normative claims while silencing differences among texts remains prevalent. The Latin American canon has expanded in various ways to include earlier authors like Teresa de la Parra (1889–1936), virtually unknown until rescued by critics, and the many women writing since the 1980s, contributors to the so-called "*boom femenino*." Yet this growing body of work by Latin American women has prompted critical and theoretical generalizations that tend to homogenize texts in their attempts to define and categorize them (Shaw 1997). Deborah Shaw argues, "Notions of multiplicity, diversity, and *mestizaje* are crucial if we are to avoid the overgeneralized pronouncements on the literary production of the mythical Latin American woman" (p. 170).

The far-reaching modifications of the canon as a result of these debates and interventions vary immensely, as some cultural attitudes are tougher to break than others. There is indeed a big difference between simply adding women to lists of authors or artists and actually destabilizing the gender order, or debunking assumptions about sex and sexual orientation. Homophobia in the classroom itself continues to severely affect the ability of instructors to present new texts, particularly those that address homosexuality and AIDS. There are also regional, local, and educational tier (community college versus university) differences that continue to shape the canon in terms of what is taught regarding sex and gender in relation to local politics and the degree of conservative political control over the curriculum (Eisner 1999).

In terms of general curricular reformation, colleges and universities throughout the United States are transforming their course of study as it is generally recognized that knowledge about diversity both at home and internationally is crucial to students' intellectual formation. In addition, students in U.S. universities themselves constitute a larger and more diverse group than ever before. Data gathered by the American Association of Colleges and Universities suggests that a majority of institutions of higher education either already have in place or are in the process of instituting some type of diversity requirement. At some colleges, women's and gender studies courses comprise one element of a multifaceted diversity requirement. At other institutions, students are required to take one or a number of courses addressing diversity in its various aspects (ethnic studies, multicultural studies, women's and gender studies). Research suggests that diversifying the undergraduate curriculum has had positive effects and that, contrary to the claims of some critics, is resulting in a more rigorous program of study for students (Humphreys 1998).

ART AND THE CANON

Similarly, the place of women artists in movements, schools, and moments, albeit contested, is secure enough to prevent their total exclusion, even if the criteria for defining "great" or "leading" artists remained similar to those of literature. The importance of women like expressionists Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945) and Paula Modersohn-Becker (1876–1907), the lesbian-identified surrealist Claude Cahun (Lucy Schwob, 1894–1954), abstract expressionist sculptor Louise Berliawsky Nevelson (1899–1988), French-American sculptor Louise Bourgeois (b. 1911), painters Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1986) and Judy Chicago (b. 1939), is evident in special museums, museum collections, retrospectives, and art histories. Mexican artist Frida Kahlo (1907–1954) was not only rediscovered by feminist art and cultural critics, but her work has been vastly popularized. A Web site dedicated to her ("Frida Kahlo and Contemporary Thoughts" by Daniela Falini) includes a "cult" button in its menu, and countless plays, musical and dance performances, art exhibits, films, and installations celebrate or echo her life and work.

Yet it was as late as the 1970s that women artists openly challenged their exclusion from the art pantheon (Broude and Garrard 1994). In 1971 Judy Chicago and Miriam Shapiro (b. 1923) founded the CalArts Feminist Art Program and one of the first feminist art shows, Womanhouse (30 January–28 February 1972). The first women's gallery, A.I.R., was founded at that time. Feminist scholars such as Mary Ann Caws, Linda Nochlin, Mary Garrard, and numerous others rewrote the history of art itself. Women artists of all stripes were being regularly rediscovered and reinterpreted, for instance in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art retrospective of 1976. Women artists, revalued through careful attention to their associations and learning environments (Weisberg and Becker 1999), are no longer viewed as muses, models, and understudies for men, but as actual producers of art (Caws 2000, on Dora Maar; Bal 2005, on Artemisia Gentileschi).

From the "eccentrics" of modernism (Caws 2006) to contemporary artists, in the face of a male canon that excluded them, independent, original, groundbreaking women have inspired an influential counter-canon of their own, sustained by international recognition. These might include multimedia artist, sculptor, painter, and philosopher Adrian Piper (b. 1948), conceptual artist Barbara Kruger (b. 1945), or installation artist Jenny Holzer (b. 1950), who takes art into the public sphere through LCD displays such as in New York City's Times Square or stickers with texts on parking meters and telephone booths. Her interactive web installation "Please Change Beliefs," which invites viewers to click on a constant string of textual material that challenge truisms, illustrates the often rebellious character of women's art. Yet, while the canon of art has thus changed, the representation and status of women artists remains on an average still below that of men, and is contested by cultural agitprop groups like the Guerrilla Girls, with highly visible public actions such as their intervention at the 2005 Venice Biennale, cartoon-style books that lambaste the male stranglehold on art and the place of women in major art museums, for instance through posters asking such questions as "Do women have to be naked to get into the Met. Museum?" (http://www.guerrillagirls.com).

ONGOING ISSUES

In effect, while the cultural revolutions of the last few decades have greatly modified the literary canon, the canon is not about to disappear. It is in of itself an insidious notion that is difficult to shed: it creates an intellectual safety net of comfort, convenience, protection that "great works" are permanent, familiar, and easily accessible, as well as imparting to a large readership the notion of a shared culture.

Attention to gender, women's, and ethnic studies has also brought to light that there is not one single unified, but several, canons. Some of these can have a venerable history of their own, in turn affected by ongoing debates on gender and sexuality. If there is an African American "canon," it has included women all along (Foster 1997). African American literature indeed counts women such as Phillis Wheatley (1753–1784), Harriet Ann Jacobs (1813–1897), and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911) among its founding figures, and gay men such as James Baldwin (1924–1987), or internationally acclaimed women authors such as Toni Morrison (b. 1931) among its defining authors. It has a different relationship to establishing the contours of a community of readers and a collection of "great works" than the dominant white male canon. As a literature priding itself in a resistant role to racial and social injustice, it has been very often willing to embrace the exposure of the relation between structures of power and sex and gender, between racism and patriarchy, and forms of exclusion based on gender and sexuality, even in its "canonic" works.

Even though the canon of the past appears to have been seriously damaged and impaired, tensions remain between change and backlash initiatives. It remains to be seen whether twenty-first-century government attempts (the Spellings Commission Report of 2006, for example) to regulate colleges and universities in the name of greater accountability and higher standards will have the effect of reinstituting a more restrictive canon, or perhaps undoing some of the gains made since the 1980s by groups underrepresented in the traditional canon. The proposed standardized testing for the goal of outcomes assessment aims to address, among other things, what some see as the cultural illiteracy of early twenty-first-century college students. Critics fear that the establishment and application of single sets of criteria to all colleges and universities will discourage not only institutional diversity, but curricular diversity as well.

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Diana Conchado
Francesca Canadé Sautman

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio. MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

CAPELLANUS, ANDREAS

SEE *Courtly Love, Western.*

CARAVAGGIO, MICHELANGELO MERISI DA
1571–1610

The Italian painter Michelangelo Merisi was born in or near Milan in late 1571, and died at age thirty-eight in Port'Ercole on July 18, 1610. During his brief but nonconformist life, Caravaggio, who laid the foundations of the baroque style, earned notoriety as much for his hot-tempered violence and bisexuality as for his painting, which was both popular and controversial. Critics were quick to connect his life of brawling, murder, and illicit sex with his art: It was rumored that he used a prostitute or mistress as a model for the Virgin Mary, and rival Giovanni Baglione accused him in court of keeping a young male model as lover. Caravaggio represents a landmark in the history of sexual expression both for his innovative subject matter and for his biography, one of the first that enables correlation of a body of homoerotic images with both individual personality and social milieu.

After absorbing the north Italian tradition of detailed, unvarnished realism, Caravaggio made his reputation in Rome among a circle of patrons with bisexual tastes, principally Cardinal Francesco del Monte. These men commissioned subjects from mythology (Bacchus, Cupid) that offered pretexts for beautiful, partially nude males. The models for their androgynous fantasies were often the same working-class adolescents who entertained at the aristocrats' gatherings; Caravaggio also recorded these youths more objectively in genre scenes, as musicians and, implicitly, bedmates. His pictures preserve the self-image of an embryonic homosexual subculture, an urban network of patrons, artists, and models of the type increasingly visible in the following century. Even with classical justification, such images were potentially subversive, as the nobleman Vincenzo Giustiniani evidently knew. He commissioned *Amor Victorious* (c. 1602)—an allegory of the power of eros in which nude Cupid, an unidealized urchin, grins lasciviously while fondling a phallic arrow and trampling symbols of men's serious pursuits—but hung it with a curtain that could be discreetly drawn when official visitors required greater decorum.

Similar sensibilities animated the artist's religious works, which spotlighted undraped angels and young saints in the warm light and dramatic shadows labeled "caravagg-esque." This style aimed to fulfill Counter-Reformation demands for emotional images with a sensuous appeal to broad audiences; in Caravaggio's hands, however, that very intensity blurred the boundaries separating spiritual from physical ecstasy. Commissioned to depict Matthew inspired by an angel, he imagined another androgynous winged boy intimately entwined with the saint's limbs; the client rejected the picture and demanded a less suggestive replacement.

Despite lingering claims that meager documentation makes his legend unverifiable, the artist's fame as unapologetic bisexual and celebrator of male beauty has made him a cultural icon to post-Stonewall gays, celebrated in the poetry of Thom Gunn (1929–2004) and Derek Jarman's film *Caravaggio* (1986). The centrality of forbidden sexuality and gender ambiguity in his art provides a lens to examine the links and tensions between earthly and heavenly rapture. Through it one can glimpse, philosophically, an early moment when divine love could be manifested in homoerotic form; psychologically, an artist who openly represented his homosexual desire, including revealing self-portraits; and culturally, an audience whose patronage and reception of his work are identifiable.

SEE ALSO *Art.*

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James M. Saslow

CARLINI, BENEDETTA
1590–1661

Abbess of the Theatine convent Holy Mary of Pescia Italy, Benedetta Carlini was born January 20th in Vellano and figures in the *Miscellanea Medicea*, a file containing short transcripts, letters and summaries of documents no longer extant (Brown 1986). Carlini appears in the file as a result of clerical inquiries (*processi*) concerning her claims of mystical visions and miracles. Beginning in 1619 and continuing through 1623, these inquiries focused on whether Carlini might be a saint and the investigators tried to determine the validity of her spiritual experiences, which included receiving the stigmata (the marks associated with the wounds inflicted on Christ at his crucifixion), exchanging hearts with Christ, and becoming Christ's bride in a public ceremony in which Christ praised her through her own mouth. The testimony of several nuns later established that Carlini had not only faked her stigmata and flirted with a priest, but engaged in a same-sex relationship with Bartolomea Crivelli, another nun.

First written about in Judith Brown's *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (1986), Carlini's case is intriguing and has sparked much debate. Lesbian historian Lillian Faderman faults Brown's work for the "calculated sensationalism of its name" (Faderman 1987, p. 576). Brown explains her use of "lesbian sexuality" and "lesbian nun" for "reasons of convenience to describe acts and persons called 'lesbian' in our own time" (Brown 1986, p. 171). That language, however, contextualizes Carlini only in modern terms of sexual identity, not in seventeenth-century Italian categories. Since the investigation considered sodomy, the clerics themselves might have categorized Carlini as a tribade.

After reexamination of the archival documents, historian Rudolph Bell launched a spirited exchange with Brown concerning her manuscript readings. He disagrees that the crossed out passages and unsteady handwriting associated with descriptions of the sexual acts reveal the male investigator's anxiety and interprets them as evidence of the erratic narrative of Crivelli. Further whereas Brown contends that the investigations were reopened in 1622, resulting in the collection of damaging evidence, Bell sees the entire period from 1619 to 1623 as one process that initially sought to confirm Carlini's status as a holy woman, but evolved into a political stratagem to eliminate a problematic abbess. Bell cites evidence that Carlini had long had problems establishing her authority and had called upon the Medici family for support. Moreover the 1622 and 1623 interviews document the dissatisfaction of the abbey's nuns who, according to Bell, wished to unseat Carlini.

During those interviews Crivelli, who had earlier corroborated the Carlini's visions, confessed that the two had engaged "in the most immodest acts" for more than two years, several times per week (Brown 1986, p. 117). Their sexual practices included kissing and genital rubbing but involved no instruments. Crivelli's version claimed Carlini took the persona of a male angel, Splenditello, when she "sinned with her by force" (Brown 1986, p.122). As Splenditello, the abbess allegedly told her companion their acts were not sin, since "it was the Angel Splentidello and not she that did these things" (Brown 1986, p. 119).

The entire account relies on Crivelli's testimony since Carlini never admitted she had engaged in sexual acts. Instead of eliciting accusations of sodomy, the affair was quietly resolved: Carlini, agreeing to charges of possession, was removed as abbess. Though the presumed diabolical origin of her sexual activities was paramount, Carlini's outing as a lesbian contributed to her removal, and for the following thirty-five years until her death on August 7, 1661, she lived in solitary confinement.

SEE ALSO *Monasticism.*

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Holly Ransom

CASANOVA, GIACOMO
1725–1798

It is hard to distinguish between the writer Giacomo Casanova, born in Venice in 1725, and the protagonist of his monumental *Story of My Life* ("neither the story of a famous man nor a novel"), the multi-volume source of his fame as a symbol of unabashed, libertine sexuality; and it is harder still to neglect the countless other books and films that have contributed to fashioning his sexual persona, a carnival mask that has taken on a life of its own.

Ever since the *Histoire* (written from 1785 until his death in Bohemia, where he worked as the Count of Waldstein's librarian) was acquired by the publisher Brockhaus of Leipzig in 1821, another history has unfolded, that of its publication in various editions and languages: Only from 1960 to 1962 was the original French text released in its entirety (Casanova 1960–1962). Marie Françoise Luna has provided the best reconstruction to date of Casanova's "autobiographical project": not simply the confessions of a libertine and free thinker, but the self-portrait of a writer mining his own memory. The result is an original Franco-Italian mixture of styles and genres: epic and erotic, picaresque and sentimental, in a literary tradition stretching back to Boccaccio, Ariosto and Aretino.

Casanova was allegedly the illegitimate son of Michiel Grimani, the aristocratic owner of the theater where his parents, both actors, worked. Entrusted by his absentee mother at age eight to his grandmother after the death of his actor father, he had a memorable encounter with magic: a "witch" in Murano "cured" him of a chronic bleeding nose. François Roustang links Casanova's earliest childhood recollections to a precocious identification with archetypical women—the witch and the bedeviled madwoman, the latter Casanova's first seducer, Bettina (he was twelve and she seventeen). Prone to "hysterical fits," Bettina was repeatedly exorcised and diagnosed with a uterine ailment. Yet, she was neither crazy nor possessed, Casanova writes. This formative episode remained with him: In 1772, in a dispute with two professors at the Medical School of Bologna, he came to the ironic defense of the so-called "thinking uterus": he wrote, "Woman has a uterus and man has sperm, that's all the difference … why incriminate the uterus and not the sperm? … The education and the condition of the woman are the two causes that make her different …" (*Lana Caprina*). As Marta Cavazza (2003) has written: "Casanova's playful and impertinent little book is one of the first to pose indirectly, though clearly, the distinction between sex and gender" (p. 256). From women, Casanova learns "how superior the eloquence of nature is to that of the philosophical mind" (Casanova 2000, p. 81).

His formative years were spent mainly in Italy, between Venice and Padua, with intervals in Corfù and Constantinople. As the protégée of several substitute father figures, he studied literature, violin and the law, between sexual escapades and short-lived stints in the clergy and the army. With his first trip to Paris in 1750, Casanova's horizons dramatically widened. He became (and remained for much of his life) a nomad, a strolling player of Eros in the cosmopolitan Europe of his times, joining the Freemasons, trying his hand at diplomacy (as an envoy of the King of France), entrepreneurship (managing a lottery), scholarship (writing historical works), all while pursuing numerous sexual adventures with women of all social stations (the written catalogue stops at one hundred and twenty-two). Finally, in 1774 (the year his memoirs end) he made his way back to a diminished Venice, only to be forced to flee once more, this time for good, after a dispute over a debt with his bastard half-brother, Giovan Carlo Grimani. He spent his final years in exile in Bohemia, writing obsessively, publishing a novel (the *Icosameron*, a sort of utopian fantasy) and leaving behind, in addition to the *Histoire*, a trove of unpublished manuscripts.

Philosopher or charlatan, magician or trickster, confidant or spy, seducer or seduced, Casanova's life contains multitudes. He crossed paths with legendary figures on both sides of the Enlightenment: Voltaire, Cagliostro, and Saint Germain. His fame as a cabalist gained him the patronage of powerful Venetians and, later in Paris, of old Madame d'Urfé, who wanted him to impregnate her with her own masculine reincarnation. These practices landed him in the *Piombi* (Leads), the infamous jail under the roof of the Doge's palace (1755). The story of his escape (like that of a duel he fought in Poland) became legendary throughout Europe: He wrote his own account of both episodes to set the facts straight (or fuel his legend). Yet, his free-thinking attitude toward superstition was ambivalent: The pleasure he took in duping fools, husbands, and lovers (deception that cut both ways: "... when love has a hand in things, each party usually dupes the other," he writes, adding "I continued to be the dupe of women until I reached the age of sixty"), may well hide a deeper level of repressed belief and sexual anxiety (Casanova 2000, pp. 3, 42). This ambivalence provides the ground for Casanova's flexible (and modern) philosophy: "To be a chameleon, a Proteus, a Tartuffe, an impenetrable comedian, to behave lowly, feign everything, appear cool ..." (Mangini, p. 155; Casanova 1966–1971, vol. 1, pp. 257–258).

As a sex symbol, the comparison with Don Juan is unavoidable—and overplayed. Both are old-fashioned serial lovers, *ancien régime*. Yet, classical Spain and romantic Venice are distant worlds: For Don Juan, a rich aristocrat, "sex is an anarchic power that challenges order in all forms: social, moral, and especially religious" (Tournier 1998, p. 9); for Casanova, a poor commoner who can rely only on his personal charm, sex is a passport that opens many doors. Indeed, Casanova (a friend of Mozart's librettist Da Ponte) likely provided the inspiration for that "aura of joy" that pervades Mozart's *dramma giocoso*: "The famous *odor di femmina* (scent of a woman) was his creation" (Tournier 1998, p. 9). Casanova claimed that four-fifths of his pleasure lay in making women happy, even though at least one affair ended so unhappily as to drive him close to suicide.

Casanova's name, unlike those of Sade or Sacher Masoch, does not designate a "perversion," but a sort of old-fashioned, exuberant sexual "normalcy," or "depravity" (Thomas 1985, p. 75). "Happy are those who can achieve pleasure without harm to anyone," he writes. When "he encounters a tender, erotic bond between two women," he accepts his role as "alternately a complicit instigator, a voyeur, and an ambiguous victim" (Thomas 1998, p. 179). This picture is somewhat complicated by recent findings about homosexual encounters (self)-censored from the memoirs. Revealingly, in one episode of the memoirs he is madly inflamed by the ambiguity of a woman disguised as a *castrato* (a castrated male singer).

Giovanni Casanova. KEYSTONE/GETTY IMAGES.

Master and slave of dissipation (Abirached 1961) or disguise (Roustang 1988), soulless sexual athlete (Fellini 1976) or reincarnation of the "pagan cheerfulness of love" (Zweig 1998, p. 100), as a modern heroic-comic symbol of masculinity, Casanova is inseparable from his melancholy double: a priapic, carnivalesque ghost who lived a life on the run, a consummate conjurer in the profane cabbala of sex.

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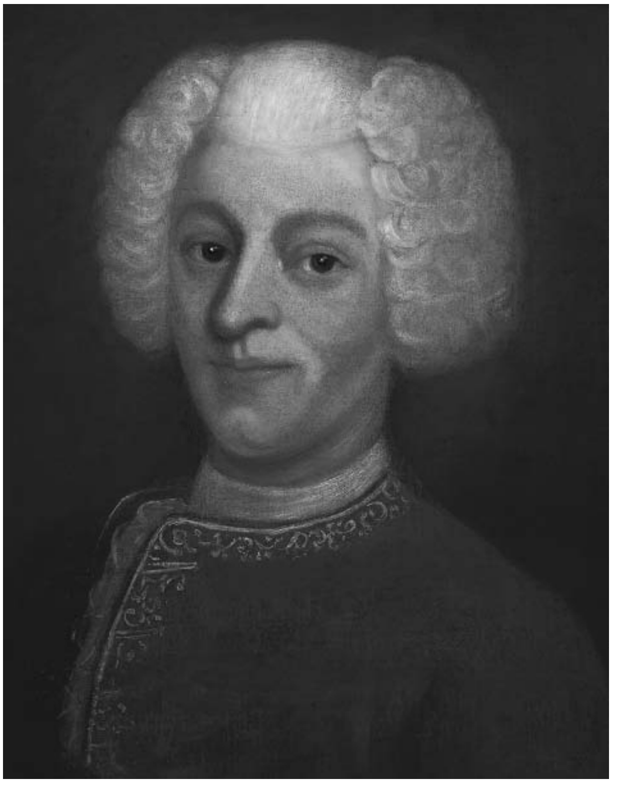
Massimo Riva

CASTRATI

Castrati are male singers, castrated before puberty in order to preserve a strong soprano singing voice. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, castrati were used extensively in Italian church choirs and were famous throughout Europe as stars of the Italian opera.

Castrati were generally castrated between the ages of eight and ten, or before their voices broke, by removal of the testicles. As a castrato's larynx doesn't descend at puberty and his Adam's apple doesn't develop, the vocal chords remain closer to the cavities of resonance, creating a clearer sound and a higher-pitched vocal timbre. Castrati voices were distinctive: Neither female nor childish, clear, strong, high-pitched, flexible, and powerful, they were often likened to the imaginary voices of angels.

The use of castrati in religious ceremonies dates to at least the third or fourth century. Castrati were used frequently in Byzantine church music, and this practice spread into the West, particularly southern Italy and Sicily. By the sixteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church had long condemned the practice of castration and thus employed children and falsettos for soprano parts in its choirs (women being prohibited from performing on stage). Castrati were commonly used in church choirs in Spain, however, and by 1599, the Vatican had begun to allow castrati in the Papal choir. By 1625, the pope had replaced all the Papal Choir's falsettos with castrati, who were now lauded as "natural" sopranos.



Farinelli *Farinelli, one of the most famous castrati.* © **ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS.**

Castrati were generally Italian, from lower-class families, and were usually trained in Italian conservatories. Though castration by no means ensured a high-quality voice or a successful singing career, many families deemed the risk of an unsuccessful operation worth the benefits that might accrue to a castrato. Successful castrati were well compensated, received expensive gifts from rulers and nobles, mingled freely with the upper classes, and might become famous throughout Italy and Europe. In the seventeenth century, choirs and conservatories spread throughout Italy, and there was great competition to attract and retain castrati. The birth of opera in the same period provided an additional source of competition for musical talent. As the fame of Italian opera grew in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so too did the fame and wealth of the castrati, who were feted by the nobility and became known for their romantic escapades with noble women.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, however, society's attitude toward the castrati had begun to change. Enlightenment thinkers—particularly among the French, who had long considered the castrati an abomination—criticized the practice of castration for its barbarism, deeming it an insupportable infringement of the rights of man in a modern, enlightened civilization. In 1798, Pope Pius VI (r. 1775–1799) revoked the ban of women on the stage, reducing the need for castrati, and in the early nineteenth century Napoleon I (1769–1821) began working to end the practice of castration in Europe. Although papal choirs continued to use castrati throughout the nineteenth century, the baroque operas of the castrati were now out of favor. In 1902, Pope Leo XIII (r. 1878–1903) banned the use of castrati in Church music. In the years following the papal ban, the last seven castrati left the Sistine Chapel choir. Alessandro Moreschi (1858–1922), the last castrato, left the choir in 1913, leaving behind the only existing recordings of a castrato's voice.

SEE ALSO *Castration; Eunuchs.*

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Maureen Lauder

CASTRATION

Castration refers to the removal of the testicles of a human or animal so as to render him infertile. Although castration technically refers to only removal of the testicles, the term is sometimes used to refer to the removal of the penis. In many cultures castration of humans is used as a punishment for crimes, while some religious sects have practiced castration as a means of dedicating the body to a god. In Asia and the Middle East, castrated men, known as eunuchs, were charged with protecting the harems of wealthy or powerful men from incursions by other men. As such eunuchs had a unique proximity to centers of power and often wielded enormous influence in their societies. In seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe, gifted male singers, known as castrati, were castrated before puberty to prevent their voices from deepening and changing registers. In spite of the elevated social status of eunuchs and castrati in earlier times, however, castration more recently tends to be utilized primarily as punishment for or prevention of sexual offenses.

PHYSIOLOGY

Generally speaking castration refers to any method whereby a male loses the use of his testes. Historically the most common means of castration involved the removal of the testicles from the body. The most important effect of castration is sterility. In the prepubescent, castration generally results in a less muscular frame, lack of sex drive, an undeveloped prominentia laryngea (Adam's apple), and a high-pitched voice. Men who undergo castration after puberty normally experience a reduced sex drive, but such men can sometimes maintain an erection.

HISTORY

Human castration seems to have originated during the Stone Age, and archaeological evidence of eunuchs appears to follow the same distribution and chronology as animal domestication and human conquest. Thus as stable civilizations and communities spread from the Middle East outward to China and India, so too did eunuchs begin to appear in areas where humans settled. The first humans to be castrated were most likely prisoners of war who were enslaved rather than killed after capture.

It appears that the earliest institutional use of castration may have been the consecration of castrated slaves to Inanna, the Sumerian goddess of war. The followers of the goddess Cybele, a religious cult that dates from around 750 BCE and persisted into the early Christian era, voluntarily castrated themselves as a means of dedicating themselves to their goddess; evidence of the castration practice appears as early as 415 BCE.

Early Christians also occasionally saw castration as a means to spiritual salvation. The most famous of these, Origen, castrated himself circa 209 in an effort to follow the New Testament scripture Matthew 19:12, which refers to eunuchs "who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Argument over the interpretation of this biblical passage raged among Christians for hundreds of years. At least one Christian sect required compulsory castration, but in 325 the Council of Nicaea condemned self-castration. In the fifth century, Saint Augustine pushed for an interpretation of Matthew's text that read castration as an allegory for celibacy, a position that the Church espoused informally for several centuries before codifying it in 1139 with the outlaw of clerical marriage. In spite of the church's attempt to read castration as mere celibacy, however, Pierre Abelard, a twelfth-century philosopher who was castrated by the outraged relations of his young lover, Heloise, firmly believed that his castration was divinely ordained and had brought him closer to God.

Although the Church had long since outlawed self-castration and though eunuchs were not a common feature of Western European medieval life, church choirs—which prohibited singing by women—utilized castrati. In this the Roman Catholic Church mimicked the Byzantine Church, in which eunuch choirs were traditional for hundreds of years. As noted castration prevented a boy's voice from changing and deepening; in addition as he developed, the size and power of the castrato's ribcage and lungs, combined with an unusually high vocal range, created a highly prized, unique singing voice. The castrati were regular features of church choirs by the sixteenth century and were common until the end of the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many castrati moved out of church choirs and into Italian opera houses, where their singing became a well-known, popular entertainment.

In contrast to the limited positions available to European eunuchs, castrated men in Asian, African, and Middle Eastern societies often wielded considerable social and political power. Eunuchs were often employed as household servants, entrusted with the personal care of the ruler. Expanding on the practices of their Roman, Byzantine, and Persian predecessors, medieval Muslim rulers used eunuchs not only to control their concubines and legitimate wives, but also in a variety of other domestic and ceremonial functions. Eunuchs were considered to be more loyal to their masters than intact men and, indeed, often were, as their positions close to society's rich and powerful accorded them a certain level of prestige and influence. In many eastern cultures, including the Byzantine Empire, China, and Assyria, some of the most renowned commanders of armies and navies were eunuchs. In Greece, Persia, Rome, and China, household servants and palace guards were often eunuchs, sometimes organized into elaborate hierarchies. In one African state, eunuchs administered justice in the king's name and controlled the line of succession. In both China and Vietnam, rulers trusted only eunuchs to fill the highest ranks of civil servants, believing that because they couldn't reproduce, eunuchs would be less likely to try and establish their own dynasties. Nonetheless, it appears that Chinese eunuchs at times wielded considerable political power, and in seventeenth century Persia, palace eunuchs gained such effective control that for a number of years they ruled the country under a series of figureheads. In many cultures, most notably the Ottoman Empire, eunuchs were employed to guard the harems of the richest and most powerful men, thereby acquiring for themselves a social status and access to power that placed them close to the upper tiers of society.

By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in contrast to the powerful positions occupied by many eunuchs throughout history, societies in Europe and North America viewed castrated men primarily as weak, effeminate non-men. Even as early as Augustine's fifth-century commentaries on eunuchs, the Christian European world had begun to regard the castrated man as something profoundly unnatural.

In 1908 psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud developed his theory of castration anxiety, which hypothesizes that a normal part of male childhood development includes the belief that girls have no penis because they have been castrated, thereby instituting a lifelong, subconscious anxiety on the part of the male that he too will lose his penis. While Freud's theory has been largely discredited, it is noteworthy insofar as it signals a shift in thinking about castration. Until the twentieth century, castration referred almost exclusively to the removal of the testicles; Freud's theory equates castration with the loss of the penis and, coupled with the theory's female corollary, penis envy, situates the penis at the crux of masculine privilege and power. This understanding of the centrality of the penis can be seen at work in popular uses of the term castration, including as a metaphorical reference to a real or perceived lack of power on the part of male and to the emasculating effect of a powerful woman on a man.

CASTRATION AS PUNISHMENT AND TREATMENT

Castration has long been used as a method of punishment for criminal acts in many societies. It was frequently used in the waging of war, as a means of punishing, controlling, or subjugating a fallen enemy. In the United States, in the decades following the Civil War, castration often accompanied the lynching of black men in the South as a simultaneous punishment for and warning against miscegenation, whether real or imagined. Castration was also used as a criminal sentence in many societies. In some cases, only the testicles were removed; in others all the genitalia were excised, often condemning the victim to a painful death. Prior to the eighteenth century, castration was often written into the law as punishment for certain crimes or specifically designated as the sentence for a particular crime. In Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, criminals were sometimes sentenced to death followed by dismemberment and castration.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, sterilization was often used to control criminal populations and to punish or treat sex offenders. The development of vasectomy techniques (which sterilize by blocking the connection between the testicles and prostrate rather than by removing the testicles) in the nineteenth century meant that castration as such was no longer employed for treatment or punishment of criminals; the scientific nature of the new procedure appears to have made sterilization generally more palatable. In the early-twentieth century, the United States experimented with a number of procedures—often performed without the knowledge or consent of the victims—and sterilization laws designed to reduce the criminality of the general population and help maintain the purity of bloodlines in the face of high United States immigration rates. The discovery after World War II that Nazi doctors had experimented with similar sterilization techniques and policies dampened popular enthusiasm for the project. More recently chemical castration, which temporarily reduces testosterone production, has been attempted on a number of sex offenders, and, in the early-twenty-first century, the possibility and ethicality of legislating such treatment is under debate.

SEE ALSO *Castrati; Eunuchs; Hijrās; Penis.*

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CATALINA DE ERAUSO
c. 1592–1650

Catalina de Erauso was a Basque noblewoman who, just before taking final vows to become a nun at age fifteen, escaped from the convent in San Sebastián where she had lived since the age of four. Using the name Francisco de Loyola, Erauso lived successfully as a man for almost twenty years, for a brief period in Spain and later in the New World using the name Alonso Díaz Ramírez de Guzmán. Although she was distinguished for her fearless deeds as a soldier fighting for the Spanish empire in Peru and Chile, Erauso's memoirs showcase her propensity for

Catalina de Erauso HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

violence, gambling, and womanizing. However rebellious Erauso may seem, once she confessed her previous identity as Catalina, she quickly became the celebrity known as the "Lieutenant Nun" and was rewarded for her gender transgression in 1626 with a soldier's pension from the Spanish monarch Philip IV and dispensation from Pope Urban VIII to continue dressing in men's clothing. In 1630 she returned to the New World and spent the last twenty years of her life in Mexico working as a muleteer, using the name Antonio de Erauso, until her death in 1650.

There is no evidence from seventeenth-century documents that she was believed to possess any irregularities in primary sexual characteristics. After her shocking revelation, the matrons who examined her body for confirmation of her female anatomy declared her to be an "intact virgin" (Erauso 1996, p. 66). Other witnesses, nonetheless, described certain secondary sexual traits in terms of maleness. Erauso admitted, for example, to having used a poultice or plaster mixture spread on a cloth to flatten her chest. This invasive technique testifies to her intention to live permanently as a man, unlike the temporary cross-dresser who sooner or later returns to female garb.

By the end of the twentieth century, scholarship on Erauso began to show an increasing awareness of the identity politics implicit in narrating the lives of individuals who transgress traditional prescriptions for gender roles and sex assignment. Early modern historian Mary Elizabeth Perry, for example, alternates gender pronouns when writing about Erauso: "It seems neither fair nor accurate, however, to use exclusively feminine pronouns to refer to the Nun-Lieutenant, who worked so diligently to make herself into a man . . . it could be argued that Catalina de Erauso should be identified as a male who did not allow his family's mistaken identity of him nor his lack of some of the physiological characteristics of males to undercut his own understanding of himself" (Perry 1999, p. 395). Michele Stepto, on the other hand, reminds researchers of the colonialist, manipulative, and bigoted nature of Erauso's profile (Erauso 1996).

Given the contradictions inherent in Erauso's life (as a transgendered individual associated with colonial exploitation, violent crimes, same-sex desire, and so forth), it is not surprising that the Lieutenant Nun can be upheld as hero or enemy by competing ideological and identitarian positions, whether Catholic, transgender, lesbian, hetero-biased, feminist, misogynist, colonial, racist, classist, and nationalist (Spanish, Basque, or Latin American) ideologies. In this way, Erauso remains an ambivalent icon: a rebel and conformist, a hero and an outlaw, able to represent either side of many controversies.

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Sherry Velasco

CATHERINE THE GREAT
1729–1796

Sophie Friederike Auguste of Anhalt-Zerbst, later Empress Catherine II of Russia and called Catherine the Great, was born in Stettin, Prussia (now Szczecin, Poland), on May 2 (April 21, old style), 1729, and died in Tsarskoye Selo, near St. Petersburg, on November 17 (November 6, O.S.), 1796. Young Sophie was betrothed to Grand Duke Peter, heir to the throne of Russia, on July 10 (June 29, O.S.), 1744 as a result of a political scheme organized by King Frederick II of Prussia and accepted by Empress Elizabeth (r. 1741–1762; Peter's childless aunt) in order to strengthen the relationship between the Franco-Prussian axis and Russia, at the expense of Austria and other European powers. Sophie converted to the Russian Orthodox faith, and engaged in a strenuous study of Russian language, culture, and mores. This "Russification" would appear even more remarkable in contrast to the Germanophile attitudes and Protestant faith of Grand Duke Peter. Upon her conversion, she changed her name to Yekaterina Alexeyevna, in honor of Empress Elizabeth's mother.

Catherine the Great. AP IMAGES.

The marriage (celebrated on September 1 [August 21, O.S.], 1745) never developed into a romantic or intimate relationship, and Peter, weakened and disfigured by smallpox and other diseases (including a birth impairment that probably made him sterile), kept a semiofficial mistress (Elizabeth Vorontsova), while Catherine conceived her son Paul (later Tsar Paul I; 1754–1801; r. 1796–1801) with Sergei Saltykov, one of her lovers. Upon Elizabeth's death, on January 5, 1762 (December 25, 1761, O.S.), Peter ascended to the throne. Through a coup d'état masterminded with the help of Grigory Orlov (her then lover) and his brothers, Catherine had her husband overthrown and was proclaimed empress on July 9 (June 28, O.S.),

1762. Peter's death in prison (officially of a sudden sickness, in fact murdered by some of the conspirators who had deposed him) on July 17 (July 6, O.S.), cast a long-lasting shadow on Catherine's reputation, as did the demise of former (deposed) Tsar Ivan VI in 1764. It seems, however, that Catherine was not directly involved in either assassination.

Catherine's reign was marked, in addition to the relentless pursuit of territorial expansion, by a constant oscillation between impulse for reform and rational codification of laws, and the conservation of autocratic, traditionally Russian attitudes toward power and government. Her *Great Instruction* (1767), the major theoretical output of what she defined her "Legislomania," was inspired by a peculiarly antiliberal and absolutistic interpretation of the works of such philosophers as the Baron de Montesquieu and Cesare Beccaria, while her literary and practical concerns on the education of children of both sexes (which also resulted in the creation of foundling homes, hospitals, and educational institutions) drew on the ideas of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Catherine entertained a frequent epistolary relationship with both Voltaire (whose library she purchased at his death in 1778) and Denis Diderot. The latter paid her a long visit in 1773. For more than twenty years, she corresponded with Friedrich Melchior Grimm (1723–1807), an important figure in European literary circles, and her most dedicated confidant. This frequentation of Enlightenment figures (together with the legacy of her Lutheran upbringing), probably accounted for her aversion to traditional Russian superstitions. In 1768 she had herself inoculated against smallpox, a gesture that was immediately used and amplified for image-bolstering and political propaganda across Europe.

Catherine worked relentlessly on the construction of her public persona, often playing with gender-related attributes both in normative/traditional and in unconventional ways. On one hand, she was customarily referred to as "Little Mother" and tried to cast herself in the tradition of the four other female rulers who had preceded her. On the other, she cultivated and exhibited masculine attitudes—from riding horses astride and not sidesaddle, to her frequent use of male attire (a penchant she shared with her predecessor, Elizabeth). Even more complex are the issues related to her relationship with a long list of male "favorites," some of whom acquired significant positions in government and military leadership (from Stanisław Poniatowski, later installed as king of Poland, to Grigory Potemkin and Peter Zavadovsky, to name a few), while others, especially toward the end of her life, seemed to have possessed lesser intellectual and political skills.

Catherine seems to have established a system of "favoritism" that went beyond the promiscuity and multiple affairs of Elizabeth and other female rulers. It was a system that developed into a sort of career pattern in which her lovers would eventually be rewarded with substantial severance pay and pensions.

This comportment became an attribute popularly attached to Catherine's persona, together with other perceivably excessive and obsessive attitudes of hers ("legislomania," in her own definition, and "graphomania"). The reaction to the "reversal of traditional sex roles" (Alexander 1989, p. 211) inherent in her favoritism generated (especially in foreign countries) innumerable pamphlets, satires, or blatantly slanderous books that transformed Catherine's perceived sexual voracity into sinister or pornographic legends (with allegations ranging from uxoricide to bestiality), drawing on consolidated historiographical paradigms of character construction (the ones anciently applied to such figures as Sammuramat, Cleopatra, and Messalina, or, in later times, to María Luisa of Parma). From the literary point of view, besides government-related works and some occasional narrative and theatrical works, her most remarkable achievements are considered her epistolary and her French *Mémoires*.

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Paolo Fasoli

CATHOLICISM

The term *Catholic*, which etymologically means universal, is used within Christianity to differentiate it from other Christian communions such as the Protestant or Russian and Greek Orthodox Churches. The Catholic Church maintains that it is One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic, as the Nicene Creed states, and that the Bishop of Rome, the Pope, is the head of Christianity, the Supreme Pontiff of the Church of Christ. Consequently, it is common, not only for Catholics but for others, to refer to the Catholic Church as "the Church." Besides the Latin rite which has several subdivisions such as the Ambrosian (Milan, Italy), the Mozarabic (Toledo, Spain), the Lyonnais, the Braga and the Monastic rite, the Catholic Church includes Eastern rites such as the Byzantine, Alexandrian, Armenian, Chaldeian, and Antiochene.

The term Catholic was first employed by Saint Ignatius Martyr (d. 107 CE) in an epistle to the Church of Smyrna, when he said: "Ubi Christus, ibi catholica Ecclesia"("There where Christ is, is the Catholic church"). Christianity began in Palestine, stemming from the words and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth, son of Mary and Joseph the carpenter, who was baptized by John the Baptist in the river Jordan around the year 28 CE (Matthew 3:1-17). This is the very Jesus who declared himself the Messiah, the Christ, at the beginning of his public life. In Nazareth, attending Sabbath service at the synagogue, he attributed to himself the words of the Scriptures: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me / because he has anointed me; / he has sent me to announce/ good news to the poor..."(Luke 4:16-20). Jesus was crucified in April of the year 30 CE by command of the Roman Procurator Pontius Pilate, and after his resurrection his disciples undertook the evangelization of the world, following their teacher's command as stated in the Gospel of Matthew: "Full authority in heaven and on earth has been committed to me. Go forth therefore and make all nations my disciple; baptize all in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And be assured, I am with you always, to the end of time" (Matthew 28: 16-20).

The Apostle who did the most to spread the word of this new religion among the Gentiles was Paul of Tarsus, born Saul. A rabbinical student of the Jewish Diaspora and a Roman citizen, he died martyred with the Apostle Peter in Rome under the rule of the Emperor Nero, circa 67 CE. Paul had evangelized part of Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria, and his disciples brought the word to Greece, Macedonia, Egypt, and Northern Africa. Wherever there were Jews living in the Diaspora, there was a fertile ground for converts to Christianity. Slowly, evangelization reached very large numbers of people, including the Roman Imperial family. Since Rome was the capital of the Roman Empire, it was chosen as the center of Christianity and this became a well entrenched ideology (Kantorowicz 1981).

Up to the fourth century, however, the Eastern Churches of Ephesus, Antioch, Alexandria Caesarea, and Carthage retained great importance. Early Church Fathers such as Iraeneus (b. c.190–195), Tertullian (b. c. 160 in Carthage), and Origen (185–254 CE) lent their prestige to Rome by asserting the supremacy of the Universal Church. At the time of Origen, the Roman Empire was in total political chaos and decadence; thus, one could conceive of Christianity as an alternative that could rescue the positive values of the Empire. The Emperor Constantine's 313 Edict of Milan ended the persecution of Christians, and the conversion of the Emperor himself completed the victorious journey of the new religion. Rome, now the center of Christianity and Catholicism, with the establishment of the papacy and the Holy See, saw its central role reaffirmed with the crowning of Charlemagne aHoly Roman Emperor in the year 800. The Bishop of Rome therefore claims his authority as conferred to Peter by Christ: "You are Peter and on this rock I will build my Church" (Matthew 15:18).

The Oriental Churches, such as the Greek and Russian Orthodox, had also been growing and had become centers of Christianity in their own right for political and religious reasons. Divisions within Christianity were further accentuated with the Protestant Reformation (1517) led by Martin Luther (1483–1586) who, in protest against the practice of indulgences, posted his 95 theses on the door of the Palast Church in Wittemberg, Germany, and later by John Calvin, who began the Reformation (1532) in France. The Church of England broke away from the Catholic Church under the reign of Henry VIII, after his divorce from Catherine of Aragon to marry Anne Boleyn (1533), and his excommunication by Pope Clement VII, bringing about the final rift between Rome and England. Like Protestantism, the Anglican Communion has maintained the necessity for the faithful to pray in the vernacular; thus Thomas Cramer (1552) produced its *Book of Common Prayer*. The Church, in response to several heretical currents throughout its history—for example the Cathar heresy resulting in the Albigensian Crusade in Southern France (1209–1229)—also established the Inquisition in 1233 CE and the Pope entrusted its powers to the Dominican order. A conviction of heresy could result in capital punishment and burning at the stake.

These rifts between Christian denominations are reflected in major differences regarding issues of vital religious, theological and social importance. The rift with the Reformation centered on clerical celibacy, the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, the practice of simony, the abuse of indulgences and the seven sacraments themselves, as well as the Eucharist. It was followed by a Catholic Reformation with the Council of Trent (1545–1564) which provided a reform of the clergy (establishment of seminaries for the preparation and instruction of priests), of evangelization, missionary work, and Catholicism itself. Sacerdotal celibacy and the exclusion of women in the priesthood were reaffirmed. The *Index of Prohibited Books* (*Index librorum prohibitorum*) was issued with papal approval along with the *Professio Fidei* (Profession of Faith) for all Catholics to follow.

The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) was convened by Pope John XXIII in order to prepare the Church for the modern world. It dealt with issues such as the mission of laity, the nature of religious freedom, ecumenism, and liturgical reform such as the usage of the vernacular in liturgy. While the First Vatican Council

(1869–1870) reaffirmed the doctrine of Papal infallibility, based on the creed of the Pope as direct heir to St. Peter who received the office directly from Jesus, the Second Council was more inclusive, attempting to reach out ecumenically to all the Churches and even other religions. However, with the encyclical *Lumen gentium* (*The Light of the Peoples*) the Church claimed to be "the one Church of Christ which in the Creed is professed one, holy, catholic and apostolic ... which is governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in community with him"(Pope Paul VI, November 1964). Regarding salvation, the Council held to the notion that Christians and non-Christians might be saved by accepting and responding to the grace of God and in its revelation through the mercy of Christ, the "baptism of desire," a tenet that many Christian theologians and intellectuals had advocated. For instance, in his *Divine Comedy*, Dante exposed his conception of Limbo, and allowed the salvation of Cato, Rhipheus the Trojan, and the Emperor Trajan.

THE VIRGIN MARY

The Church has maintained that the Virgin Mary, as the human mother of Jesus, is the mother of all humanity, and that Catholics and others may intercede with her and the other saints in heaven through prayer: "The Blessed Virgin Mary can best be set forth as a most exalted Co-operatrix with Christ. Such a chapter would greatly enhance the glory of the Mother of God" (*The Sixteenth Documents*, p. 666). In Catholic tradition, the Virgin Mary became the figural fulfillment of Eve who has been blamed—by theologians from Saint Augustine to Jerome, to Aquinas and even Luther and up to the present—for the original sin, which has become primarily a sexual issue and foundational to misogyny in Christian cultures. Since the time of Augustine, the sexual urge has been proclaimed a sin and chastity is traditionally upheld. The Biblical Eve has become, in art and literature, the image of the *femme fatale*, while Mary has taken her place as mother of humanity and the symbol of life rather than death, as a means of salvation and the fruit of Redemption. In Catholic exegesis, Mary is a symbol and type of the Church (*typus Ecclesiae*) as are all the female figures of the Old Testament such as Rachel, Sarah, Rebecca, Ruth, Judith, and others (Di Scipio 1983, Pelikan 1996).

DISSENT

The Church, born under persecution during the Roman Empire, has always maintained pacifism in social teaching. In the modern era, however, some Catholics maintain that there may be a "just war," such as World War II against the evil of Nazism, but even such wars are meant to prevent or limit wars, not justify them. Pope John XXIII pointed the way with his encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963). Pope John Paul II adamantly opposed the Iraq War (begun 2003) and made a cornerstone of his pontificate a reconciliation with Jews, Muslims, and non-Christians, even apologizing to some for past errors committed by the Church of Rome. At the same time John Paul reaffirmed Church teaching against capital punishment in all instances as immoral.

The Catholic Church thus has a lively tradition of dissent on social issues such as pacifism and sexuality, as demonstrated by figures such as the Jesuit priest Robert Drinan (d. 2007) who served as a Representative to the U.S. from Massachusetts for five terms and hotly opposed the Vietnam War in the 1960s, and ignored the Church doctrine by supporting federal financing of birth control and abortion. Similarly, Auxiliary Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton, who served as pastor in an inner city Detroit parish, co-founder of the peace ministry Pax Christi, broke ranks because of his teaching in favor of gay men and lesbians and the ordination of women, as well as his open lobbying in favor of victims of sexual abuses, and was forced to resign in an apparent act of retaliation by the Church (*New York Times*, January 26, 2007). Another controversial priest was the French-born Abbé Pierre (d. 2007), founder of the organization Emmaus International to help the homeless and the indigents. He served in World War II as a chaplain for the French Navy and also in the French Resistance, he helped Jews and others escape from the Nazis, was elected to the National Assembly, and received the French Legion of Honor which he gave back as a gesture to dramatize the issue of the homeless. The French President Chirac gave him another. He enraged the Catholic hierarchy by supporting gay marriage and revealing that as a young priest he had sex with a woman.

THE PRIESTHOOD, CELIBACY, AND WOMEN IN THE PRIESTHOOD

The Catholic Church follows the precept that everyone is equal in the eyes of God and restated this principle in Vatican Council II on the authority of Paul in Galatians 3:28 and Colossians 3:11: "There is, therefore in Christ and in the Church no inequality on the basis of race or nationality, social condition or sex because, 'there is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male or female. For you are all "one" in Christ Jesus'" (*The Sixteen Documents*, p. 143). But on the question of ordination, the Catholic Church upholds the *magisterium*, the position that priestly ordination can be conferred only on men. This was reaffirmed in Pope John Paul II's Apostolic Letter, *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* (Sacerdotal Ordination, 1994) which states: "the Church has no authority whatsoever to confer priestly ordination on women and definitely held by all Church faithful." The Church saw it as necessary to restate this position in a subtle manner because of the challenge being posed in the late twentieth and early twentieth-first centuries by many women's groups who claim that Jesus had several women apostles, particularly Mary Magdalene, whom feminist scholars consider one of the first apostles as confirmed by the Gnostic Gospels, and of whom Augustine himself said that the Holy Spirit made the Apostle of the Apostles. The present Pope, Benedict XVI, as Cardinal Joseph Raztinger, head of the Office of Congregation of Faith, stated several times that the Church is God's Church, and that theologians cannot change this. Nevertheless, in the 1970s, Ludmila Javorova and other Czech women were ordained to serve the needs of women imprisoned by Communists.

Another important issue is priestly celibacy. Celibacy is a longstanding tradition in the Church from its origins with the example of Jesus himself and Paul. The Church has had to intervene repeatedly on this issue. Pope Leo the Great (440–461) decreed celibacy in the fifth century, as this rule was not being followed and many clergy kept concubines at home. It was reaffirmed in the eleventh century at the Synod of Poiters in 1074, when Pope Gregory VII excommunicated married priests. Celibacy was upheld again in the First Lateran Council (1124), and after the Protestant Reformation at the Council of Trent (1545–1563) which affirmed that celibacy and virginity are superior to marriage. It was restated at the Vatican Council II in 1965, and in the Encyclical Sacerdotalis Caelibatus of 1967 issued by Paul Pope VI, who also issued celibacy dispensations (frozen by Pope John Paul II in 1978), and in the Code of Canon Law of 1983.

Since Vatican Council II, the Catholic Church admits to the deaconate married men of mature age, but it does not permit ordained priests to contract marriage. It does allow men who have been married to enter the priesthood, provided they refrain from sexual intercourse, but it excommunicates those priests who have contracted marriage. This is constantly being challenged, as in the case of Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo from Zambia (b. Lusaka 1930) who married and, excommunicated, still ordained other married priests and founded an organization of former priests defrocked for having contracted marriage, such as Married Priests Now and the Association of Married Priests, founded by theologian Giuseppe Serrone. However, the Eastern Rites do ordain married men and the Vatican has admitted married clergy from the Anglican faith who have converted to Catholicism.

The Church faces great difficulties because of the decline in priestly ordination and the exclusion of women. Throughout the world, married priests are performing religious rites, such as the Easter service, as a response to this shortage and in rebellion against Rome. The Vatican has, through the eminent theologian Cardinal Martini, affirmed, on December 5, 2006, that nowhere in the New Testament is it stated that married men cannot be ordained, but the Church upholds the tradition that celibacy is the better choice, as stated by the Apostle Paul (I Corinthians: 7). Interestingly enough, during the period 2001 to 2006 many more young women have been entering convents, according to an article in *Time Magazine* (November 20, 2006, pp. 53–56), although since 1965, Catholics nuns have decreased in number from 179,954 to 67,773. The Church maintains, notwithstanding the sexual scandals that have affected it in the United States, that celibacy is not the cause for the decrease of priesthood. Yet sexual scandals have already caused entire dioceses to go bankrupt because of legal expenses for settlements of sexual abuses by clergy, one case being that of the Diocese of San Diego, which would be the fifth (*New York Times*, February 20, 2007, p. A14).

It must be noted that sexual abuse by the clergy is the domain of the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith in Rome, not of local bishops. This is in accordance with the Apostolic Letter of John Paul II, *Scramentum sanctitatis tutela*, and the 1983 Code of Canon Law punishes sexual abuse of a minor with laicization and dismissal from the ministry. The Anglican communion (77 million members) faces similar debates regarding homosexuality, same-sex marriage and the ordination of women, as it discussed the actions of the Episcopal Church of the United States (its American branch is made up of 2.3 million members), which has ordained lesbian female bishops. Conservative bishops have refused to celebrate the Eucharist with Bishop Katherine Jefferts Schori, maintaining that this violates Scriptural teaching: "Facing a possible church-wide schism, the Anglican communion yesterday gave its Episcopal branch in the United States less than eight months to ban blessings of same sex unions or risk a reduced role in the world's largest Christian denomination" (*New York Times*, February 20, 2007, p. A1). The Catholic Church has vehemently opposed legislation favoring recognition of same-sex unions in the United States and other countries, and is in open conflict with the government, the Parliament and the Italian Constitution (*La Repubblica*, February 13, 2007, pp. 10–11). Pope Benedict XVI, in speaking to the faithful, has affirmed that "No human law can subvert the law of the Creator" (*La Repubblica*, February 12, 2007).

HUMAN LIFE, SEXUALITY, AND EUTHANASIA

The Church holds that human life is holy and that each individual, male and female, is equal and created in the image of God. It opposes abortion (Portugal is the latest Catholic country to allow abortion, beginning 2007), euthanasia, homosexuality, artificial birth control, artificial insemination, and same-sex marriage. The Church tells the faithful that sex is not sinful if contained within marriage and for reasons of procreation, but is a capital sin if practiced outside of marriage. Pope John Paul II, in his Theology of the Body (October 29, 1980), states that physical love allows one to understand "the meaning of the whole existence, the meaning of life." In essence this is a restatement of the Aristotelian and Thomistic principles of the perfection achieved in the unity of the body and soul, something that Dante Alighieri, for example, championed in his *Divine Comedy*. Since the Church considers Manicheism a heresy (the doctrine that the Spirit is good and the Flesh evil), the human body and sex are good within limitations. Yet it prohibits and considers sinful sexual relationship between men, between women, same-sex marriage, and the remarriage of divorced people.

Consequently the Church faces strong criticism and challenges on issues such as artificial contraception, artificial insemination, abortion (which may carry the penalty of excommunication), and sexuality in general, in particular for its ban on the use of condoms in the prevention of AIDS and teenage pregnancy. The Church maintains that abstinence is the only way to prevent unwanted pregnancies or the spread of AIDS. Studies indicate that most Catholics ignore the Church on these points, and that they generally make use of artificial contraception. Abortion is very high among Catholics in Latin American countries—with the highest number of Catholics in any continent—and condom distribution is widely practiced in Africa and other continents for AIDS prevention, even by Catholic missionaries. Cardinal Alfonso Lopez Trujillo, President for the Pontifical Council for the Family has restated that the Church has not changed its views on the use of condoms (Catholic News Agency, May 4, 2006). The Church is aware that most Catholics do not follow these precepts, but it remains consistent in its traditional teaching.

The Catholic Church also condemns euthanasia, which is allowed in the Netherlands and some other countries. In 2007, the Church was involved in a very serious controversy with the case of Welby, an Italian man suffering with Parkinson's Disease, who had requested to die, and was allowed to, when a Dr. Riccio from Cremona disconnected a respirator. Mr. Welby intentionally wanted to provoke a dialogue on this issue. The Church Vicariate in Rome then refused Mr. Welby a Christian burial (January 2007), and this caused a huge uproar; many Catholics were appalled and accused the Church of hypocrisy, for it permits religious services for notorious criminals and political figures, such as General Pinochet of Chile, while denying the same for a suffering person of the same faith. Cardinal Martini of Milan intervened and pointed out the difficulty of such a case and urged the government to pass a law similar to the one in France which prohibits, in such cases, the use of medical treatment with obdurate and unreasonable obstinacy (*Sole 24 Ore*, January 21, 2007). Yet statistics clearly indicate that most Catholics in Italy (68%) favor "a good death," that is, allowing one to die without prolonged suffering and unnecessary treatment.

In February 2007, Pope Benedict XVI reaffirmed the traditional Church policy on same-sex marriage, euthanasia, and abortion in his Sunday Sermon (Angelus) and to the Conference of Italian Bishops (CEI) on February 4, which was celebrating the Sacredness of Life Day. He also upheld the precept of the traditional family union through matrimony in response to an ongoing debate among the faithful on all these issues, claiming that his position is "based on the real needs of the couple"(*La Repubblica*, February 5, 2007, p. 13, U.S. edition). And he attacked once again all legislation favoring genetic manipulations, abortion, euthanasia, eugenics and selective diagnosis before birth (*La Repubblica*, February 24, 2005, p, 15). At the same time, in a Catholic country like Italy, the number of unmarried couples living together has risen from 192,00 in 1983 to 555,000 in 2005. Similar statistics hold for other countries, and the Church thus faces some very strong challenges—yet throughout the centuries, it has found ways to survive and adapt itself to its times.

SEE ALSO *Alan of Lille; Aquinas, Thomas; Christ; Damian, Peter; Marbod of Rennes; Marriage, Spiritual; Mary Magdalene; Monasticism.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

CELESTINA

Celestina is the name of an old procuress in Fernando de Rojas's *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1499). Often referred to as *La Celestina*, the play concerns the lovesickness of a young man, Calisto, for Melibea, who appears to have no interest in him. At the encouragement of his valet, Calisto solicits the help of the old procuress Celestina as a skilled go-between. With much effort, Celestina secures Melibea's consent using a masterful rhetorical strategy that blends scientific argument with folkloric wisdom and acute insights into a young woman's sexual awakening. She also resorts to magic, though textual evidence that her success relies on the occult is scant. Melibea and Calisto consummate their passion thanks to Celestina's expert mediation. The play ends violently as Calisto falls to his accidental death, Melibea commits suicide, and Calisto's valets murder Celestina over an argument regarding payment, and are hanged for the crime.

The play is an exploration of sexual desire and the ways in which this is manifested in a young man and a young woman, aided by the verbal manipulation of a crafty procuress who makes a living facilitating illicit sexual encounters. Desire is portrayed as a primal drive, inevitable and necessary, able to inspire lofty courtly words as well as lewd and graphic remarks. It is shown at work among the higher and lower classes as one of the main forces that promotes interaction between people. Of particular importance to the issue of sexuality and gender is the play's representation of the seductive power of words, and the importance of a go-between for communication between men and women.

Celestina herself is drawn with such complexity and nuance that she occupies a special place in Spanish literature as a type: Able to speak eloquently on medicine, desire, magic, and sex, she occupies as much the role of teacher as that of go-between. But because she lives in constant fear of punishment (for her semi-illicit dealings) and poverty, she also represents the anxiety of early modern Spanish society. Rojas wrote *La Celestina* at a time when religious minorities felt increasingly pressured by the establishment, and previous models of coexistence between religions were fast being erased. Thus, while on one level the play is about sexuality and desire, on another it addresses the difficulties of living on the margins of an increasingly dogmatic society.

La Celestina inspired a number of continuations by other authors. It has also been translated frequently into many languages, and been represented in music and on stage as well as the visual arts. Mentions of Celestina and Celestina-like behavior are not uncommon in Spanish letters even in the early twenty-first century, and showcase the enormous attraction of art toward the figure of an old woman with an uncanny understanding of the workings of desire.

SEE ALSO *Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Lesbianism; Magic.*

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Leyla Rouhi

CELIBACY

Celibacy is the voluntary renunciation of sexual activity either for a specific period or for the remainder of one's life. It differs from virginity, the biological state of never having had sexual intercourse, because one can voluntarily commit to celibacy before or after having been sexually active. Celibacy also differs from chastity, which refers to refraining from inappropriate sexual activity. For example, a married person is chaste if she or he is monogamous and modest in social relationships. Thus, one can be chaste while not being celibate, and one can be celibate while not being a virgin.

Throughout history, from ancient times to the present, men and women in both the East and the West have opted to practice celibacy for a variety of reasons including the philosophical, religious, and practical. Some cultures believed that celibacy was the only way to rid oneself of the impurities of the body and its passions in order to attain holiness and ritual purity, an ideal still held by some in the twenty-first century. In former times, particularly in the Middle Ages, celibacy was also a means for women to escape the domination of a husband in a traditional marriage. In the mid- to late-twentieth century, however, celibacy became one way for many to assert their autonomy, redirect energy, and avoid disease.

NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE BODY, ITS PASSIONS, AND WOMEN

When celibacy is thought about in the twenty-first century, it is usually associated with negative attitudes towards the body, sex, and reproduction. In fact, such negativity was a factor in the origins of celibacy as an institution in both the Western and Eastern worlds.

In the West One of the major reasons for celibacy in the Western world is the belief that the body and its senses are obstacles to a moral life. The popularity of this line of thought can be attributed mainly to the Greek philosopher Plato who wrote in the fourth century BCE. His philosophy, known as dualism, holds that humans consist of two elements, a body and a soul. The soul is the seat of rational thought, while the body is the source of appetites and emotions, which hinder the rationality of the soul. Morality, for Plato, means being able to know the good through reason, but to do this one has to first control the sensual appetites of the body.

This philosophical dualism is also the basis of Greek mystery religions, whose adherents believed that the immortal soul is capable of knowing divine truths. Through observing secret rites and practicing asceticism—that is, the denial of sensual pleasures—one's soul could be released from its bodily prison and attain communion with the gods. This belief was adopted by the Essenes, a Jewish community that separated itself from the corrupt world to live a rigorously disciplined life at the beginning of the Common Era. Many members practiced celibacy to avoid being contaminated by sexual intercourse and to free their immortal souls from the bonds of the flesh. While some Essenes did marry, it was only to produce offspring; therefore, fertility was the chief requirement of a prospective wife. Most members, however, rejected marriage because they believed women to be disruptive and to create disharmony because of their sensuality. Woman's association with the body made her more emotional than men and hence an obstacle to his spiritual life. Celibacy was a means to avoid such negative influence.

That sexual activity distracts and prohibits one from having a spiritual life was a part of Christianity from its early years. The idea appears as early as Paul's first letter to the Corinthians written in the middle of the first century CE, in which he suggests that married people abstain from sex to leave themselves free for prayer (1 Cor. 7:5). An even better way, says Paul, is to be like him, that is, to remain celibate (1 Cor. 7:7), because an unmarried man can devote himself to the Lord's affairs (1 Cor. 7:32). While Christians were free to choose marriage, particularly if they were weak and liable to be tempted, Paul saw celibacy as the way of perfection. He also thought women capable of celibacy and included widows in his directive (1 Cor. 7:8). It is at this time that the first women celibates held special positions in the community, often as collaborators with the clergy.

In the fourth century, when persecution of Christians ceased and the ascetic life became institutionalized, monks and nuns committed themselves totally to God by fleeing to the desert and renouncing all earthly pleasures including sexual activity. Thus celibacy became an intricate part of monasticism. It was against this backdrop and with the knowledge of Plato's philosophy that the most influential Christian theologian, St. Augustine (354–430), lived and wrote. In his *City of God* (14:17–18) Augustine claims that the sexual impulse is a result of original sin and is, itself, a source of sin and shame. He reduced the role of sexuality to that of procreation and viewed any pleasure derived from the act as interfering with one's spiritual life. Celibacy, where the passions are always in control, is the ideal state by which to achieve union with God.

Both Plato and Augustine hold to the Greek view of the divided self, the higher part being the rational soul that governs the lower irrational part, the appetites, and passions. In the context of their writings, men have been associated with rationality and women with the passions and sexuality. Like the Essenes of ancient Judaism, these major thinkers believed that women's sole purpose was to bear and nurture children, and this purely physical function rendered it much more difficult for women to achieve holiness. They were also the source of sexual passion and, therefore, had to be controlled by men.

The Christian Church in the West continued to be influenced by these philosophies, and in the sixth century Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590–604), a former monk, strongly advocated celibacy among the clergy. It was not until 1074, however, that another former monk, Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085), made it compulsory in the hopes of reforming the hedonistic Christian world with monastic asceticism (Abbott 2000). In the early twenty-first century, only the priests of the Roman Catholic Church are required to be celibate. There is little mention in the documents of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) about the sinfulness of the body, but negative attitudes are still present when the priest is told that, in order to serve the church well, he must mortify the deeds of the flesh in himself, that is, be celibate (Paul VI 1965).

Closely linked to the belief that sexual activity is sinful is the concept of ritual purity. In order for religious leaders to perform sacred ceremonies, they must be pure—in other words, have abstained from sexual activity. As far back as the seventh century BCE, there were vestal virgins serving Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, by tending Rome's sacred fire, a symbol of Rome itself. This task was of utmost importance because, were this fire to be extinguished, battles would be lost and Rome would be destroyed. This and other important duties had to be entrusted to one who was pure and incorruptible, and only the vestal virgin's celibacy could ensure such purity. Young girls were chosen from wealthy families at the age of ten and were committed to thirty years of celibacy after which they were free to marry,

St. Augustine. *St. Augustine believed that celibacy was the ideal state for Christian men and women.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

but, in fact, few chose to do so after having lived most of their life in a privileged celibate state (Abbott 2000). Ritual purity was also required in ancient Greece, where priests and priestesses were to remain celibate before performing sacred rites.

In Christianity, the celebration of the Eucharist was so sacred that, by the fourth century, it was believed that sexual intercourse would make the priest unworthy to perform the rite. Married priests would have to abstain from sex the night before Mass, and, eventually, when daily Mass became a common practice, would have to not marry at all, hence, the support for mandatory celibacy. Ritual purity remains a reason for celibacy in the Catholic Church as indicated in the Vatican II document *Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests*, which states, "inasmuch as they celebrate the mystery of the Lord's death they should keep their bodies free of wantonness and lusts."

In the East While the cultures in India, China, and Japan value marriage and family, there are traces of negative attitudes toward the body and sexuality in the traditions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. These religions believe that the body is a temporary home for the inner soul or, in the case of Buddhism, for the no-self, and is an impediment to ultimate liberation or enlightenment. In order to achieve these goals, therefore, one must renounce worldly attachments and bodily pleasures, including sexuality.

While there are many different strands of Hinduism, they are united by the common idea that one must be born again and again to ultimately reach final liberation, or *moksha*. One's soul, or atman, is ultimately united with divine reality, or Brahman, the source of all things, when it is freed from the body, which can be achieved in various ways. One common idea is that men of the upper castes follow four stages of life, two of which require celibacy. The first is the student life, *brahmacharya*, in which the student's discipline includes control over sexual passions in order to become mentally strong. In the second stage of householder, *grihastha*, one marries, has children, and participates in social and political life. The third stage is retirement, *vanaprastha*, when most financial responsibilities are over and it is time to slow down and practice meditation. The fourth and final stage, *sanyasa*, is the preparation for salvation when one severs all relationships and attachments and frees the mind of desires (Prinja 2002). Clearly, according to this schema, the Hindu believes that, because sexual activity distracts from both learning and attaining salvation, celibacy must be practiced both in the first and last stages of life.

Celibacy is also practiced by other renouncers in Hinduism such as *sādhus*. These are ascetics who leave a conventional lifestyle and undertake austerities in order to purify the mind and body. They are able to achieve liberation, or *moksha*, by dedicating themselves solely to meditation and contemplation of God. Some are wandering mendicants (beggars), some live alone in caves, forests, and temples, while still others join orders and live in communities, or *ashramas*. *Sādhus* are supported mostly by people who believe that their donations can rid them of bad karma and bring them closer to *moksha*. While the majority of *sādhus* are men, late-twentieth-century government census data indicate there are some concentrated populations of female renunciants called *sādhvīs* in parts of India (Clark 2005). According to Hindu philosophy, *sādhus*, *sādhvīs*, and others wanting to have a spiritual life must receive training from a guru, or mentor, who, in order to provide this training, must be pure and sinless, which, in Hinduism, requires celibacy (Prinja 2002).

There is another more philosophical strand of Hinduism called Vedanta, meaning after the Vedas, whose followers lead a celibate monastic life. This philosophy holds that the ultimate unchanging reality, or Brahman, dwells within people as the divine self, or atman, and one's goal in life is to realize this divinity within. One of the largest orders of Vedanta monks and nuns is that founded by Ramakrishna (1836–1886) in the nineteenth century and in the early twenty-first century has headquarters throughout the world. Ramakrishna required his followers to practice celibacy for two reasons: to conserve energy and redirect it to self-realization and to avoid distractions of the body so that one can unite one's spirit with God or Brahman.

Buddhism was an outgrowth of Hinduism in that the historical Buddha, Siddhārtha Gautama (c. 563–c. 483 BCE), finding that the ascetic practices of Hinduism did not answer his questions about the meaning of life, meditated under the bodhi tree until he found the answers. This moment of realization gave him the title *Buddha*, meaning "the enlightened one." As a result of this meditation he discovered and taught the four noble truths: (1) all life is suffering; (2) suffering is caused by desires; (3) to eliminate suffering one needs to eliminate desires; and (4) one eliminate desires by following the eightfold path, which consists of right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. These eight injunctions can be summarized in the basic moral principle of compassion through self-discipline. Buddhism is not dualistic like the philosophy of Plato but rather monistic, that is, there are not two ultimate realities of body and spirit but only one, nirvana, or the state of liberation from the cycle of death and rebirth. Nevertheless, Buddhism does say that the body and its cravings are "empty," that is, are not substantial or enduring and therefore must be transcended to achieve this liberation. Further, the idea of women being temptresses because of their uncontrollable sexuality and emotions exists throughout early Buddhist literature. For this reason the Buddha was reluctant to admit women to the monastic community, the *sangha*, and did so only if they submitted to the authority of the male monks (Paul 1985).

In Theravāda Buddhism practiced in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, the celibate male monk who has renounced the world and its desires is the one who is closest to liberation. Mahāyāna Buddhism, on the other hand, which exists in Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan, teaches that laypeople as well as monks can be enlightened and, therefore, places less importance on the necessity of celibacy. However, in approximately 100 BCE, when this type of Buddhism was in its early stages, women were so identified with bodily passions that they would have to be reborn as a man in order to attain liberation (Willis 1999).

A third religion growing from Hinduism is Jainism. Its founder, Mahāvīra (c. 599–527 BCE), established a community based on severe asceticism. The main tenet is nonviolence, or ahimsa, which is accompanied by other disciplines, including non-attachment, or *aparigraha*, and celibacy, or *brahmacharya*. Like Buddhism, Jainism believes that passions, particularly sexual ones, are the root cause of unhappiness, and if indulged, they will lead to higher levels of dissatisfaction. Jainism, however, accepted women as nuns from the beginning and appeared to be much more egalitarian in its treatment of them, giving them access to education and the reading of sacred texts. But in spite of these divergences from tradition, this community still reflects the negative attitudes toward the body and its passions, and still requires nuns to be subordinate to monks regardless of their age (Balbir 1999).

CELIBACY AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL FREEDOM

Negative attitudes toward the body and sexuality were not the only motivations for celibacy throughout history. An understanding of past societies and their narrow definitions of gender roles provides a context within which to view celibacy as a means of freeing one from social constraints.

In the West Celibacy has also been embraced for positive reasons throughout history, especially by women. In cultures that limited their roles to wife and mother, celibacy freed women to devote themselves to lives of service and study. In the early Christian Church, some women committed themselves to the celibate life not only for spiritual reasons but also for freedom to serve the community. Widows, being allowed to keep their husband's inheritance, pulled together and formed an independent group who had considerable influence in the early communities (Ruether 1998).

Beginning in the fourth century, there were many female ascetics who left noble families and rejected marriage in order to form new communities for themselves and other women. Unlike their contemporaries, these religious females were educated in languages, the arts, and theology and were able to write prose and poetry and circulate them to other communities (Ruether 1998). Hence, posterity is now able to read and be inspired by the writings of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), Mechthild of Magdeburg (1210–c. 1283), and Julian of Norwich (1342–after 1416).

With the advent of the women's movement in the mid-twentieth century, the idea of a committed celibate life no longer holds the same promise of freedom it once did. The modern woman has many opportunities for education, a profession, and, if she wishes, a life of service without necessarily embracing celibacy. As a result, the convents of nuns have far fewer applicants, and other celibate groups often have members who commit to them only for a limited period rather than for life.

In the East In India, women are expected to marry, often to someone chosen by their parents. However, there are stories of women throughout history who have deliberately rejected the role of wife and mother to be free to live a life of devotion. For example, Lalleshvari, who lived in the fourteenth century, sought freedom from an abusive marriage by seeking a guru to mentor her in the ascetic life (Johnsen 1994). Another woman, Mīrā Bāī (c. 1450–c. 1547), considered herself the bride of the god Krishna from a very early age. She wrote and sang songs as she wandered throughout India followed by many of her devotees. Legend has it that those who wanted her to marry a prince threatened her with death, but her resolve never wavered and she has become a model for early-twenty-first-century women who choose to reject marriage and live a celibate life.

In the early twenty-first century, there are many women saints of all ages in Hinduism, both in India and throughout the world, who are considered to be incarnations of the goddess Devi and are leading lives of celibacy and teaching and mentoring others on the spiritual path. Because widows are considered inauspicious in India, women who have lost their husbands often seek freedom from the oppression of society by becoming *sādhvīs* and embracing an ascetic lifestyle, which includes permanent celibacy (Clark 2005).

The traditions of Jainism and Buddhism developed as heretical sects that allowed women to join monastic communities and lead ascetic lives. The overwhelming number of women who followed the strict asceticism of Jainism (one source gives 36,000 female ascetics to 14,000 males under its founder Mahāvīra in the sixth century BCE) suggests that women followed a spiritual yearning that freed them from traditional societal demands (Murcott 1991). Around the same time, during the early years of Buddhism, women who joined Buddhist *sanghas* were also going against prevailing social norms. According to historians, these Buddhist nuns, or *bhikṣuṇīs*, freely left a family life to obtain spiritual realization unavailable to the woman who was a traditional wife and mother. Even as Buddhism spread to China and Tibet, cultures where most women were illiterate, women realized that going to a monastery afforded them freedom from unwanted marriages and provided security and educational opportunities. Buddhist nuns historically were scholars, a vocation that no woman of ancient times could hold in the outside world (Abbott 2000). While in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries not all Buddhist nuns have been celibate for life, their value of asceticism allows freedom from the pull of modern materialistic societies driven by passions and possessions. Hence, in the early twenty-first century, monasteries are not located only in Asia: They are growing in first-world Europe and the United States at a rapid rate.

CELIBACY FOR INDEPENDENCE, ENERGY, AND HEALTH

Since the sexual revolution of the 1960s, society has become more and more sexually oriented. Teenagers are having sex at a younger age, and teen pregnancies have risen. The television, movie, and music industries, knowing that sex sells, are pushing the sexual content of their products to new limits. Cosmetics and clothes are all geared to keeping men and women looking, smelling, and feeling sexy, and the pharmaceutical industry is dedicated to producing products that enhance sexual activity. This sex-focused culture, however, is also giving rise to a record number of sexually transmitted diseases, including the pandemic of AIDS. Against this backdrop, celibacy has acquired new meaning. While it is apparently counter to all that is socially acceptable, it is being embraced by many for just that reason. Since the mid-1980s there have been a growing number of people, especially women, who view sexual liberation as no liberation at all. Rather than freeing them to make choices, it requires them to make one choice, to have sex and to maintain their sexual attractiveness.

In her 1993 study of celibacy among women, Sally Cline reveals that many women believe that celibacy offers them strength, a sense of personal identity and independence, and creative time and energy for growth and work, which conventional sexual activity has not allowed them. Men also recognize that casual relationships, promoted by the image of the male stud, are no longer satisfying and that hormonal energy can be channeled into higher experiences. Celibacy can also be, for men and women alike, the ultimate expression of individuality and independence (Poulter 2006). With the advent of the Internet, these ideas are appearing more and more frequently on web pages, in chat rooms, and in online articles. The fear of sexually transmitted diseases, while always a motivator for abstaining from sexual activity, has become only one of many reasons to embrace celibacy, if not for a lifetime, at least for a period of time in which one has a chance to discover one's self, be free from conventional pressures, and experience autonomy in a new way.

It seems as though history is repeating itself. Gender roles, once so rigid in the Middle Ages, seem just as rigid in the early twenty-first century except in opposite ways. Forced marriages and confinement to family life for both men and women have given way to forced sexual activity, extramarital sex, and the pressure of sexual performance. In both these situations, celibacy has been a way to move out of social expectations and into a more meaningful sense of self. It appears that, far from being outdated, celibacy is a state that will always have its advocates and practitioners.

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Maura O'Neill

CELLINI, BENVENUTO
1500–1571

Benvenuto Cellini, who was born in Florence on November 1, 1500, and was one of the most renowned sculptor-goldsmiths of the Renaissance, crafted numerous works celebrating the nude body, male and female, with mannerist elegance and erotic undertones. He is equally renowned in the early twenty-first century for his swashbuckling bisexual life and his socially revealing, if exaggerated and self-justifying, autobiography and other writings. The memoir, which he began to dictate while he was sentenced to house arrest for sodomy from 1557 to 1561, selectively details his eventful career in Florence, Rome, and France. Although Cellini boasts about his often casual or exploitative female affairs, when he gossips about the libertine sodomy among clergy, aristocrats, and artists and their youthful assistants, he omits or denies his own relations with young men, documented in court archives (he was convicted twice, first in 1523).

After 1545, as the Counter-Reformation tightened sexual and artistic mores, the lighthearted hedonism of Cellini's youth met increasing hostility. Commissioned that year by Cosimo I de' Medici, the duke of Florence, to complete a classical fragment of a nude youth, Cellini suggested adding symbols to identify the marble boy as Ganymede, the mythical prince loved by Jupiter, who had been the premier symbolic justification of pederasty since antiquity. The sculptor Baccio Bandinelli, exploiting his rival's well-known weakness, blurted out, "Shut up, you filthy sodomite!" Cellini's witty retort both denied the specific charge and dignified the general custom:

Benvenuto Cellini. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

"I wish to God I did know how to indulge in such a noble practice; after all, we read that Jove enjoyed it with Ganymede in paradise, and here on earth it is the practice of the greatest emperors and … kings" (Cellini 1956). Evidently few believed him; a sonnet, written a decade later while in jail for assault, acknowledged persistent rumors: "Some say I'm here on Ganymede's account" (Saslow 1986).

Although Cellini's masterpiece, a bronze Perseus brandishing the head of Medusa (1545–1554), exposed a colossal male nude in Florence's central piazza, it was officially a political allegory of Duke Cosimo. In contrast, his marbles from the same years frankly appeal to the homoerotic gaze. Besides Ganymede, two other nude statues represent myths of male love: a seductive Narcissus and an Apollo ruffling the hair of his beloved Hyacinthus. Neither was commissioned, and he kept them in his studio all his life, indicating strong personal investment in their theme; another sonnet compared Apollo's female beloved Daphne unfavorably to Hyacinthus, who was more willing to accept "the incurable wound" of love.

Late in life, Cellini converted to the newly prevailing orthodox piety, marrying his mistress and shifting to more acceptable religious subjects, but his emphasis on the male body still unsettled traditional decorum. His marble crucifix (1556–1562) atypically depicted Jesus totally nude; when puritanical Philip II of Spain received it as a gift, he hastily covered its genitals with his handkerchief.

Cellini died in Florence on February 13, 1571. His writings, among the first detailed autobiographical evidence from an artist, offer important evidence of sexual practices and attitudes, and show the evolution of his art and emotional life as the High Renaissance tolerance for classically inspired pederasty gave way to renewed moral conservatism.

SEE ALSO *Art; Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Homosexuality, Male, History of.*

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James M. Saslow

CENSORSHIP

This entry, concentrating on censorship of sexual content in the United States, initially defines censorship. It then explores different rationales for censorship and the various means and modes that it can take. In addition to addressing the censorship of pornography and obscene speech, it examines censorship of broadcast indecency in the United States by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and other common censorship battles, including those involving self-censorship by private entities and businesses.

DEFINING CENSORSHIP: GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP AND PRIVATE CENSORSHIP

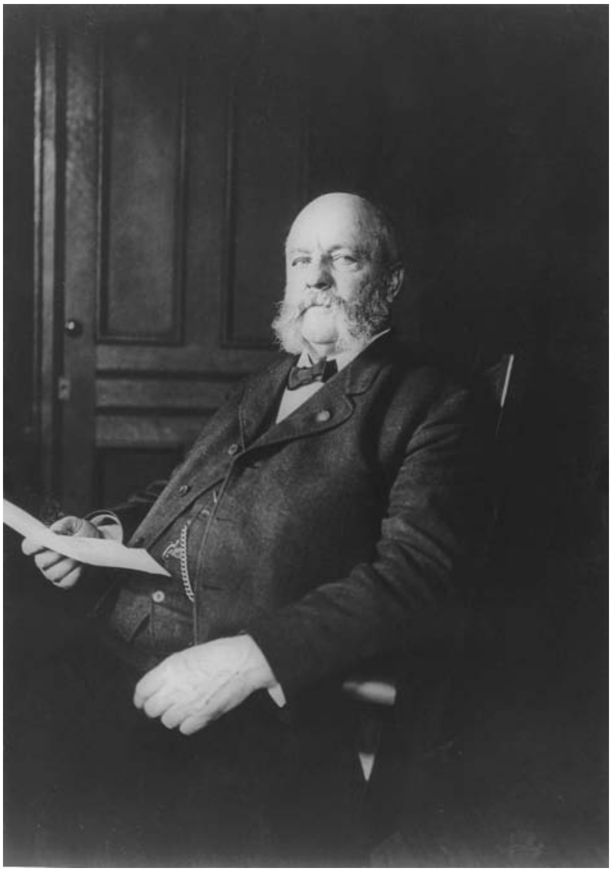
Censorship is the prohibition, suppression, and restriction of speech, be it the printed word or other forms of expression such as images, broadcasts, and Internet postings. It generally is found in two distinct modes in the United States—government censorship and private censorship. The former typically occurs when a government official or government entity either creates a law or seeks a court order, such as an injunction, that prohibits and bans the utterance and/or dissemination of speech on a particular topic, subject, or idea. Likely targets of censorship in the early twenty-first century are content such as military or security secrets, obscenity, broadcast indecency, and true threats of violence. The government, in brief, is the agent of the censorship—it plays the role of censor—and thus this form of censorship can also be called official censorship. People who violate censorship laws—laws that forbid the communication of certain messages and topics, such as federal statutes in the United States prohibiting the creation and dissemination of images of child pornography—and court orders face criminal penalties including fines, incarceration, and contempt.

Conversely, in private censorship—what might be called unofficial censorship—the censorship agent is not a government actor or government entity but is, instead, a private individual, a private business, or a corporation. For instance, private censorship takes place when a corporation or business acts as censor and decides not to sell or to rent a speech product such as a sexually explicit adult magazine such as *Hustler*, a violent video game such as *Grand Theft Auto*, or a profanity-laced rap CD by Eminem because the corporation or business objects to the content, subject matter, or message in the speech product. The individuals running a corporation or business that engages in such censorship may personally object to the messages in question or, from an economic and business standpoint, they may fear boycotts by consumers and religious groups if they sell the censored products. This may be thought of as a particular variety of private censorship called corporate censorship. Corporate censorship also occurs when a corporate-owned radio station refuses to play the songs of a certain musical group because the radio station's owners object to the group's political viewpoint or find the group's lyrics offensive. For instance, in 2003 many radio stations in the United States refused to play songs by the Dixie Chicks, a pop-country musical trio, after lead singer Natalie Maines made comments critical of President George W. Bush during a concert in England. In addition to corporate censorship, private censorship transpires when an individual who desires to speak nonetheless refrains from doing so voluntarily because of fear that his or her speech could lead to some form of punishment, retaliation, or retribution at the hands of others, including but not limited to the government. This is known as self-censorship; rather than risk possible reprisals for expressing a viewpoint or message, people play it safe, forgo speaking, and censor themselves. It thus is often said that a "chilling effect" on speech occurs when fear leads to self-censorship.

What unite both government censorship and private censorship are the notions of control over communication and the silencing of speech. In the case of government censorship, the control may come in the form of a prior restraint on speech—an order stopping speech before it can be released or sold to the public at large or to a specific segment of the public such as children. A court order restraining speech before it can be heard is a form of a judicial decree known as an injunction. In the United States, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution stands as a bulwark against most forms of government censorship. It provides in relevant part that "Congress shall make no law … abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." The U.S. Supreme Court has interpreted the word *Congress* to mean not simply the U.S. Congress, but any federal, state, or local government entity or official. The First Amendment thus creates an ethos and spirit of free expression that is dramatically and diametrically opposed to government censorship. Indeed, prior restraints on speech are presumptively unconstitutional and the government faces a heavy burden when attempting to justify them (*New York Times Co. v. United States*, 1971). Private censorship, however, is immune from the First Amendment guarantees of free speech and press. Thus there is no constitutional protection against private censorship, and private businesses and corporations are free not to sell or rent those speech products to which they object.

Even the First Amendment does not completely prohibit government censorship. The U.S. Supreme Court, the ultimate arbiter of the meaning of the First Amendment, has long held that some forms of speech—obscenity, child pornography involving real children, fighting words, true threats of violence, and incitements to violence—fall outside the scope of First Amendment protection and thus can be suppressed and censored. In addition and as described later, the FCC engages in censorship of certain sexually explicit content on broadcast television that it deems to be indecent.

Therefore, despite the presence of the First Amendment protection of free speech and press, both government censorship and private censorship occur in the United States. The constitutional law scholar and professor Rodney A. Smolla (1992) calls censorship "a social instinct," observing that "governments in all places at all times have succumbed to the impulse to exert control over speech" (p. 4). Other scholars agree that "throughout history governments have sought to, and succeeded, in banning material that they consider injurious" (Green 1990, p. vii) and "studies in communications, anthropology, sociology, and economics support the claim that censorship is an enduring feature of human communities" (Jansen 1991, p. 181). It thus should come as no shock that "censorship has been a constantly recurring social phenomenon" (Garry 1993, p. xv) in the United States. In fact, only seven years after the First Amendment took effect in 1791 with its protection of freedom of speech, "the federalist party under President John Adams obtained passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which attempted to silence any criticism levied against



Anthony Comstock. *Anthony Comstock was made a special agent of the U.S. Post Office charged with enforcing the Comstock Act, an anti-indecency law named for him.* COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

it by Thomas Jefferson's emerging Republican-Democratic party'' (Garry 1993, p. 19).

Given such historical tendencies and social instincts toward censorship, it is not surprising that there is a long history of censorship of sexual content in the United States. In 1821 Massachusetts successfully prosecuted Peter Holmes, publisher of a version of an erotic novel by the English novelist John Cleland called *Fanny Hill; or, Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748–1749), because government authorities found it to be ''lewd, wicked, scandalous, infamous, and obscene'' (Heins 2001, p. 25). The book, describing ''a young woman's successful rise from destitution to a middle-class life through a career in prostitution'' (Lane 2000, p. 11), was censored because it would allegedly put lustful desires in the minds of both minors and adults. In 1842 Congress enacted the first federal statute that allowed the censorship of obscene material. Congress in 1865 passed another law prohibiting the use of the mail to convey obscene pictures and books because it was ''concerned about the consumption of pornography in the [military] ranks during the Civil War'' (Lane 2000, p. 15).

The first dramatic move toward the large-scale censorship of sexual content in the United States, however, came in 1873 with the passage of the so-called Comstock Law, named for Anthony Comstock, a crusader in New York State against indecent material. This act ''made it a crime knowingly to send information and advertisements about obscene publications, contraception, or abortion through the mails'' (de Grazia 1992, p. 4), and Comstock was made a special agent of the U.S. Post Office charged with enforcing it—something he did quite vigorously. Forty years after the act's passage, Comstock claimed to have ''destroyed more than 160 tons of obscene literature and had convicted enough individuals to fill nearly 61 passenger cars with 60 seats each'' (Lane 2000, p. 15). Comstock had great power, in part, because the act did not define terms such as *obscene*, *lewd*, and *indecent*, thus giving him wide latitude to subjectively enforce the obscenity censorship law as he saw fit. The postal service remains one the primary enforcers of obscenity laws in the early-twenty-first-century United States, with postal inspectors monitoring mails for obscene content under federal law (18 *U.S. Code* § 1461).

Censorship of sexual content continued in the twentieth century, and it was not until 1966 that the U.S. Supreme Court finally held that the book *Fanny Hill* was not obscene and thus could be legally distributed (*A Book Named "John Cleland's Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure" v. Massachusetts*). A major victory against censorship occurred in 1933 when a federal judge held that James Joyce's book *Ulysses* was not obscene (*United States v. One Book Called "Ulysses"*). But that decision did not stop efforts to censor speech that government authorities considered to be obscene. Between 1957 and 1977, the nation's high court heard arguments in nearly ninety different obscenity prosecutions. During the administration of President Bill Clinton, however, there were no federal obscenity prosecutions, as the Justice Department under Clinton focused instead on the proliferation of child pornography on the World Wide Web and congressional efforts turned to censoring nonobscene yet explicit sexual content on the web. The administration of President George W. Bush began a new federal crackdown on obscenity, launching two major prosecutions, one in 2003 and the other in 2006.

RATIONALES FOR CENSORSHIP: FEAR AND POWER

Rationales for censorship of expression often are based upon fears—realistic or imaginary—about the supposedly dangerous and deleterious effects that particular messages might have on the audience that receives them. For instance, those in power in government may want to censor messages of opposing political parties because they fear the opposition's messages will undermine their authority and control. Likewise, the government may want to censor messages with sexually explicit content because it fears that young children would be harmed or corrupted by viewing the content. For instance, a public high school—a government entity—may ban books with sexual content from its shelves or remove selected pages from them, clear acts of government censorship.

Private censorship also may be based on a fear rationale. For instance, a company may decide not to sell a particular rap CD because it fears consumer backlash in the form of boycotts and protests were it to carry the CD. Alternatively, the rationale for private censorship may not be based on fear but simply on the premise that the individual engaged in the censorship truly objects, based on personally held beliefs, to the content in question and thus decides not to sell or rent it.

Ultimately, censorship is about power and control of information. By preventing people from receiving certain information and knowledge, individuals and government entities acting as censors exert control over the information-deprived individuals. The maxim that "knowledge is power" goes double with censorship, as censorship is the suppression of knowledge with this suppression entrenching the power of those who control the flow of information. Government censorship of sexual content in books, magazines, and videos therefore is a means of power and control over sexual practices and sexual mores of the population, as censorship of this material both reduces what people know about sexual conduct and makes clear to them that some sexual practices are forbidden, scandalous, or taboo.

MODERN RATIONALES FOR CENSORSHIP OF SEXUAL CONTENT

In the early-twenty-first-century United States, there are two primary and distinct rationales for censoring sexual content and, in particular, for censoring sexual content that is commonly thought of as pornography, such as that found in such magazines as *Hustler*, *Taboo*, and *Barely Legal*.

First, antipornography feminist legal scholars such as Catharine A. MacKinnon (1993) believe that such sexual content represents "the power of men over women, expressed through unequal sex, sanctioned both through and prior to state power" (p. 40). Under this view, the sexual content found in adult magazines, videos, and DVDs should be censored because it objectifies and exploits women and, in turn, conveys an ideology that sustains male power. In addition, this strand of antipornography feminism contends that censorship is necessary not only because pornography subordinates women to men but also because it changes how women feel about themselves. As the late feminist scholar Andrea Dworkin (2004) wrote, "the pornography industry has managed to legitimize pornographized sexuality and to make it the duty of every woman to perform sexually as a prostitute. Partly, the voyeurism of the pornography industry changes the way in which women are seen. This includes how we see ourselves" (p. 141). It is worth noting that not all feminists are in favor of censorship of sexually explicit pornography; in fact, there is a group in the United States called Feminists for Free Expression (FFE) that is decidedly anticensorship and believes that "while messages reflecting sexism pervade our culture in many forms, sexual and nonsexual, suppression of such material will neither reduce harm to women nor further women's goals" ("FFE Mission").

The second primary rationale for censoring sexual content is that the content undermines moral and religious values, while concomitantly corrupting children and harming social institutions such as the family and marriage between a man and a woman. This view is commonly associated with the conservative and religious right movement in the United States. Groups such as Citizens for Decent Literature, founded in the 1950s by Charles Keating, and the American Family Association, founded in 1977 and headed in the early twenty-first century by the Reverend Donald Wildmon, are examples of censorship advocates subscribing to this rationale.

Beyond these two primary rationales for censorship of sexually explicit content are arguments that pornography: (1) exploits the women who are used in making it; (2) is addictive and ruins the lives of those who consume it, along with the lives of their family members; and (3) desensitizes users and negatively changes their beliefs and behaviors about healthy sexual relationships. Both antiporn feminists and antiporn conservatives may embrace these arguments, depending on the particular individual.

Very different rationales for censorship of sexual content are found when the individuals featured in the content are children. In particular, child pornography is censored in the United States—it is not protected by the First Amendment, and it is a violation of both federal and state laws to distribute it and to possess it—because the minors used in child pornography: (1) do not have the mental capacity to understand the ramifications of their participation in it and thus are not capable of giving informed consent to making it; (2) are both physically and emotionally harmed by participating in it; and (3) could be haunted later in their adult lives by the permanent record of their participation in child pornography if someone years or decades later discovers the magazine, video, or DVD in which they appeared. In addition, another rationale for censorship of child pornography is that its use by pedophiles whets their appetite to sexually molest and abuse children.

Finally, another rationale for censoring sexual content is political expediency. In particular, politicians may call for censorship of sexual content not because they really fear that it causes any harm to those who would view it or read it, but because such a pro-censorship stance against sexual content may win them support from voters and public interest groups such as Focus on the Family. Viewed in this light, support of censorship can be seen as little more than a cynical form of political pandering to the electorate.

TYPES OF CENSORED SEXUAL CONTENT: OBSCENITY, CHILD PORNOGRAPHY, INDECENCY

The First Amendment does not protect obscene speech, and thus it may be censored by the federal government in the United States. The U.S. Supreme Court created a three-part test in 1973 for determining when material is obscene (*Miller v. California*). That test, known as the *Miller* test after the name of the legal case in which it was created, asks the jury in an obscenity prosecution to determine whether the material in question: (1) appeals to a prurient interest in sex, when taken as a whole and as judged by contemporary community standards from the perspective of the average person; (2) is patently offensive, as defined by state law, in its display of sexual conduct; and (3) lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value. Only if a jury finds that each of these three components is satisfied by the sexual content in question will it be deemed to be obscene. Once deemed obscene, the censorship and suppression of further distribution of the material is permissible. The rationale for censorship of obscenity, as reflected in the *Miller* test's use of terms such as *prurient interest* (defined by the U.S. Supreme Court as a morbid or shameful interest in sex) and *patently offensive*, is premised on the conservative argument described above that it harms morals and values.

Child pornography involving real minors—not computer-generated ones—also is not protected by the First Amendment, and thus it too may be censored by the government. Significantly, however, there is not a uniform or standard definition of child pornography, in contrast with the *Miller* test for obscenity. What courts have made clear is that the sexual content need not rise to the level of obscenity under *Miller* or be as graphic or explicit if children are depicted in it. For instance, an image depicting the lascivious exhibition of the genitals or pubic area of a minor constitutes child pornography under federal statutory law embodied in the *United States Code* even if the minor is not engaged in a sex act (18 *U.S. Code* § 2256).

A third category of sexual content that may be censored by the government in the United States is broadcast indecency. In particular, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1978 that the FCC could censor the over-the-air broadcast, on both radio and television during certain periods of day, of sexual content that it deemed to be "indecent" even though the content does not rise to the level of obscene speech under *Miller* (*Federal Communications Commission v. Pacifica Foundation*). In 2006 the FCC defined *broadcast indecency* as speech that, in context, depicts or describes sexual or excretory activities or organs in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards for the broadcast medium. This is a two-part test that first requires a determination of whether the speech in question depicts or describes sexual or excretory activities or organs. If it does include such content, then it must be determined whether the depiction or description is patently offensive. In deciding if material is patently offensive, the FCC generally weighs three factors: (1) whether the description or depiction is explicit or graphic; (2) whether the material dwells on or repeats at length descriptions or depictions of sexual or excretory organs; and (3) whether the material appears to pander or is used to titillate or shock. No single factor controls the analysis; each is weighed in context in a totality-of-the-circumstances approach.

In 2006 the FCC raised by ten times the amount that it could monetarily fine a broadcaster for a single instance of an indecency violation, from $32,500 to $325,000. Broadcasters do not face such liability, however, if they air indecent content between 10:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M. This eight-hour window when indecent content is permitted on the broadcast airwaves is known as the safe-harbor period; it gives adults a chance to receive such indecent content during a period when the FCC believes that fewer children are in the audience and thus are less likely to be exposed to it. In essence, this safe-harbor period is designed to strike a balance between the First Amendment interest of adults to receive indecent speech, on the one hand, and the government interest in helping parents shield their children from indecent content, on the other.

In 2004 the FCC vigorously applied its indecency standard when it issued an aggregate $550,000 fine against various CBS television stations for airing that same year the Super Bowl XXXVIII halftime show. It was, at the time, the largest indecency fine ever levied. The FCC focused its inquiry on Janet Jackson and Justin Timberlake's performance of the song "Rock Your Body." The duet concluded with Timberlake's removal of a portion of Jackson's leather bustier, briefly exposing her breast to the camera, at the precise moment when Timberlake finished the song's last lyric, "gonna have you naked by the end of this song." In reaching its decision that the broadcast was indecent, the FCC initially found that the halftime broadcast culminated in on-camera partial nudity with Jackson's exposed breast, thus constituting a depiction of a sexual organ under its definition of indecency. It then concluded that this depiction was patently offensive because, although it lasted less than one full second on the air, it was designed to shock and titillate and it was graphic and explicit. In 2006 the FCC upheld this order after CBS appealed it (FCC 2006b).

In 2006 the FCC issued a new record-setting aggregate fine of more than $3.6 million against CBS affiliates for airing an episode of the show *Without a Trace* that, in the FCC's determination, was indecent because it graphically depicted teenage boys and girls participating in a sexual orgy. The episode had aired at 9:00 P.M. in the central and mountain time zones, thus placing it outside the safe-harbor period. Although no nudity was shown and the sex was merely simulated, the FCC nonetheless found that it was indecent, reasoning that the episode "contains numerous depictions of sexual conduct among teenagers that are portrayed in such a manner that a child watching the program could easily discern that the teenagers shown in the scene were engaging in sexual activities, including apparent intercourse. The background sounds, which include moaning, add to the graphic and explicit sexual nature of the depictions" (FCC 2006a). The FCC does not monitor the airwaves looking and listening for indecent content that it would like to censor. Rather, it considers and evaluates whether a broadcast is indecent only after receiving a formal complaint from a listener or viewer. By 2006, organizations such as the Parents Television Council actively monitored the airwaves, and its members had filed thousands of complaints for alleged indecency violations with the FCC.

To escape the FCC's censorship of indecent sexual content in the early twenty-first century, some radio show hosts such as Howard Stern abandoned over-the-air radio and moved to subscription-based satellite radio where the FCC does not censor indecent content. This demonstrates that the effect of censorship of sexual content may not be to eradicate it but simply to shift it to another venue or mode of communication.

This section has so far described the U.S. government's censorship powers over three distinct types of sexual content: obscenity, child pornography, and broadcast indecency. One might wonder what its censorship powers are over adult pornography. The problem here is that there is not a precise legal definition of pornography in the United States; rather, it is a catchall term that means many different things to many different people. *Hustler* magazine may be considered pornographic by many people because of its sexual content, but that is not a legal determination. Obscenity and pornography thus are not the same thing; the former is a legal term, the latter is not. Something may be pornographic in the eyes of many yet not be obscene under the *Miller* test in a court of law.

WARDING OFF GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP WITH SELF-REGULATION AND SELF-CENSORSHIP

In order to ward off government censorship of sexual and violent content in their media products, many entertainment-based industries have adopted and employed voluntary ratings systems that provide consumers and viewers with package-affixed labels and warnings about the content in a particular product. While such voluntary ratings systems do not constitute private censorship to the extent that the content of the product itself is not altered by the imposition of a rating or warning label, they do amount to good-faith and self-regulatory efforts to monitor content to fend off censorship. For instance, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA)—a nongovernmental organization—has a voluntary rating system, first adopted in 1968, that rates movies, taking into account factors such as theme, language, violence, nudity, and sex. Although no film company is forced to submit a film for rating to the MPAA, the vast majority opt to do so. The video game industry also has a voluntary rating system run by the Entertainment Software Rating Board. For instance, a video game rated AO (Adults Only) means that the content may include prolonged scenes of intense violence and/or graphic sexual content and nudity. In the music industry as well, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) places voluntary warning labels on CDs. In each case, the hope of these industries is that enforcement of their own voluntary rating system will be sufficient to prevent and stave off official government censorship of their content.

Such voluntary rating systems, however, can actually lead to private self-censorship. For instance, most movie producers do not want an NC-17 (No One 17 and Under Admitted) rating on a movie because most large theater chains will not show such movies on their screens, thus reducing the amount of potential box-office revenue to the take from only a tiny number of theaters nationwide and effectively spelling the kiss of death for the movie. Thus a producer of a film that initially receives an NC-17 rating might choose to go back and re-edit the movie, voluntarily eliminating certain graphic sexual scenes in order to obtain a less severe R (Restricted: Under 17 Requires Accompanying Parent or Adult Guardian) or the even more lucrative and family-friendly PG-13 rating (Parents Strongly Cautioned: Some Material May Be Inappropriate for Children Under 13) which is "by far the most profitable rating that a movie can receive" (Mundy 2003, p. W12). Even advertisements for movies may be subject to self-censorship as a result of a voluntary rating system. For instance, in 2006 the MPAA, which approves advertising for the films it rates, called for the producers of a documentary titled *The Road to Guantánamo* to change a movie poster that showed "a man hanging by his handcuffed wrists, with a burlap sack over his head and a blindfold tied around the hood" (Kennicott 2006, p. C1). Although not government censorship, this is a clear case of self-censorship by the movie industry.

The voluntary ratings also can lead to corporate censorship. This occurs when large retailers and distributors use the ratings as the criteria for refusing to sell products with a specific warning label or rating. The Harvard University law professor Paul C. Weiler (2006) writes that Wal-Mart, the largest seller of record albums, not only will "not stock any NC-17 or X-Rated videos, but it will not sell any record albums that carry an RIAA 'parental advisory' rating. Needless to say, one cannot buy albums by gangsta rap artists like Snoop Doggy Dogg or Tupac Shakur at a Wal-Mart outlet" (p. 128). In some cases, religious organizations and advocacy groups such as the National Institute on Media and the Family put pressure on corporations to engage in such censorship. For instance, in 2005 retailer Best Buy, acting "under pressure from religious groups, unveiled one of the toughest policies yet to keep violent and sexually explicit video games out of the hands of children" (Serres 2005, p. 2D). Specifically, Best Buy implemented a program that secretly monitors its employees and then fires the ones who sell video games rated M (Mature) to minors. Other retailers refuse to even stock M-rated games under such pressure from some religious and pro-family advocacy groups.

Even when a product is not rated, some corporations simply refuse to sell it. For instance, "many groups have warred against *Playboy*, successfully getting it pulled from magazine stands in places including Wal-Mart and some 7-Eleven stores. The religious right has rallied against the magazine from the pulpit and in books" (Guerrero 2003, p. 12).

SHIFTS IN COMMUNITY VALUES AND EFFECTS OF CENSORSHIP ON SEXUAL MORES

By 2005 the *Adult Video News*, an adult trade industry publication, estimated that adult entertainment was a $12.6 billion industry in the United States. Adult sexual content was clearly popular among many people—in addition to such massive revenue figures were indicators such as the appearance in 2004 on the *New York Times* Best Sellers list of the porn star Jenna Jameson's memoir, *How to Make Love Like a Porn Star*, and the proliferation across the country of clean, well-lighted adult content stores called Hustler Hollywood. Nevertheless, censorship efforts continued. The administration of President George W. Bush launched two high-profile federal obscenity prosecutions targeting the companies Extreme Associates, Inc., and JM Productions.

Community standards about sexual practices are critical in such obscenity prosecutions, as the *Miller* test for obscenity asks jurors to consider whether material is obscene in light of contemporary community standards. Importantly, the term *contemporary* means that what might have once been obscene may not be in the early twenty-first century; likewise, the term *community* means that what may be obscene in one state (and thus subject to censorship there) may not be obscene in another state. Indeed, the *Miller* test does not use a nationwide community standard but leaves it up to juries in the states to determine what their contemporary standards are and what can and cannot be censored. Some members of the adult entertainment industry in the early twenty-first century are thus cautious about shipping content into conservative states such as Utah and Georgia. Such a decision by companies to not to mail content to certain states is an example of self-censorship. It also means that picking the right venue—a more sexually conservative one—by the government in a federal obscenity prosecution can result in a censorship-friendly verdict and conviction. As time goes on, it remains to be seen how shifting values and mores about sexual practices in the United States will affect the government's censorship efforts. If citizens become more tolerant of different sexual practices that once were considered taboo and become more comfortable in viewing images of sexual conduct, then it will, in turn, become increasingly difficult for the government to win obscenity convictions and censor sexual content.

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Clay Calvert

CHANCRE

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

CHASTITY

Chastity is a concept found in the three Abrahamic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It refers to purity of one's thoughts and deeds, particularly as they apply to sexual relations. To be chaste means that one is a virgin until marriage and engages in sex only with one's lawful spouse. For Catholic priests and nuns, chastity includes, but is not limited to, sexual abstinence; the goal of chastity is to eliminate all carnal desires so that one can fully concentrate one's mind and body on serving God.

Some Christians argue that married couples should also remain chaste, that is, abstain from sex, except for the purpose of reproduction. However, this was not its original meaning. The confusion over whether chastity refers to complete abstinence or only abstinence outside of marriage stems from the religious emphasis placed on chastity as a moral state of mind. The chaste person is first and foremost modest, simple in expression, and acts in accordance to religious moral precepts. Restraint in sexual behavior is a consequence of, rather than a synonym of, chastity.

In Islam the concept of chastity refers only to sexual abstinence among unmarried men and women. There is no order of religious priests in Islam and all religious leaders are permitted to marry. In Judaism, rabbis are permitted to marry and the injunction on sexual abstinence is limited to unmarried Jews. In Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism, monks and nuns take a vow of chastity (*brahmacharya*) for life. In these three Eastern religions the goal of chastity is to eliminate all attachments to other humans and to all bodily desires so that the person liberate themselves from earthly pleasures, focus on religious service, and eventually attain nirvana or *moksha*. Nirvana and mochas refer to finally getting off of the wheel of death and rebirth (*samsara*) and reuniting with the universal godhead. In Zoroastrianism, chastity is expected only until marriage after which married couples—including priests, who are permitted to marry—are expected to have children to continue the faith. So, for all religions, chastity refers to sexual abstinence out of wedlock and purity of mind.

THE MEDIEVAL IDEAL OF CHASTITY

The modern Western idea of chastity is rooted in the ideal of courtly love that originated in southern France in the eleventh century. At that time, most marriages among the nobility were arranged and lacked intimacy. Courtly love served as a way for women to be sexually faithful to their contracted husbands, while at the same time having a chaste romantic relationship with a suitor. The suitor, usually of a lower class than the woman, was motivated not only by love but also by prestige and economic gain. Courtly love relationships were romantic and could even be expressed in public without shame and with the consent of the husband. However, such relations always had to be chaste, thus explicitly separating love from sex. When courtly love ceased to be chaste it caused both social and personal disruption, even destruction. The prototypical story of courtly love and chastity is that of Sir Lancelot and his love for King Arthur's wife, Guinevere. Their love was expressed publicly with the approval of King Arthur; it was when their love ceased to be chaste that it led to the dissolution of King Arthur's court. The two ideas of courtly love—that romantic love is pure when it is independent of sexual desire and that the conjunction of the two is frequently socially and psychologically dangerous—survive in the early twenty-first century.

PRESENT-DAY FORMS OF CHASTITY

There are three different forms of chastity that are popular: the first, and by far the most organized and largest of these, is rooted in various religiously based movements that encourage teenagers and singles to remain chaste until marriage; the second, which is not organized but which is also popular especially among youths, is the idea that youths should channel their sexual energy to noble nonreligious causes, such as poverty, the environment, self-actualization, and so on; the third movement is, in many ways, the perverse inverse of the religious ideal of chastity, and extols chastity as a means to heighten sexual pleasure. What these three different cultural versions of chastity have in common is the belief that chastity purifies the mind and allows one to focus on good deeds. Each of these three different modern-day cultural versions of chastity is discussed below.

RELIGION AND CHASTITY

The chastity movement in modern-day America began in 1940 when fifty Jesuit priests convened to write a booklet aimed at college-bound youths. The key theme of this booklet was that chastity is the queen of Christian virtues. Young adults were enjoined to resist sexual temptation by reminding themselves that the body is the temple of the Holy Spirit and therefore a shrine to God. Sex out of wedlock is the same as desecrating the house of God. Chastity does not mean celibacy for married couples but it does imply that sex should not be done to satisfy lust and that wife and husband should remember that the body belongs to Christ and not to one's spouse. After a couple has borne children they are encouraged to practice perfect or absolute chastity so that each can be closer to God.

In the 1980s and 1990s the Jesuit view of chastity was popularized by national chastity movements, the largest of these is called True Love Waits (TLW). TLW was founded as part of a Christian sex education campaign in 1987 by Jimmy Hester who was joined in 1992 by Richard Ross, a Baptist pastor. The success of TLW hinges on a four-pronged strategy: first are frequent meetings by peers; second are personal testimonials; third are symbols of commitment to chastity; and fourth is peer and parental pressure to encourage young adults to make a commitment to chastity. Members of the TLW movement are encouraged to meet regularly and recruit friends into the movement. Unlike the Jesuit booklet, TLW counselors and speakers directly address such intimate issues as whether or not looking at a swimsuit magazine, kissing, oral sex, or homosexuality are permitted.

The chastity movements in the United States are generically Christian rather than Catholic and are frequently associated with right-to-life and anti-abortion campaigns. Akin to medieval courtly love, the contemporary chastity movement separates romantic love from sex, emphasizing not only that sex can destroy romantic love, but that romantic love is purer when the couple is chaste.

CHASTITY AND NOBLE CAUSES

In a study of New England college students who chose to be chaste, Victor de Munck (2001) discovered that as many as 50 percent of them chose to do so because of their commitment to a noble cause. These students were so devoted or committed to their particular cause(s) that they simply had neither time nor immediate desire to enter into a committed relationship. Their attitude was identical to that of a Catholic monk who chooses to be celibate in order to serve God, except that they chose to serve a secular ideological calling. Unlike the college students who chose chastity for religious reasons, these students did not consider virginity a moral requirement or virtue but chose it for pragmatic reasons—it took time and was potentially troublesome.

CHASTITY AS SEXUAL PRACTICE

Although chastity belts are commonly associated with the medieval era, they were first made in the 1600s. Chastity belts were sometimes worn by females (usually from the upper class) either to keep them virgins or ensure fidelity whenever their husbands went away for an extended period of time. As Western medical practices had long considered masturbation deleterious to a man's health, chastity belts were also made for young men.

In recent years chastity belts have made a comeback as part of an alternative sexual lifestyle involving bondage, dominance, sadism, and masochism (BDSM). Chastity belts are usually made of plastic, stainless steel and leather, with a key lock in the center. There are a number of specialty shops that make custom-made chastity belts. Among practitioners of BDSM, chastity belts are used to prevent penetrative-receptive sex or masturbation in order to heighten sexual desire and ultimately sexual pleasure. Periods of sexual denial may be short or long-term. In either case the goals are to gain control over one's own or one's partner's sexual desire, and to frustrate that desire in order to achieve a stronger orgasm.

Chastity belts for men or women are bought or, more typically, ordered online from adult stores or specialty shops, the latter making customized belts. They are usually consensually used by a monogamous couple. There is a division of labor: one partner wears the belt and the other possesses the key to the belt. The person with the key usually plays the dominant role (called *dom*), whereas the person wearing the chastity belt plays the submissive role (called *sub*).

In order to have the chastity belt removed, the person wearing it must obey the commands of the keyholder.

Contemporary culture is more complex and varied than it was during the 1950s. The concept of chastity has been interpreted in surprising ways depending on the interests and personal dispositions of the individual. Regardless of the differences in the adoption of the concept of chastity, all three groups described above define chastity as a state of mind that is intended to discipline the body in order to bring the person into a closer relationship with the object of his or her love.

SEE ALSO *Abstinence; Virginity.*

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Victor de Munck

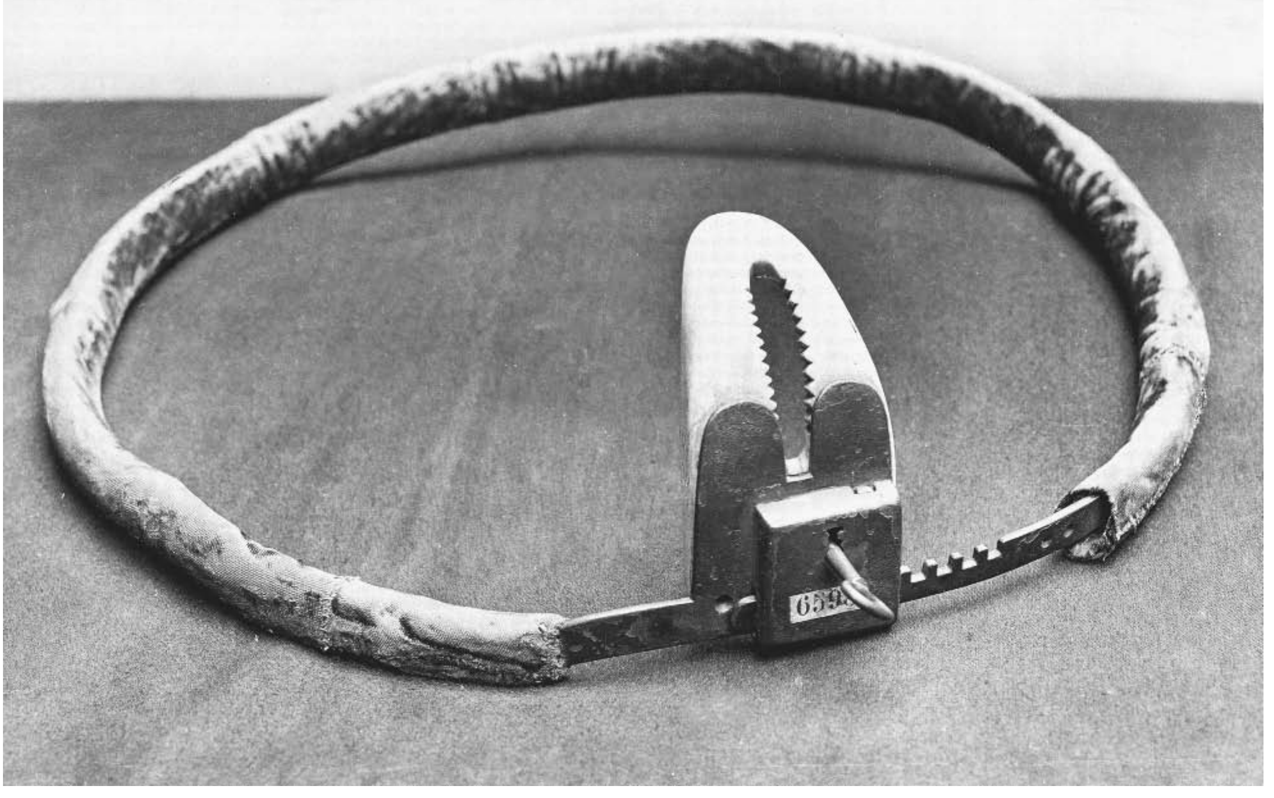
CHASTITY BELT

One common and popular assumption about chastity belts is that they were a medieval device, designed by men and worn by women, to ensure that wives would remain faithful while their husbands went into battle and were away from home for long periods of time. Whether or not the medieval ironclad, lock-and-key chastity belts ever existed remains unknown (there is no concrete evidence that they did exist), but the mythology of the chastity belt survives into the twenty-first century.

In Renaissance poetry, largely written by men for women, chastity belts surfaced as symbols or pledges of fidelity. In William Collins's "Ode on the Poetical Character" (1747), the poet describes a "zone" or girdle that functions as a stand-in for virtue and moral purity:

> "That girdle gaue the virtue of chast loue,
> And wiuehood true, to all that did it beare;
> But whosoeuer contrarie doth proue,
> Might not the same about her middle weare,
> But it would loose, or else a sunder teare."
>
> *(Jung 2006, p. 17)*

Sandro Jung's study of William Collins's "girdle poems" reveals the chastity belt to be a "magical" device



A Medieval Chasity Belt. ND/ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES.

that represents purity and a "constancy of love" that reinforces the elevation of romantic love as existing above all other forms (2006, pp. 17–18).

The voluntary and "pleasurable" bondage of romantic love that the girdle represents in the Renaissance is literalized in the Victorian era, when actual belts were created in order to ensure that people would not venture too far from virginity. The very word *chastity* was often used in Victorian poetry to refer to a woman's sexual discretion, and ability to be faithful to her husband.

During the Victorian era, cloth and leather chastity belts were sometimes prescribed to prevent both male and female youth from masturbating, which at the time was thought to be physically and morally harmful. In addition, women of this era sometimes wore cloth chastity belts in order to avoid the consequences of sexual harassment in the workplace. In two hundred years' time, the idea, as well as the form, of the chastity belt had transformed from being a symbolic emblem of romantic love to a literal and repressive medical device to be used to distance people from their bodies.

The Roman Catholic Church had condemned masturbation before the Victorian era, but during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, according to Planned Parenthood, "physicians involved in the social hygiene movement … continued to diagnose and treat conditions thought to be sequelae of masturbation [especially female masturbation]" (2003, p. 3). Among these treatments was the use of chastity belts, "or toothed urethral rings that would prick the penis if it became erect, metal strap-on-and-lock sheaths to cover the penis or vulva, or electric alarms that promised to put an end to wet dreams" (Planned Parenthood 2003, p. 3). During the mid-twentieth century, however, thanks to Freudian theory and Alfred Kinsey's published results on human sexuality, the medical community acknowledged the beneficial effects of masturbation.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the chastity belt returned in the form of "Forget Me Not Panties." Actually a hoax and never truly for sale, these were a line of women's underwear which "was advertised by its creators as a way to keep track of girlfriends, wives, or daughters. It was an instant hit" (Deziel 2006, p. 41). The creator of the "Forget Me Not Panties," Leba Haber Rubinoff, intended to create a "humorous way to get people talking about gender" (Deziel 2006, p. 41). This satirical version of the chastity belt indicates a shift toward playing with, and thus questioning, traditional and widely accepted notions of sex and gender roles.

SEE ALSO *Chastity; Masturbation; Virginity.*

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Amy Nolan

CHAT ROOM

Chat rooms provide a form of online communication where people interact on a one-to-one or many-to-many basis in real time (synchronously). Chat rooms have been a popular form of online communication since the early days of the Internet. Individuals can chat using special programs (e.g., Internet Relay Chat) or servers may offer chat rooms (e.g., America Online [AOL]). However Web-based chat rooms are also increasingly available, so that users do not need a special program to enter them. Some chat rooms require registration, others are open. There are chat rooms to cover practically any topic, from gardening to politics, as well as for particular demographics, such as children or teens. People may start chatting in a general chat room and after introduction and flirtation split off to a private room in which the participants are limited. A significant number of chat rooms cater to people who specifically want sexual encounters.

According to Aaron Ben-Ze'ev, who does interdisciplinary work on emotion, people coming to chat rooms for sex are looking for the following: to experiment with online sex within an existing relationship; to develop an online relationship that could transfer into an offline relationship at some point; or to have short online affairs. Sex online is known as cybersex or *cybering*. During cybersex, two or sometimes more people exchange messages describing sexual acts and their own feelings, which are aimed at evoking both self-arousal and that of other parties. Often partners masturbate while exchanging text messages. Advances in technology are making voice and video chat increasingly available and affordable. This development may replace text chat, and chat rooms may become areas in which participants watch something captured on a single webcam, or where two people in a private chat watch each other via webcam. However in his essay "Text Talk" (1997), John Suler, a clinical psychologist of cyberspace, makes the case that text chat has some characteristics that will ensure its ongoing popularity, such as its anonymity and minimalism, which allow for creative solutions like emoticons and for a communication that feels like it connects speakers very directly.

One of the positive characteristics of cybersex in chat rooms is that a number of the offline obstacles that restrain people from engaging in sexual relations do not exist. Text chat does not communicate physical appearance or disability (or a person's age or gender). Ben-Ze'ev comments: "If, in the good old days, an ideal desired person was tall and beautiful, in cybersex the ideal is a smart person who can type fast with one hand" (Ben-Ze'ev 2004, p. 11). Thus all one needs to be attractive in a chat room is a way with words and good typing skills. Sociologist Mary Chayko and Ben-Ze'ev also cite the anonymity of chat rooms as a benefit. People who otherwise might feel inhibited often feel sexually liberated in chat rooms because no one knows who they are offline. Another advantage of sex in chat rooms is that, while cybering allows for many casual encounters, becoming pregnant and acquiring sexually transmitted infections are not possible.

The anonymity and casual nature of contacts in chat rooms also form their greatest disadvantage or danger. While the sex online is virtual, real emotions are involved. Ben-Ze'ev gives numerous examples of heartache caused when individuals involved in romantic relationships developed in chat rooms were suddenly abandoned by their online partners. The anonymity of the chat room allows participants to keep other online or offline relationships secret, so deception is not uncommon. Anonymity also allows people to lie about their gender, and permits sexual predators to lure vulnerable parties, especially children, into dangerous offline situations.

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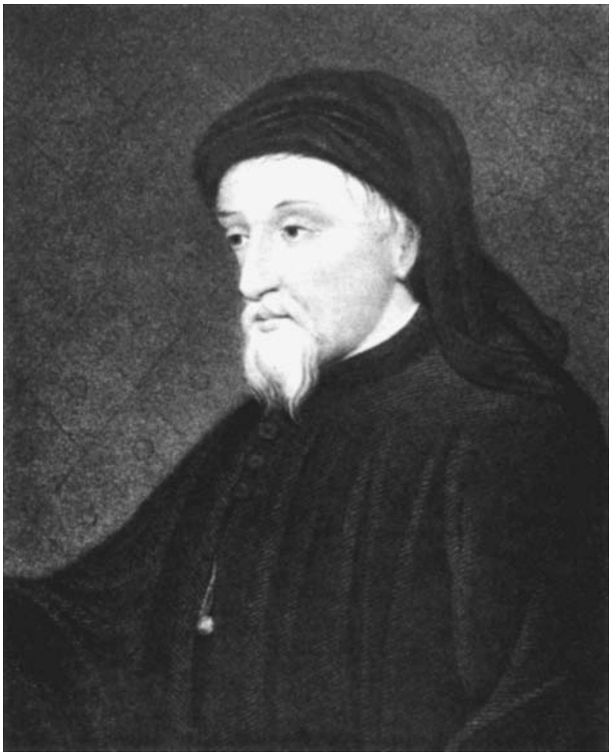
Barbara Postema

CHAUCER, GEOFFREY
c. 1340–1400



Geoffrey Chaucer. **PUBLIC DOMAIN.**

Widely considered the first great poet in the English tradition, Geoffrey Chaucer was the son of a wine merchant. He was attached in his youth to aristocratic and royal households, later holding several important public positions—controller of customs, justice of the peace, member of Parliament, clerk of the King's works—and traveled to France, Italy, and Spain, probably on official business (the Italian trips also contributed to his poetic development, introducing him to the work of Dante, Petrarch, and Giovanni Boccaccio). Chaucer received regular annuities and grants from the royal family; these recognized his political service but also perhaps his poetry. About Chaucer's private life, we know less: he was married to Philippa Roet, also in service to the royal family, and he had several children. Chaucer jokes in his poetry about his ineptitude as a lover, his portly physique, and the trials of marriage, but one should not read these as reliably autobiographical.

Chaucer's major works include dream visions—the *Book of the Duchess* (c. 1369), the *House of Fame* (c. 1379–1380), the *Parliament of Fowls* (c. 1380–1382); a long courtly romance, adapted from Boccaccio, *Troilus and Criseyde* (ca. 1385); a collection of mostly classical stories about "good" women and unfaithful men, *The Legend of Good Women* (the Prologue of which is a fourth Chaucerian dream vision, c. 1386); and a more various collection of stories, framed within the account of a pilgrimage from London to Canterbury, *The Canterbury Tales* (1388–1400).

Most of Chaucer's poetry touches on questions about sex, gender, and sexuality. The dream visions all interrogate romantic love, though sometimes obliquely. Susan Schibanoff argues in *Chaucer's Queer Poetics* (2006) that the dream poems provide a site for the development of a queer Chaucerian aesthetics. *Troilus and Criseyde* traces the process by which its title characters fall in love and ultimately lose each other; the poem's center includes an elaborate bedroom scene in which they consummate their love, helped by Troilus's friend (and Criseyde's uncle) Pandarus, who serves as the go-between in their affair. As Tison Pugh (in *Queering Medieval Genres* [2004]) and Richard Zeikowitz (2003) have emphasized, the poem explores not only courtly love but also male-male homosocial/affective bonds. *The Canterbury Tales* depicts men and women from various social positions thrown together on a pilgrimage during which they tell stories. Several female characters—the Wife of Bath, the Prioress, the Second Nun—narrate tales. And almost all the tales focus their attention on male-female relationships and on marriage. Those few that don't—the *Friar's*, *Pardoner's*, and *Canon's Yeoman's Tales*—instead thematize male-male bonds. George Lyman Kittredge, in *Chaucer and His Poetry* (1915), proposed that one sequence of tales—*The Wife of Bath's*, *Clerk's*, *Merchant's*, and *Franklin's*—constitutes a "Marriage Group"; this has provided an important framework for reading the *Canterbury Tales*.

The explicit concerns of Chaucer's poetry have thus made it impossible for criticism to ignore questions about sex, gender, and sexuality. But it was not until the rise of feminist theory in the 1970s and 1980s that critics began to look more fully at the ways in which gender shapes Chaucer's work; and it was not until the 1990s and the elaboration of queer theory that the same became true for sexuality. In both feminist and queer criticism of Chaucer, many readings have focused on individual characters whose representation seems to raise especially poignant questions about gender and sexuality. The Wife of Bath, married five times and outspoken in her comments about male-female relations, has been of particular interest to feminist readers. Similarly, the Pardoner, compared to both "a geldyng" (castrated horse) and "a mare," has been at the center of much queer inquiry. As early as 1980, Monica McAlpine proposed that the Pardoner be read as akin to a modern homosexual ("The Pardoner's Homosexuality and How It Matters," *PMLA* 95 [1980]: 8–22); this was followed by a series of denials and then by analyses influenced by queer theory, beginning with Glenn Burger's "Kissing the Pardoner" (*PMLA* 107 [1992]: 1142–56).

The most thought-provoking feminist and queer Chaucerian work has recognized that it is not only in the depiction of particular characters but also in the deeper concerns of Chaucer's poetry that gender and sexuality matter. Carolyn Dinshaw's groundbreaking *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics* (1989) argues that Chaucer inherited, interrogated, and reshaped a longstanding hermeneutical tradition in which the literary text was figured as a female body under male control. Elaine Tuttle Hansen's *Chaucer and the Fictions of Gender* (1992) argues that Chaucer represented female characters like the Wife of Bath not out of some protofeminist impulse but instead to resolidify masculine authority. Queer-inflected Chaucerian work often takes off from such feminist criticism, but it emphasizes—instead of gender—the complex ways in which Chaucer engages with sexualities (not the modern categories of homo/heterosexuality, but instead medieval ones such as sodomy, celibacy, courtly love, and conjugality).

In *Getting Medieval* (1999), Dinshaw considers how non-normative, dissonant sexualities are represented in the Middle Ages by authors like Chaucer, how the "touch of the queer" disturbs medieval hegemonies, and how medieval queernesses resonate with the postmodern world. Karma Lochrie, in *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (1999) and *Heterosyncrasies* (2005), emphasizes female sexuality, arguing that the category of sodomy was applied to women as well as men; she also critiques work that unreflectively brings modern categories of analysis (even commonsensical ones like "normality" and "normativity") to bear on the premodern. The fullest queer analysis of Chaucer is Glenn Burger's *Chaucer's Queer Nation* (2003). Burger examines explicitly sexualized moments in the *Canterbury Tales* (the conclusion of the bawdy *Miller's Tale*; the Pardoner's queer performance), but he also reads queerly what might seem the more "normal" (and "heterosexual") relations of conjugality in the tales of the Marriage Group, the Wife of Bath's "female masculinity," and the religious/eschatological conclusion of Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrimage.

Other important work on gender and sexuality in Chaucer includes that of Alcuin Blamires, Catherine S. Cox, Susan Crane, Sheila Delany, Aranye Fradenburg, Allen J. Frantzen, Steven Kruger, Anne Laskaya, Jill Mann, and Robert S. Sturges.

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Steven F. Kruger

CHICANA MOVEMENT

A Chicana movement began as a series of actions through which women organized collectively in the late 1960s and 1970s to challenge unequal treatment within the Chicano civil rights and power movements of that era. In the mid-1960s Mexican Americans in the United States experienced an awakening of consciousness, identity, and ethnic pride in a broad-based "Chicano movement" that encompassed several efforts toward social change, including farm workers', land grant, urban, youth, and student movements.

Those efforts raised awareness of the conditions facing Chicano communities as a result of long-standing racism and discrimination, including unequal access to education, discrimination in housing, underemployment, police brutality, and a lack of political power. The term *Chicano* referred to a collective identity based on militant cultural and political consciousness of a history of racialization of Chicanos as Mexicans in the United States.

Early in the development of the Chicano movement at the First Annual Denver Youth Conference, March 27–31, 1969, Chicana student activists called for a thoughtful consideration of their roles in the movement. After hearing the declaration "The Chicana woman does not want to be liberated," many women activists began to question the limitations inherent in that statement, pointing out the significant involvement and contributions of women to the Chicano movement in actions such as the 1968 high school walkouts in East Los Angeles and the formation of student organizations on college campuses.

Subsequently, the ideology of cultural nationalism emphasized the maintenance of culture as a form of resistance to pressure from the dominant society to assimilate by promoting an image of the traditional family as an ideal to be upheld by movement participants. In that traditional family, men were the breadwinners and women were helpmates whose role was to raise the children and maintain the home. Chicanas adopted a variety of strategies for reconfiguring the symbolics of male-centered and male-dominant cultural nationalism, including the recovery and reinterpretation of key figures in Mexican history such as the *solderas* and *soldadas*—women who participated in the Mexican Revolution of 1910—and *Malintzin Tenepal*, or *la Malinche*—the indigenous woman translator for the Spanish conquerer Hernán Cortés.

As Chicana students and community activists observed patterns of inequality in the treatment and inclusion of women in organizations such as *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan*, *La Raza Unida Party*, and the Brown Berets, they began to develop their own spaces to challenge gender inequality and sexism. For example, in Texas women in *La Raza Unida Party* organized as *Mujeres por la Raza Unida* and sponsored women candidates for political office. In California Chicana students at California State University at Long Beach founded *Hijas de Cuahtemoc*, an autonomous women's organization. Also in California, *Comision Femenil Mexicana* was founded to advocate for women's advancement in the community and the workplace. *Comision Femenil Mexicana* also sponsored the Chicana Service Action Center, a resource for employment opportunities as well as services for survivors of domestic violence. A Chicana rights project gathered information about the economic, educational, and employment status of Chicanas and litigated cases for women.

Many women activists wrote poetry or essays expressing their critique of unequal treatment by men in the movement, racism in U.S. society, and racism in the mainstream women's movement of that era. Among the prominent activist women who raised their voices and pens from the late 1960s to mid-1970s were Francisca Flores, founder of *Comision Femenil Mexicana*; Ana Nieto-Gómez, a student at Long Beach and an educator in southern California; Marta Cotera, the Texas-based author of *Diosa y Hembra* and a participant in *Mujeres por la Raza Unida*; and Enriqueta Vasquez, a writer for *El Grito del Norte*, a newspaper in New Mexico. Although there were differences among women in the movement, a broad-based Chicana movement advocated for women's perspectives on a variety of issues, including child care, reproductive rights, welfare rights, educational justice, employment opportunities, and an end to the war in Vietnam.

The main period of organizing as a broad-based movement tapered off in the middle to late 1980s, but a Chicana movement continued to evolve in the late 1980s and early 1990s through the higher education organization *Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social* [Women Active in Letters and Social Change] and the literary emergence of writers such as Cherríe Moraga, Sandra Cisneros, Helena Maria Viramontes, Ana Castillo, and Gloria Anzaldúa, whose work continued and extended the tradition of poetry writing begun by Chicanas in the movement era of the 1970s. Chicana lesbian thought and the internal critique of homophobia in the Chicano community also contributed to the evolution of the movement. From the 1990s through the first decade of the twenty-first century Chicana activists and academics continued their critical examination of the impact of race, class, gender, and sexuality on women's lives and advocated for more just social conditions in the United States and in transnational contexts.

SEE ALSO *Feminism: IV. Western; Nationalism.*

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Dionne Espinoza

CHILDCARE

Since the early recorded history of the United States nonfamilial care providers have minded children so that parents could engage in work or other activities (Youcha 1995). In colonial times apprentices were sent to live with masters to learn a trade; this was done to provide vocational training and oversight of a young apprentice. Under slavery, white planters' wives cared for black children while their enslaved parents worked in the fields or in contrast, female slaves served as "mammies" who cared for the plantation owner's children. Urban immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries put children to work in factories and sometimes sent them to charitable day nurseries that were organized to keep children off the streets (Rose 1999). World War II required mothers to work in the defense industry; many of the children of those mothers were placed in federally subsidized day care. In short, people have used care arrangements other than maternal care for children throughout American history.

TRADITIONAL PREFERENCE FOR HOME CARE

Even during the Depression and World War II American social institutions did not widely accept and endorse nonmaternal care for children. The Children's Bureau, a federal agency that propagated a rhetoric of maternalism, advocated the idea that daycare was a necessarily evil that should be secondary to mothers caring for their own offspring (Rose 1999). Americans were ambivalent about children receiving childcare services through the postwar years. During the 1950s notables such as Margaret Mead and Eleanor Maccoby (Michel 1999) made the case that daycare could be benevolent, but many people argued against that view. In a 1958 speech President Dwight Eisenhower encouraged mothers who were prosperous enough not to work outside the home, for "they would have to consider what is the price they are paying in terms of the opportunity that child has been denied," that is, the opportunity to be molded by a mother (quoted in Michel 1999).

CHANGES IN THE POSTWAR ERA

The postwar era saw dramatic changes in women's identities and roles. Labor in the sense of childbirth became more common during the postwar baby boom. Another type of female labor (workforce participation) also increased a trend that continued through the second half of the twentieth century. Concurrently, homes occupied by a mother married to a male breadwinner declined as a proportion of families, whereas female-headed families increased. Women, mothers included, transformed the makeup of the workforce, raising the percentage of women over age sixteen who were working from 33.9 percent in 1950 to 59.8 percent in 1998 (Fullerton 1999). There emerged a systematic, widespread need for childcare. In the absence of uniform national standards for children's care, parents sought affordable local options. Parents entrusted their children to a patchwork of diverse care circumstances, including care by a family member, care in the home of an unrelated provider (family daycare), and the use of a privatized daycare center or nursery school.

CHILDCARE IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Childcare has continued to occupy a very significant place in American life. Across the ages from birth to age five, 60 percent of children and infants (13 million) were in some type of childcare arrangement in the early years of the twenty-first century (Hofferth 1996).

Women's wages have become indispensable to families with single and married mothers alike. For families with young children (under age six) who live on household incomes under $18,000 per year 90 percent of family income on average comes from the mother's earnings. Even in middle-class families earning $36,000 to $60,000 annually the mother's income represents over half (53 percent) (National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies 2006). In poor family's federal welfare reform in 1996 resulted in pressure on mothers to take jobs and find childcare arrangements.

For the impoverished working poor childcare can deplete meager economic resources because of gaps in funding. For example, Head Start, a nationally funded educational preschool program aimed at the poor, served only 34 percent of three- to five-year-old children living in poverty in that period (Blau 2001).

Despite the broad U.S. childcare landscape, the conditions of childcare have been unsatisfactory in two respects. First, childcare has become unaffordable even for middle-class families. Childcare expenses consume a third or more of the household budget in female-headed families and can be prohibitive for mothers entering the workplace from welfare. Second, the quality of American childcare is inadequate; it generally is agreed among experts that excellent-quality care is exceptional rather than common. The quality issue has dismaying consequences for children and babies who spend substantial time in childcare during a period of profound neurological, cognitive, emotional, and social development. In the late 1990s a study found that 72 percent of infants in childcare entered care by age four months, attending twenty-nine hours a week on average (Vandell 2004).

The impact of childcare on children is complex, partly because there are varied forms of care. American daycare centers, whose use increases with age, account for 27 percent of childcare arrangements for three-year-olds and 51 percent of those arrangements for five-year-olds. Using grandparents as providers declines over the preschool years, falling from 23 percent among three-year-olds to only 14 percent among five-year-olds. Overall, the scattershot ways in which childcare is obtained include parents looking after their own children (15 percent of arrangements at age five) and family daycare (7 percent of care arrangements at age five), among other approaches (Waldfogel 2006).

Center care on average is more expensive than care given by a family daycare provider. Thus, center care disproportionately serves children from families with higher incomes. Further, the highest-quality centers tend to enroll children from more affluent families. (Quality of care is defined by experts to involve care providers trained in child development, a low ratio of teachers to children, a hazard-free and activity-rich setting, activities that are developmentally enriching, and interactions between caregivers and children that are responsive to the children and developmentally appropriate [King and MacKinnon 1998, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development 2003].) Family daycare tends to be of lower quality overall than center care (Crittenden 2001). Partly because they lack information, parents are not necessarily discerning at judging daycare quality (Blau 2001).

In the absence of federal standards, childcare centers are regulated by the individual state. Some states do not require any kind of accreditation, and most do not require that care providers be licensed. One study showed that thirty-two states required no prior training for teachers; in the remaining states, the amount of education required was often minimal. Only twelve states required teachers to have at least a high school diploma (Helburn and Bergman 2002). Family daycare tends to receive less oversight than does center care, with an estimated 82 percent of homes completely unregulated (Crittenden 2001).

The fact that childcare quality falls short in the United States corresponds to the fact that Americans have fewer supports in financing childcare than exist elsewhere in the world. Despite Head Start and other modest subsidies for the poor, the United States has lower levels of public support for childcare than do at least nine European countries (Waldfogel 2001).

Caregivers are central to the quality of care. American caregivers are paid inadequately, resulting in high turnover. In centers only 28 percent of caregiving for infants (age fifteen months) has been rated as positive. This improves only slightly for children three years of age, for whom 34 percent of caregiving is positive (Helburn and Bergmann 2002).

A concern of parents involves the risk of child abuse by care providers. Maltreatment of children in childcare, which was publicized after the 1983 landmark case at the McMartin preschool in California, occurs less frequently than some people suppose. The incidence of sexual abuse in daycare centers (5.5 per 10,000 children) is actually lower than that for children cared for at home (8.9 per 10,000 children). Physical abuse by baby-sitters in private homes most commonly takes the form of overdiscipline (e.g., bruising of buttocks) by caregivers with unrealistic expectations of children or poor comprehension of children's motives (Schumacher and Carlson 1999). The possibility of abuse highlights the importance of both regulatory oversight and caregiver education in regard to normal child behavior. In response to fears of abuse, some say that daycare centers have overreacted by forbidding caretakers to touch children and thus discouraging healthy caregiver affection (Tobin 1997).

POLICY CHALLENGES

Because good care can help children become contributing adult citizens, the public interest is involved in this issue. However, the financial limitations of a privatized system, combined with parents who are inadequately informed, holds back childcare quality.

Proposals to improve childcare have been offered, usually involving a centralized federal role in funding and/or enhancing quality. The economist David Blau, for example, stated that a federal voucher program could attack the cost problem through a market mechanism: childcare vouchers. The aid represented by a voucher would be higher when the voucher was used for higher-quality care (Blau 2001).

Such approaches, if drafted as legislation, could meet with ambivalent reactions. In 1987 the ABC Bill (Act for Better Child Care Services) was introduced to Congress, where it had broad support but failed after vocal opposition by neoconservatives who wished to retain decentralized state control. A major argument against the bill was that its provisions would interfere in families' parenting (Teghtsoonian 1993). Historically, Americans have depended on nonmaternal care of children yet at the same time have exhibited a cultural ethos of maternalism. In some ways modern psychological research has similar underpinnings, pitting nonmaternal care against the mother-child relationship in studies of how childcare affects the mother-child bond (Belsky and Steinberg 1978).

In light of the public decision making that has prevented reform, childcare advocates face a legislative and political challenge. Mobilizing for better care entails wrestling politically with deep-seated cultural beliefs not so much about children as about motherhood (Marchbank 2000). In the future establishing an adequate appreciation of the need for high quality nonmaternal care is likely to be, like childcare itself, a difficult undertaking.

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Cindy Dell Clark

CHILDHOOD SEXUALITY

Childhood theories on sexuality in the early twenty-first century have been influenced by psychoanalysts Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan, object relations theorists, psychologists, and sociologists. Although multiple theorists have written on what kind of childhood experiences influence character, they do not say what the cause of childhood sexuality is or that it lies at the base of adult knowledge and being. Those who treat what causes childhood sexuality, such as feminist authors Dorothy Dinnerstein or psychologist Nancy Chodorow, give a sociological, behavioral interpretation of how sexual difference is created. Physicist and feminist author Evelyn Keller Fox argues for a sociobiological evolution of the genes. Feminist writers on this topic seem to split between believing in an essential woman, as does psychologist Luce Irigaray, and an enslavement of women to heterosexual norms, as do gender theorists Adrienne Rich and Judith Butler. But none tie this sexuality to different ways of knowing or suffering. Object-relations theorists argue for good and bad mothering as the source of behavior, but not of sexuality. Thus psychoanalysts Donald Winnicott, Melanie Klein, Jessica Benjamin, and Heinz Kohut are more concerned with identity than sexuality (Wright 1992).

Indeed contemporary views of childhood sexuality can be traced to Freud's revolutionary find that children are sexual beings. Consideration of childhood sexuality must begin with a review of his groundbreaking book, *Three Essays on Sexuality* (1905), which was written in several parts through 1925.

Freud argued that sexual factors lie at the basis of anxiety neuroses (conditions of acute and unmotivated anxiety) and nervous maladies (the psychoneuroses), and later at the base of character and knowledge itself. Early in his career, Freud argued that erotogenic zones were developed and later repressed after being connected with perversions, which had been widely studied by psychiatrist Richard von Kraft-Ebbing and psychologist Havelock Ellis but never linked to childhood sexuality.

Before viewing children as sexually polymorphous perverse, Freud's initial notion was that sexuality was caused by hysteria developed in childhood and traceable to sexual seduction. In 1897 Freud abandoned his seduction theory and turned to infantile sexuality, which had previously been considered dormant. The catalyst for this change was Freud's discovery of the Oedipus complex in his own analysis, the experience in which both male and female children initially see the mother as a love object. Discontent with this theory as explaining the cause of sexuality, he says the boy chooses his mother and the girl her father, thus making feminine object choice harder for girls since they must relinquish the primordial love object. Lacan makes the adult stage harder for men in that they must choose the partner from which they have had to deviate in order to define themselves as men and differentiate themselves from the primordial symbiosis with the mother. The most important infantile trace retained at puberty is the child's love for his or her parents. In "To Interpret the Cause" (1989) Jacques-Alain Miller argues that Lacan sees the Oedipal structure as an infant's response to the mother's desire. The mother's unconscious desire is an interpretation of the sexual difference, i.e., of the father's name signifier. The function of the mother's desire times the father's name signifiers, means that representations reside in the social other which stands over a quota of libido and makes of the Oedipus (the father's name) the other over jouissance. That is, the reality principle stands over the pleasure principle.

Having decided that sexual impulses operated normatively in the youngest of children, Freud had moved far beyond his theory that sexuality began at puberty, as well as away from the general idea of childhood as innocence and happiness. In the preface to the third edition of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Freud stressed that biology did not influence him, but believed psychology shed light on the causality of human behavior and understanding that sexuality is determined by libido or desire (lust). Freud stressed that biology was not an influence on him, but it is psychology that sheds light on the causality of human behavior and knowledge in that sexuality is determined by a non-biological libidinal desire that comes from fantasy and identifications.

In his analyses of infantile sexuality, Freud points to the issue of sexual object which defies the myth of harmonious heterosexual love. Homosexuality also gives lie to that fable. As to perversion, no innate or acquired explanation is right. Rather one must look to an originary bisexuality. He argues against an innate hermaphrodism, pointing out that one partner in a male homosexual relationship will take on feminine characteristics. The key point is that sexual drive is independent of its objects. What is consistent in the sexual aim is the goal of pleasure found, whether the source of that pleasure is the mouth or the anus. There is no normal heterosexual intercourse. Even fetishes can become the aim of libidinal desire. One can include touching and looking. Freud comes up with the notion of passivity as feminine and activity as masculine. Nonetheless he retains a belief in normal versus pathological sexuality.

In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Freud studies the infantile character of sexuality and implies that a certain perversion is common to everyone from infancy on. Later in life adults repress their childhood sexual feelings and experience a kind of amnesia built around disgust, shame, or morality. These memories function unconsciously to the strongest degree. Repression gives the key to a before, because if there is nothing before, what comes forth in analysis could not have been placed there. Indeed sexuality can even be found in the newborn child. The drives, however, are slippery and reaction-formation and sublimation, as well as repression, hide the naked real of the sexual drive. Lacan argued in 1960 that the erotogenic zones are eight Ur-objects that have no alterity, but are constituted in infancy as the cause of desire. The four Freud discovered are the breast, the feces, the urinary flow, and the (imaginary phallus), and Lacan added four others: the gaze, the voice, the phoneme, and the nothing. Later these Ur-objects give rise to four constant drives, the oral, anal, scopic, and invocatory.

Freud argues that primitive manifestations of infantile sexuality appear in sucking, such as thumb sucking, where sucking itself often accompanies the child's rubbing of some sensitive part of his body. Sexual activity is autoerotic. More than nourishment is at stake, the search for pleasure tending to repetition and self-preservation, not to an object. Thus the infant's sexual aim is satisfaction provided by the erotogenic zone itself. Both the labial zone and the anal zone, give themselves up for focus in sexual activity. That toilet functions can arouse sexual excitement is not so unusual. Such stimulations lead to masturbatory functions. In boys the glans part of the penis is in play, in girls, the clitoris. Bathing can also stimulate these sensitive areas.

Freud thus distinguishes three phases of infantile childhood sexuality: early infancy, sexual activity around year four, and the phase of pubertal masturbation. In the fourth year the genital zones become active targets for sexual pleasure until societal pressure suppresses such public displays. The cultural superego is strong enough to induce repression and sublimation. At about the same time that the sexual life of a child reaches its peak between three to five years of age, the child substitutes a craving for knowledge or research. Lacan explained that once sexual difference is discovered by children, even at very early ages, they develop a response to the idea of castration—lack on the part of each sex; he has the penis and she is proof to him that he could lose it. Once this difference—itself a third thing—is discovered, the castration complex develops in boys and penis envy evolves in girls. Lacan translates Freud's terms into the wish to compete in men and the desire to succeed socially in women. Taking us from the infantile to structure, Lacan argues that the experience of lack gives rise to four structures of libidinal being: normative masquerade, the neuroses, the psychoses, and perversion.

Freud further develops the organization of childhood, or pregenital sexual life into the oral and the anal. Later linking these to character types, he sees the neuroses as exemplifications of one or the other fixation. For Lacan the oral and anal drives remain for everyone throughout life. These are structures that make up the drives whose vicissitudes link us to the world and objects in it. The oral, says Freud, is cannibalistic and narcissistic, while the anal is compulsive and sadistic. These drives are active and passive, not yet masculine or feminine, a distinction that Lacan will retain—calling them *fixions*, not fixations—while arguing that neither is sex specific in terms of biological gender..

Having given us a view of childhood sexuality as progressing from the oral stage (narcissistic) to the anal stage (social control), Freud introduces the adult stage of reciprocity where the woman gives up on clitoral pleasure and emphasizes vaginal pleasure. Physician William Masters and psychologist Virginia Johnson, as well as numbers of feminist scholars, and Lacan with his theory of a sexual non-rapport have proved this to be a fictional developmental step. Thus Freud incorrectly departs from his own revolutionary theory. Lacan points out that finding an object is not the adult's goal, but the refinding is a repetition of whatever gave pleasure in childhood.

SEE ALSO *Adolescent Sexuality; Freud, Sigmund; Infantile Sexuality; Lacan, Jacques.*

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Ellie Ragland

CHILDREN, GENDER ROLES

SEE *Boys, Construction of; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Girls, Construction of.*

CHINA

This entry contains the following:

I. PRE-MODERN

The area now called China has one of the world's longest and most detailed sexual cultures in the world. For more than 5,000 years of Chinese history, the world's oldest continuous writing system, was almost exclusively the domain of elite men who rarely had contact with the illiterate populous, much less depicted common people. Surviving texts represent emperors and their courts, philosophers, and philosophies. By piecing together clues from these scattered texts, classic books, works of art and archeological artifacts like oracle bones and bronze relics, there is evidence of a generally open early sexual culture during the first three millennia of dynastic history. It was not until after the fall of the Tang Dynasty in 906 CE, when rising literacy and the advent of printing wrought a more balanced historical record, that one can begin to understand how average people performed gender and sexuality. This same period saw the rise of Neo-Confucian dynasties and a corresponding increase of sexual intolerance and disempowerment of women. Significant topics in Chinese sexuality and gender include yin and yang, ancient texts, philosophies of Confucianism and Taoism, gender relations, homosexuality, Neo-Confucianism, family life, prostitution, foot binding, eunuchs, and sex and gender in literature and art.

By the end of the Warring States Period (475?–221 BCE), after more than 1600 years of dynastic historical influence, many philosophical concepts that would influence Chinese gender, society, and sexuality for the next two and a half millennia had already been firmly established. Except for history's occasional female dowager empress, generally male emperors lived behind palace doors teeming with powerful eunuchs, and male and female suitors, all of whom competed for influence at court. Patrilocal and patrilinial families, where women surrendered their former identities and associations to subordinate themselves to a husband and his family, had become the norm. Men could have one wife, but many concubines. Men dominated affairs outside the home, whereas a woman's highest virtue was achieved through duties within. The concepts of inner and outer, light and dark, and the male and female structured these socio-political relations.

By the Zhou Dynasty (1122?–771? BCE), some of these basic elements had complexified into the meaning now associated with the *yin-yang* symbol. Yang, as a pictograph, originally represented the sunny side of a hill, and *yin* the side in shadow. *Yin* evolved to mean everything from cosmic female power, yielding, and interior, to the receptive, deficient, cold, dark, yanic, earth, and moon; *yang* came to mean cosmic male force, initiation, exterior, heat, excess, penetration, light, phallic, heaven, and sun. As during sexual intercourse, the receptive partner receives yet supplies the dominant, so too the penetrating *yang* cannot exist except in relation to receptive *yin*, and vice-versa. As the moon receives and transmits the sun's rays, so do *yin* and *yang* carry on this cosmological dualism throughout time. Thus, gendered elements are seen in the very fabric of the universe.

This *yin-yang* cosmology also forms the metaphysical basis in one of China's oldest and most influential texts, the *Yi Jing* (*I Ching*), or *Book of Changes*. The *I Ching* as a divination system explains worldly action, potential, and ultimately changes itself by quantifying the constant intermingling of heaven and earth as individual male and female elements. These elements are represented as lines, either broken (*yin*) or unbroken (*yang*). Three lines form a trigram; two trigrams form a hexagram.

Because of its complex gender components, the hexagram *ji-ji* is one of the most representative. It goes by many names, including: union, fulfillment, or completion.

Ji-ji is comprised of the trigram *kan* (water, female, broken lines surrounding an unbroken) above *li* (fire, male, unbroken lines around a broken). Between *kan's* broken *yin* lines, one can find the central male *yang* element as an unbroken line. Thus, water rests above the male fire, *li*, which contains the unbroken female line at its heart. Many have noted how these trigrams correspond to sexual coupling. The penetrator, like fire, flares up quickly, but is extinguished by water, an example of satiation by the receptive. The receiving partner, like water, is slow to heat and slow to cool. These complex *yin* and *yang* elements are no accident.

In ancient China, gender was not biological, but instead the outward expression of this cosmology, which informed the model of national and household hierarchy. Over time, female work, such as sewing, was increasingly confined to the "inner" and male work like agriculture to the "outer." These socio-biological norms held currency even after the last decades of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912), when modern medical terminology began replacing ancient notions.

The *I Ching* is of indeterminate age and origin, and versions of the text have existed for at least four millennia.

Historically received texts with their additions by later scholars differ greatly from earlier versions. These provide fundamental insight into the origins of China's two most influential original philosophical systems, Taoism and Confucianism. Adherents of these social systems competed along with the less popular of the "Four Great Thoughts," Mohism and Legalism, during the Hundred Schools of Thought of the Warring States Period (475?–221 BCE).

Because gender was not seen as coming from the body, its forces could be tapped at will. The importance of assuming characteristically male or female attributes became a hallmark of later Taoist literature. Likewise, Confucius elevated certain aspects of the female because this power exemplified the virtue in being subordinate to ones superiors. Under the Confucian system, everyone, including the emperor, had to submit to the male force or "Will of Heaven." Examining Taoism and Confucianism provides insight into everyday sexuality for ancient Chinese.

EARLY CONFUCIANISM AND THE ROLES OF THE FEMALE

The teachings of Confucius (551–479 BCE), China's wandering Great Sage, are embodied in the Five Classics, which included the *I Ching*, and books of poetry, rites, history, and annals. These include some of the first references to the value of friendship, romantic scenes, and multifarious male and female roles. Confucius's philosophical, religious, moral, and social teachings were interpretation by later thinkers like Mencius (372–289 BCE) and practically obliterated two centuries after his death during the short-lived Qin Dynasty (221–206 BCE), which unified China, enshrined Legalism, and burned scholars and books alike. In the subsequent Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), what survived to be reinterpreted became the official state ideology, and has influenced East Asian life to this day.

Confucianists valued humans above animals because of their capacity for moral cultivation. Under the Confucian tradition, female education in literature, music, or the arts was for low-class performers, concubines, and prostitutes. Confucius believed that a woman's morals were worth cultivating, but her intellect was not. Should a woman gain an opportunity to cultivate her morals through art, letters, and music, she would rank just below a cultivated man.

The Eastern Han (25 BCE–220 CE) was the beginning of official government rhetoric against females. Officials denied women formal education because they were theorized as being dull and unteachable, despite Confucius's belief to the contrary. These early Confucianists taught that non-procreative sex was corrupting and that women's greatest gift was giving a husband a male heir. Of prime importance were roles, familial relations, the moral autonomy of all, and treating others as one would like to be treated. As can be seen in the section "I See on High," in the *Odes*, China's greatest Confucian moral tome, Confucius can be seen as at best favoring men and at worst being misogynistic when he said "Disorder does not descend from Heaven. It is born of women." Contrary to popular belief, Confucius was criticized in his own life for the respect he showed to women.

VITAL LIFE FORCES, TAOISM, AND THE ART OF THE BEDCHAMBER

Taoism, as China's only popular native religion, developed complex and measured sexual prescriptions somewhat incongruous with its more freewheeling social philosophy, which sanctioned drinking, debauchery, and sexuality. Taoists based their cosmology on *yin* and *yang*, the lowly as virtuous, and change as the only constant. Their ultimate goal was oneness with the ultimate and great unnamable *Dao* (*Tao*, or Way), the progenitor of the "ten thousand things." Taoists argued that the "female" force is more capable of blending with the Way because it is yielding, while the "male" goes against the Way because *yang* creates its own change. Practically speaking, Taoism can be cast as a reaction to Confucianism's ritualization.

Taoists also practiced an "inner alchemy," or sexual science, that produced libraries of sex manuals, the first of which are now lost to history. The *Historic Records of the Western Han Dynasty* (221 BCE–220 CE) listed eight such sex manuals under the category *fang zhong*, or "Art of the Bedchamber." This list is apparently only the first record of what already had a long history. Also referred to as the "School of *Yin* and *Yang*" or the "Way of the *Yin*," these first eight texts are all ascribed to ancient sage kings of old or the somewhat mythical founder of Taoism, Lao Zi (Lao Tzu). They seem to have been widely circulated and, at their earliest stages, were concerned with longevity and immortality through sex acts.

By the Sui Dynasty (581–618), these sexology texts were omitted from the historical record. Instead, a new category of sex manuals emerged under "medical books." These handbooks recount the story of the sexual initiation of the legendary Yellow Emperor, a descendant of the fabled sage kings of remote antiquity, who founded China's first dynasty, the Xia, two thousands years BCE. He had three immortal sex education teachers, the Dark Girl, the Plain Girl, and Peng Zu, who initiated him into the entirety of sexual knowledge. These girls instructed later emperors and other males about the "jade stalk," which "rises at her *yin* influence" for penetration of the "jade gate." These secrets, so the story goes, had been transmitted from woman to woman since the Han

Dynasty. These girls taught the Yellow Emperor everything from the reason for different penis sizes to the importance of preserving ones vital essence and collecting the essence of others.

For early Taoists, *yin* and *yang* were only the beginning of their sexual vocabulary. The underlying energy is *qi* (*chi*), which circulates in the body, and is available to the Taoist sexual adept in the refined form, called *jing* (*ching*). In males, *jing* is semen. In females, *jing* is produced as vaginal secretions. Semen was seen as a man's most important possession and was limited. Female *qi*, produced during orgasm, was unlimited. Therefore, these texts go into detail about how to best pleasure female partners and thus collect their life essence. Male masturbation was frowned upon because it led to loss of *yang qi* without being replaced by *yin qi*. Cunnilingus and fellatio were both sanctioned because they left the practitioner with no net gain or loss in *qi*. According to texts, males could die because of loss of *qi*, but both males and females could reach immortality by absorbing the *qi* of their partners.

In early Taoist sex manuals, written by males for the benefit of males, the main goal was the collection of female essence, which was called "plucking *qi*" by the Tang Dynasty's (618–907) influential court physician Sun Simo. *Qi*, like oil in a lamp, he theorized, could be used up. For these practitioners, one girl was not enough. To "cultivate one's nature" (*yang xing*), a man must have sex with as many young girls as possible (preferably eight or more per night, if his harem was sufficient). These young girls should be virgins and ignorant in the sexual arts. For the sake of stamina and because of the preciousness of semen (*jing* essence), ejaculation was to be avoided as long as possible. Sex was a "flowery battle," and "victory" was achieved through exacting methods. The man should first excite her through foreplay "until the [woman's] nose is damp." He should then penetrate hard. After the woman reaches climax, he is to relax inside her and absorb her *jing* essence and allow his semen to return to nourish his brain along the "yellow river" of cerebro-spinal fluid.

Despite the view that Taoists were more "feminist" than Confucianists because they held the "female" in such high esteem, where sex is concerned, women were seen as little more than containers of life essence, available for male pleasure and longevity.

In later dynasties, these sexual manuals would all but disappear from circulation, being replaced by sexual literature and art. When sex manuals were listed as medical texts in later imperial histories, they concerned methods of producing offspring, not immortality.

These Taoist theories influenced the Indian Tantric tradition, which entered China in the eighth century. Along with Tibetan (Mahayana) Buddhism, Tantric practices gained some favor with Mongol emperors of the Yuan Dynasty (1264?–1368). Mahayana Buddhism generally gave few prescriptions for sex, except to avoid sensual indulgences, and the occasional tract against homosexuality, which did nothing to impede the male-male sexual tradition of imperial China.

"SHARING THE PEACH," OR, THE CHINESE MALE HOMOSEXUAL TRADITION

In the early Chinese tradition, as with the Greeks and Romans, same-sex sexual behavior did not essentialize a person as "homosexual." Records of male love exist in the Book of Poetry (*Shi Jing*) and as entries about male favorites in the courts of ten of the eleven Western Han emperors.

References to homosexual male coupling were allusions to historical stories. The earliest such allusion comes from the Zhou Dynasty and concerns the Duke of Ling and his favorite, Mizi Xia. When Mizi Xia sampled an exceptionally sweet peach from the Duke's orchard, he saved half of the peach for Ling. Ling was so moved that he publicly acknowledged his love for Mizi Xia. Thus, male homosexuality became known as "sharing the remaining peach" (*yu tao*). Another reference comes from the Western Han, where the Emperor Ai (6 BCE–1 CE) woke to find his sleeve under his sleeping lover. Rather than wake him, the emperor cut off his sleeve, thus starting a fad of the *duan xiu* or "cut sleeve" at court. The most popular of these references were used well into the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912).

By the Tang and Song Dynasties, there were few references to these imperial male favorites. Love of the "rear chamber" was seen as a threat to marriage obligations and woman's chance of marrying. Like women, male favorites could be a threat to statecraft and could even distract generals from battle. This period also leaves us with the first derogatory references to the male homosexual tradition.

Homosexual marriage was a frequent theme in Ming (1368–1644) and Yuan Dynasty (1264?–1368) fiction. In Fujian Province during the Ming Dynasty, homosexual male marriage was an institution. A young male would usually move in with an older male's family and take on all the attributes of a female wife, and he would be treated as a son-in-law. They eventually could adopt males to raise as sons. These marriages usually ended in heterosexual coupling because of filial obligations to continue the bloodline.

Female homosexuality does not receive the same attention as the male tradition. It is not included in the imperial histories and appeared in no way connected to male homosexuality. Even if a woman were financially and socially independent, which was rare, few escaped marriage or concubinage, except as nuns. The first references to anything resembling modern notions of lesbianism were mostly in the Guangzhou area. These "Golden Orchid Associations" of the Ming Dynasty organized something akin to wedding ceremonies. Couples could adopt female children. One person generally assumed the husband's role and the other the wife's.

The male homosexual tradition, though trampled by the Neo-Confucianists, who demanded familial obligation, survived to the end of the dynastic period. Modern Chinese live largely without knowledge of this history of permissive elite homosexuality.

NEO-CONFUCIANISTS AND THE EVOLUTION OF FAMILY LIFE

Comparatively very little is known about the structure of the Chinese family before the Song Dynasty (960–1279), when printing was invented and written sources became more widespread. It is known that the male was the undisputed official head of the household. Rank, though varying over time and locality, was generally reckoned based on gender and age. The oldest patriarch directed the family's finances. Younger brothers were subservient to older brothers. Mothers could beat their own sons, even in adulthood. Until the Warring States Period, it was legal for a man to kill his own son. Several generations lived together in a single house. Daughters were "married out."

Daughters were generally undesirable because of economic and patrilinial considerations. Only males could carry on the family name and daughters required dowries to attract male suitors—or a suitor's parents, as was usually the case. Unwanted daughters were often killed at birth or sold into slavery at age five or six. These trends strengthened with the rise of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, starting as early as the Tang dynasty when scholar Han Yu (768–824) beginning calling for restraint in "unbridled passions."

Gaining strength in the Southern (Later) Song dynasty (1127–1279), neo-Confucianists promulgated an extreme form of the ancient philosophy. From references in the classics that men and women should not freely associate, scholars and officials justified gender segregation in all spheres of life. This required them to overlook almost all references to romantic and sexual love in the poetry of the classics.

Under succeeding dynasties, Neo-Confucianism generally gathered cultural currency. Talk of sex became taboo. Foot binding became widespread. Female infanticide became more common. Remarriage became rare as elites erected new monuments to the chaste female and the windowed martyr. Zhu Xi (1130–1200), one of the most influential Neo-Confucian scholars of his day, set the tone of the times in "Reflections on Things at Hand," when he wrote that "a man with passions has no strength, whereas a man of strength has no passions." The Neo-Confucianists departed from earlier schools with their rigid morality and a belief in the innate goodness of humans. Confucius believed goodness must be cultivated. In general, Neo-Confucianists naturalized gender distinctions, providing less opportunity for performative departure from gender roles.

Zhu Xi's teacher, Sima Guang (1019–1086), taught that, at seven years old, boys and girls should no longer eat together. At eight, girls should not leave inner chambers, and should not engage in song and dance. He taught that remarriage was bad for both men and women alike. Girls should learn women's work, which meant cooking, cleaning, and "instruction in compliance and obedience."

Though feminist historians attack Neo-Confucianists as deeply misogynistic, critics like Patricia Buckley Ebrey claim that the Neo-Confucianists' concern with remarriage reflected an extension of preexisting patriarchal concern for female welfare. Remarriage was seen as a threat to the financial stability of the family. These feminists also ascribe too much power to elite philosophers; one of Zhu Xi's disciples actually remarried.

In this complex time, women held roles as slaves, empresses, mothers, wives, merchants, and beggars, but their general sphere was that of the household. According to Neo-Confucianists, chaste and productive women laid the foundation for a nation. Women had their own work, like weaving, which played as important or more important a role in the economy of late imperial China than did much "male" agricultural work.

This Neo-Confucian philosophy, though pervasive, was not omnipresent or totally stifling. In many ways, masculinity was still seen as degrees of femininity. The well-positioned man took on elements of the female to gain favor and show loyalty to his superiors. But a man had the ability to change masters, whereas women were confined to the husbands (and husband's family) they were betrothed to and eventually married.

Men, meanwhile, were still free to sleep with whomever they wanted. During Neo-Confucian times, concubines, who had historically been confined to the households of the most elite, became more affordable for the common man. Concubines who had been trained in singing and literary arts could be rented for the day or the hour, thus blurring the distinctions between concubinage and prostitution.

PROSTITUTION

The origins of the world's oldest profession in China are vague, but by at least the seventh century BCE, there were hundreds of women living and working in palaces and government-owned markets. Prostitution had reached a peak of coordination and sophistication by the Tang and Song Dynasties. Male prostitution was banned during the Song, which hardly curtailed the ordered systems in major cities. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, private male and female commercial prostitution was widespread, even during periods when the practice was ostensibly outlawed.

FOOT BINDING

One of the most prominent trends in female beauty during the later dynastic period is the practice of foot binding. Though references to beautiful women with small feet are almost as old as written history, foot binding is generally agreed to have emerged in the Northern Song (960–1127) and moved south during the Southern Song (1127–1279). It became widespread during the Ming Dynasty and peaked in the Qing. Even though Chinese literati first railed against this practice in the seventeenth century, it survived well into the Republican period with popular phrases like, "If you love your son, you don't go easy on his studies. If you love your daughter, you don't go easy on her foot binding."

For elite families, these tiny "golden lotus feet" were permanent symbols of their lives of leisure. For lower families, feet lent rank and gentility to a daughter otherwise without chance of raising her social standing. Between the ages of five and seven, girls underwent the painful procedure of having their small toes broken and bent under the foot to the heel and their feet wrapped. For these two years, they were forced into smaller and smaller "golden slippers," dancing and jumping on their feet to get them to the standard three inches or smaller. This impeded their ability to walk and work.

EUNUCHS

Though male foot binding was rare, mutilating the genitals to gain rank and power was not. Eunuchs were some of the few servants who could be trusted to serve palace elite, and even then, the intrigues of eunuchs in state affairs alone require volumes of history. Emperors, princes, wives, and others of high rank each had dozens or hundreds of personal eunuch attendants. Despite attempts by almost every philosophic persuasion in every era to limit eunuch ascendancy, the institution survived until the fall of the Qing Dynasty, when families were still castrating unwanted boys and grown men were undergoing voluntary surgeries for the chance to enter the imperial ranks.

SEX AND GENDER IN LITERATURE AND ART

Chinese art, literature, and other material culture relating to sex are the subject of many vibrant seams in academia. To do justice to this area would require more space than is available here.

Ancient archeological sources show that sexual art, toys, and gendered deities were widespread. One of the earliest female deities in popular religion, *Xiwangmu*, or the Queen Mother of the West, emerged during the Han Dynasty, when other gendered concepts entered art. Dildos of jade, wood, ivory, or plants that swelled when wet have existed for millennia.

Though the one surviving extant text is riddled with errors from an ignorant scribe, the Tang-era "Poetic Essay on the Supreme Joy of the Sexual Union of Yin and Yang and Heaven and Earth" attempted to record the entire range of sexual behavior, including topics of beauty, peasants' sex lives, monastery sex, wedding night tales, puberty, and tales of rape.

By the Ming and Qing Dynasties, literati with unparalleled leisure and erudition dallied in regions near the lower reaches of the Yangtze River in eastern China near Hangzhou and Shanghai. Ming literati centered in Hangzhou created a flourishing trade in erotic woodblock prints, which survived largely in Japanese collections. Erotic novels, women's poems, and widely varying literary works provide the best picture of the lives of everyday lives of Chinese in any dynasty.

With the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1912, China's conceptions of sexuality and gender underwent significant influence by North American and European scientific thought. Nearly four thousand years of dynastic history had come to a close and with it the end of one of history's most unique, intricate, and isolated sexual cultures.

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II. MODERN

Modern China usually refers to the period starting from the Republic of China. The Republic of China was established in 1911 and marked the end of imperial China's 2,000-year reign. With the beginning of the Republic came new political and economic systems. In practice and theory, inequalities of class were standard in premodern China. The ruling class was superior and gender division was deep rooted. Men outranked women in society, and in marriage husbands had more authority than wives. Women were confined to traditional domestic activities. Did this change in Modern China? This entry will discuss the dramatic changes that occurred regarding gender equality, marriage and divorce, sex education and research, homosexuality, and prostitution.

In Modern China the traditional political inequalities lost their legal force, especially after the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949 when the CCP tried to eliminate most legal, social, and economic inequalities. In premodern China, the sexual customs, beliefs, and practices were shaped by medicine, metaphysics, or religious ideas, whereas in Modern China sex and gender has been more influenced by political movements and ideologies.

Chinese communism and ideology are noteworthy for reshaping sexual beliefs and gender roles in Modern China. The general premise of sexuality in socialist China is that an individual's function is to serve a public or social purpose, and like many aspects of individual activities, sexuality falls under political control. Sexuality is considered a worthy element for healthy development of the young. However, there is no clear boundary between public life and private life; all individual behavior (and sex behavior in particular) must be in accordance with the party's principles and ideologies. Correctness of behavior was part of the general structure of the society. Dialectic materialism, the guiding philosophy and principle, teaches that nature is governed by scientific truth and that the human body is a part of nature; therefore it is important for the youth of a nation to know the facts of life, defined by reproduction. The government tries to regulate medical, pedagogical, social, and political aspects of sexuality since it believes orderly, stable, and familiar relationships are essential to political, social, and economic success.

WOMEN CAN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY

The Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), a diminutive for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was officially launched in 1966 by communist leader Mao Zedong (1893–1976) as a movement that would fundamentally transform the individual and thus society. Denouncing the established ideologies, traditional beliefs, customs, and cultural and political remnants of imperial China as old fashioned, backward, and unscientific, China's new social movement affirmed that the state was for the citizens.

The political changes were expressed by slogans such as "Discard the four Olds; build the four News" and "Women can hold up half the sky," which were privately and publicly recited by school children, political cadres, workers, peasants, and soldiers.

"Women can hold up half the sky," a quotation from an essay by Mao Zedong, summarizes the gender equality he aimed to achieve. Gender inequality was ingrained in the Chinese; men symbolized dominance, superiority, strength, wisdom, and major force, whereas women were considered submissive, inferior, and the passive. This slogan symbolized the efforts of the CCP and the state to address the women's movement as part of its political and ideological mission. Early CCP ideology argued that women's liberation could only be accomplished when all working people were liberated. Only when the proletarians took complete control of political power would women reach full liberation.

March 8th was named Women's Day, a yearly occasion to celebrate women's contributions to the country. Many traditionally male professions and careers, such as the construction work force, military, and natural sciences, began to accept women workers.

In 1940 an editorial in *People's Daily*, the official newspaper of the CCP, stated that modern Chinese women must participate fully in all movements that benefit the state and nation in order to realize their own liberation. In 1949, when the CCP successfully established political control of the entire country, the party mandated that women enter the work force on an equal par with men. A woman's value and liberation were tied to her productivity and contribution to society.

In film, art, literature, opera, and ballet, during the time of the Cultural Revolution, female characters were often portrayed as political activists or military figures who, without exception, were unmarried revolutionaries, determined and devoted to communist ideals. Eight operas were promoted during the ten years of the movement, all of which had female protagonists aged twenty to sixty, and all of whom were presented as political entities rather than individuals. Overt expressions of feminine appearance and conduct were denounced. Women wore the same clothing as men, with only a slight style difference. The Red Guard, the CCP's youth league, expressed its disapproval of anyone who dressed differently; members monitored people in the streets and cut trousers they deemed to be too long. Scholars have used the term *socialist androgyny* to describe the reworking of female gender during this period. Many scholars, in China and elsewhere, consider this approach to women's liberation as a denial of the European and North American concept of feminism, which refers to a gendered analysis of the position and representation of women in society.

SEX EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Modern China was marked by the introduction of new emerging disciplines such as psychology. In the early 1920s, sex education and sex instruction, sexual advice, and lifestyle choices were widely discussed and covered by newspapers, magazines, and other media as a part of the urban culture; however these advances in thinking never reached rural and other remote areas.

Early proponents of sex education include famous writers and social activists such as Lu Xun, Hu Shi, Zhou Zhuoren, and others. In 1909 Lu Xun, who received his medical education in Japan, introduced sexual anatomy to biology students. In 1919 Hu Shi advocated for women's rights, and Dr. Zhang Yaoxiang, a U.S.-trained psychologist, conducted the first survey on sex and translated a comprehensive lecture series on sex education, complete with a curriculum.

In 1921 Dr. Zhang Jingshen, a scholar educated in France, taught the history of psychology, esthetics and contraception, birth control, eugenics, sex education, sex research, and marriage at Beijing University. He established campus-wide clubs and societies so that he could systematically introduce sexology. Later Zhang Jingshen wrote for a popular newspaper, asking the public to send him their sex histories. Using these submissions, he published, in 1926, the first issues of a periodical called *Sex History*. Later in Shanghai, he published a sex education series, as well as the Chinese translation of English psychologist Havelock Ellis's (1859–1939) works.

In 1936 medical doctor Din Zhan opened a psychological counseling service in Beijing. In 1949 sociologist Fei Xiaotong published a book called *The Reproductive System*, which discussed the roles of both genders in human reproduction.

During the 1920s and 1930s, visitors from Europe and North America spoke to Chinese audiences. These included birth-control leader Margaret Sanger (1883–1966), who spoke at Beijing University, and German physician Magnus Hirschfield (1868–1935), who visited Shanghai and lectured at the Shanghai Women's Club. Another well-known writer, Zhou Zhuoren, introduced Ellis's sex studies and called for better sex education and a new, modern morality. Pan Guangdan completed translating Ellis's *Psychology of Sex* (1933) in 1948.

After 1949 the establishment of the communist regime remapped sex education. A number of political figures including Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Zhou Enlai expressed the importance of sex education. Deng Xiaoping backed the Chinese Women's Federation on the absolute necessity and benefit of using contraceptives. Mao Zedong stated that sex education should start at the junior high school level. Zhou Enlai believed that students should be educated about contraception and that understanding issues related to sexual health was important to adolescents. He also pointed out that the most appropriate time for sex education was very early in the development of both boys and girls. A number of pamphlets discussing sex appeared, mostly written by doctors. One, called *Sex Knowledge* (1956), had a first printing of more than 800,000 copies and sold more than 1,400,000 copies in its second year. This progress was hindered by the Cultural Revolution, when sex education was suppressed since it had no role in the political platform. Not surprisingly, a population boom occurred during those years as well.

In 1979 economic reform and open door policies sponsored by the CCP made sex education possible once again. In 1980 China Family Planning Association was officially established. The government's department of education offered population education to high school students as a way of introducing contraception and population control. Also in the early 1980s, symposiums focusing on marriage, family, population control, and sex education were held in many cities. Wu Janping, a U.S.-trained urologist and influential political figure, edited and published the journal *Sexual Medicine* (1983). In southern China, from 1985 to 1994, some local governments sponsored the first lecture series on sex psychology and sexually transmitted disease (STD) control and prevention.

Sex research topics commonly include sex history, sex cultures, STDs, family planning, and adolescence. Since 2000 studies have focused more on sexual behaviors and gender issues, such as transgender and homosexuality, which have high profiles in the media and with the general public but still remain a largely taboo subject. News media covered the first two transsexual surgery cases, one from male to female in 1984, and the other from female to male in 1992. Both operations were performed at Beijing University hospital. Due to increasing wealth of the population, more relaxed social policies, and more individual freedom, the number of sex education and research organizations has increased greatly since the 1980s.

Influential, government-endorsed organizations include the Chinese Sex Education Research Society, founded in 1985 in Shanghai; the Sex Education and Research Society, founded in 1986 in Shanghai; the Sexology of China Association, the Institute for Research in Sexuality and Gender, and the China Family Planning Association, all founded in Beijing in 1990; and the Shanghai Family Planning Association and Shanghai International Center for Population Communication in China, both founded in the 1990s. These organizations function as major research and information centers. In 1984 the Beijing Society for Studies on Marriage and Family conducted one of the first surveys of sex, love, marriage, and family conflict. The Shanghai Sex Sociological Research Center, established and led by Liu Dalin during the 1980s, conducted a survey and published a report called *National Sex Civilization Survey* (1990). The report, which included information from subjects in twenty-seven provinces in China, analyzed 19,559 individual responses to 239 questions concerning sexual and reproductive history. Interestingly the government did not interfere with the report or take any credit for it since the study was financed entirely by private individuals and organizations.

Sex research organizations train sex educators and the general public through workshops and conferences. The First National Workshop on Sex Education was held in Shanghai in 1985. The *Handbook of Sex Knowledge* was published by the Scientific and Technological Publishing House in 1985. In 1988 the first college-level sexology course was taught in China's Peoples University in Beijing. The course was titled *Training Workshop on Sex Science* and included twenty topics. By 1993 about one quarter of all universities and colleges offered courses on human sexuality or sex education. Nationwide conferences on sexology included the annual conference of the Congress of Science of Sex. The first International Conference of Sexology was held in Shanghai, also in 1992. Sex research or education publications included *Sexology* (1992; formerly known *as Sexology of China, Journal of Chinese Sexology*) and *Apollo and Selene*, a bilingual (Chinese/English) magazine that was published by the Asian Federation for Sexology in the same year.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Arranged marriage and multiple-wife households were characteristic of traditional marriage in China before 1949. Courtship and dating were nonexistent since marriage was arranged by parents or matchmakers, and couples often did not know each other until the wedding day. In fact public displays of affection between woman and man were considered taboo; a woman would be condemned as immoral if she approached a man in public. Social and economic compatibilities were considered important factors for a stable marriage, personality traits or physical attributes less so. In Modern China, young people from urban areas, often well-educated, make deliberate choices to avoid arranged marriages The first law stating that marriage should be based on the free-choice of partners, on monogamy, on equal rights of both sexes, and on the protection of the lawful interests of women and children, was not enacted until 1950. The law prohibited bigamy, concubinage, child betrothal, or any interference with the remarriage of widows, and prohibited giving money or gifts to entice someone into a marriage. These principles were part of the PRC Marriage Law, drafted in the 1980s.

Young people welcomed the freedom to choose marriage partners. However, public courtship was still usually considered a prelude to marriage. Despite the fact that all Chinese had the legal right to freely choose marriage partners, many rural youths simply did not have access to the same social and work networks available to urban dwellers. Clashes between the popular presentation of freedom in the media and the reality of rural life caused some young women to commit suicide when they became the focus of gossip about improper sexual behavior.

In pre-1949 China, when polygamy dominated, the divorce rate was relatively low, but has increased since the end of the 1970s. The most commonly cited reason for divorce had been infidelity of the husband. During most of Chinese history, divorce was considered to be a personal failure or a disgrace to the family. In the early twenty-first century, society more often accepts divorce. Many divorces are initiated by women who will not settle for unhappy marriages since they have economic independence through education and career choices.

First Beijing Wedding Photography Exhibition. *Wedding photography has proved a booming business in China with even the smallest towns offering this service. While white silk dresses are part of the wardrobe in photo studios they are rarely worn at real weddings in China where red is the traditional color for brides.* © ADRIAN BRADSHAW/EPA/CORBIS.

PROSTITUTION

When the CCP took political power in 1949, it abolished prostitution. In 1949 the Beijing municipal government enacted a series of policies designed to close all city brothels and to arrest prostitutes and brothel owners, procurers, and pimps. Other cities, such as Shanghai and Tanjing, followed suit. Thousands of prostitutes were jailed or sent to reform camps. In 1957, during the first National People's Congress, the Rules on the Control of and Punishment Concerning Public Security of the PRC were passed. The new laws effectively banned prostitution. In 1979, again during the National People's Congress, the first criminal law against prostitution was enacted. The penalty for forcing a female to engage in prostitution was a term of imprisonment of three to ten years.

However, despite the law and the severe punishment possible, prostitution persisted. Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, the incidence of prostitution in economically prosperous cities such as Shanghai, Canton, Shenzhen, and Chengdu has risen dramatically. In 1986 the government demanded the eradication of prostitution in an attempt to curtail STDs. According to police reports, in 1987 the average number of prostitution arrests in Canton alone was 11,000.

While brothels were illegal, prostitutes still worked in entertainment and service establishments such as hotels and hair salons. The increasing number of prostitution arrests resulted in the expansion of prison camps. In 1987 sixty-two new prison camps were built in Canton. Many prostitutes in labor camps were reeducated and eventually released, but pimps or human traffickers sometimes received death sentences.

OBSCENITY LAWS

Communist ideology focused on the productivity of people as a social unit, whereas erotic or non-reproductive sexual activity was viewed as morally wrong, socially irresponsible, and a kind of self-indulgence only associated with bourgeois lifestyle—something unacceptable to the Chinese government. CCP reports that no erotic materials were produced in the PRC during the 1950s or 1960s

In 1970, along with the economic reform policy of the CCP, China was flooded with X-rated movies and videos smuggled from Hong Kong and other countries. In time, *yellow*, or pornographic, videos, which had been beyond the financial reach of the average citizen, became much more accessible due to their availability in video stores, hotels, and other venues.

The CCP reacted swiftly to the spread of such materials. Raids on sellers were frequent and materials were confiscated. In 1985 the state promulgated a new anti-pornography law: Underground publishing houses were suppressed. By 1988, during the National People's Congress, lawmakers introduced stiffer penalties for pornography dealers. Dealers could be imprisoned for life if the total value of the pornographic materials was between 150,000 yuan and 500,000 yuan. Ruan's book, *Sex in China* (1991), cited the *International Daily News* (August 24, 1989) as reporting that in 1989 there was an intense effort to eradicate publishing and distribution venues for erotica. More than 11 million books and magazines with explicit sexual content were confiscated and 2,000 distribution centers were raided. In 1990 the highest court in China ruled that courts could impose death sentences on those convicted of human trafficking, including prostitution, and pornography.

HOMOSEXUALITY

In modern China, colonial-era hooliganism statutes, Cultural Revolution campaigns, general sexual taboos, and vestiges of Neo-Confucianism ensured that, for most of the twentieth century, same-sex coupling remained almost completely misunderstood and strictly forbidden. For most Chinese gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, being attracted to the same sex meant a life of denial, punishment, secrecy, and shame. Beginning in the late twentieth century, academic debates and media reports, along with the rise of gay/lesbian bars and social clubs, have combined to give Chinese homosexuals more possibilities to gain legal rights and basic recourse against discrimination.

Though post-1911 campaigns against Confucianism resulted in a successful women's liberation movement, neither nationalist modernization nor communist collectivization of the traditional family could disrupt the Confucian tenets of marriage and childbearing. Most citizens of modern China—regardless of sexual orientation—enter into heterosexual marriages. Chinese are expected to marry by the age of thirty. In 2003 the government of Taiwan promulgated, but never enacted, a law to legalize same-sex marriage. In 2006 same-sex marriage remains illegal in all areas of China.

The catch-all colonial-era hooliganism law enacted by the Republican government made homosexuality and other activities criminal offenses. This statute remained in force after 1949, though the Communists only legally codified this as law in 1979. During the Cultural Revolution, when all aspects of an individual's life could be exposed as potentially *anti-revolutionary*, the government targeted those suspected of deviant sexuality. In 1991 Hong Kong decriminalized consensual sexual activity between two men over twenty-one years of age. The government of the PRC revoked the hooliganism laws in 1997, which tacitly decriminalized private homosexuality, although public displays of any sexual behavior remain illegal in the early twenty-first century. In Taiwan, since the mid 1990s, public political support for homosexuals has been widespread.

Homosexuality received scant attention from the sexual education reform movements in the 1920s and 1930s. Some sexologists and sociologists considered same-sex love (*tong xing lian*) the opposite of so-called natural opposite-sex love (*yi xing lian*). Homosexuality was considered a filthy habit, which could contaminate, infect, and corrupt the social organism. In 1946 Pan Guangdan, a Shanghai sexologist and sociologist, published one of the first modern Chinese essays on the history of Chinese homosexuality, included in his translation of Ellis's *Psychology of Sex*. In 2001 the Chinese Psychology Association removed homosexuality from its list of mental illnesses. Despite the strong political, medical, and social pressure against homosexuality, because of China's long history of homosexual acceptance and lack of religious persecution, Chinese homosexuals have largely avoided the virulent opposition characterized by queer rights struggles in North America and Europe during the second half of the twentieth century.

In the 1980s nonjudgmental studies of homosexuality began to appear. Shanghai University sexologist Liu Dalin's first nationwide sexual survey on homosexuals was published in 1990. In 1991 sociologist Li Yinhe and her husband Wang Xiaobo published *Their World: A Study of the Male Homosexual Community in China*. The book, with its sociological and anthropological dimensions, became a bestseller when it was updated and republished as *The Homosexual Subculture* in 1998. That same year, Qingdao University medical school professor Dr. Zhang Beichuan began publishing *Friend Exchange* (*Pengyou Tongxin*), China's first gay newsletter. Taiwanese writer Pai Hsien-yung published the first modern gay Asian novel, *Crystal Boys* (1983), which is the basis of a number of films and a television series in Taiwan.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a few media reports in larger cities like Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Beijing contained gay-themed stories. The subject is still regularly censored and underreported in the PRC.

Comrade (*tongzhi*) is the most common slang term used by Chinese gays. In Cantonese, *Gei* is a popular slang transliteration of gay. In Mandarin Chinese, *Lala* is the most common word for Chinese lesbians.

The first *tongzhi* meeting was held in Hong Kong in 1996. At this meeting the group established a strategy to combat homophobia and secure equal rights for all Chinese sexual minorities.

In China, transgender individuals are generally excluded from the European and North American concept of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) or queer, although transvestitism and drag in gay clubs is not uncommon. Chinese often see transgender people as having a medical condition, whereas homosexuality is more often regarded as a choice or developmental phase.

Activist-scholar and Shanghai Medical University graduate Dr. Wan Yanhai started China's first HIV/AIDS hotline in Shanghai in 1991, which also served the homosexual community. Wan Yanhai also founded one of the first HIV/AIDS concern groups, AIZHI, in Beijing in 1994. Though police monitored and shut down early consultation efforts, every major Chinese city has HIV/AIDS hotlines in the early twenty-first century. The largest cities also have lesbian, homosexual legal rights, and sexual consultation hotlines. In the early 2000s, the PRC began to take the HIV/AIDS crisis seriously, instructing all centers for disease control to work with and educate *tongzhi* groups on the control and prevention of the spread of the virus.

In 2004 Fudan University's medical college, in cooperation with the Chi Heng Foundation, organized the mainland's first class on homosexuality. The graduate health course attracted considerable media attention, despite enrolling only three students. In the fall of 2005, the first undergraduate class—also at Fudan—attracted a full roster of students and even more journalists.

The Republican period saw the emergence of an elite civil society devoted to advancing sexual discourse. Communist appropriation of sexual education and policy to government bodies hampered this debate. Beginning in the 1980s, limited discourse on anti-discrimination, equal rights, and sexual freedom reemerged with a clearer vision of China's long history of homosexuality.

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III. EROTIC ART

The earliest representations of sex in Chinese art date back to 7000 BCE, and sex has been a topic of artistic interest ever since. In prehistoric China, it is likely that people admired natural formations of the female and male sexual organs in caves, ravines, or rocks. Clay vessels with representations of the vulva can be dated to approximately 3000 BCE Rock cuttings dating roughly to 1500 BCE represent sexual organs, and in the Shizhong Temple (Yunnan Province) there is still a large carved stone vagina, which stands in the midst of countless Buddha sculptures.

From the era of the Yellow Emperor (2697–2597 BCE; the founder of Taoism) forward, when the legendary Dark and White Maidens wrote their classics in the art of sex in a question-and-answer format with him, erotic drawings accompanied sex-related texts. Though most of the illustrations are no longer extant, later authors mention that texts such as *Xuan Nü Jing* (Classic of the Dark Maiden) and *Su Nü Jing* (Classic of the White Maiden), which included long lists of sexual exercises, did include pictures. The genre of erotic art known as *spring palace*, or couples having sex in springtime when women went out picking mulberries for silkworms, appeared in the first century CE (eastern Han period) on sculpted bricks and continued in paintings on scrolls and silk.

Medieval erotic art was influenced by courtesan culture and the establishment of the sexual symbolism of bound feet in the tenth century CE Erotic art showed all of the sexual situations, positions, and pairings described in sex-related poems, songs, plays, and stories. These included prostitution, same-sex partners, fellatio, cunnilingus, masturbation, use of dildos, and bestiality. The best-known Ming erotic artists, Tang Yin (1470–1523) and Qiu Ying (b. mid-sixteenth century), painted such scenes on silk scrolls and were among the first to sign their work. Painters and wood-block carvers illustrated sex-related fiction in the late Ming (1368–1644) and early Qing (1644–1912) dynasties, with *Jin Ping Mei*

(1617; The golden lotus) and *Rou Pu Tuan* (1634; The carnal prayer mat) by Li Yu (1611–c. 1680) being among the most popular.

Later Qing erotic artists deviated little from the standards established in the Ming dynasty. They shaped a variety of sexual scenes in bronze and ivory, or painted or enameled porcelain vessels of all sorts in the eighteenth century: chamber pots, perfume burners, goblets, bowls, and snuff bottles. In the nineteenth century, paintings of courtesans on glass and silk-covered boxes with erotic scenes inlaid with carved stone and mother-of-pearl were popular.

By the end of the nineteenth century, refinement and attention to classical themes in Chinese erotic art were disappearing as the ability to mass-produce print and three-dimensional objects increased. It began to show such Western influences as European-style clothes, larger breasts, and longer penises. Much erotic art was destroyed after World War II and in the Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As access to the Internet has widely increased, however, Chinese artists and art collectors in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries are able to hold virtual shows of drawings, paintings, photographs, and sculptures.

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IV. EROTIC LITERATURE

Erotic literature has a long history in China and it includes all literary forms: poetry, prose, drama, short stories, and novels. Sun Kaiti's *A Catalogue of Chinese Works of Popular Fiction*, published in 1932, is the only known bibliography that included a *pornography* category. Under this heading there were listed forty-two books, some of which were not examined by Sun because of his lack of access to them or because they were simply non-existent at his time (other reference works documented their prior existence). Story or fiction writing was considered, in Chinese tradition, less prestigious than the writing of formal *classics*. Therefore, Chinese literary authors received no official recognition and in fact would write anonymously. With erotic literature, authors had all the more reason to hide their identities. *Bai Yuan Chuan* (One hundred love stories), *Deng Yue Yuan* (The lamp and moon), and *Hua Ying Jin Zhen* (Fragrant flower) were listed in Sun's catalogue. The most influential works are *Su E Pian* (The lady of the moon), *Jin Ping Mei* (Golden lotus), and *Rou Pu Tuan* (Prayer mats of the flesh); without exception, the authorship of all remain unknown.

Su E Pian was published in 1610 during the Ming dynasty. This rare book contains ninety illustrations that describe forty-three lovemaking positions and the landscape of the lovemaking locations. The preface, by Fang Hu Xian Ke ("The Immortal Square Pot"), mentions the author as being Ye Hua Sheng, another pen name. The novel features Su E, a talented and well-versed young woman, who is one of the concubines of Master Wu. Su E and Wu perform sexual acts in forty-three forms, each of which are poetically named by Su E. The author uses elegant language to describe the outdoor and indoor scenes and how the couple's sexual imagination and practice are inspired and aroused by the natural surroundings. Some sexual positions are given titles, such as Flowers Longing for Butterflies, The Union of Ying and Yang, Boat Widthwise over the Ferry, Lightless on the Palm, and Stopping the Horse to Pull the Saddle. The only complete copy survives at the Kinsey Institute Library in Bloomington, Indiana.

Rou Pu Tuan was written by Li Yu in 1634 and prefaced by the author, who believed that sex acts between a man and a woman benefited one's longevity and that sexual pleasure mitigated the suffering and miseries of daily life. According to Li Yu, eunuchs and Buddhist monks, who lacked such sex acts and pleasure, often had shorter lives as a consequence. The protagonist of Yu's story is a young scholar wanting to enlighten his wife about sexual pleasures. Though he makes many daring and desperate attempts to change her sexual attitudes, he always fails. That is until he purchases an album of erotic paintings. The album, by a well-known artist, contains thirty-six paintings, each of which correspond to a line in the Tang dynasty poem "Spring Reigns in all the Thirty-six Palaces." Using the album as a proper and valid sex education tool ensures the wife's sexual awakenings. The story continues with sexual acts among the husband, his wife, and other sexual partners. In the end, his sexual adventures get him into many troubles, and he retreats to a monastery as a devout Buddhist. There the abbot explains to him that his sexual experience was the necessary path for his salvation, thus, the *prayer mat of the flesh*.

Jin Ping Mei is perhaps the best known Chinese erotic novel and was also published in the Ming dynasty. The novel uses colorful, colloquial language to tell the sexual stories of Ximen Qing and his numerous sexual partners and wives. In it, there are explicit descriptions of oral and anal intercourse as well as details about aphrodisiacs and sexual toys. This novel was the first fictional work to depict sexuality in a graphically explicit manner. It describes in detail the downfall of the Ximen clan during the years 1111–1127, the Southern Song dynasty. *Jin Ping Mei* is named for the three women of Ximen: Pan Jinlian (whose name means "Golden Lotus"), Li Pinger, and Pang Chunmei, a maid who rose to power within the family. A key moment in the novel, the seduction of the lascivious and adulterous Pan Jinlian, occurs early in the book and is taken from an episode in another well-known Chinese novel. After secretly murdering the husband of Pan, Ximen takes her as one of his wives. The story follows the domestic sexual struggles of the women within his clan as they clamor for prestige and influence while the Ximen clan gradually declines in power. *Jin Ping Mei* was reprinted in 1983 with much of its sexually explicit passages purged or modified.

Whereas pieces of erotic literature were often well circulated underground to prevent prosecution, they were among the first novels to be burned or destroyed by government censors throughout Chinese history. Their existence, survival, and destruction were seldom documented or studied. Erotic literature was banned after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949; rules and regulations associated with public security directly outlawed pornography and obscene material. Individuals responsible for production or distribution of obscene or absurd books, periodicals, or picture books were punishable by detention and a fine. During the early years of the Chinese Communist/Socialist government and the Cultural Revolution, erotic expressions were nonexistent. After the 1970s, along with the market reforms and the open-door policy to the outside world, erotic literature was produced and circulated in the underground world but destroyed under regular surveillance by the government.

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Wen Huang

V. WOMEN'S ROLES IN MODERN

The history of female emancipation has had a strong relationship with the history of Chinese modernization since the late nineteenth century. For those engaged in the emancipation struggle, the image of modern woman combined the idea of emancipating the Chinese people from the Qing government with thoughts of liberating women from the extended family and old customs. The hope for a strong China was projected onto the image of the strong female. The growth of feminism in the West contributed to the emergence of Chinese female revolutionaries who represented the ideal form of the Chinese nationalist woman.

The New Culture Movement of 1915 was the first major revival of the issue of women's liberation since the late Qing period. Chinese male intellectuals extended the rebellion against Chinese tradition to embrace female emancipation, grounding it at the same time in Western ideas of individualism and liberal values, and this deepened with the May Fourth Movement in 1919. Women were now part of *New Youth*, and issues of women's rights and women's status in society were raised in the public sphere. The May Fourth Movement also laid the foundation for reform of women's rights in family law, political participation, education, and career during the 1920s and 1930s. For example, in order to improve women's rights in marriage and reduce women's suffering from physical abuse and abandonment, divorce law was reformed in December 1930.

The Chinese Marxist view of women was formed in the wake of the feminist discourses of the May Fourth Movement. Chinese Marxists made a distinction between *nüxing* and *funü*, both terms for women, but with different implications. *Funü* carried the meaning of *kinswomen*, and referred to all Chinese women, but particularly country-dwellers. In contrast, the Marxist *funü* was "the product of revolutionary practice and existed in a future world, after the revolution" (Barlow 1994, pp. 268–269). For the Chinese Marxists, *nüxing*, a neologism from the May Fourth era, belonged to bourgeois ideology.

The concept of the "virtuous wife and good mother" was also central to the process of Chinese modernization, just as it became prevalent in other East Asian countries from the late nineteenth century on. The modern woman's most important role was to be the mother of citizens (Judge 2002, p. 41).

This idea of good mother and virtuous wife then became one of the main themes during the New Life Movement, which was initiated by Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Soong Mei-ling in 1934. Based on Christian ideals, as well as traditional family values, Soong Mei-ling urged women to re-recognize the importance of family and of their new role for the whole society. Home economics was the subject for modern women to study. Soong Mei-ling thought educated women should teach their female neighbors how to write, how to read, and how to educate children.

Women's involvement in the war effort during the Sino-Japanese War from 1937 to 1945 helped consolidate the changes won in previous decades, and the women's movement entered a new chapter after 1949.

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Weipin Tsai

CHLAMYDIA

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

CHRIST

The body of Christ was central to late medieval and early modern European culture, not merely as a symbol or an idea but as a physical presence. It hung from crosses in churches and homes and along roadsides, shone from stained-glass windows, and gestured from scaffold and wagon stages. In the form of the Eucharist, Christ's body was not only consumed daily at mass, but also paraded through city streets once per year and reverently displayed in countless chapels for perpetual adoration. It was the object of spiritual meditation and devotion that many now find startlingly physical in focus, and often unexpectedly gendered, or overtly erotic.

CORPUS CHRISTI

The fourth Lateran Council defined the long-held doctrine of transubstantiation in 1215, and devotion to the sacrament soon increased. The doctrine holds that the Eucharistic host or wafer actually becomes the body of Christ upon consecration by the priest at the words of institution, "hoc est corpus meum" (this is my body), while retaining the natural appearance and taste of bread. The Feast of Corpus Christi, first established in Liège in 1246 to celebrate the Real Presence, was formally instituted by Pope Urban IV in 1264, and again by Clement V in 1311; within the next century this midsummer feast became one of the most important events in the church calendar, associated with major processions and theatrical performances. In York, England, a processional cycle of biblical plays produced by trade guilds displaced the ecclesiastical procession of Corpus Christi to the following day; seeing Christ in the flesh, as represented by actors, apparently won out in the popular imagination over seeing Christ in a wafer. Like the procession, however, in which the consecrated host was held high and paraded through the city streets, the plays emphasized the need and desire to see Christ: Characters repeatedly drew attention to his physical presence. The ability to see, touch, or consume the true body of Christ at virtually any time, in the form of the consecrated host, continued to foster devotion, ritual, and superstition. Demand grew to see the moment of transformation, itself associated with the miraculous power to preserve the observer from danger or death, while accounts (and representations) of miraculous bleeding hosts proliferated, often in relation to anti-semitic legends of host desecration.

IMITATIONS OF CHRIST

Many theologians unsurprisingly emphasized faith and good works over visual representation or sensory perception. The still-popular devotional treatise *De imitatione Christi* (The imitation of Christ), published anonymously in 1418 but now attributed to Thomas à Kempis, warns against a critical examination of spiritual mysteries such as transubstantiation, which rely on faith rather than proof or sensory perception. The treatise advocates a life of cheerful, humble devotion and virtue, filled with quiet contemplation and free of passion.

Others took a more visceral approach. The influential Pseudo-Bonaventurean *Meditationes vitae Christi* (Meditations on the life of Christ), composed in the fourteenth century, promoted affective piety through detailed, emotionally stirring meditation on the life of Jesus. Each moment was to be visualized in an imaginative reconstruction of events that might depart significantly from the Gospel accounts. What mattered far more than historical accuracy was a sense of immediacy, of one's personal presence at the event, and an empathetic identification with Christ or with witnesses such as his mother. Horrifying invented details of the Passion narrative such as the scourging of Jesus with knotted or metal-studded whips that repeatedly tore his naked flesh were elaborated in the visions of fourteenth-century mystics such as St. Bridget (Birgitta) of Sweden and Richard Rolle de Hampole and Margery Kempe of England, long before they were filmed for Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). The stretching of Jesus's arms on the cross to fit prebored holes for the nails, featured by all the above-mentioned authors, was also represented in the York Crucifixion pageant. Some two dozen actors would have played Jesus in a full production of the York plays, all on different wagon stages, effectively promoting the image of Jesus as Everyman more than as a particular individual. This, too, may have encouraged men and women to imagine Christ's body in a wide variety of highly personal ways.

While an emphasis on his emotional and physical suffering was common, many women in particular also dwelt at length upon more pleasurable ideas, such as the Nativity, or the physical perfection of Christ's body. In the *Revelations* of Bridget of Sweden, immediately after recounting the horrors of the Crucifixion, Jesus's mother describes the physical perfections of her son at the age of twenty, remarking on his hair (dark blond [*crocea brunea*] in the Latin version, auburn in a Middle English translation), pale skin, and red lips, and noting that even his enemies liked to look at him (4:70). Often such visions and meditations coincided with particular events in the church calendar. They were also closely associated with the physical host itself. As Caroline Walker Bynum (1991) states:

> The humanity of Christ with which women joined in the eucharist was the physical Jesus of the manger and of Calvary. Women from all walks of life saw in the host and the chalice Christ the baby, Christ the Bridegroom, Christ the tortured body on the cross . . . Most prominent, however, was the Christ of the cross. No religious woman failed to experience Christ as wounded, bleeding, and dying.
>
> *(pp. 130–131)*

Women in particular participated in this suffering, through physical illness and often severe self-mortification.

BRIDES OF CHRIST

Margery Kempe, who like some of her contemporaries suffered frequent uncontrollable fits of weeping at thoughts of Christ, envisioned herself not only as a witness to the Passion, having walked in his steps in Jerusalem on pilgrimage, but also as a servant first to St. Anne, at the birth of Mary, and then to Mary herself, witnessing the births of both John the Baptist and of Jesus. A married woman who bore fourteen children before demanding chastity from her husband, Margery also had visions of a relationship with the adult Jesus that strike the modern reader as remarkably intimate. In one vision she weds Jesus in the presence of his mother and a multitude of saints and angels, after which he tells her:

> thu mayst boldly, whan thu art in thi bed, take me to the as for thi weddyd husbond, as thy derworthy derlyng, and as for thy swete sone, for I wyl be lovyd as a sone schuld be lovyd wyth the modyr and wil that thu love me, dowtyr, as a good wife owyth to love hir husbonde. And therfor thu mayst boldly take me in the armys of thi sowle and kyssen my mowth, myn hed, and my fete as swetly as thow wylt. (Kempe, Chap. 36: you may boldly, when you are in your bed, take me to you as your wedded husband, as your beloved darling, and as your sweet son, for I desire to be loved as a son should be loved by his mother and desire that you love me, daughter, as a good wife ought to love her husband. And therefore you may boldly take me in the arms of your soul and kiss my mouth, my head, and my feet as sweetly as you will.)

Margery takes a literal approach to the *sponsa Christi* motif that was common in poetic and theological writing alike: Standard allegorical interpretation of the biblical Song of Songs, attributed to Solomon, made Christ the mystical bridegroom of the church and of all Christians. In the third of his eighty-six sermons on this highly erotic and poetic text, Bernard of Clairvaux, a twelfth-century Cistercian abbot, expounds upon the opening verse: "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth." Bernard asserts that anyone who has once experienced a mystical kiss from the mouth of Christ will seek it repeatedly, but advises anyone burdened with carnal desire to start humbly at Christ's feet, and then with his hand. In his eighth sermon on this text, alluding to Genesis 2:24, he states that "if marriage according to the flesh constitutes two in one body, why should not a spiritual union be even more efficacious in joining two in one spirit?"

THE SEXUALITY OF CHRIST

Various accounts of spiritual union, by men as well as by women, nonetheless explicitly cite physical sensations and sensual pleasures, many of which seem overtly erotic. When Rupert of Deutz, a twelfth-century Benedictine monk, passionately embraced a crucifix high above an altar, the kissing, according to his account, involved not only lips but also tongues. Richard Rambuss (1998) has demonstrated evidence of "male devotional desire amorously attuned to a male Christ" (p. 238) in the work of major seventeenth-century English writers such as John Donne and Richard Crashaw. Artists and critics alike have in this regard more often taken note of the religious experiences of women. In the ecstatic vision of St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), the subject of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's famous statue in Rome's Cornaro Chapel, not Christ but a handsome angel repeatedly thrust a burning spear through her heart and deep into her entrails, filling her with the fire of God's love. St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380) not only drank blood directly from the wound in Jesus's side, his gift in recompense for her drinking pus from a woman's infected breast, but was also, like Margery and others, betrothed to Jesus in a vision. As reported by her biographer, Raymond of Capua, the ceremony was presided over by the Virgin Mary and involved a gold ring encrusted with jewels; her own description involves the circumcised foreskin of Jesus.

A cult had grown up around the holy prepuce, a potent symbol of Christ's humanity and physical suffering, and a part of his body thought singularly to have been left on earth after his ascension—a relic claimed by several institutions in the Middle Ages, including abbeys in Charroux and Coulombs in France as well as St. John Lateran in Rome, and by a church in Calcata, Italy, as late as 1983 when it was reported stolen. In *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (1996), Leo Steinberg has argued that devotion to the foreskin and the Feast of the Circumcision (January 1), like the many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings of Jesus either as an infant or after the Crucifixion that focus the viewer's attention on his penis (the *ostentatio genitalium*), point not merely to Christ's humanity but also to his sexuality. Some sixteenth-century illustrations, most notably a series of paintings of the "Man of Sorrows" by Maerten van Heemskerck, even indicate an erection under the cloth that drapes the loins of the resurrected Christ, his flesh rising not because of lust or any external stimulus but at his will, as Adam's own penis was said by some medieval commentators to have done before the Fall in Eden. Such pictures thus symbolize Christ as the second Adam, reversing the Fall through his resurrection (1 Cor. 15:21–22), and bringing life to all.

JESUS AS MOTHER

In his eighth sermon on the Song of Songs, Bernard discusses the verse "Your breasts are better than wine" (4:10, translating the Vulgate's "pulchriora sunt ubera tua vino," where modern texts have "Your love is better than wine"), which he applies to the bridegroom rather than to the bride as customary, referring to the sweetness and forgiveness that flows from the breast of Jesus. Other writers described Christ in explicitly feminine terms as a nurturing mother. They had biblical precedent: In Matthew 23:37, Jesus compares himself to a hen gathering and protecting her chicks under her wings; he is also conventionally identified with divine Wisdom, personified as a woman in biblical texts such as Proverbs and the book of Wisdom and, like the eternal Word of the first chapter of John's gospel, characterized as participating in the creation of the world. In her book of *Shewings*, an account of revelations she received in 1373, the anchorite and mystic Julian of Norwich writes, "our Lady is our Moder in whome we are all beclosid and of hir borne in Christe, for she that is moder of our Savior, is moder of all that shall be savid in our Savior. And our Savior is our very moder in whom we be endlesly borne and never shall come out of Him" (chap. 57). In the chapters that follow this passage, Julian develops the maternal image at length, noting for instance that "The Moder may geven hir child soken her mylke, but our pretious Moder Jesus, He may fedyn us with Himselfe, and doith full curtesly and full tenderly with the blissid sacrament that is pretious fode of very lif" (chap. 60). As Bynum (1991) states, "Such an identification of Christ's saving role with giving birth as well as feeding is found in a number of fourteenth-century texts" (p. 97), especially by women such as Julian, or Margaret of Oingt (d. 1310), who describes the Crucifixion as Christ giving birth to the world.

DESIRE AND CONTROVERSY

Discussion of ideas such as the femininity of God, the sexuality of Jesus, and the relationship between eroticism and religious devotion by twenty-first-century feminist and queer writers and artists, as well as by theologians, have met with controversy and sometimes outrage. Accusations that such ideas are somehow unchristian indicate a lack of awareness of Christian history. For many, religious devotion remains a matter not just of the soul, but also of the body, and centred on the desirable body of Christ.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept.*

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CHRISTIANITY, EARLY AND MEDIEVAL

The 1960s and 1970s saw a proliferation of feminist scholarship on European and North American religion. This work served not only to recover a portion of women's history but also to reveal the importance of gender as a tool of analysis in scholarship on religion. The present survey assumes two important caveats made manifest by this feminist work. First, most of the information for these fifteen centuries of Christian history comes from elite Christian men, which means it is partial and ideologically selective. Second, Christianity was never a single, uniform entity but has always been a diverse, multifaceted enterprise. Fierce theological battles over *orthodoxy* and *heresy* led to many ruptures within Christianity. It should be remembered that the distinction between orthodoxy and heresy was often not at all obvious and that it was privileged men who determined which was which.

JESUS, THE MALE SAVIOR

The four New Testament gospels represent Jesus as an unattached Jewish man whose marital status is unspecified. He lived in a peripatetic community of twelve male apostles and sometimes visited the homes of female friends such as Mary and Martha of Bethany (Luke 10:38-42; John 11–12). Although Jesus rarely addresses sexual matters, in Matthew 5:28 he offers a surprising teaching on adultery: "But I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman with lust has already committed adultery with her in his heart" (NRSV translation). Here Jesus equates sexual thought with action while presumably addressing a male audience. In Matthew 5:31–32 and 19:9 Jesus acknowledges that the husband can divorce his wife; however, remarriage is possible only in the case of unchastity (*porneia* in Greek). Mark 10:11–12 and Luke 16:18 forbid remarriage after divorce, which is equivalent to adultery. It is clear in these passages that Jesus is represented as holding conservative views of marriage and rather impossible standards for sexual ideation. This provides a good context for understanding his teaching on celibacy, found only in Matthew 19:10–12: "His disciples said to him, 'If such is the case of a man with his wife, it is better not to marry.' But he said to them, 'Not everyone can accept this teaching, but only those to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs who have been so from birth, and there are eunuchs who have been made eunuchs by others, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.'" This passage suggests that Jesus was celibate (a eunuch of sorts) and that celibacy was the superior calling. Origen, a third-century Greek writer, allegedly had himself castrated to avoid the possibility of sexual temptation. Much later, in the Byzantine empire of the twelfth century, eunuchs castrated before puberty were honored as "perfect servants of god" (Ringrose 2003, p 15). That is, they were men biologically but were womanly in appearance, demeanor, and their inability to produce semen.

PAUL AND HIS INTERPRETERS

The apostle Paul understood the physical body as an impediment to spiritual perfection. His view was to become the dominant Christian view through the centuries. Celibacy was the preferred state because the unmarried man and woman were not distracted by family but rather were intensely focused on God. Paul encouraged married couples to have sexual relations often in order to avoid temptation, not to produce offspring. Homosexual practices for men and "unnatural intercourse" for women were condemned (Rom. 1:26–27) because of prevailing attitudes about gender roles. Because the *proper* role of the male was to be active in sexual relations, the homosexual encounter required one male partner to be *passive* or feminine. This gender transgression was condemned, and rigid gender roles were expected. In 1 Corinthians 11:3 Paul explains that women, not men, must cover their heads during worship because "Christ is the head of every man, and the husband is the head of his wife, and God is the head of Christ." Paul constructs a cosmic hierarchy in this passage that requires the woman/wife to be subordinate to her husband. He explains this by implicit reference to Genesis 1:27, although in Genesis 1:27 both woman and man are made in God's image. In 1 Corinthians 11:7 Paul states, "for a man ought not to have his head veiled, since he is the image and reflection of God; but woman is the reflection of man."

In the deutero-Pauline letters (those written by a disciple of Paul) the attitudes toward women become increasingly more restrictive. In Colossians 3:18–4:1 and Ephesians 5:22–6:9 wives are to be obedient to their husbands as to Christ. Husbands are to love their wives and ensure their purity. 1 Timothy 2:11-12 requires women to be submissive and silent and prohibits women from teaching men or having authority over men. A similar passage, now found in 1 Corinthians 14:33–36, was likely added to Paul's letter to echo later misogynist sentiments: "As in all the churches of the saints, women should be silent in the churches. For they are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as the law also says." This fear of woman's voice in part may have its exegetical roots in the Genesis 3 story of Eve, who speaks to the serpent while her male partner stands by silently. The man is later punished by the Lord *because he listened* to the voice of his partner/wife.

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The earliest Jesus movement was composed of apostles, disciples, prophets, and teachers, all of which included both women and men. The most significant woman disciple associated with the earthly ministry of Jesus was Mary Magdalene, who is portrayed in all four gospels as a witness to Jesus's resurrection and is later called the *apostle to the apostles*. In certain apocryphal (nonbiblical) gospels such as the Gospel of Mary, Mary Magdalene, not Peter, is portrayed as the spiritual successor of Jesus, and in the Gospel of Philip, Mary is called Jesus's companion. In the Gospel of Thomas 114, however, Jesus says of Mary, "I myself shall lead her in order to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every woman who will make herself male will enter the kingdom of heaven." The bifurcation of male/masculine as spiritual and female/feminine as physical would become prerequisite for later orthodox teaching. Nonetheless, several women in the New Testament held significant authority. In Romans 16:1 Paul commends Phoebe as a deacon (masculine in Greek) of the church of Cenchreae. The Didascalia Apostolorum (third century) acknowledges the deaconess as the only ordained role permitted to a woman. Her responsibilities were limited to the ministry of women; she does what a deacon cannot do, for the sake of propriety. The Apostolic Constitutions (fourth century) further restricts the role of deaconesses to more menial tasks, until the sixth century in the western church, and as late as the twelfth century in the eastern church, when the role is no longer recognized.

The missionary partners Prisca and Aquila, who are mentioned twice by Paul (1 Corinthians 16:19 and Romans 16:3), are called his "coworkers" and seem to have led house churches in Rome, Ephesus, and Corinth. They are also recognized in Acts 18 (Priscilla and Aquila) as authoritative teachers in the synagogue at Ephesus. Other female heads of house churches include Chloe (1 Corinthians 1:11), Lydia (Acts 16:14–15), and Nympha (Colossians 4:15). In Romans 16:7 Junia is described by Paul as "prominent among the apostles," the only reference to a woman apostle in the New Testament. In Paul's letter to Philemon 2, Apphia "our sister," is one of three people to whom the letter is addressed. Women also exercised prophetic leadership that was recognized by Jesus in Mark 14:3–9 and Matthew 26:6–13 (the anointing woman), and by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11. Acts 21:9 mentions the prophetic leadership of the four virgin (unnamed) daughters of Philip in Caesarea.

In the late second century in Phrygia, the Montanist prophets Priscilla and Maximilla were revered for their divine oracles. The Montanists ordained women bishops, and according to epigraphic evidence other Christian groups did as well, such as the bishop Theodora of Rome (Eisen 2000). One enduring example of women's leadership is found in the apocryphal Acts of Thecla (late second century) where Thecla, an engaged virgin, rejects her fiancé to follow Paul. She escapes execution miraculously, baptizes herself, dresses in men's clothing, and goes off to preach the gospel on her own with Paul's blessing. Finally, both women and men were recognized as martyrs for the faith, sometimes dying gruesome and agonizing deaths. The earliest writing of a Christian woman is the *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*, written by Vibia Perpetua in the early third century in North Africa.

EVE, THE CHRISTIAN PANDORA

In the Greek story of Pandora, a woman's inquisitiveness causes her to open a heavenly box from which all human suffering escapes into the world. She is thus solely responsible for all human misery. A clear parallel can be found in the Christian use of Genesis 3, the story of the serpent and the woman in paradise. The woman, who seeks wisdom, takes fruit from the forbidden tree of knowledge and becomes enlightened. The punishments of both the man and woman in Genesis 3 lay the groundwork for later *gender trouble*. The man is told in verse 17, "Because you have listened to the voice of your wife" the ground is cursed. The woman is told in verse 16, "in pain you shall bring forth children yet your desire shall be for your husband and he shall rule over you." This particular passage in Genesis was to become a road map for the relations between the sexes in Christianity. Woman is condemned to be subordinate to her male partner, she is silenced because her voice causes catastrophe and her judgment is impaired, and all sexual encounters will lead to painful childbirth. This is hardly a celebration of romantic love. In 2 Corinthians 11:3 Paul invokes the deception of Eve by the serpent as the metaphor for all false teaching and heresy. Later Christian writers amplified this sentiment. Irenaeus (c. 135–140 to 202–203 CE) paralleled the disobedience of Eve with the obedience of Mary, the mother of Jesus. He describes Eve as "the cause of death for herself and all the human race." Tertullian (c. 160 to 240–250 CE) identifies all women as *Eves*: "You are the devil's gateway." Augustine of Hippo (354–430) similarly comments, "woman was given to man, woman who was of small intelligence and who perhaps still lives more in accordance with the promptings of the inferior flesh than by superior reason." And finally, John Chrysostom (c. 347–407; the archbishop of Constantinople) writes: "God in effect said to Eve, 'I made you equal in honor. You did not use your authority well, so consign yourself to a state of subordination.'" (All translations are from Clark 1990.)

CLERICAL HIERARCHY AND CELIBACY

Ignatius of Antioch, (d. 98–117), confirmed a three-tier model of church hierarchy—bishop, presbyter (later translated priest), and deacon—where the bishop was the sole authority of the community. In book VI.43 of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 339) reports that the church in Rome in the mid-third century included many additional offices such as subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, and readers. Also in the third century women and men who had chosen the ascetic or virginal life began to live in monastic communities that were organized under the unquestioned authority of abbesses and abbots, respectively. Nevertheless, women's exclusion from the church hierarchy had already begun to be formulated in the second century. In 476, six decades after the first sack of Rome in 410, the barbarian Odoacer deposed the last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus. This date usually marks the beginning of the medieval period, although the eastern Byzantine empire lasted until the fifteenth century. By the sixth century the primacy of the bishop of Rome, as pope, was established. Three centuries later, a learned woman named Joan, who lived as a man, would transgress these growing clerical restrictions by being elected Pope John VIII. Her pontificate allegedly lasted from 856 to 858 before her true identity was discovered. It is also alleged that after her reign, papal candidates were physically examined to confirm their sexual identity.

Beginning in the eleventh century Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085) imposed great ecclesiastical reforms including the mandatory celibacy of all clergy. This meant that married priests were required to leave their families to live in common, sex-segregated communities. The women and children were left to fend for themselves—children were declared *slaves* and deemed to be the property of the church, a fate that would later apply to wives and concubines as well. It is also in this time that the authority of the abbess was supplanted by the authority of the male priest. Whereas clerical celibacy had been addressed as early as the Spanish Council of Elvira (295–302), it was not until the Council of Trullo (692) that bishops were required to separate from their wives and remain celibate upon consecration. This council also prohibited priests and deacons from marrying *after* ordination, which is still the practice of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The Second Lateran Council (1139) prohibited marriage and prescribed celibacy for all ordained men in the Western church.

MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The eleventh century saw the proliferation of monastic orders and the reappearance of anchorites, women and men who lived reclusively, sometimes walling themselves up in cells built against church walls with small windows to receive food and to speak with outsiders. In 1098 Robert of Molesme founded the religious order of Citeaux, the Cistercians, which sought to return to strict Benedictine practice. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) founded over 160 European monasteries, and further developed the Cistercian Order. In the thirteenth century mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, were founded. Clare of Assisi (1194–1253), a devout follower of Francis of Assisi (1181 or 1182–1226), founded a women's monastery based on the practice of total poverty and was declared abbess in 1216 at the convent of San Damiano. It is estimated that more than 10,000 women looked to her as a spiritual leader.

At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) confined women to two life choices, marriage or the cloistered convent. He also prohibited the founding of any new religious orders, male or female, and sought to impose the Benedictine rule on existing orders. Both Francis and Clare had to fight against this ruling and were successful. Other groups, both male and female, rejected this papal decree. One female group was the Beguines, a group of religious women in Belgium, France, Germany, and northern Italy in the early thirteenth century. They were "at the centre of a medieval conflict about the role of women." (Malone 2002, p. 124). These women lived in small groups, professed chastity, and ministered to the sick and poor. They were officially condemned as heretics in 1312, and many were burnt at the stake. The Poor Men of Lyons, or Waldensians, founded about 1173, were another group that practiced poverty and rejected the teaching authority of priests as their members were not ordained. They were eventually condemned as heretics by Pope Lucius III in 1184, and many likely died in the crusade against the Albigensians of 1208.

CONSOLIDATION OF PATRIARCHY

Scholars such as Karen Jo Torjesen associate the enforcement of clerical celibacy with a concurrent "demonization of female sexuality" literally to keep men celibate (Torjesen 1993, p. 224). In 1486 two German inquisitors published the *Malleus maleficarum* [The hammer of witches], which explicitly links women's sexuality with the demonic ability to control sexual acts generally, and the male sex organ specifically. It is estimated that a million women lost their lives to the witch craze that followed. The final event of note for this survey is also from the fifteenth century. Joan of Arc was accused of heresy, blasphemy, and wearing male clothing, and was burned at the stake in Rouen on May 30, 1431. Twenty-five years later she was absolved of all charges against her because of "manifest errors of fact and of law," among other reasons, and was much later canonized a saint by Pope Benedict XV on May 16, 1920. Her experience eerily mirrors the paradox of the inquisitor's techniques concerning women and men condemned as heretics. Exoneration was often possible only through death. As such, this survey has come full circle. The attitudes about sex and gender expressed in the New Testament culminate in the Inquisition, and in the early twenty-first century they continue to dictate Christian attitudes about women's ordination, gay and lesbian unions, and gender. That the canonical gospels preserved Jesus as ostensibly a celibate male continues to have ramifications for both women and men.

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CHRISTIANITY, REFORMATION TO MODERN

Christianity originated in Palestine in the Middle East and spread within the first century east as far as Persia, into Egypt and North Africa, and across the northern Mediterranean to Spain. During the next three centuries Christianity moved into northern Europe to Britain and Ireland, as well as eastward as far as China. Christianity also progressed north into Central Europe and became the primary religion of the Slavic and Russian peoples. The rise of Islam in the seventh century caused the gradual retreat of Christianity into small enclaves in the Middle East, Central Asia, and North Africa, when many Christians became Muslims. In India and the Far East, Hindu and Buddhist societies limited the spread of Christianity.

The new wave of European expansion and colonization of the world in the sixteenth century brought Christianity, mostly Roman Catholic, to Latin America. Protestants from Britain and Western Europe came to North America, along with Catholic and Orthodox groups from Ireland and southern and eastern Europe. Missionary work, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, spread Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa beginning in the nineteenth century. In the early-twenty-first century there are 2.38 billion Christians throughout the world, a third of the people on earth. The 569 million Christians in Europe are often more nominal than practicing. In Latin America, the 500 million Christians are mostly Roman Catholic, but many practice a folk Catholicism based on pilgrimages and devotion to saints. Evangelical Protestantism is growing in that region. Christianity is expanding fastest in Africa with 377 million adherents in Roman Catholic, Protestant, and indigenous churches. In Asia, there are 322 million Christians but they constitute less than 10 percent of the population. Only the Philippines, colonized by Spain, has a Christian majority. North America has 262.7 million Christians of diverse denominations, 87 percent of the population.

CHRISTIANITY AND SEX AND GENDER ISSUES IN PATRIARCHAL SOCIETIES

Christianity was born into patriarchal societies, both Jewish and Greco-Roman, in which a woman was seen as wife and mother, preferably one who produced male children, but was excluded from political leadership and participation in higher culture. Christianity's main modification of this tradition was the adoption of celibacy as the ideal Christian lifestyle for men and women. Christians were urged to eschew marriage and reproduction to prepare themselves for heaven where they would "neither marry or be given in marriage" (Luke 20:35). This preference for the celibate life, in which men lived in male communities and women in female communities, had an ambivalent effect on the image and aspirations of women. For many celibate women, it meant liberation from enforced patriarchal marriage and serial pregnancies. Female communities also offered the possibility of travel (pilgrimage), the opportunity to study religious texts, and the ability to live a life of religious self-transformation.

Male elites soon dominated the Christian hierarchy, even though women preached and held leadership positions in the in the earliest churches. Celibacy was joined to priesthood for men, while women were excluded from ordained ministry. Male priests and monks looked at all women as dangerously sexual, to be strictly confined to the cloister, for nuns, or to the home. Influential bishops and theologians, such as St. Augustine (354–430), believed that celibacy was the ideal Christian life for men and women. Sex was allowed only within marriage and only for the purpose of reproduction. Any sex for pleasure, even within marriage, was sinful and equivalent to fornication.

Augustine believed that women were created by God to be under male dominion. Women had subverted that dominion in the Garden of Eden by tempting the male to disobey God. Women were the cause of the fall of humanity and entrance of sin into the world. Thus women should be punished by the coercive imposition of male rule in the family and in the church, and should interiorize this subjugation. Only after death would the hierarchy of male over female disappear, and sex roles would be no more. These became the dominant views of the Catholic Church regarding woman and sexuality through the Middle Ages; they continue into the early twenty-first century among traditionalist Christians.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE REFORMATION

These views on women, gender roles, and sexuality were not greatly changed in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. The main contribution of the Reformation was the abolition of celibacy for both men and women. But the rejection of women's preaching and ordination continued. Married men could now be ordained, but women lost their roles as abbesses, scholars, and teachers within female monastic communities. Protestants continued to believe that women were dangerous temptresses who were responsible for the fall of humanity and must be strictly controlled. Sex was primarily for reproduction, and birth control was not allowed, although there came to be more acceptance of sexual pleasure in marriage. Some Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries allowed the possibility of divorce for limited reasons, such as desertion and adultery (but not for wife beating).

The late medieval and Reformation periods also saw the outbreak of witch-hunting, in which hundreds of thousands were killed, mostly women. The persecution of women as witches was fueled by misogynist views of women as irrational, sexually insatiable, and hence prone to consort with the Devil.

In seventeenth century England, Quakers (the Society of Friends) believed that all humans were created equal in the beginning and that Jesus restored this equality. Women were the first witnesses to Jesus' resurrection and were commissioned to announce this *good news* to the male disciples. Thus only by accepting women's preaching and missionary roles do men also receive the good news. Quakers made women *public friends* or missionaries, as well as leaders in their own women's meetings.

These Quaker views of women's equality became more widespread in nineteenth-century United States. Several early Christian feminists were Quakers, including Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Lucretia Mott, and Susan B. Anthony. These Quaker feminists believed that women had been created by God to be man's equal partner, not his subordinate, and that sin and evil came about, not through female temptation, but through men seizing power over others to create systems of unjust domination, such as sexism and slavery. Church and society should be reformed to give women equal rights in society. This included higher education, entrance into professions, property rights, the vote, and legal status as equal citizens. These demands were carried forward by the women's movement into the twentieth century.

CHRISTIAN VIEWS INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Such views of women's equality, their rights to education, professions, and the vote also spread in Britain, across Europe and into Latin America, Asia, and Africa during the twentieth century. Secular liberalism, rather than progressive Christianity, became the primary vehicle for spreading ideas of women's rights. Many churches resisted equality for woman as contrary to church teaching. Modernization was identified with worldliness and an erosion of traditional religious values. Conservative Christians stereotyped feminism as secular and anti-God.

The nineteenth century was a century of greatly expanded missionary work for Protestant and Catholic churches. Missionaries were sent in large numbers to Africa and Asia to convert pagans to Christianity, while Protestants went to Latin America and the Philippines to make Catholics into Protestants. Catholic women mis-

Nineteenth-century Quaker feminists such as Lucretia Mott (pictured here) represent a first wave of feminist theology.

sionaries were mostly members of religious orders. Protestants also used women as missionaries, most often as missionary wives, but also in their own right.

European and North American women missionaries were seen as necessary to reach other women since many Asian and African cultures did not allow men access to local women. The work of conversion, education, and health initiatives for women had to be carried out by female missionaries. European and North American women missionaries played an ambivalent role in relation to women converts in many Asian and African societies. They were often bearers of Victorian ideas of the role of women. They sought to domesticate women as wives and housekeepers, and restrict the roles that women sometimes played in other societies as farmers, artisans, and merchants. Yet women missionaries also founded hospitals and schools for girls, from primary to college levels. Many Asian and African women converts got their first opportunities for education and entrance into professions in teaching and health care through these missionary-founded schools and hospitals.

Feminist theology represents the major effort within Christianity to reinterpret its traditions to overcome teachings that promote subordination and misogyny. Quaker feminists, such as Sarah Grimké and Lucretia Mott in the nineteenth century, represent a first wave of feminist theology. Such egalitarian views of Christianity were silenced in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but the late 1960s saw a new birth of feminist theologies.

In the early-twenty-first century, feminist theologies spread to diverse groups within North American, African American, Hispanic, and Asian Christian groups, and also to Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. These feminist theologies seek to contextualize their ideas in their distinct cultural and historical contexts, but all believe that women are equal to men in the image of God and that God can be imaged as a female as well as a male. They suggest the true message of Christianity is the liberation of women, and all people, from systems and ideologies of oppression.

Feminist theology has gone hand in hand with the spreading of women's ordination. A few women were ordained in the nineteenth century in liberal denominations, such as the Congregationalists, Unitarians, and Universalists. In the late 1950s to 1970s there was a new surge of women's ordination among Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Anglicans in the United States and Europe. In the early-twenty-first century most Protestants ordain women, except for very conservative groups, such as Missouri Synod Lutherans and some Southern Baptists. Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox Christians continue to reject women's ordination, although the issue is being debated in both churches.

Reproductive rights are a contentious issue in most Christian churches throughout the world. Birth control and abortion have been rejected by Christianity since its inception. In the 1950s liberal Protestants gradually accepted the use of artificial contraception. In the 1970s some liberal Protestants allowed the possibility of abortion in the early months of gestation in conflict situations where women would experience hardship, economic, psychological, or physical in bearing a child. The Roman Catholic hierarchy continues to strongly reject both abortion and birth control (although the rhythm method of natural family planning is allowed).

Abortion has become a central issue in the *culture wars* in the United States and many other countries, with traditionalist Christians rejecting abortion and some also forbidding artificial contraception, while liberals seek to defend legal access to these rights. Many feminists, secular and religious, see the main issue not as a general valuation of life, but as the desire to control women's sexuality and women's lives. Because there is little cultural or legal interest in supporting lives of children after birth, any extreme emphasis on the absolute value to life in the early stages of insemination, even stem cells, seems largely a question of power and control.

Christianity is not solely misogynist, only teaching women's inferiority and subordination; nor is it primarily liberating to women. Rather, like most religions, it contains a mixture of traditions that can be interpreted in either way. This dichotomy leads to deep conflicts over the definition of women's sexuality and social roles and divides Christians, often in the same churches.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism.*

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CIRCUIT PARTY

A circuit party is a large professionally produced public dance party attended primarily by gay men that lasts all night and into the next day. Beginning in the early 1980s as AIDS benefits and drawing some of their inspiration from rave culture, circuit parties have become progressively more elaborate since their inception—generating affiliated events that sometimes stretch over two or three days, attracting corporate sponsorship, and spawning commercial imitations. Among the oldest and best-known circuit parties are White Party Week in Miami, Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras in Sydney, the Black and Blue Festival in Montreal, and White Party Palm Springs. These events, along with some two dozen others, form the basis for "The Circuit," a series of parties that spans the globe and continues throughout the year. Gay men who attend several of these events each year often refer to themselves as "circuit boys."

During the mid- to late 1990s, circuit culture began to draw criticism both within and outside the gay community for promoting the use of recreational drugs such as ecstasy and methamphetamine and for contributing to the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. Supporters of the phenomenon, however, argue that circuit parties serve a vital function for gay men, providing a sense of community and a celebration of gay identity. Reaching their peak at the end of the 1990s, circuit parties have begun to decline in attendance and popularity since then, possibly because of the increasing cost, the aging of the original generation of circuit boys, and changing tastes among younger gay men.

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CIRCUMCISION, MALE

Three out of every twenty males throughout the world are circumcised. The operation varies from place to place, but circumcision always involves the removal of some or all of the foreskin of the penis. In one way or another male circumcision is always concerned with the assertion of masculine as opposed to feminine gender. People in different countries, however, may give other reasons for doing it. These may include the celebration or marking of birth, membership of an ethnic or religious group, or mature status in the community. Circumcision may also be a symbolic equivalent to sacrifice, or it may be associated with hygiene or cleanliness.

Sixth dynasty paintings in Egypt indicate that circumcision was performed some 4,500 years ago. The fifth-century BCE Greek historian Herodotus remarks that the Egyptians differed from most other peoples because they performed the operation. Some of Egypt's neighbors, such as the Syrians, had also adopted the practice. Those neighbors presumably included the Hebrews.

Forms of circumcision are (or were) found among contemporary Jews for whom it is prescribed, among Muslims for whom it is strongly preferred, among the majority of males in the United States, among Australian aborigines such as the Aranda, among many but by no means all peoples in sub-Saharan Africa, and in many Asian and Polynesian societies. It is very uncommon among Christians in northern Europe and among native peoples in North and South America.

Some groups in tropical Africa that practice male circumcision also circumcise females by removing part or all of the clitoris, and sometimes by removing part or all of the labia minora. Female genital cutting (as it is now more commonly described) rarely occurs in the absence of male circumcision.

SOCIAL AND TEMPORAL CONTEXT OF MALE CIRCUMCISION

The timing of the operation is variable depending on its function (as a marker of birth or otherwise as a symbol of impending or actual physical and/or social maturity). North Americans might associate circumcision with birth because it is usually performed within a few days thereafter whether by Jewish *mohels* (circumcisers) or by doctors in a hospital. Zoroastrians have it performed by doctors shortly after birth, while the infant is still in the hospital. The Igbo and Yoruba of Nigeria and the Merina of Madagascar also perform circumcision during the first few weeks of the infant's life. Muslims circumcise in childhood, sometimes between the ages of four and seven, but at a later age (about twelve) among groups who insist that a boy learn the Qur'an before circumcision. In all other cases circumcision takes place during adolescence or early manhood. In African societies such as the Ndembu of Zambia a number of youths of varying ages are usually circumcised together every few years because the resources needed to put on a ceremony, including food and drink, may be scarce. Accordingly the description of such ceremonies as "puberty rites" is not entirely accurate.

Victor W. Turner, who did anthropological fieldwork among the Ndembu of Zambia in the 1950s, has provided the most extended account of any circumcision ceremony in the anthropological record (Turner 1962). Ndembu describe the foreskin as the female part of the male, which must be removed by circumcision. Ndembu youths are circumcised by the *mudyi* tree whose white, milky sap symbolizes milk, motherhood, matriliny (Ndembu inherit from their mother or mother's brother), the social order, purity, and virtue. They are symbolically imbued with the qualities of purity, order, and virtue while being literally and metaphorically separated from their former femininity. Their wounds are tended by their fathers and by the young men who are their guardians. They spend six weeks in seclusion with the guardians as their instructors and are visited by the elders in the guise of ancestors. They learn the norms and lore of the community. Women prepare food for them but are not allowed near them. After six weeks, their return to the community as mature men is celebrated. The rite therefore separates boys from the maternal tie, links boys to the male ancestors, teaches them important traditions, and affirms positive social values. It also hardens them by subjecting them to an ordeal—although Turner does not stress this function as much as other writers on initiation rituals.

Among other peoples both in Africa and in other continents where circumcision is performed at birth, ideas of gender separation, gender identity, and fertility may nonetheless be present, but there is obviously less concern with separation from the mother on whom the child will depend for many years.

It is worth noting that although both Jewish and Ndembu circumcision may be described as "rites of passage," a term that presumes religious meaning, circumcision varies in the significance attached to it. The Dogon of Mali and the Merina of Madagascar view the circumcision ritual as important and account for its importance and necessity through origin myths. In some Polynesian communities, however, the approach is more casual. Ritual and mythical elaboration are lacking. In Tahiti, a group of young boys would seek out an operator. There was no grand rite at which the elders presided.

THE ACTUAL OPERATIONS

Circumcision proper (as opposed to superincision and subincision) involves the removal of part or all of the two layers of foreskin or prepuce that cover the glans when the penis is not erect. Jewish circumcision involves the removal of the entire foreskin and the mucus membrane in an operation called *periah*.

Superincision is found in many Polynesian societies such as Tikopia and Tahiti. The dorsal (top) skin of the penis is stretched by insertion of a piece of wood and a cut is made in the foreskin. It is not removed but rather hangs down on either side of the exposed glans.

Subincision involves the slitting of the underside of the penis. The cut may be deep enough to expose the underside of the urethra so that it becomes difficult for the initiate to urinate in a standing position. Australian aboriginal peoples commonly practiced subincision. In the 1890s Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen described the initiation ceremonies of the Aranda of central Australia, which involved both circumcision and subincision. The psychoanalyst Bruno Bettelheim (1954) attributed this rite and other procedures that involve a great deal of bleeding on the part of males to male envy of female menstruation and fertility. In 1967 Philip Singer and Daniel E. Desole developed an ingenious explanation for the custom. The penis of kangaroos is bifid, or split. Male kangaroos have prolonged erections and are icons of fertility; hence men attempt to imitate them. Perhaps the importance of this imaginative theory is that it illuminates how very little is known about why different people adopt different forms of circumcision and why most cultures that do not possess the rite adopt other procedures (or no procedure at all) to mark birth and adolescence.

WHEN CIRCUMCISION IS NOT CARRIED OUT

In cross-cultural terms circumcision is only part of the picture. There are other forms of genital modification, temporary or permanent, that accompany adolescence. These include the wearing of penis wrappers (perhaps following circumcision), sheaths, and gourds. Among some New Guinea peoples the penis may be bled either by applying a thorn to the surface or by inserting something in the urethra. The tongue may also be bled. Ritual nose bleeding and the wearing of nose plugs and bones placed through the nasal septum may accompany initiation.

As these examples illustrate, not all changes accompanying initiation or birth involve genital modification, although some people in Melanesia as well as anthropologists and followers of Sigmund Freud may see the nose as a sexual symbol. The Belgian folklorist Arnold van Gennep, in his 1909 book, *The Rites of Passage*, remarked that it was a pity that the Jews chose to circumcise rather than to perforate the nasal septum. He was inclined to see all changes to the body and its appurtenances as abstract symbols of status change, so that for him removing a finger, shaving hair, and tearing clothing as signs of mourning were rites of a similar type to circumcision. Christians who do not practice infant circumcision do practice baptism. Plains Indian initiation may involve fasting and the arduous vision quest, but there is no circumcision. It should be noted that both male and female circumcision do seem to occur in societies with strongly gendered social systems, but many such societies do not practice circumcision.

JEWISH CIRCUMCISION AND CHRISTIAN REACTIONS TO IT

According to chapter 17 of the book of Genesis, God ordered Abraham to circumcise himself and his son Ishmael and to commence circumcising all male infants after eight days as a sign of the exclusive covenant between God and the Jews. The Jewish philosopher Maimonides (1135–1204) remarked that the custom indeed served as a badge of ethnic distinction. It was commonly believed that circumcision reduced sexual desire and channeled both male and female fertility.

St. Paul and the early Christians felt that membership in God's church need not be inscribed on the body. There could instead be "circumcision of the heart." Christians gradually came to view circumcision as a sign of depravity rather than holiness, and a variety of virulent anti-Semitic myths employed the circumcised penis as a sign of sexual abnormality.

In his 2005 book, *Marked in Your Flesh*, Leonard B. Glick remarks that in the nineteenth century a few Reform Jewish writers, influenced by the Enlightenment, saw circumcision as an irrational act and advocated its replacement and abolition. A minority of Reform Jews ceased to circumcise their male children. Most Jewish scholars, however, continued to defend tradition and also insisted that circumcision was a hygienic practice.

At the same time, a number of gentile doctors in North America began to advocate circumcision. It was thought to prevent infection, because the foreskin produces a lubricant (smegma) that can be a source of infection if proper hygiene is not maintained. Circumcision was said to prevent masturbation, which was thought to be a desirable aim. It was also thought on the basis of dubious evidence to prevent a substantial number of physical and mental diseases. In the first few decades of the twentieth century evidence accumulated that circumcision might prevent cancer of the penis and cancer of the prostate. By the 1960s most male infants in the United States and Canada were circumcised in hospitals. Since 1999 some insurance companies and Medicaid schemes in sixteen U.S. states have withdrawn funding for circumcision because there is uncertainty about its medical benefits.

CONTROVERSIES IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Since the mid-1970s the practice of female circumcision, which occurs in twenty-eight African countries and more rarely in parts of Indonesia and the Arabian peninsula, has been attacked as a patriarchal human rights violation. There has been less controversy over male circumcision, but its opponents believe that it is every bit as harmful and reprehensible. Scholars opposing circumcision include Ashley Montagu (1995) and the aforementioned Glick, both Jewish anthropologists, and Sami A. Aldeeb Abu-Sahlieh (2006), a Palestinian law professor. They claim that infants suffer great pain at circumcision and are frightened and traumatized. A few hundred die from the operation each year in the United States. Sexual enjoyment and potential are permanently damaged. The medical benefits of the procedure are subject to doubt: Modern hygiene can prevent infections of the foreskin; cancer of the penis is very rare even among the uncircumcised; rates of prostate cancer have nothing to do with circumcision.

It has been noted by some that AIDS rates among the Luo of Kenya who do not practice circumcision appear to be higher than among neighboring groups such as the Kikuyu who circumcise. There has been dispute over claims in a detailed 2005 study by Bertran Auvert and colleagues that circumcision reduced the risk of AIDS infection by 61 percent among three thousand previously uncircumcised heterosexual, young adult males in South Africa. Opponents of circumcision have claimed that the methodology of the study was flawed and noted that circumcision was no substitute for the use of condoms as prophylaxis.

Supporters of circumcision are likely to point to the role supposedly played by the foreskin as a conduit for infection and to use studies such as Auvert's to advance their case. Groups such as the Gilgal Society, which defend circumcision for religious or medical reasons, continue to insist that children do not suffer, may sleep through the surgery if it is performed in early infancy, and do not remember it later on. They insist that no medical harm results. Those who defend circumcision as a religious duty insist that God would not have prescribed a practice that did not benefit humanity.

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CIRCUS AND FAIR

Transgression of gender norms and sexual propriety was practically inherent to the culture of the fair or carnival, and to a lesser extent, strongly present in circus performances. Traveling carnivals originated in European medieval trade fairs, and developed during the early modern period, adding theater performances along public thoroughfares, such as the French *théâtre de la foire* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and displays of human oddities (Semonin 1996). By the nineteenth century a wide array of shows and single acts constituted programs of public entertainment that traveled to towns and cities, including, by the end of the century, food concessions, rides, games of chance, theaters, fun and horror houses, menageries, and even small circuses (Nickell 2005). In many countries, the fair or carnival became a beloved form of popular public entertainment, gradually losing some of its fascination toward the end of the twentieth century, although it remains alive in the early twenty-first century in county fairs all over the United States and in beach towns like Coney Island in Brooklyn, New York, or Old Orchard Beach in Maine. The circus, which can overlap with the carnival but has a different performance syntax and its own acts, such as clowns or equestrian acrobats, was born in the late eighteenth century in England and in Italy. It became a dominant form of entertainment in the United States, imported in 1793 from Britain as *the rolling show*, and by the late nineteenth century developed into what some scholars refer to as "the culture of the Big Top" (Davis 2002).

BODIES ON DISPLAY

Carnival and circus acts push the body beyond predictable, familiar physical constraints and, through the performance of skill and strength, test the limits of danger. Women performers captured the attention of audiences with daring horse-riding acrobatic acts and perilous exercises on the tightrope or flying trapeze, or by entering the lions' cage and taming ferocious beasts, or by weightlifting and wrestling. Bearded ladies jolted assumptions about the sexed wholeness of the body, normalcy, and the relationship of sex and gender. To compensate for the masculine beard, these women followed a strategy of self-presentation in publicity and photographs that stressed feminine clothing, female needle skills, marriage, and motherhood. For example, bearded ladies Annie Jones (1865–1902), Jane Barnell (aka Lady Olga, 1871–?), Madame Devere (1842–?), Baroness de Barcsy (1866–1925), and Grace Gilbert (1880-1925) all presented themselves in elegant feminine attire (Nickell 2005, Hartzman 2005). Tattooed women were displayed as exotic pictures, their completely decorated body both underlining and concealing nudity in a deeply erotic, but non-normative performance (Mifflin 1997). Male sideshow and trapeze acts could also challenge the boundaries of gender, with ambiguous body contours and gestures, the cultivation of grace and delicacy, or blurred gendered features, complicating sexual binaries.

The marginal, at times even "queer," associations of the carnival and circus were countered by entrepreneurs who stressed gender norms, family life, and a normal business environment. The U.S. circus skillfully manipulated tensions between the attraction power of the bold, risk-taking, new woman, while carefully reinscribing her into conventional feminine sartorial and gestural programs. Nudity was both exploited and hidden—by covering the female performers of *tableaux vivants* (living pictures) with body paint that emphasized contour but hid flesh, carefully controlled to be made "respectable" (Davis 2002). Such contrasts, between strength and daring and the ultrafeminine revealing clothing, were a mainstay of female circus acts.

EROTICISM AT THE FAIR

In turn-of-the-century France, carnivals regularly included Oriental-themed palaces where dancers—presented as avatars of an eponymous "Belle Fatma" or beautiful Fatma, a generic, stereotypical, "Oriental" dancer, usually French-born—regaled spectators with a safe, exotic spectacle of the "Other," through suggestively veiled bodies and sexually charged dances (Çelik and Kinney 1990). This feature of French fairgrounds and amusement parks was ubiquitous, reproduced in music-halls, such as the late-1880s Moulin Rouge in Paris (Oberthür 1994). The Parisian theme, in turn, in the United States, was the source of a whole industry of exotic attractions, and entertainment entrepreneur Frank Bostock (1866–1912) presented his early-twentieth-century exhibits entitled "Gay Paree" or "Moulin Rouge," advertised in brochures as "the sensation of London, the rage of Paris—with Parisian dancing girls and Mirza the queen," that fit into the girl-show genres of the carnival midway. The post–World War II fair in North America maintained an overt sexual component, through revues, shows with chorus girls and strip-tease acts, accompanying state-of-the-art musical performers of black music in particular (Stencell 2002).

In the United States the famous showman P. T. Barnum (1810–1891) created a special kind of museum to exhibit human wonders, along with other departures from natural norms. In France the equivalent was the "Musée Dupuytren" and its ilk, usually located inside the fair or midway. These museums were built on an array of shocking displays, eliciting fear, revulsion, and fascination among viewers, especially through highly visible sexual content. Mummified body parts and bodies in the cases and jars of the *musée anatomique*, provided uncensored glimpses of sexual secrets; the exhibition of a human specimen labeled as foreign or exotic reduced the "Other" to a consumable, helpless product. In the 1920s French poet Pierre MacOrlan (1883–1970) wrote about fairs from the turn of the twentieth century, describing displays of grotesquely deformed female organs made of wax and covered with the marks of syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases (MacOrlan 1929).

The secreting-away of an exhibit behind heavily drawn curtains could work up viewers' prurient curiosity about the forbidden, promising access to undisclosed sexually illicit displays against an entrance fee of only a few cents extra (Nickell 2005, Stencell 2002). These secrets, once revealed, were simply puns or practical jokes, not remotely resembling the sensational revelations promised.

Fair organizers in turn of the twentieth century Europe were attacked for promoting sleazy sexuality and for favoring actual sex traffic in the alleys and shanties of the fairgrounds. In France, as in Germany (Otterman) moral conservatives periodically led politically motivated campaigns against the fairs and their alleged depravity (Rearick 1985). In 1929 a French journalist attacked the presentation of shows not suitable for children such as "The Mystery of Woman" or "The Well of the Parisian Woman" (Plessis 1929). Others, at the turn of the century, had charged that some erotic fair booths like the "Temple de l'Amour (temple of love), the "Salon de la Belle Amande (beautiful Amanda's salon), and the Palais de Phryné, (the palace of Phrynea—Latin poet Horace's promiscuous lover) were dens of prostitution. These booths were decorated with suggestive photographs and equipped with reflectors and enlarging lenses that allowed spectators to see the reproduction of tableaux from the salons, and they also had adjoining private rooms (Gallici-Rancy [1903?]).

The carnival midway's transgressive connotations continued well into the 1950s, through the presence of sex, eroticism, violent images and emotions, and the social marginality of many of its employees. Queer gender performances were found in North American *half-and-half* shows. These were impersonations of fake hermaphrodites by performers such as Albert-Alberta the man woman (1899–1963), who was actually a man, and maintained the claim to his dual sex—as well as being a native of France—until his death (Hartzman 2005), or the Great Omi, the Zebra man (1892–1969), married to a woman who emulated his zebra tattooing, wore lipstick and nail polish as well during his performances.

After the 1960s, the overtly sexual content of carnivals and fairs may have receded; according to Stencell, "Girl shows were leaving the midway just as go-go clubs, topless bars and hotel lounges with strippers flourished" (2002, p. 244). However, the overall picture seems more complex. English striptease revues, such as "Twisting the Nude," were still operating in the mid-1960s, and standard rides such as the "Skylift" or "The Looping" in Germany, Holland, and France, and even the United States, continued well after that, to exploit images of scantily clad women in suggestive poses on panels and sideboards. Sex shows endured, including the French "*Naturisme*" (nude) show painted by the prolific fairground artist Jacques Courtois, active in the late 1970s. Violent sexual images, inspired by cartoon and horror film motifs, were prevalent from the 1970s on, for instance with a scatological twist on the façade of Coney Island's Dark Maze (Weedon and Ward 2003). In the early twenty-first century, many carnivals and fairgrounds retain the voyeuristic or fetishistic erotic content of the past in the exterior and interior décor of booths and rides. At the same time, since the 1990s women performance artists have blended revue forms and nude or semi-nude dancing with shows infused with their own, less conventional, and less male-driven views of sexuality, for instance at the Coney Island Mermaid Parade (Essig 2005).

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

CIVIL WARS

SEE *War.*

CLEOPATRA

68 BCE–30 CE

Cleopatra VII Thea Philopator was a member of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the last pharaonic ruler of Egypt. The Ptolemies, descendents of the Macedonian general Ptolemy I (c. 366–283 BCE), had ruled Egypt for more than two centuries by the time of Cleopatra's birth. Cleopatra, an astute politician, attempted to resist the growing might of Rome by forming an eastern alliance with Mark Antony (c. 82–30 BCE). But her plans failed, and her death saw Egypt absorbed into the Roman Empire.

CLEOPATRA AND JULIUS CAESAR

Ptolemy XIII and his sister-wife Cleopatra VII came to the throne in 51 BCE. The relationship between the two quickly deteriorated, and in summer 48 BCE, Rome was forced to intervene to prevent civil war. Julius Caesar (r. 58–44 BCE) summoned Ptolemy and Cleopatra to Alexandria and, angered by Ptolemy's involvement in the murder of the Roman statesman Pompey (106–48 BCE), declared Rome's support for the queen. Cleopatra and Caesar spent the winter besieged in Alexandria. By the time Roman reinforcements arrived the following spring, the two were lovers. Defeated, Ptolemy XIII fled and drowned in the Nile.

Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Cleopatra, now married to her eleven-year-old brother Ptolemy XIV, was restored to her throne. In June 47 BCE, she gave birth to Caesar's son, Ptolemy Caesar (Caesarion, 47–30 BCE). Cleopatra and Ptolemy followed Caesar to Rome, returning to Egypt after Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE. Ptolemy died soon after and the three-year-old Caesarion became Ptolemy XV.

CLEOPATRA AND MARK ANTONY

Two men ruled the Roman World at that time: Octavian (later called Augustus, 63–14 BCE) controlled the western empire and Mark Antony controlled the east. Cleopatra allied herself with Antony and the two became lovers. In 40 BCE, Cleopatra gave birth to twins. But back in Rome, Antony was preparing to marry Octavian's sister, Octavia.

In 37 BCE Antony left Rome for Syria, where he sent for Cleopatra. Together they planned an alliance that would restore the Egyptian empire. Initially all went well, and Egypt regained some of its lost eastern territories. But the 36 BCE Parthian campaign was a disaster, and in 31 BCE, Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium. Cleopatra retreated to Alexandria and, as Antony set off for battle, locked herself in her mausoleum. Incorrectly informed that Cleopatra had committed suicide, Antony fell on his sword. He was taken back to Alexandria and died in Cleopatra's arms. Cleopatra committed suicide by either snakebite or by poisons on August 12, 30 BCE.

A FEMME FATALE?

Cleopatra's story was recorded by contemporary historians primarily interested in the lives of the Roman rulers. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* served as the inspiration behind William Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. Cleopatra's appearances on stage, page, and screen have led to her acceptance as the archetypal femme fatale. Contemporary images of Cleopatra, however, suggest that she was not an outstanding beauty. Her portraits may be split into two distinct groups: Whereas the Egyptian-style images show a traditional Egyptian queen, her classical portraiture shows Cleopatra in Roman dress and hairstyle. Perhaps most lifelike of all, her coins show a woman with a prominent nose and chin who looks determined rather than seductive.

SEE ALSO *Egypt, Pharaonic.*

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Joyce A. Tyldesley

CLITORIDECTOMY

SEE *Female Genital Mutilation.*

CLITORIS

The clitoris is a smooth round knob of tissue located just above the urethra at the opening of the vagina and is the major site of female sexual stimulation. The word *clitoris* comes from the Greek *kleitoris*, meaning "little hill" or "slope," or possibly *klei-eo*, meaning "to shut." It is sometimes referred to as "clit" in slang, a term that is also used derogatorily to describe a contemptible female. The French call the clitoris a *bijou*, meaning "jewel," the Russians call it a *pokhotnic*, meaning "lust," and the Tuamotuan people of Polynesia have at least ten different words for this sexual organ.

PHYSIOLOGY OF THE CLITORIS

Embryologically, the clitoris derives from the same tissue as the penis. The presence of the male hormone testosterone during early fetal development causes this tissue to differentiate into a penis, and the absence of the hormone causes the tissue to develop into a clitoris. Though both organs function to transmit and receive sexual sensation, the penis also contains the urethra, which provides the means for expelling sperm and urine from the body. As the sex researchers William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson (1966) point out, the clitoris's only known function is to give sexual pleasure to the woman.

The body of the clitoris consists of a shaft with a glans located at its distal end. Though the average clitoris is approximately 1 inch long and 1/4 inch wide, there is considerable variability in the size among women. There is no connection between the size of the organ and its sensitivity to sexual stimulation. The clitoris contains a rich network of nerve endings and is highly sensitive to both direct and indirect stimulation. Accordingly, during sexual activity, women often prefer indirect stimulation of the organ by stroking the clitoral hood or the mons, the fatty tissue above the clitoral area. Lubrication from the vagina, saliva, or personal lubricant products also helps to improve sensation on the glans by eliminating discomfort caused by direct friction on the sensitive tissue. Like its homologue the penis, the clitoris is composed of erectile tissue consisting of the corpora cavernosa, two spongy masses of tissue filled with numerous tiny blood vessels that become engorged with blood during sexual stimulation and cause the organ to enlarge. Physiologically, the process is similar to that of a penile erection in that the clitoris emerges away from the body, but because of its smaller size, this movement is not always obvious.

The clitoris is covered by a prepuce or clitoral hood (analogous to the male foreskin) that is a continuation of the skin of the upper portion of the labia minora. The clitoral glans (the visible and most sensitive aspect of the organ) may be revealed by parting the labia minora and retracting the hood (it is usually the prepuce that is pierced in what is often mistakenly called a clitoral piercing). Smegma, from the Greek word meaning "that which is wiped off," is a cheeselike secretion that often accumulates under the clitoral hood or around the clitoris and is formed by the deposit of local secretions and sloughed-off skin. It has no known physiological purpose and can sometimes become infected by microscopic organisms that form lumps under the prepuce, and these lumps can make sexual activity painful. This can easily be avoided by retracting the hood during bathing to wash off any accumulated material.

FUNCTION OF THE CLITORIS

During sexual stimulation (through direct genital contact or erotic psychological factors), the clitoris and its surrounding genital tissue experience myotonia (muscular tension or rigidity) and vasocongestion (the pooling of blood in the corpora cavernosa). The accumulation of blood causes the clitoris to swell and the nearby labia to flatten and spread, exposing the clitoris to stimulation. Masters and Johnson describe this early phase of sexual response as the excitement stage. As stimulation continues, the woman enters a plateau stage, an advanced state of arousal that immediately precedes orgasm and is characterized by further vasocongestion and swelling of the clitoris and other external genital organs. As a result, the clitoris shortens and withdraws beneath the clitoral hood. This is sometimes mistaken as a sign of diminished arousal, but in fact it is a physiological manifestation that the woman's sexual response is increasing. Orgasm, the next stage, follows soon after and provides a release of sexual tension. Climax is marked, on average, by three to fifteen contractions or pulsations that occur at close intervals. During the final or resolution stage, the orgasm triggers the release of the pooled blood in the clitoris and other engorged areas. Within five to ten seconds following sexual climax, the clitoris returns to its normal, unaroused state. Though the clitoris may remain sensitive to further stimulation immediately following this resolution, women, unlike men, do not experience a refractory period when they are incapable of experiencing another orgasm. As a result, if sexual stimulation continues, women can become aroused again and achieve multiple orgasms. When orgasm does not occur after arousal, sexual tension gradually diminishes as pooled blood slowly leaves the clitoris and other genital areas.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BELIEFS ABOUT THE CLITORIS

Freudian psychoanalytic theory describes two types of female orgasm: the clitoral and the vaginal. Clitoral orgasms were believed to result from direct clitoral stimulation (such as with masturbation) and were symptomatic of childhood fixation. Vaginal orgasms, achieved through coitus, were thought to signal the passage of the woman to a mature sexuality. Masters and Johnson, who monitored women's sexual response, later refuted this theory. Their findings suggested that female orgasm involves the same physiological events whether the stimulation is clitoral or vaginal. They did note, however, that orgasms achieved through masturbation (especially of the clitoris) were frequently more intense than those reached through coitus alone. This may be the result of the indirect stimulation of the clitoris during coitus (as the thrusting of the penis causes the clitoral hood to move back and forth over the clitoris). Other researchers suggest that there may be three categories of female orgasm—vulval, uterine, and blended—and that the source of stimulation (whether clitoral or vaginal) is not a determining factor in the type of climax.

In the early nineteenth century, physicians used to treat hysteria, a condition named for the Greek word for uterus, *hystera*, by manually stimulating the clitoris until the woman reached a cathartic release. One enterprising doctor devised a mechanical vibrator to give his fingers a rest and to speed up the time necessary for treatments. Clitorectomies, the surgical removal of the clitoris, were performed in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to cure chronic masturbation or promiscuity in women. Clitorectomies and clitoralplasties (surgical reduction of the clitoris) continue to be performed even into the early twenty-first century in cases in which an infant girl is born with a prominent clitoris, even when there is no other indication other than aesthetic.

In many African and Middle Eastern cultures, especially in Muslim countries including Indonesia, young girls undergo a circumcision that may involve the nontherapeutic surgical removal of portions or all of the external genitalia, including the clitoris, the clitoral hood, and labia (a procedure that would correspond to the removal of the penis as well as other external genitalia in males). Female circumcision also may involve sewing the opening to the vagina closed, leaving only a very small hole for urine and menses to exit the body. Though the practice may have originated in ancient efforts to improve genital hygiene (perhaps by eliminating or reducing the amount of accumulated smegma under the prepuce), there is no medical indication for female circumcision. Nevertheless, the procedure is widely practiced, with roughly 100 to 140 million women having undergone the procedure and an additional two million females circumcised each year. Various groups, including Amnesty International and the World Health Organization, condemn the practice as female genital mutilation (FGM), the most common form being the excision of the clitoris and the labia minora.

Proponents of female circumcision defend the practice, citing the following as deeply held beliefs:

1. It is a traditional rite of passage for young girls into womanhood;
2. It maintains culturally mandated chastity and fidelity by suppressing sexual desire in women;
3. It improves a woman's fertility and survival of the fetus (despite medical evidence that it can interfere with both);
4. The practice is required by the Islamic faith (though female circumcisions were practiced prior to Islam).

While most female circumcisions (80%) are performed on young girls or infants, adult women voluntarily submit to the procedure because of societal beliefs that women with intact genitals are impure. Female genital mutilation may lead to medical consequences including shock, pain, hemorrhage, urine retention, and scarring. In addition, damage may result in urinary incontinence, sexual dysfunction, complications in childbirth, and psychological anxiety and depression.

By the twenty-first century, the clitoris has become a figure in the struggle for women's rights. One of the major focuses of this fight is the eradication of the practice of FGM, a controversial position that has generated counterclaims that efforts to ban female circumcision represents a Western condescension of traditional Islamic beliefs. Women's advocacy groups also assert that the clitoris has been neglected and misunderstood even by Western cultures for centuries, noting that the most important organ for female sexual sensation rarely receives more than a brief paragraph in anatomy or physiology textbooks. Further, they claim that young girls are culturally conditioned to deny their clitorises by well-meaning parents who teach their daughters that they have vaginas but omit the presence of the clitoris even though it is part of the external and visible genitalia. In addition, young girls are commonly taught to wear underpants at night, a practice that subliminally sends the message that the female genitalia is unclean and should not be touched.

SEE ALSO *Orgasm.*

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CLOSETS

Derived from the French *closet*, itself from the Latin word *clausum* (shut), the English word closet, meaning a private room, appeared first in the fourteenth century. Starting in about 1400, the meaning was extended to include any secret place, real or metaphorical (i.e., the closet of the conscience). A storage room, the common North American meaning, arose in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as did other specialized meanings, such as a room used for private devotion or a bathroom (water-closet). The phrase *closet-sins* can be found in seventeenth-century texts, while the phrase *skeleton in the closet* (a dark secret) did not appear until the mid-nineteenth century. The idea that a forbidden sexuality is the secret in the closet first appeared in the mid- and late-twentieth century, in phrases such as *to be in the closet* and *come out of the closet*, *closet queen*, and *closet case* (though probably the colloquial use of such phrases predates their use in written form). George Chauncey, in *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (1994), suggests that the social experience of closeting is largely a post-World War II phenomenon.

The closet was crucial to twentieth-century gay/lesbian politics, with coming out of the closet into visibility constituting the major strategy of gay liberation. While sociologist Steven Seidman argues in *Beyond the Closet* (2002), a study focused largely on the United States, that the closet no longer remains constitutive of lesbian/gay experience, almost all queer lives still begin within the closet of nuclear families (especially in Europe and North America) that assume the heterosexuality of their children, and coming out remains an integral part of most gay/lesbian/bi/trans lives.

The closet is central to queer theory, largely because of the work of critical theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990). Sedgwick analyzes the ways in which a late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Euro-American sexuality emerged and was shaped into the binarism of homo/heterosexuality. She shows how sexuality was (and remains) especially charged around questions of knowledge and ignorance, secrets and their disclosure. The closet is, for Sedgwick, a "curious space that is both internal and marginal to the culture: centrally representative of its motivating passions and contradictions, even while marginalized by its orthodoxies" (1990, p. 56). Related to Sedgwick's work is literary critic D.A. Miller's analysis in *The Novel and the Police* (1988) of the open secret, a secret generally known but unspoken.

While Sedgwick focuses on the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, she acknowledges that the specific attachment of epistemological questions to homosexuality is the culmination of a long Western association of sexuality with secrets and unspeakability. Saint Paul admonishes, "But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you" (Ephesians 5:3), and later Christian writers reiterate and elaborate this taboo. In the Middle Ages unnamability was closely attached to sodomy, as professor of religion Mark Jordan shows in *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (1997). A good deal of medieval and early modern scholarship—e.g., Karma Lochrie's *Covert Operations* (1998) and Richard Rambuss's *Closet Devotions* (1998)—has focused its attention on the construction of erotically charged closets.

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CLOTHING

Fashion is the primary framework through which human beings read and understand the concept of gender. Whereas the term *fashion* can be understood to mean clothing styles that change in swift succession (Johnson 2003), it is often used synonymously with the word *dress* to refer to an assemblage of modifications and supplements to the body, including such things as coiffed hair, painted skin, tattoos, garments, jewelry, and accessories (Roach-Higgins 1992) arrayed in a formal arrangement that "expresses the aesthetics and customs of a cultural period" (Schreier 1989, p. 2). According to Renaissance scholar Stephen Greenblatt (b. 1943) quoted in Christopher Breward's *The Culture of Fashion*, ties between the ideas of fashion and identity parallel "etymological changes in the word *fashion* itself: 'As a term for the action or process of making, for particular features or appearance, for a distinct style or pattern, the word had long been in use, but it is in the sixteenth century that the word *fashion* seems to come into wide currency as a way of redesigning the forming of a self'" (Breward 1995, p. 69).

SEX AND GENDER

The primary genders framed in fashionable dress in most of European and North American culture are masculine (heterosexual implied) and feminine (heterosexual implied). Scholars such as Marit K. Munson define other sexual identities, such as homosexual-male (gay), homosexual-female (lesbian), transsexual (either male to female or female to male), transvestites, drag queens, cross-dressers, and ceremonial assumption by men or women of symbols of the other as alternative genders (e.g., Munson 2000). Several of these categories are defined by their use of fashion as an expression of gender choice, as discussed by Cressida Heyes, who includes as transgender "gays, lesbians and straights who exhibit any kind of dress and/or behavior interpreted as 'transgressing' gender roles" (Heyes 2003, p. 1107). This article addresses mainly European and North American society and primarily with masculine and feminine differentiation.

GENDER AND FASHION STUDIES

The study of gender through dress has been concentrated within the historical and art–historical approaches, where it is often associated with developing feminist analysis of historical materials (Jones 2004, Grossinger 1997). Within the anthropological and sociological disciplines, the study of gender and dress often refers to *traditional* or indigenous and ceremonial wear and its meanings within that culture (Taylor 2002, Eicher 2001), but it also encompasses approaches combining the elements of multiple discourses, contradictions, and active production of meaning. Literary criticism also addresses issues of gender identification, as does women's studies. Finally, within the burgeoning field of fashion studies, the study of gender is often associated with how humans define themselves as *masculine* or *feminine* through the medium of clothing (Holliday 2001).

GENDER AS CHANGING SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

Throughout known human history men and women have distinguished themselves from one another using clothing and related forms of adornment. In each time and place and social structure, the complete appearance that constitutes masculine or feminine has been different—a social construct in its own right. These nuances of appearance are not always apparent to subsequent observers of these trends. For example, a twenty-first-century viewer might interpret the pink silk suit worn by a perfumed and made-up French courtier (male) of 1760 as effeminate or very feminine. Within the context of the eighteenth-century French court, however, such an outfit was an expression of masculinity, skillful understanding of court negotiation, and power. Whereas the color pink became associated with femininity sometime in the nineteenth century, a few vestiges of the earlier masculine association remain. One example is the pink polo shirt still commonly sold by men's clothiers such as LaCoste and Polo.

GENDER, DRESS, AND OCCASION

In her essay "Appearance and Identity," Valerie Steele points out that women tend to wear more clothing than men do on an everyday basis, expressing cultural ideals of modesty, but this paradigm shifts for ceremonial occasions, such as rites of passage, religious ceremonies, and warfare (Steele 1989a). In her work with the Kalabiri tribe of Nigeria, Joanne B. Eicher studies this idea in greater depth, comparing tribal practice for both daily and ceremonial wear with European and North American bridal practice (as expressed in *Brides* magazine). Her findings seem to support a general idea that ceremonial dress for women tends to focus on their sexual attributes (waist, breasts, back, and arms) whereas masculine ceremonial dress tends to emphasize power and wealth (employing more clothing and jewelry, not less) on such occasions (Eicher 2001).

THE PROGRESSION OF FASHION

Fashion as people think of it, with varied options, styles, and cyclical changes of features worn by members of the upper classes (with less expensive versions that trickle down to lower classes) began somewhere between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries in Europe. During the twelfth century both men and women wore floor-length robes with very similar cut and decoration. Noblemen could be distinguished by their long hair and beards. The contemporary ecclesiastical chronicler Vitalis described this style: "They parted their hair from the crown of the head to the forehead, grew long and luxurious locks like women, and loved to deck themselves in long, overtight shirts and tunics ... scarcely any knight appears in public with his head uncovered and decently shorn ..." (Tortora 1994, p. 93). Skirts might be slit front and back for riding horseback, and they often carried swords.

In contrast, women frequently would wear veils or caps. This theme of feminine head coverings continues through many eras. A further division in female status was often made between married and unmarried women. Generally, an unmarried woman might show some of her hair, whereas a married woman wore veils or caps. Untidiness or inappropriately loose hair on a married woman might be associated with immodest behavior, as demonstrated in this instruction by Menagier de Paris, an older man writing to his young wife in the late fourteenth century: "Take care first that the collar of your shift [underdress], and of your ... cotte [dress], and surcoat, do not hang out one over the other as happens with certain drunken, foolish or witless women, who have no care for their honor, nor for the honesty of their estate or of their husbands, and who walk with roving eyes and heads horribly reared up like a lion, their hair straggling out of their wimples [pieces of veil worn under the chin] ..." (Tortora 1994, p. 110).

A major shift in fashion silhouette and construction took place beginning in France and spread to the rest of Europe and England after 1340. Men and women left the long, loose garments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries behind and began to wear more tightly fit and carefully shaped clothing. For younger men this included garments in new, shorter popular lengths ranging from the knee to just below the crotch. Literature of the time marked the shape of a man's leg as a style point. For women concurrent styles remained long, but suddenly exposed neck, shoulders, and bosom. This trend for fitted garments may have developed from men's quilted armor padding, and required padding and elaborate fitting to produce the desirable barrel-chested shape of the era. Women's garments likewise were worn tight, and emphasized the waist and an expanded chest area. Garments for both men and women were fitted and shaped in ways that affected and created a new posture.

In the fifteenth century both men and women added voluminous robes over the fitted garments or cotes. Here again, women's clothes continued to be long, but shorter garments remained an option for men. Women's headdresses took a leap toward the fantastical; they are depicted as quite tall, often bifurcated, and frequently elaborately decorated, whereas men's remained somewhat simpler. Advice offered to the Lover in the contemporary *Roman de la Rose* (a popular poem of the time quoted in Breward's *The Culture of Fashion*) instructs a man to "dress well and wear good footwear, as your pocketbook permits. You should have a good tailor who knows how to sew fine stitches and make your sleeves well fitting. Wear fresh, new shoes quite frequently, so closely fitting that lower-class people will wonder how you got into them and how you will take them off. When you go out, carry gloves, a silk purse, and wear an attractive belt . . . Wash your hands, polish your teeth, and have no sign of dirt on your fingernails. Sew on your sleeves, comb your hair, but do not make use of any face makeup, which is for women only, or for sodomites" (Breward 1995, p. 23).

Note that these descriptions emphasizes appropriate attire for the station of both male and female, but with different traits celebrated in masculine (have a good tailor) and feminine (honesty of estate or of their husbands.) The same type of chivalric romance describing dress for the lover above is quoted describing the object of his passion thus: "She had blond hair finely curled. The eyes were gay and laughing, the face shapely, the nose high and well-placed. The lips were more red than a cherry or a rose [perhaps the impetus for the cosmetic enhancement eschewed for the Lover] . . . and her teeth were white and fine. She had breasts, hard, which lifted up her gown just as if they were nuts, she was slender about the waist so that one could enclose it in two hands. The daisies lying under the instep of her feet . . . were outright black compared to her feet and legs, so very white was the little girl" (Breward 1995, p. 32).

The middle of the fifteenth century saw the introduction of one of the most notoriously anatomical fashion accessories in the history of European and North American fashion. The codpiece began as a triangular piece of cloth fastened over the opening at the top of men's hose. It continued to develop, however. By the first decade of the sixteenth century, it had expanded into an oval or tubular protrusion over the wearer's crotch, often standing out from underneath men's short doublet skirts. As the sixteenth century progressed, it developed in size and prominence. It was usually decorated to coordinate with men's elaborate trunkhose, or the top part of men's leg coverings that were frequently paned, embroidered, and stuffed. Codpieces made of rich fabrics pulled though slashes in the base fabric for a multitextured effect are depicted frequently in portraiture in the second half of the sixteenth century. To put the codpiece in context with the rest of fashion, this era saw unprecedented artifice and shaping in clothing for both sexes. Men's clothes early in the century included tightly fitted lower hose, a skirted doublet fit tightly over the chest, and a gown with exaggerated broad sleeves, and evolved into a series of attenuated and artificially produced cone shapes by the century's end.

Women's clothes demonstrated similar artifice. Sometime in the early sixteenth century the corset, perhaps the most conspicuously fetishized female garment in European and North American fashion, developed from earlier fitted and shaped bodice styles. By the end of the sixteenth century women's clothes were even more extremely shaped than men's, with long rigid bodice fronts enforced by corsetry, low décolletage and long skirts padded to an extreme drumlike width at the hip.

Certain common characteristics between men and women's clothes, such as elongated bodice/doublet points, wide neck ruffs, and the wearing of tall, *masculine-styled* hats created a cultural anxiety about appropriate gender display. This was expressed by Puritan pamphleteer and poet Phillip Stubbes (1550?–1593?), writing in England in the mid-1580s: "Our apparell was given us as a signe distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex, & therfore one to weare the Aparel of another sex, is to participate with the same, and to adulturate the veritie of his own kinde" (Breward 1995, p. 93).

In the seventeenth century both men's and women's clothes had simplified, in both silhouette and embellishment. But the luxurious court of French king Louis XIV (1638–1715) at Versailles brought the return of rigidly shaped, elaborate styles for women and heavily embellished clothes for men. It also introduced more modern men's clothing in the form of jacket, vest, and loose short pants. It is from these pieces that men's iconic power garment, the three-piece suit, developed into a recognizable outfit. English King Charles II (1630–1685) brought this combination of vest and long coat with him when he returned to take the throne in England in 1666. The diarist Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) observed this change in fashion: "This day the King begins to put on his vest, and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers, who are in it; being a long cassock close to the body, of black cloth and pinked [cut] with white silk under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with a black riband like a pigeon's leg' and upon the whole I wish the King may keep it, for it is a very find and handsome garment" (Tortora 1994, p. 185).

As the seventeenth century progressed, greater association between women and fashion and frivolity developed. This trend began with further differentiation between the lives of men and women concurrent with the rise of urban environments (Breward 1995). Extending into the eighteenth century this trend fueled changes both for the workers in fashion industries, as well as the ideals of what men and women should wear. Breward discusses the sexual connotations of urban female fashion "ritualized and bound up in the follies of fashion, gratuitous consumption and entertainment" (Breward 1995, p. 102). By the eighteenth century the urban fashion business had evolved partly based on the evolving assumptions that women were essentially more interested than men in fashion and that fashion itself was inherently frivolous (Jones 2004). Fashion's very production began to bifurcate along gender lines, "shaped by rivalries between seamstresses, linen drapers, ladies' hairdressers and fashion merchants" (Jones 2004, p. 5). This shift represented a battle on the part of female seamstresses in Paris to make a livelihood independent from the male-run tailor's guild. The seamstresses used as a principle argument that "female seamstresses should make clothing for women and children because … it was consonant with female modesty to be dressed … by a woman" (Jones 2004, p. 82).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, both men's and women's clothing was elaborate, colorful, and multilayered. In the middle of the century, at its most extreme, well-to-do women wore corsets with elaborate hoops that extended their skirts many feet to the sides. Men's clothing retained the form of breeches, fitted vest, and long coat, while the breeches and vest moved from loose to formfitting. Both men and women of the upper classes wore pale colors, dramatic woven silks, and elaborate trimmings, as illustrated by an observer named Mary Granville in 1739: "The Duchess of Bedford's petticoat was green padusoy [sic], embroidered very richly with gold and silver and a few colours; … there was an abundance of embroidery, and many people in gowns and petticoats of different colours. The men were as fine as the ladies … My Lord Baltimore was in light brown and silver, his coat lined quite throughout with ermine" (Tortora 1994, p. 243).

Nineteenth-Century Costume Print of Two Women Strolling. *This image emphasizes the exaggerated trains that were popular in nineteenth-century dress.* © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS.

"THE GREAT MASCULINE RENUNCIATION"

By the end of the eighteenth century this similarity in color and embellishment between the dress of men and women had largely evaporated. Whereas men's dress of the early nineteenth century still appears quite colorful by late twentieth-century standards, it had simplified dramatically from the apparel worn by Lord Baltimore as described above. Speculation about causes for this shift has occupied many fashion theorists, most famously the psychologist J. C. Flugel (1884–1955). In his 1930 work *The Psychology of Clothes*, Flugel referred to the transformation of men's clothing between 1760 and 1795 from the colorful silks of the French Ancien régime(the social and political systems in place before the Revolution of 1789) to the soberer attire worn by men since the French Revolution as "The Great Masculine Renunciation." He described this event thus: "Men gave up their right to all the brighter, gayer, more elaborate, and more varied forms of ornamentation, leaving these entirely to the use of women, and thereby making their own tailoring the most austere and ascetic of the arts." He goes on to explain several reasons for this change in fashion, including, "[Men] henceforth aimed at being only useful. So far as clothes remained of importance to him, his utmost endeavors could lie only in the direction of being 'correctly' attired, not of being elegantly or elaborately attired" (Purdy 2004, p. 103). He ascribes the background of this change to the new social order dictated by the French Revolution, which demanded "a greater uniformity of dress, a uniformity achieved particularly by the abolition of those distinctions which had formerly divided the wealthy from the poor. … [The] change in question implied at the same time a greater simplification of dress, by a general approximation to more plebeian standards that were possible to all. This tendency to greater simplification was powerfully reinforced by a second aspect of the general change of ideals which the Revolution implied by the fact that the ideal of work had now become respectable. … [With the Revolutionary ideals] a man's most important activities were passed, not in the drawing-room, but in the workshop, the counting-house, the office-places which had, by long tradition, been associated with relatively simple costume" (Purdy 2004, p. 104).

Flugel's primary argument, that men no longer cared about being fashionably dressed, has been attacked in recent work by Breward, who uses examples from nineteenth-century trade publications to describe modish clothing for gentlemen at the turn of the twentieth century: "Far from conforming to the constraining dictates of renunciation, [fashionable dress] traced the demands of the social calendar as closely as the female wardrobe" (Breward 2001, p. 165). Both Steele and Breward explain this shift in fashion as a shift in fashionable definitions of masculinity: setting aside the ideal of an aristocratic courtier, not to a bank clerk, but to the ideal of an English country gentleman (Steele 1989b, p. 16). This shift away from French formality reflects English pastoral ideals and the development of North American culture, with its underlying antielitist themes. Within this evolving context masculine ideals shift focus to physical vigor enforced by the emerging technology of tailoring. Breward illustrates this new ideal by describing how the tape measure, a new garment construction tool, allowed tailors to "construct a unique cloth carapace … [using] published rules which presented systems of proportion as universal law [and] lent tailors the ability to fit a generalized pattern to anyone who desired it" (Breward 2001, p. 166).

Tailors themselves identified this new mechanical ability with humanistic ideals of art and philosophy. Dr. Henry Wampen, a German mathematician whose books on tailoring made a large impact on nineteenth-century tailoring methods, expressed it thus: "I took a great interest in art and philosophy, and a question was then much discussed whether the Grecian ideal of beauty was simply ideal or founded on a scientific basis. … I was induced to measure certain statues, and I came to the conclusion that the Grecian sculptors worked on a scientific basis …" (Breward 2001). Lest this seem far from the discourse of fashion, consider the text of a series of *Punch* cartoons of 1882, titled "Lost Illusions." These showed a male subject wearing sporting and formal wear commented on by an audience of potential female suitors. In the plate showing athletic wear, the gentleman "looked like a young Greek god, fresh from Olympus." In the formal wear plate, the same man dressed in a morning suit "looked for all the world like a commonplace young clerk." Later, the same subject models for an intellectual, who perceives that he looks "like a Greek god even in his every-day clothes!" (Breward 2001, pp. 173–174).

In fact, despite an increasing availability of goods and services, the rise of the department store (a public space designed particularly as a place for women to purchase clothing and accessories) and increasing differentiation between social roles for men and women, silhouettes worn by men and women in the 1840s and 1850s had some similarities. "Health and beauty in both sexes require that the chest should be thrown well forward, the shoulders carried back, the carriage erect, free and unconstrained," admonished a self-improvement book of 1845 (Kidwell 1989a, p. 127). The method by which men's and women's clothing achieved this silhouette was different, however. Women's sloping shoulders and narrow waists were achieved by corsets, petticoats, and strategically placed linens. Gentlemen's shapes were more often built in by tailors using careful cut and padding (Kidwell 1989a.) Whereas both men and women might wear fashionably narrow waistlines, descriptions of their bodies in contemporary literature focused on different aspects. The lacing in a man's trousers, which created that narrow waist, might instead be described as enhancing his breadth of shoulder, whereas any description of the fullness of a woman's skirts, in contrast to her corseted waistline, might be seen as showing off her small waist (Kidwell 1989a).

THE FRAGMENTATION OF FASHION

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, media culture has decentralized fashion categories, providing many more ways for individuals to express identity. The introduction of movies and then television have brought images of cultural icons to every small town that could put up a screen or receive a television signal. As the twentieth century progressed, these media came into use by more and more specific interest groups as marketers identified more differentiated target markets. Popular cable television shows, such as *Queer as Folks*, would have been unthinkable in the 1950s when media outlets tended to emphasize white heterosexual and family-oriented norms. This show maintained a healthy, if specific interest, market share in 2000.

Medical advancements allowing men and women to alter their gender status have continued to add categories to the gender continuum, and the World Wide Web has augmented this by providing infinite scope for discussion of the process. Scholarly observation and discussion has made the topic of gender expression somewhat self-conscious in practice: "Gender expression is thus not only an aesthetic choice about cosmetics or hairstyle, skirts or suits. It is also implicated in politically fraught behaviors, economic marginalization and exploitation and political consciousness" (Heyes 2003, p. 1111). Despite this complexity, fashion and dress practices are tightly bound into gender definitions and expressions and provide endless scope for further study.

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Elizabeth McMahon

COCK RING

SEE *Sex Aids.*

CODPIECE

A codpiece is a piece of fabric fashioned into a pouch used to cover and hold a man's genitals. The term is derived from the Middle English *cod,* meaning "bag" or "scrotum." Originally nothing more than a triangular piece of cloth tied at the three corners, the codpiece developed into an impressive, self-sustaining sartorial construction that soon shed its original utilitarian function to become an unabashed statement of masculinity and male ego.

The codpiece first appeared in Europe in the mid-fourteenth century when the hemline of men's tunics reached midthigh, placing the unprotected genitals at risk of exposure or discomfort. By the mid-fifteenth century, when hemlines reached the top of the thighs, the codpiece became both obligatory and swank. Codpieces were often constructed with fabric of contrasting color, elaborately embellished with bows, jeweled pins, and embroidery, or stuffed and slashed as fashion might dictate, all to draw attention to the male genitals. They could also serve as pouches for coins, kerchiefs, pins, and other paraphernalia. Codpieces also served as venues for male boasting and exhibitionism, and this naturally attracted the wrath of preachers and the derision of literary wits.

After its heyday in the 1530s and 1540s, when it was often sizable, loaf shaped, and protruding, the codpiece in the 1550s and 1560s began to wane in size and splendor, becoming smaller, more oval shaped, and set closer to the body, though it was still erect. By the 1570s to 1580s the codpiece disappeared completely behind the ample folds of the new male fashion for voluminous trunk hose, a victim of a changing political and cultural climate conditioned by the spread of the various religious reform movements, as well as by the presence on the throne—or immediately behind it—of powerful female figures such as Elizabeth I of England and Catherine de Médicis, which made such unabashed statements of virility and male sexuality rather unadvisable.

SEE ALSO *Clothing; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Konrad Eisenbichler

COITUS

Derived from the past participle of the Latin verb *coire*, meaning "to go" or "to come together," the term *coitus* indicates a specific act of sexual intercourse that also is known as coition or copulation. This "coming together" generally is understood in heteronormative terms as the penetration of a woman's vagina by a man's penis in a way that joins their bodies via their genitalia.

NATURE AND TYPES OF COITUS

During coitus the man and woman insert the erect penis into the vagina and then begin to move their hips repetitively in back-and-forth thrusting or rocking motions to create friction as the penis moves within the vaginal canal, thrusting until orgasm and/or penile ejaculation occurs. Penile-vaginal penetration and the joining of two bodies are the principal physical characteristics of coitus, distinguishing it from sexual acts such as genital petting, masturbation, and other nonpenetrative or solitary sex acts.

The term *coitus* may be modified to signify specific kinds of sexual intercourse other than penile-vaginal intercourse, such as coitus interfemoris, or femoral coitus, the thrusting of a penis between the closed thighs of a partner; intermammary coitus, the thrusting of a penis between the breasts of a partner; anal coitus, the penile penetration of a partner's rectum; and oral coitus, the stimulation of the genitalia by the mouth and/or tongue. Each of these modifications avoids the possibility of pregnancy as an outcome of sexual intercourse; this indicates that another standard characteristic of coitus has been an emphasis on human reproduction.

Coitus remains the primary means of human reproduction, yet men and women often engage in coitus for purposes of recreation, pleasure, and social, spiritual, or religious imperatives that may not include reproduction as the end goal of sexual intercourse. Because coitus is

Drawing of the Human Sexual Organs by Leonardo Da Vinci. **THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.**

engaged in for nonreproductive purposes, birth control is a regular consideration and possible concern for sexually active men and women. Historically, the most common methods of birth control have been coitus interruptus (the withdrawing of the penis before ejaculation) and coitus reservatus (the delaying or suppressing of ejaculation), although coitus reservatus also is associated with male and female sexual pleasure; for example, it is endorsed in Tantric teachings as a method of increasing a man's psychosexual energy. Coitus interruptus and coitus reservatus may be supplemented by birth control devices such as condoms and female birth control methods. Because coitus is linked to both procreation and pleasure, it has been regulated, controlled, and shaped through sociocultural customs and codes that dictate acceptable contexts and even positions for intercourse.

POSITIONS

According to Vatsyayana's ancient Indian manual for lovemaking the *Kama Sutra* (c. fourth century CE), there are more than sixty possible positions for sexual intercourse and more than five hundred variations of those positions. Yashodhara's number, however, includes minuscule differences in limb placement and even in the sounds made during coitus. Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Nafzawi's Arabic sex manual *The Perfumed Garden* (c. 1410 CE) draws from the *Kama Sutra* but reduces the number of possible sexual positions to twenty-seven. According to the anthropologist Edgar Gregersen (1983), the range of positions may be understood as combinations of the following coital characteristics: four general postures of partners—lying, sitting, squatting, and standing; two general orientations between partners—face-to-face and rear entry; and three general positions of "dominance"—man on top, woman on top, and side by side (Gregersen 1983). Although no single position is more "normal" or "natural" than another, Gregersen states that cultural differences indicate a general preference for a particular position. For instance, the most popular position in European and North American societies has tended to be the "missionary position," whereas many African societies have demonstrated a preference for side-by-side intercourse. The four most common coital positions can be described as follows.

Lying Face to Face, Man on Top Also known as the missionary position in Western English-speaking nations, this was considered the proper sexual position by Christian missionaries who attempted to spread its practice in consonance with Saint Paul's religious teachings that "women should be subject to their husbands" and that husbands must demonstrate their dominance in copulation (Gregersen 1983, p. 58). In this position the man and woman face each other with the woman lying on her back and the man poised or lying atop of her.

According to the sexologists Joann DeLora and Carol Warren (1977), the position may be varied to adjust stimulation and even power differentials. For example, "the woman may place her legs together, between those of the man, allowing less vaginal penetration, or she may draw her knees up toward her chest with the man between her legs, thus facilitating deeper penetration. The man may lie with his body resting on the woman's, with much body contact, or he may use his arms and legs to keep his weight off her body, permitting her to move freely and be a more active partner. Also he may sit back on his heels and lift her buttocks to rest on his thighs, allowing either of them to stimulate her clitoris manually if she desires it" (DeLora and Warren 1977, p. 68).

Lying or Sitting, Face to Face, Woman on Top The earliest representations of the woman on top position can be found in the art of ancient Mesopotamia (c. 3000 BCE). The man reclines or sits, and the woman straddles him, either resting most of her body against his or sitting atop him with her torso upright. This position allows the woman greater movement and ease for self-stimulation of her breasts and/or clitoris, and it may be varied by the woman choosing to face away from her partner or placing her legs between his legs for less penetration. DeLora and Warren note that some of the benefits of this position are that the "woman has more freedom of movement than the man and the position is more tiring for her than for him. However, most males have more ejaculatory control in this position than in some others where they must take a more active role" (DeLora and Warren 1977, p. 68).

Lying Face to Face, Side by Side Considered the least tiring position for both partners, this position may be the preferred posture "when one (or both) of the partners is tired, sick or old. It can also be used during the last months of pregnancy" because it limits the depth of penetration and the physical energy expended to engage in intercourse (Gregersen 1983, p. 60). The partners lie on their sides facing each other, and the woman may wrap her top leg over the man's hip or lift her leg to varying heights to allow a greater or lesser depth of penetration. The leg placements of both partners may vary according to their personal preferences. As in most face-to-face positions, lying side by side "allows for freedom in sex play and displays of affection" (DeLora and Warren 1977, p. 68).

Rear-Entry Position This position also is known as *coitus in retro* (entry from behind). Christians who believed the missionary position to be the "civilized" or devout position associated rear-entry coitus with bestiality. Interestingly, animal themes have been used across cultures to describe rear-entry sexual intercourse. For instance, in Western English-speaking countries such as the United States "doggy style" has been a popular label; in Middle Eastern Arabic-speaking cultures it has been known as "after the fashion of the bull;" in China variations of rear-entry sex have been described as the "Leaping Tiger"; and the *Kama sutra* titles numerous variations of rear-entry coitus as "congress of a cow," "congress of a goat," "forcible mounting of an ass," and the like.

Although there are many postures of rear-entry coitus, determined, for instance, by the partners' choice to stand, lie, or kneel, all require that the man enter the woman from behind. According to DeLora and Warren, most rear-entry positions "allow for deep penetration" (except when a woman lies flat on her stomach) and "provide opportunity for manual clitoral stimulation" (DeLora and Warren 1977, p. 71).

Each of these descriptions of coital positions uses the heternormative vocabulary common in the discipline of sexology and in sex manuals. However, each position can be executed by males engaged in anal coitus or women engaged in mutual genital stimulation.

SOCIOCULTURAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

An examination of how coitus has been performed, understood, and depicted across cultures and historical periods shows great deviations in sexual beliefs and practices. Even within a particular culture sexual customs and beliefs may differ considerably. For instance, Aleksandr V. Gura (2005) in his study of coitus in Slavic folk culture noted that although Slavic Christians believed sexual intercourse to be "unclean" and even spiritually dangerous, regional customs associated with that common belief varied significantly. Russians and other Orthodox Slavs tended to cover religious icons or turn their faces to the wall and remove the pectoral cross during coitus. However, in northern Russia newlyweds could not receive communion or confess their sins for a year after consummating their marriage because of their contamination. Other Slavs thought that an "imprint of impurity quite often remained on the young wife until giving birth to a child," and Bulgarians thought that premarital sex or adultery might cause drought or hail (Gura 2005, p. 30). Gura's study demonstrates the motivation of social groups to interpret and regulate sexuality according to religious and/or medical beliefs, a motivation that is common to most cultures. Gura's work also indicates that the social and religious mores about coitus easily shift and change with regional differences and sociohistorical contexts.

The ways in which sexually active partners understand coitus and choose to engage in sexual intercourse are shaped most often by the religious, medical, and civil discourses of their historical context. Because coitus is linked directly to human reproduction, most societies have created religious and/or civil institutions such as marriage to regulate reproduction. The two most common sexual regulators across cultures and historical periods have been religious and civil codes that attempt to restrict sexual intercourse to marriage and the prohibition of sexual intercourse with a close relative, also known as incest. Because coitus is necessary for human reproduction, few cultures or societies prohibit it entirely. There are, however, often strict prohibitions for select groups, including members of religious orders such as Roman Catholic priests and Buddhist lamas, for whom sexual acts are prohibited almost entirely as part of spiritual training and religious protocols.

Many historians and cultural critics who have charted the changing beliefs and codes that inform sexual practices indicate that there is no normal or singularly natural way to engage in coitus. Rather, such scholarship has tended to show that sex is socially constructed and that coital practices may be infinitely varied. However, culturally based studies of human sexuality often depict the general trends or dominant beliefs that govern sexual practices so that it is possible to understand how sexual norms shift according to cultures and historical eras.

The sociologist Gail Hawkes in *Sex and Pleasure in Western Culture* (2004) traces ideas about sex in European and North American societies from ancient Greece through the twentieth century. According to Hawkes, most philosophers and physicians in ancient Greece considered sexual desire and pleasure crucial to both men's and women's physical and spiritual health so long as intercourse was practiced in moderation and for rational purposes. Sexual desire and pleasure therefore were not considered sinful but were associated with a reasoned connection to the divine. Hippocratic (medical) practitioners advocated coitus, which could include male intercourse with other males, as essential for a person's general health: "Sexual activity aids sleep, encourages strong masculine growth, 'predisposes the soul to tranquility' and 'dampens immoderate ardour'" (Hawkes 2004, p. 38).

Such beliefs were not shared by the Stoics (300–50 BCE), who renounced physical pleasure as a means of participating in divine reason. Their teachings were drawn upon by the Gnostics (100–200 CE), who "supplied a more uncompromising basis for the early Christian" sexual beliefs (Hawkes 2004, p. 45). Gnostic teachings went so far as to categorize marriages as either "pure" or "defiled" on the basis of the couple's engagement in sexual intercourse. "A defiled marriage was one in which sexual intercourse takes place. A pure union demanded sexual abstinence as a necessary route to perfection—the means by which the body can be controlled and transformed" (Hawkes 2004, pp. 45–46). The Gnostic association of sexuality with bestiality had a powerful influence on the development of the view of the body in Western Christianity.

It was not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that European and North American societies began to regulate through civil law sexual activities between men and women, men and men, and men and animals. Hawkes states that although "sex between men and women had always been valued more highly as the norm, homoerotic encounters between men, especially in the upper classes, were [previously] tolerated" (Hawkes 2004, p. 100). During that time surgeons and physicians, increasingly working outside a religious framework, began both promoting "the physical emotional and social advantages" of sex and focusing on issues of female sexuality. Those medical authorities specifically promoted the necessity of sexual arousal in the woman, giving detailed accounts of foreplay, methods to enhance sexual pleasure, and the value of vaginal orgasm (achieved via coitus) for a woman's health.

Western cultures have demonstrated ambivalence in regard to religious, scientific, and civil understandings of sexuality. Michel Foucault (1980) described how sex and sexuality emerged as key political concerns of Western societies in their attempts to order and manage the lives of individuals. Much of this social control, according to Foucault, takes place via discourses of power or authority such as those emerging out of religious, state, or medical institutions that both regulate and shape the ways in which individuals view their sex and sexuality.

In the twentieth century the discourses and codes regulating sexual intercourse became increasingly secularized or medicalized in most Western or westernizing nations. Social movements such as the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States promoted sexual liberation in part through a woman's control of her reproduction through the use of female contraceptives such as the birth control pill and the loosening of socioreligious endorsements of marriage as a prerequisite to sexual intercourse. Men and women participate in the normalizing of sexuality and their sexual practices to the extent that they are subjected to and become invested in the categories, classifications, and norms propagated by scientific and administrative discourses.

THE STUDY OF SEX AND THE COITAL IMPERATIVE

Sexual science at the turn of the twentieth century began undermining eighteenth- and nineteenth-century notions that reproductive heterosexuality is a natural given. Sigmund Freud, for instance, argued that social forces define and redefine sexual mores and taboos. Sexual instinct rooted in the desire for sexual pleasure, according to Freud, had become "subordinate to the purposes of reproduction," and therefore, any sexual activity that "aims solely at pleasure is given the uncomplimentary name of 'perverse' and as such is proscribed" (Hawkes 2004, p. 150). If the regulation of sexual behavior based on reproductive imperatives was shown to limit human sexual practices, the recognition that neither coitus nor sexual pleasure in general must be equated with reproduction suggests there is no single truth about sexuality.

The cultural critic Angus McLaren (1999) posits that sexuality is too complex and diverse for there to be truths about it. However, the equation of sexual pleasure with heterosexual reproductive coitus has proved to be a resilient notion for interpreting and understanding human sexuality. "Most people," McLaren stated, disregard or "lament the notion that nature no longer provides a solid basis upon which the organization of sexuality can be built" (McLaren 1999, p. 223). Both in popular conceptions of human sexuality and in later-twentieth-century scientific studies of sexuality, heterosexual coitus remained the idealized sexual activity and the perceived inevitable outcome of most sexual activities, including petting and masturbation.

This continued elevation of coitus as the ultimate or ideal sexual act is what Margaret Jackson (2002) termed "the coital imperative," establishing heterosexual coitus as the normative sexual practice against which all other sexual activities are measured. Even Alfred Kinsey's mid-twentieth-century findings on the prevalence of tabooed sexual behaviors such as bestiality, homosexuality, and masturbation among Americans employed coitus as the standard by which sexual practices were determined. Practices such as "pre-marital petting and masturbation were regarded as important merely as a means to an end—the avoidance of sexual 'maladjustment in marriage,' defined as the failure of women to achieve orgasm from coitus" (Jackson 2002, p. 85).

Significantly, the modern emphasis on coitus as the preferred means for a woman to achieve orgasm both implies that a penis is necessary to female sexual pleasure and ignores data suggesting that the majority of women achieve orgasm through clitoral stimulation or masturbation, not through penile-vaginal intercourse. Similarly, the work of William Masters and Virginia Johnson tended to emphasize the penis as "indispensable to the release of female sexual tension" (Jackson 2002, p. 86). In general, the insistence among scientists on a biological model of sexuality (with an emphasis on reproductive sex) and on the importance of penile-vaginal penetration as the end goal of sexual activity inevitably privileges the penis as the primary agent of sexual intercourse and pleasure. "Such an analysis" Jackson stated, "automatically rules out the possibility that our fore-mothers engaged in sexual practices with other women, or in non-coital sexual expression with men, and practiced coitus only for the purposes of reproduction" (Jackson 2002, p. 87). Scientific discourse can inscribe prevalent gender biases through the privileging of coitus as the primary goal of any other sexual activity.

The coital imperative is in part a product of scientific models and programs that emerged in the early twentieth century that promoted the "training of heterosexuality" (Hawkes 2004, p 155). According to such programs, "First the sexual instinct must be channeled towards penetrative sex. Second, the couple must be trained in achieving mutual orgasm." Third, women must be encouraged to prefer the vaginal orgasm of coitus over clitoral orgasms associated with masturbation and other nonpenetrative sexual activities (Hawkes 2004, p. 156). Promoted by sexologists and physicians who took on the "regime" of training heterosexuality, coitus became the ultimate and most "natural" sexual act. The continued prevalence of such values may help explain why terms such as *sex* and *sexual intercourse* continued to be synonymous with coitus in the early twenty-first-century.

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Kristina Banister Quynn

COLETTE, SIDONIE-GABRIELLE

1873–1954

One of the most celebrated women writers in France, Colette, born Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette on January 28, 1873 in the French village of Saint-Sauveur-en Puisaye, wrote novels and short stories focused on women, passion, sexuality, and love. First famous for her series of novels about the romantic and sexual education of the school girl, Claudine, Colette made publicly evident the much broader range of sexual knowledge and experience enjoyed by adolescents. Claudine, a lover of both women and

Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

men, became a popular figure in early twentieth-century French culture, inspiring a blouse collar (the Claudine collar) and a line of cosmetics. Colette also wrote about the relations between mother and daughter, and produced more than twenty-two novels and short story collections during her long career including *The Vagabond* (1911), *Cheri* (1920), *My Mother's House* (1922), *The Pure and the Impure* (1941), and *Gigi* (1945).

Colette's father was a retired army captain and amputee who collected taxes. Her mother, known as Sido, was a colorful, unconventional woman who valued gardens and animals above social respectability. When she was twenty, Colette married Henri Gauthier-Villars, a writer and critic fifteen years her elder. Gauthier-Villars encouraged Colette to write and, according to one legend, locked Colette in her room until she had completed her daily quota of pages. The four novels featuring the character Claudine were initially published between 1900 and 1903 under Gauthier-Villars' pen name, Willy, leading some to conclude that the novels' accounts were the inventions of a middle-aged man instead of the artistry of a young woman.

Colette divorced Gauthier-Villars in 1906 and became an inventive and daring music hall performer. Working as an acrobat and sketch artist, Colette bared one breast during a performance and later simulated intercourse, a bit that caused a riot at the Moulin Rouge. During this time, she had a lesbian relationship with the Marquise de Belboeuf (Missy), who for a time managed her career and public image. She also figured prominently in the Parisian Left Bank culture of expatriate lesbian writers such as heiress Natalie Barney.

Returning to her career as an author, Colette married Henri de Jouvenal des Ursins, a newspaper editor, and began a long and fruitful career as a fiction writer. She gave birth to one child, also named Colette. During World War I, she converted her husband's estate into a hospital for wounded soldiers, which earned her the accolade of being a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, the first of many laurels she would acquire. From 1920 until her death in 1954, Colette produced more than fifteen novels and story collections, known for their sensitive and insightful treatment of characters who occupied the margins of polite society. Focusing on gigolos, courtesans, bisexuals, and gay and lesbian characters, many of Colette's novels and stories explore the conflicts among desire, sensuality, identity, passion, and independence. *Cheri*, for example, tells the story of the relation between a younger, spoiled gigolo and his older lover. *The Pure and the Impure* recounts the relationships of four lesbian couples. *My Mother's House* and *Sido* (1930) recall the joys of Colette's childhood and the eccentric virtues of her mother. In all of her work, Colette treats sexuality and passion openly and as integral forces in people's lives that compel choices and compromises, enable freedom and fulfillment, and end often in sadness and nostalgia.

By the 1920s, Colette was France's most renowned woman writer. In Paris she associated with artist Jean Cocteau and members of his circle who constituted part of the literary avant-garde of the time. She was the first woman elected to the Academie Goncourt and the Belgian Royal Academy, both indicia of respect for her writing. She divorced Henry de Jouvenal in 1924, and in 1935 married the Jewish jeweler Maurice Goudaket, whom she hid during the Nazi occupation of France in World War II. In her later years, Colette suffered from debilitating arthritis, but continued to write until her death in Paris on August 3.

Colette's sensitive and open treatment of issues of love and sexuality helped to foster public consideration of sexuality as a necessary part of the human experience. By humanizing marginal figures and showing how such admirable characters as Claudine experienced a variety of desires, Colette not only demonstrated that passion and desire were more varied and universal than had been previously acknowledged, but that homosexual and heterosexual desires coexist as part of a larger human drama.

SEE ALSO *Adolescent Sexuality; Puberty.*

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Judith Roof

COLONIALISM

In the opening chapter of *Empire and Sexuality*, the historian Ronald Hyam makes the claim that the growth of the British Empire was fueled by the "export of surplus sexual energy" (Hyam 1990). Although this may appear strange to those who think that imperial growth was fueled by the export of surplus capital, it makes an important connection between colonial empires, gender, and sexuality. At a certain level the space of other cultures, of the Other (as theorized by Edward Said in *Orientalism* [1978]), was always the space of a sexuality denied, fantasized, or projected by European culture. Thus, although the empire is the space of sex, especially the unspeakable sexual practices of the Other, the mechanisms of projection, denial, and fantasy both predate and outlive the period of formal colonialism.

THE EXPORTATION OF SEXUAL ENERGY

What these two areas (the export of surplus sexual energy and its production and projection) share is their gendered nature: The energy being exported is unquestionably male (in the nineteenth century the idea that women had any sexual energy, let alone an internationally exportable surplus, would have been shocking), as are the sexual fantasies and projections. The imposition of an essentially male imagination can be seen through the gendering and sexualizing of geography. Examples range from the early engraving by artist Jan van der Straet (1523–1605) of explorer Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512) confronting America in the shape of a naked indigenous woman to Said's categorization of the discourse of Orientalism as encouraging "a peculiarly (not to say invidiously) male conception of the world" that included the Orient's "feminine penetrability" and in which "women are usually the creatures of the male power-fantasy. They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing" (Said 1978, pp. 206–207).

THE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF SEXUALITY

Although gender, sexuality, and sexual preferences and practices are intimately and variously related to colonialism, it can be very difficult in the context of a range of European empires to offer satisfactory generalizations because of the variety of attitudes and behaviors both within and across the different empires during their 400-year history. One thing that is generalizable is the fact that the major period of growth of the colonial empires from the late eighteenth century onward coincided with other developments in European society that had important effects on issues of gender and sexuality in those empires. The elaboration of colonialism as a transnational system of power and control was partnered by and in certain ways depended on a different approach to power and control domestically. As Michel Foucault (1979) argued, this period saw the European states increasingly develop strategies of *bio-power* as a framework for the regulation of the body, both that of the individual and the collective body of the general population. If the regulation of bodies and behaviors was central to good government at home, it was even more so in the colonies, where the populations were inherently more problematic. In Foucault's work, however, power does not function only in a repressive or controlling manner; it is also *productive*, inciting or encouraging preferred forms of behavior. That is true for both the colonizers and the colonized, though frequently in very different ways.

Although Hyam would counterpose domestic regulation to a realm of colonial *freedom*, it is clear that the regulation of male behavior, perhaps even more than female behavior, became more formalized and constraining as the British Empire itself became more formalized. For example, when the British East India Company ruled India, its employees, especially in the military, were encouraged to marry Indian women. In that period even high-ranking officers, bureaucrats, and wealthy merchants openly took Indian wives or mistresses. After the Indian mutiny of 1857 and the assumption of direct control by the British government, however, an altered moral and ideological climate as well as greater government surveillance and regulation produced a reversal of attitude toward India, with its crucial ideological role as the jewel in the imperial crown.

The higher the position one occupied, the greater the regulation and penalties, and cross-cultural relationships became punishable by social ostracism, loss of one's job, or possibly worse: Rudyard Kipling's short story "Beyond the Pale" (1890) ends with the highly symbolic near castration of a British official who ignores the rules and loves an Indian girl. The punishment for the girl is brutal mutilation, and the fact that that act is carried out by an

Indian reinforces the supposed universality of the opening statement of the narrative: "A man should, whatever happens, keep to his own caste, race and breed. Let the White go to the White, and the Black to the Black" (Kipling 1890, p.159). A tragic result of the policy of encouraging and then discouraging cross-cultural sexual relationships was the creation of dual-heritage Anglo Indians whose hybrid nature was not acceptable to either of the *pure* races from which they sprang.

FEAR OF MISCEGENATION

At the same time the moral climate in India grew more difficult, in other parts of the British Empire, such as Africa and Malaya, attitudes continued to be tolerant toward white men who had relationships with black women. The converse—white women and black men—was never acceptable anywhere in the empire. As far as the colonial regulation of female behavior was concerned, the primal fear of Europeans was racial mixing or dilution of their whiteness, and miscegenation became the great colonial taboo.

All white women in the colonies or in contact with black men at home in the metropolis therefore carried an enormously ideologically value-laden responsibility for the future of the race. Although all societies have controlled access to their female members, especially by male outsiders, that became a very highly charged issue in the racialized power politics of colonialism. As science and pseudoscience contributed to that process in the second half of the nineteenth century, the growth of the eugenics movement intensified the political climate, as everything from the maintenance of social order and hierarchy to the ability to field an army of strong, healthy soldiers was linked to the question of breeding. Proper sexual reproduction allowed proper social reproduction, and that was as true for the colonial empire as it was for the mother country.

If unauthorized access to white women was the greatest transgression colonized subjects could perpetrate, rape represented its most graphic instance, an ever-present menace. The very idea of the rape of white women by colonized subjects could reduce white men to murderous fury. In the Indian mutiny, for example, the possibility that Englishwomen captured at Cawnpore might have suffered *a fate worse than death* (as well as actual death) was sufficient to make *Remember Cawnpore!* the battle cry for the English as they carried out a brutal retribution. (A similar spirit of murderous irrationality grounded in unsubstantiated fantasy characterized the period of lynching in the United States.) The fact that rapes did not occur regularly or perhaps at all did not alleviate the obsessive fear that white women were in a permanent state of danger. The central event, or nonevent, of E. M. Forster's novel *A Passage to India* (1924) is an alleged attempted sexual assault on a white woman by an Indian doctor.

The other side of this ever-present but never-realized threat is the fact that rapes were carried out by white men. That history runs at least from the routine sexual abuse of female slaves by plantation owners in the Americas, through the rape and murder of Indian women by British soldiers in India in the 1930s, to the rape of Kenyan women by British soldiers and colonial functionaries during and after the Mau Mau insurgency of the 1950s. In Kenya rapes by the British were echoed by their African Home Guard subordinates, but Caroline Elkins (2005) argues that failure to emulate the British left one open to the charge of being a Mau Mau sympathizer.

COLONIAL VERSUS COLONIZED MASCULINITY

At the other extreme from this kind of male behavior was the idealized form that colonial power in its productive mode aimed to incite. That was the imperial hero: brave, honorable, truthful, loyal, and restrained, the embodiment of Christian virtue, as analyzed by Graham Dawson (1994). The remodeling of upper-class English masculinity in the nineteenth century, which was carried out in part by the public school system, found its apogee in this figure, which was relayed to the youth of the empire through hundreds of fictional and factual narratives.

The ideological antithesis of this figure lay in various representations of colonized masculinity. Those representations included the Oriental male as effeminate (and therefore no match for his manly English counterpart), as sexually voracious (unlike the civilized and restrained Englishman), and, in Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* (1927), as the unrepentant brutalizer of pitiful child brides too young for marriage or intercourse. As is frequently the case with ideology, no consistency was required of those negative images so long as they allowed the colonizer to be seen in a good light. As Said argued, "Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with Orient, without ever losing him the relative upper hand" (Said 1978, p. 7). In this way the process of identity formation on the part of the colonizers, whether in terms of gender, sexuality, or nationality, should proceed smoothly, though there is always the possibility of coming up against uncomfortable reality.

POSTCOLONIAL ISSUES

Despite its apparent strength and durability, colonialism was only a phase in the larger global project of imperialism, and the international, transcultural, and imperial politics of sex and gender did not end with the period of decolonization in the mid-twentieth century. Although some practices and policies are specific to and enabled by the possession of colonial empires, they do not necessarily end with the formal ending of those empires, and two topics from the colonial period have a great deal of current relevance.

Female Genital Mutilation In Kenya in the late 1920s the missionary society of the Church of Scotland set out to ban female genital mutilation. That campaign inevitably evokes comparisons with the British outlawing of *sati*, in which a Hindu woman cremates herself on her husband's funeral pyre, in early nineteenth-century India and carries the same ideological image Gayatri Spivak sees as epitomizing the whole colonial enterprise: "Imperialism's image as the establisher of the good society is marked by the espousal of the woman as object of protection from her own kind"; this also can be stated as, "White men are saving brown women from brown men" (Spivak 1994, pp. 94 and 92). Although they were actively involved in modernizing and Christianizing male circumcision in Kenya, the missionaries refused to approve of female clitoridectomy and instead tried to stamp it out. Gikuyu people reacted to the perceived attack on their cultural and spiritual identity because along with breaking the profound individual and collective link to the earth created by the ritual shedding of blood, the ban created a group of women who could not be considered clean, disciplined, responsible, or marriageable and thus were nonpersons in Gikuyu terms. Conceptions of what it meant to be a proper man and woman in Africa were deeply opposed, but not simply along racial lines, as Gikuyu converts to Christianity often sided with the missionaries. Gikuyu resistance to the ban fed on and fed back into a more general resistance to British colonial rule and a generation later culminated in the Mau Mau insurgency.

The reemergence of the issue in a wider context in the 1980s and 1990s both in Africa and in diaspora communities in the Europe and North America often was seen in terms of white Europeans attempting to impose their cultural values on others. The fact that the matter is more complex, however, is demonstrated by the film *Warrior Marks* (1993), which was made by two prominent nonwhite feminists: the African-American novelist Alice Walker (b. 1944) and the British-Asian director Pratibha Parmar. Its vigorous championing of the right of African women not to undergo genital mutilation—supported by moving testimony from African women—was criticized as an example of latter-day colonialist mentality. (Conversely and in some ways ironically, a film on the same subject by the Senegalese male director Ousmane Sembene (b. 1923), *Mooladé* [2004], was well received.) Although the practice lacks any evident justification other than its asserted traditional nature, it is clung to tenaciously and stands as one kind of limit to a would-be universal discourse of rights.

The Veil Both in Muslim countries and in Islamic communities in non-Muslim states, the wearing of a veil has been an issue from the colonial period into the postcolonial period. The politics of veiling and unveiling under colonialism were examined by Frantz Fanon (1965) in the context of the Algerian war of liberation from the French. Although the colonizers saw the removal of the veil as part of the necessary liberatory modernizing of their Muslim colonies, for Fanon a darker process was at work: The veil constituted an obstacle to the power of the colonizers to look at whatever they wished, and so "the rape of the Algerian woman in the dream of a European is always preceded by a rending of the veil" (Fanon 1965, p. 45).

In the context of the liberation struggle, however, Algerian women came to use the veil in ways that were directly political and even revolutionary and had profound implications for their gender and sexual identities. Unveiled, women could move in the European part of town unnoticed, carrying messages or bombs in their handbags, as portrayed in Gillo Pontecorvo's (1919–2006) film *Battle of Algiers* (1963). Veiled, women could hide documents and weapons in their voluminous clothing. Unveiling forced them to experience their bodies in new and disconcerting ways, but the conscious political use of the veil, Fanon felt, stripped it of any repressive traditional power. Even if he was overoptimistic on that point, thinking about the veil could never be the same after his analysis.

In an extensive discussion of colonial and postcolonial veiling in *Colonial Fantasies*, Meyda Yeğenoğlu concludes, "The veil is a dress, but a dress which we might consider as articulating the very identity of Muslim women" (Yeğenoğlu 1998, p. 119). However, this can be true only in terms of a deliberately constructed identity rather than the essentialist one suggested by the quote in light of the way in which the growth of systematically Arabized or Islamicized societies across the Muslim world, particularly in the postcolonial period, has involved the adoption of the veil by women whose identities previously had not been articulated by it.

Some of the most contentious examples of the politics of postcolonial veiling and unveiling have occurred in Europe, as in the case of *l'affaire des foulards* in France in the 1990s in which schoolgirls were forbidden to wear Islamic headscarves in the name of state secularism, and the 2006 case of a British Muslim teaching assistant who lost her job for refusing to remove her full-face veil while teaching. In addition to the ongoing politics of the veil, the global panic in the wake of the attack on the Twin

Towers in New York on September 11, 2001, has meant that any unapologetic display of Muslim identity carries a price.

Colonialism wielded the power of life and death over its subjects, but not usually through their sexual behavior. The government of U.S. President George W. Bush (b. 1946), however, has made medical aid to African countries devastated by the AIDS pandemic conditional on their promotion of a policy of sexual abstinence rather than sex education and the use of condoms; indeed, condom use constitutes grounds for the withdrawal of funding. The absence of any political or economic benefit for the United States makes this look like colonialism at its most messianic: the embodiment of a supposedly God-given right to control the lives of anyone whom colonial power can reach.

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Patrick Williams

COMICS CODE

Comics codes originated as a result of a post-World War II expectation in the rise of juvenile delinquency, attributable to the absence of mothers from homes during the war as they replaced their soldier husbands in the workplace. The fears were whipped into a frenzy by parents, teachers, religious figures, and some politicians, in public meetings, radio broadcasts, and periodical articles. In their eyes, comic books were the source of all types of youth problems, ranging from poor English and reading skills to juvenile delinquency.

The main concerns about comics pertained to their portrayals of crime and horror, although gender and sex figured prominently in the deliberations leading up to the writing of the codes. For example, the noted New York psychiatrist Fredric Wertham and other writers in the 1940s called attention to scantily clad women as undesirable elements of comic books.

When the first Comics Code was written by the Association of Comics Magazine Publishers in 1948, the first of six briefly stated points was that "sex, wanton comics should not be published" and that no female should be "indecently or unduly exposed" and "in no event more nude than in a bathing suit commonly worn in the United States of America." Furthermore, divorce was not to be shown in a "humorous," "glamorous," or "alluring" way.

Gender and sex were major discussion points in the pivotal year 1954, when comics came under investigation in U.S. Senate hearings, Wertham's influential book *Seduction of the Innocent* was published, and the Comics Magazine Association of America Comics Code was put into effect, administered by the Comics Code Authority.

In his book, Wertham scrutinized gender depictions, saying gender was linked to violence in comics as women were generally portrayed as victims or villains. Wertham thought comic books showing women as objects to be abused or used as decoys in crime settings resonated with young male readers' viewpoints. When women were comic book villains, the subtext, according to Wertham, was that men had to unite against such women. The book also covered romance comics, pointing out that they usually showed women in humiliating or inadequate roles.

The Comic Code of 1954 was one of the most stringent media codes of all time. Under sections on costume and marriage and sex, it banned nudity in any form, suggestive posture, illicit sex relations (hinted or actual), and sex perversion, and called for females to be drawn in proper dress "reasonably acceptable to society" and "realistically without exaggeration of any physical qualities." Love and romance were to be treated in a manner to protect the sanctity of marriage and the value of the home.

The code was revised twice, in 1971 and 1989, adapting to society's more liberal stance on sex. The 1971 code stated that illicit sex acts and seduction could be hinted at, while the 1989 version allowed adult relationships to be shown with good taste and sensitivity and acceptable to a mass audience. Costumes are acceptable if they "fall within the scope of contemporary styles and fashions"; not allowed are "primary, human sexual characteristics" and "graphic sexual activity."

Still in effect, the Comics Code covers only the mainstream comic book industry. Independent and alternative companies, more prone to explicit and nonconformist portrayals of sex and gender, do not belong to the Comics Code Authority.

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John A. Lent

COMICS/COMIC STRIPS

Gender and sexuality have figured prominently in the development of comic books and comic strips, and women cartoonists—though relatively rare at times and in places—have been active from the earliest days of cartooning. In fact, one of the earliest strips in the world, Britain's *Ally Sloper*, was drawn by Marie Duval in the 1870s.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMICS IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, women drew newspaper funnies within six years after the appearance of *The Yellow Kid* (1895), generally recognized as the first American comic strip. The works of these early "queens of cute" usually portrayed pet animals, cherubic children in nineteenth-century clothing, or women decked out in curls, ruffles, and lace. Among these comics were Rose O'Neill's *Kewpies* (1909), after which the famous and lucrative doll was named; Louise Quarles's *Bun's Puns*, Grace Kasson's *Tin Tan Tales for Children*, and Agnes Repplier III's "The PhilaBusters" (all 1901); and Kate Carew's *The Angel Child* (1902). Other pioneering women cartoonists included Grace Gebbie Drayton, Fanny Y. Cory, Jean Mohr, Marjorie Organ, and Nell Brinkley.

Women's cartooning skills were not isolated to newspaper funny pages; they were also visible in many of the advertisements and fashion designs of the day. One of Drayton's accomplishments, for example, was the creation of the Campbell Kids (for Campbell Soup) advertising icons, and Brinkley's elegant women characters set fashion trends in real life. Curlers and hair wavers were named after her, and in Broadway's Ziegfeld Follies, a Brinkley Girl was featured. Cartoonists' style renditions often hit a chord with women, Charles Dana Gibson's "Gibson Girl" hairdos being a prime example. For decades, a number of comic strips drawn by women carried cut-out paper dolls that readers could dress.

The heyday of women's strips coincided with, or more likely resulted from, the fast, free-wheeling jazz era, a period when women won the right to vote and entered the workforce, chiefly as office workers, and the flapper epitomized one of the early sexual revolutions.

The earliest working girl comic strip was A. E. Hayward's *Somebody's Stenog*, which appeared in 1916 and featured Cam O'Flage, who worked for a nuts and bolts company. Other working girl characters were Martin Branner's *Winnie Winkle the Breadwinner* (1920), Russell Branover's *Tillie the Toiler* (1921), and Larry Whitington's *Fritzi Ritz* (1922), a flapper turned working girl. All three were drawn by men, as were most of the flapper strips, whose female characters only had men and good times on their minds. Among the early ones, all generated by men, were *The Affairs of Jane* (1921), *Beautiful Bab* (1922), *Dumb Dora* (1924), *Boots and Her Buddies* (1924), *Etta Kett* (1925), *Merely Margy* (1929), and *Blondie* (1930). The flapper strip also coaxed more women into the profession. Virginia Huget did several flapper strips, including *Molly the Manicure Girl* (1929), *Campus Capers* (1928), and *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes,* a 1926 adaptation of Anita Loos's bestseller. A more successful woman cartoonist was Ethel Hayes with *Flapper Fanny Says*. Hayes passed her character on to Gladys Parker, known later for the long-lasting *Mopsy*. Another feature, *Duley, the Beautiful Dumb-bell*, set in Hollywood, had its continuity credited to actress Constance Talmadge. The flapper strip faded in the 1930s, when the grimness of the Depression put high fashion, flappers, playboys, and a frivolous lifestyle out of reach. They were replaced by unglamorous characters dealing with real problems, such as poor, big-hearted *Apple Mary* (1932) by Martha Orr, and the cheerful orphan girls, *Little Orphan Annie* (1924), *Little Annie Rooney* (1927), and *Little Miss Muffet* (1935).

Women cartoonists began to trespass on male terrain in the 1930s and early 1940s, when they began drawing dramatic continuity strips (*Apple Mary* was the first) and featuring female heroes. In the newspaper funnies, Dahlia Messick adopted the male name Dale and in 1940 created *Brenda Starr*, an attractive red-headed girl reporter, and in the new genre of comic books, Tarpe Mills and Paddock Munson drew heroines for *Adventure Comics* and *Amazing Mystery Funnies*. Mills' costumed Miss Fury preceded William Moulton Marston's enduring Wonder Woman by a few months in 1941 as a comic book superheroine. Mills and Munson assumed sexually ambiguous names, as did other women (C. M. Sexton, Odin Burvik, and others) who drew action characters.

WORLD WAR II AND POST-WORLD WAR II

When American men went to war in 1942, the number of women doing comic books tripled and stayed at that level until the end of the 1940s. Some drew male superheroes, others wartime heroine characters such as Ann Brewster's *Yankee Girl* or Jill Elgin's *Girl Commandos*. Most exemplary in its positive treatment of women at the time was Fiction House, which had the largest female staff, many of whom were also given writing assignments. Female characters in Fiction House stories were different in that they were in charge and not just decoration or foils for heroes to admire or rescue.

After World War II, women cartoonists moved into the burgeoning fields of teen girl strips and romance comic books. Teen comics usually portrayed young girls in family and school environments and in their perpetual quests for boyfriends; they also exhibited their artists' keen awareness of fashion and, on occasion, touched upon the gender inequality issue. Popular teen strips were Ruth Atkinson's *Patsy Walker* (1944), Hilda Terry's *Teena* (1941), Linda Walter's *Susie Q. Smith* (1945), and Marty Links's *Bobby Soxer* (1944). Characters in the workforce were cast in traditional jobs, such as *Tessie the Typist* (1944) or *Nellie the Nurse* (1945). Romance comic books, which often portrayed women desperately seeking romance or being humiliated and jilted in love affairs totally controlled by men, were very popular in the 1940s and 1950s; Valerie Barclay and Ruth Atkinson created many of them.

In short supply during the first half-century of U.S. comic art were black women cartoonists and female editorial cartoonists. Jackie Ormes was the first black woman cartoonist (and one of only four black cartoonists total) with her strip *Torchy Brown* (1937), carried in fifteen African-American newspapers. Until much later, Edwina Dumm was the only woman editorial cartoonist, beginning in 1916 on the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Monitor*.

With the drop in the comics market in the 1950s, (because of claims the books were harmful to children) and the return of women to fulltime household duties after the war, the number of women in the field dropped considerably. By the mid-1960s, when the major companies were reduced to Marvel and DC, and both concentrated on superheroes that appealed to young boys, only Marie Severin and Ramona Fradon remained in mainstream comics. In some cases, women artists would not compromise their style to draw the violent action that superhero comics demanded.

FEMINISM AND COMICS

The underground press movement of the late 1960s and 1970s brought women back to comics, although not directly. At first, women were excluded from underground comics, which sparked them to start their own books, the first of which was *It Ain't Me, Babe* in 1970. The Wimmen's Comix Collective was set up, and in 1972, *Wimmen's Comix* and *Tits 'n' Clits* were published, the latter as a reaction to the sexism women saw in male-created underground comics. Much of the women's anger was directed at Robert Crumb, whose oversized black character Angelfood McSpade was subjected to all types of unimaginable indignities.

During the last quarter of the century, women continued to draw their own stories in comic books, strips, or graphic novels. Some were very personal memoirs discussing normally taboo subjects such as menstruation, lesbianism, rape, and incest and other sexual abuse. Others expressed women's anger toward men, even showing scenes of castration, or detailed the mundaneness of daily life. Prominent artists among these types were Roberta Gregory, Aline Kominsky-Crumb, Alison Bechtel, Diane DiMassa, and Canadian-born Julie Doucet. Titles of some of their works, such as *Dirty Plotte*, *Dykes To Watch Out For*, *Hothead Paisan: Homicidal Lesbian Terrorist*, and *Bitchy Bitch*: *World's Angriest Dyke!*, left no doubt about these women's emotions.

In the 1970s, Women's Liberation reached mainstream comics with a new batch of superheroines such as Valkyrie, the Cat, Ms. Marvel, and Spider-Woman, but women's readership of superhero/superheroine comics never reached appreciable heights. For example, a 1994 DC Comics survey lists only 5.9 percent female readership compared to 92.9 percent male. During the last quarter of the twentieth century, many superheroines were male-hating protagonists, professional assassins, or hypersexed, bloodthirsty killers. Many contemporary women comics creators opted to draw for small press publishers, such as Fantagraphics, Drawn and Quarterly, Last Gasp, and Rip Off Press, but some also draw for the mainstream. Among the latter are June Brigman, a mainstay penciler and cover artist for Marvel for more than twenty-five years; Jan Duursema, lead artist of *Star Wars* since 2000; Barbara Kesel, a writer, letterer, and editor since 1981; Devin Grayson, who consistently appears in top comics writers' lists as a contract writer for DC; Gail Simone, writer for DC's *Birds of Prey*, mainstream comics' longest-running female-led comic book after *Wonder Woman*, and other veterans such as Ann Nocenti, Marie Severin, Colleen Doran, Amanda Conner, and Louise Simonson.

Daily newspapers and syndicates continued to have a few popular strips with women as dominant characters into the twenty-first century, notably, *For Better or For Worse* (1979) by Canadian Lynn Johnston, and *Cathy* by Cathy Guisewite (1976), both of whom have won the National Cartoonists Society's Reuben Award. Because of

Cathy Guiswite. *Cartoonist Cathy Guiswite, working on her popular* Cathy *comic strip.* AP IMAGES.

the limits of mainstream syndication, some women self-syndicate with weekly newspapers, such as Lynda Barry and Nicole Hollander, or with the few comics tabloids, such as Alison Bechtel with her lesbian-focused strip.

Women's comics in the United States have gained in stature in recent decades, not just in terms of numbers of artists, but also by the fact that women have held top executive positions (Jenette Kahn as president of DC; Diana Schutz as one of the heads of Dark Horse). The genre now has a website, Sequential Tart (www.sequentialtart.com), started in 1998; an association, Friends of Lulu, begun in 1995 by Trina Robbins; and its own historian (Trina Robbins, who prefers to be called an herstorian).

OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

In other parts of the world, women and comics are bound together, although for the most part, the profession is predominantly a male domain. Nearly every country of Europe has female comics creators. Claire Bretécher of France has drawn very popular satirical works, especially the strip *Le destin de Monique*, started in 1983; and her countrywoman Chantal Montellier is famous for her album *Blues* (1979), a critical analysis of society. In Sweden, Cecilia Torudd became an important cartoonist with her strip *Ensamma Mamman* (The single parent mother) recounting her own parenting experiences in the 1970s, and Lena Ackebo is noted for her satirical comics.

Women often have been the major subjects of European comics. In England, girls and teen comic books flourished in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with as many as thirty weekly and monthly titles appearing simultaneously. By 2000, only *Bunty* (founded 1958) survived. Individual female characters stood out over the years, such as Jacques Tardi's *Adèle Blanc-Sec* (1976), a French daily strip and graphic novel depicting a freelance writer, a character who served as a stepping stone to very real women characters later; Guido Crepax's *Valentina* (1968) in Italy, a young alluring photographer modeled after American actress Louise Brooks; and England's *Modesty Blaise* and *Jane* strips.

Latin American comics have yielded some important female characters, perhaps the most well-known of whom is Mônica, a precocious little girl created by Brazil's Mauricio de Sousa, who established a comics empire around her. Other characters dealt with gender politics, such as *Aleida*, a frivolous, petty female created by Venezuela's Vladimir Flórez (Vladdo), and raw sexuality, such as Argentina's *Flopi Bach* (created by Carlos Trillo, Eduardo Maicas, and Garcia Seijas) who presents a disturbing portrayal of women.

In few places in the world has gender been as prominent in comics as in Asia. Women assume roles both stereotypical and equitably modern. In the Philippines, for instance, traditional love stories with pining lasses and happy endings are the bestselling *komiks*; Sri Lankan sixteen-page "comics papers" and the newspaper funnies also dote on romance, sometimes with rather daring portrayals of the dress and actions of female characters. As in many instances worldwide, women are pictured in the hackneyed either/or set of good mothers/wives or dirty prostitutes/vamps.

The *Amar Chitra Katha* comic books of India, known for their portrayals of Indian historical and mythological stories, took many hard knocks for their portrayals of women; the national university women's group of India reported the series emphasized for women a "home syndrome," self-sacrifice, obedience to men, and a high fertility rate. Generally, the criticism has been that *Amar Chitra Katha*'s depictions were based on the ancient Hindu code of *manu* that stated "good" women were mothers and wives ready to sacrifice their all for their men; "evil" women were bold and arrogant adventuresses, all of whom came to a deserved end. Indian comics can be categorized as portraying women as goddess, demon, warrior, victim, and companion.

Thai comics treat mothers and wives as non-sexual beings and men as desirous of multiple sexual encounters. A favorite topic of Thai comic books is domestic violence, a major problem in Thailand, but the abuse is committed by strong, sometimes enormous, women wielding *sak*s (pestles) as they beat or threaten weak, emasculated husbands. In Thai, sak and *khrok* (mortar) represent male and female sex organs, respectively; thus, a woman with a pestle suggests a phallus-wielding female. Also, wives are portrayed as short, stocky, unattractive women with big mouths; unmarried women have hourglass figures and gentle personalities. Gender problems are common topics of Indonesian comics (especially newspaper strips), because they and social hierarchy issues are safer topics than politics.

In Japan and Korea, comics are bisected by gender, to the extent that there is even one Seoul comics store exclusively for women. Girl's comics, called *shoujo manga* in Japan and *soonjung manhwa* in Korea, also treat romance and sexuality, but are concerned with much more, including every type of human relationship, as well as areas such as sports, everyday life, history, horror, and science fiction. Shoujo manga have more freedom than soonjung manhwa to deal with sexual taboos such as rape, sadomasochism, and the Lolita complex (sex associated with young girls). In Japan, comics for women and girls are prevalent enough to be subdivided into shoujo, *redikomi* (ladies'), and young ladies, or simply, those dealing with before marriage, after marriage, and before and after marriage, respectively, although the boundaries between the three are vague. Redikomi manga, which are increasing in number, appeal to the increasing number of career women, presenting women's desires when they are no longer girls and offering them alternate role models. They differ from shoujo in that they give a realist perspective on women's lives, for example, by visualizing the theme of sexuality using adult women's bodies and sometimes dealing with social issues. Young ladies' comic books, catering to women in the age group of late teens through twenties, came about in the late 1980s and 1990s. A favorite topic of these comics is the various types of love affairs a woman might have.

Shoujo and soonjung manhwa also are different from Western comic books in a number of ways, especially in that they are produced and consumed by women, some of whom have gained much respect and financial reward. Korea's Kim Hyerin won the prestigious cartoonist of the year award in 2003; Rumiko Takahashi, who has sold more than 100 million copies of her manga, including *Maison Ikkoku* (1986) and *Ranma ½* (1989), may be the richest woman in Japan.

In both Japan and South Korea, women make up a large part of the comics' audience. A 2000 survey in Japan found that 42 percent of women surveyed between the ages of twenty and forty-nine and 81 percent of teenage girls read manga regularly. More than 100 manga titles target the female audience; the largest, *Ribbon*, has a monthly paid circulation of more than one million. Popular are manga with homosexual content. A survey of 2,005 Koreans conducted in 2003 reported women were more experienced manhwa purchasers than men, that soonjung was the most preferred genre (21.6 percent), and that Korean authors (49.5 percent) were more popular than Japanese (46.4 percent). The figures show that still there is a considerable affinity for Japanese manga, which is understandable since Korean girls comics began with imitative copies or pirated reprints of shoujo.

The keen interest Japanese and Korean females have taken in comics has spread to girls and women in other parts of Asia—where, until recently, comics reading was mainly a male activity—and abroad, where girls, all but abandoned by U.S. comics publishers, have become voracious readers of Japanese (and now, Korean) girls' comics.

Images of women in cartooning are expected to change considerably as more women enter the field. The number in Asia is slowly increasing, with many in Japan and Korea (women make up 40 percent of the Korean comic artists pool); until recently, fewer than a dozen in China, although the number is increasing as the manga wave crests; and others who have gained prominence in Malaysia (Cabai, who has a magazine namesake), Pakistan (Nigar Nazar), and elsewhere. The three most productive *komiks* (comic books) writers in the Philippines for years have been women—Elena Patron, Nerissa Cabral, and Gilda Olvidado.

Generally, the role of women in comics worldwide has not been a dominant one. Men usually have written and drawn the comics and have managed the corporations that produce them; they have also been the ones who created the often stereotyped female images. But there have been exceptions, such as in post-1970 United States, in Japan and South Korea, and elsewhere, where women cartoonists have created their own types of comics and characters and have attempted to give a more realistic perspective of the female psyche.

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John A. Lent

COMING OUT

Coming out is an expression used to describe the process of revealing one's nonnormative sexuality. It is most commonly used in reference to homosexuals, but is also applicable to bisexual, transsexual, and transgendered individuals. The term is a shortened form of the phrase *coming out of the closet*, in which the closet refers to the anonymity of hidden sexual practice or desire. Individuals who have not publicly identified their homosexuality are referred to as being *in the closet*. An alternate form of coming out is *outing*, which is an involuntary disclosure of one's homosexuality or other nonnormativity by another person. Outing can also refer to any inadvertent revelation of one's sexuality, whether by another or by oneself. Coming out generally has a positive connotation and is seen by many (but not all) as the foundation of a healthy relationship to one's sexuality, while outing is generally a more negatively valued practice and is seen as harmful and invasive to the individual, and only marginally useful to the larger homosexual community.

Coming out has also traditionally described the moment when a young woman enters formal society, her debut. In this circumstance, the term signifies the end of adolescence (which is a transitional, and thus a nonnormative, period of sexual development) and the emergence into normative heterosexuality, eventually leading to marriage. There is no evidence that the term as it is applied to homosexuality is linked to or derived from its use in formal society, but their complete opposition in meaning is noteworthy.

THE COMING OUT PROCESS

Coming out functions metaphorically as a moment in time, when the closet door opens and its inhabitant emerges. In practice, it is more often a process over time than a single moment, as a closeted individual usually comes out repeatedly to different audiences and under different circumstances. Even more fundamentally, however, coming out is generally understood as having two primary parts, one internal and one external.

Coming out to oneself involves recognizing one's own desires and choosing to acknowledge them. This phase of the coming out process often happens during adolescence, which is often seen as the primary moment of sexual identity formation, although it can happen at any point in life. This can be an extremely complicated step, primarily because the general expectation of heterosexuality is so strong that nonnormative sexualities are rarely acknowledged to or discussed favorably with children and adolescents, thus providing few, if any, homosexual role models. Youths who question their sexuality, therefore, may not fully understand the nature of their situation or how they might deal with it. People often describe this stage of questioning as a sensation of *feeling different* without being fully able to specify the difference they feel.

Once this awareness of difference has been achieved, it is possible to come out to others. Although a complicated and multipart process, it is usually referred to somewhat singularly as *coming out*. When coming out is a voluntary process, individuals often begin by coming out to one or more people who they consider most likely to be accepting of their homosexuality—frequently a friend or a group of friends. From there, they may choose to come out to people whose response they are less sure of, or even to those they feel sure will be unaccepting. Many individuals choose not to come out to everyone, and often make those choices based on the type of relationship they have with each person. For instance, coming out at work might be risky if harassment or discrimination is likely to result, and thus one might choose to remain closeted at work. Conversely, some choose to remain closeted at work not out of fear, but out of a belief that one's sexuality, whatever it might be, is irrelevant to the workplace and thus not a topic for discussion in that venue. Similarly, people generally make highly individual choices about coming out in religious groups they may belong to, as well as in other ideologically based organizations.

Coming out to family seems to be the largest or riskiest step in the coming out process for many, as the consequences are often greatest. To a certain extent, employment, religious affiliation, and friendships are all things that can be discarded and exchanged if necessary after coming out, but family involves a more permanent kind of connection. Many are thus unwilling to risk rejection by their families and remain closeted to them, or at least to certain family members.

The acceptance by friends and family is, like coming out itself, often a process over time, although some relationships are permanently severed as a result. Many people, however, have found their relationships either unchanged or even strengthened over time as a result of coming out. Several organizations such as PFLAG (Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays) have arisen as a visible support system for individuals coming out as well as for those they come out to.

COMING OUT AS EMPOWERMENT

It is often claimed that sexuality is unique among human characteristics in that it is not visible in the way that sex, race, social class, and other categories are. Therefore, one's sexual desires and practices cannot be known to the larger community unless one comes out. While this understanding of the invisibility of sexuality versus other characteristics has substantial flaws, it does have a degree of relevance. In fact, all categories to which an individual belongs have certain expectations, and violating those expectations always carries some social risk. Rather than claiming that sexuality is a different kind of characteristic than others, it is perhaps more appropriate to say that it carries more value, that the expectations associated with it are seen as more absolute, and that violating them carries greater risk. It is also for this reason that coming out is seen as a primary means of empowerment in the homosexual community. Announcing one's homosexuality publicly is seen as a means of claiming ownership of it. In this way, homosexuality figures less as an affliction, as it has often been formulated, and more as a right or even a privilege. The fact that the risks associated with coming out can be so great makes the act substantially more powerful and socially meaningful.

Beginning with the shocking, even violent coming out moments such as the Stonewall riots of 1969, the power of publicly coming out has been realized and capitalized upon. Much of the subsequent gay rights movement has held the necessity of coming out as a central tenet; this has led to both the "silence = death" response to the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and the growth of outing an individual (almost always a figure of power or a celebrity) involuntarily, thus revealing the ubiquity of homosexuality in contemporary culture.

COMING OUT AS RITE OF PASSAGE

Coming out is viewed as a rite of passage within the homosexual community. It is first and foremost seen as an acceptance of oneself and one's own sexuality. Because coming out potentially involves rejection, it is symbolically important as a kind of exchange of one community for another. The homosexual community largely imagines itself as an alternate, automatically accepting set of relationships that an individual can substitute for family, friends, and colleagues from whom they might be estranged. This is furthered by the self-identification of the homosexual community as a *family* or as a *tribe*, indicating both relationships among members and responsibility within the group for each other. This imaginary family is more often like a conventional one, however, in that it has factions, divisions, and internal struggles, all contained within a loose collective.

COMING OUT STORIES

The coming out experience is seen as central to identity formation, both in the individual and of the homosexual community. For this reason, coming out stories are one of the most common modes of bonding in the community. It is not unusual for people to share their experience of coming out with others as a means of establishing some kind of relationship with them. Because coming out is seen as a process unique to and definitive of homosexuality, there is an expectation that every member does have a coming out story. It is the exchange of these stories that many see as foundational to the idea of community and that creates pressure on individuals to share their stories. These stories are also seen as a source of both individual and group strength, particularly when they involve a painful rejection that is then survived by the individual. Gay and lesbian literature and film are dominated by coming out stories.

The stories most often told, of course, are the more spectacular and painful ones, usually those positioning the homosexual as the consummate victim (rejected by their family and often injured or killed) or as an epic hero overcoming obstacles (who then usually abandons at least part of his or her family and forms a new community). The extremity of either of these models has helped maintain the belief that coming out is a risky process, although there are many who believe that it may be less traumatic in most cases than is popularly believed.

There have been attempts to institutionalize or ritualize coming out in some ways, in an effort to maintain the importance of coming out while also making it seem a less risky and monumental experience. One example is National Coming Out Day, which is sponsored annually by the Human Rights Campaign.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

COMMUNISM AND MARXISM

Karl Marx's (1818–1883) writings are most closely associated with the economic and social domination associated with class, with little attention to the inequalities associated with gender. Marx had little to say directly about the system of gender domination prevalent in his own time, and he was not publicly associated with the contemporary movement for the emancipation of women—contrast his silence with the writings of John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) in *The Subjection of Women* (1869), for example. Nonetheless, the foundations of Marx's critique of bourgeois society provide a foundation for a socialist feminism, and these themes had great influence on communist political programs and societies in the twentieth century.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Frederick Engels (1820–1895) offered scathing polemical criticisms of the bourgeois family and the exploitation of women: "[The bourgeois] has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production" (Marx and Engels 1848, pp. 57). However, the critique displays little insight into the ways that gender relations and the social institutions of the family affect the life situations of women, and it fails to identify the structural ways in which women were denied access to political positions, economic opportunity, or basic components of health assurance. Engels devoted more extensive attention to issues surrounding sex, gender, and the family in his anthropological book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884). Based largely on the work of the early ethnographer Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881), Engels argues that there is great historical variety in the sexual and reproductive practices of primates and human groups. And he offers a historical hypothesis for the emergence of the paired-couple family: the emergence of private property and slavery. Neither Marx nor Engels offered a coherent statement of socialist feminism, and neither offered specific commentary or criticism of the political, social, and economic disadvantages experienced by women in nineteenth-century Europe.

However, the fundamental themes of social criticism that Marx puts forward—alienation, domination, inequality, and exploitation and a critique of the social relations that give rise to these conditions—have clear implications for a theory of gender equality and emancipation. First, Marx's theory of alienation is premised on assumptions about the nature of the human being, involving the ideas of freedom, self-expression, creativity, and sociality (Marx [1844]). The situations of everyday life in which patriarchy and sexism obtain—the situations in which existing social relations of power, authority, and dominance are assigned on the basis of gender and sex, including marriage, the family, and the workplace—create a situation of alienation and domination for women. Second, Marx's theory of exploitation (expressed primarily in *Capital* [1867]) extends very naturally to the social relations of patriarchy. Patriarchy and the bourgeois family system embody exploitation of women, within the household and within the workplace. Finally, Marx's strong moral commitment to the overriding importance of social equality is directly relevant to a socialist feminist critique of contemporary society. The unequal status and treatment of women is an affront to the value of human equality. Thus Marx's principles lay the ground for a formulation of a socialist feminism.

Socialist and communist theorists of the decades between the death of Marx and World War I (1914–1918) gave specific prominence to issues of women's equality. Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) gave attention to the problem of sexual inequality in bourgeois society in his journalism and in a widely read interview with the German feminist Clara Zetkin (1857–1953). Other leading communist thinkers of the decades between 1880 and 1920 also placed issues of female emancipation and women's equality at the center of the socialist agenda (e.g., Rosa Luxemburg [1870–1919], Nikolai Bukharin [1888–1938], Zetkin, Leon Trotsky [1879–1940], and Alexandra Kollontai [1872–1952]). These developments had important consequences for the policy priorities of communist governments once they seized power in Russia, China, and Cuba.

The communisms of the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba placed sexual equality at the top of the agenda for social transformation. Bolshevik political rhetoric emphasized the equality of women as a central communist goal before and during the revolution. In the 1920s the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) undertook to establish a legal framework guaranteeing legal equality for women, including full citizenship, equal pay, and the right of divorce. A particularly important figure in Soviet efforts to create sexual equality in the new communist society was Kollontai, author of *The Social Bases of the Woman Question* (1908). A crucial legal document with the goal of establishing gender equality was the Code on Marriage, the Family, and Guardianship (1918). The USSR demonstrated a higher level of equality in employment and education opportunities for women than most European countries during the period (Jancar-Webster 1978).

The most militant advocacy for women's rights occurred in the early years of Soviet power. Joseph Stalin's (1879–1953) conquest of state power in 1924 brought a primary focus on the power of the Communist Party and a retreat from the leftist values of prerevolu-

Influential Socialist Clara Zetkin. **ROGER VIOLLETT/GETTY IMAGES.**

tionary communism—including the earlier communist advocacy for radical emancipation of women. Kollontai's strong advocacy for women's issues and her advocacy for sexual freedom for women led to her removal as a significant government voice in the 1920s. Based on a pronatalist national economic policy, Soviet policy discouraged contraception, resulting in very high rates of abortion in the 1950s through the 1970s (12 to 16 per 100 women between the ages 15 to 49 compared with U.S. rates in the range of 2 to 3 per 100 women in that same age group), and these rates only began to fall significantly in the 1990s. One should not overstate the degree of women's equality regarding politics in the USSR and China; though female participation in political organizations and offices generally exceeded that of most European and North American democracies at any given time, it fell far short of parity at any level of political activity.

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) likewise placed the emancipation of women as one of its leading revolutionary goals, and CCP commanders made specific efforts to mobilize women in the base areas in the 1930s and 1940s (Chen 1986). Profeminist themes found resonance among Chinese women because there was a tradition of feminist thought in Chinese politics extending back to the May Fourth Movement (a revolutionary movement that began with student demonstrations in Beijing on May 4, 1919). A central target of Chinese efforts for establishing women's equality was the traditional family and marriage system. Arranged marriage, domination by the mother-in-law, and subordination of the wife to the authority of the husband were long-established features of Chinese society, and Chinese communists were determined to end these practices (Hinton 1966). After seizing power in 1949 the communist state undertook a series of fundamental legal reforms to establish the equality of women, including the areas of family and marriage (the Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China [PRC] was instituted in 1950), literacy and female education, electoral rights (the Electoral Law of the PRC went into effect in 1952), equality of treatment during the period of land reform, and guarantee of the right to labor outside of the household. There was also a specific and long-term effort within the CCP to develop and advance women into positions of leadership within the party, both before and after the revolution. It is generally agreed that the status of women in China has improved markedly since 1949 in terms of education, political participation, marital freedom, and economic independence (Tao, Zheng, and Mow 2004).

The Cuban revolution likewise brought systemic change for the situation of Cuban women, and Cuba became a model for the developing world in its success in ending the oppression of women. More fully even than the USSR or the PRC, Cuba succeeded both in incorporating legal equality for women into its constitution and fundamental legal system and in changing the actual outcomes for the broad population of Cuban women in virtually all segments of society. The percentages of female legislators, lawyers, doctors, scientists, and managers are among the highest in any country. Women represent a majority of Cubans in higher education—often a large majority. Female health indicators likewise show an internationally distinctive high level of attainment, with high female life expectancy and low infant mortality. Nicola Murray provides a detailed accounting of the role and status of women in postrevolution Cuba (1979).

Socialist and communist ideas thus had a large effect on progress toward greater gender equality in the twentieth century. For a mix of reasons, both ideological and political, women leaders and the issue of the equal treatment of women have had substantial influence on policies and outcomes in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba. This progress has occurred in multiple spheres in the areas of legal and constitutional declarations of equality of treatment; in the transformation of some of the basic institutions governing family, marriage, and childrearing; and in the successful provisioning of basic social goods (education, healthcare, access to economic opportunities) in a way that comes closer to establishing equality of outcomes for men and women.

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Daniel Little

COMPUTERS

> When I first got my BP6 I put it in a case, but then I realized cases were gay so I took it out of the case. I have some modular shelf/racks I got from Lowe's and it sits on there. The power supply is strapped underneath with a bungee cord. No need for case fans. You will be a better person and more of a man or woman if you take it out of the case. I threw mine in the dumpster. . . . Cases are for fags.

The words above belong to an unregistered user at the Ars Technica open forum posted on April 15, 2000, at 19:05. The (re)actions of this (homophobic?) computer user and builder actually illustrate well the significance and complexities of human–computer interaction at the object level. When the same user continues his criticism, it becomes clear that he despises the design and looks of some of the computers in Apple's iMac line, just introduced at that time, and associates them with his homophobic definitions of "gay" identity and iconography: "Of course if you don't have a case you forgo the opportunity to select a gay blue imac ripoff case or more likely paint your case pink and stencil, 'I'm so Gay' on it."

Indeed, this user was not alone in his reaction to the iMac's design and colors, and similar reactions arose to the many "iMac-wanna-be" PC imitations. Numerous PC users and "I Hate Macs" sites constituted a virtual Internet campaign against Apple's revolutionary designs and the "sexualization process" of computer cases.

Starting in 1998, the colorful and "juicy" iMac computers became best-sellers in their class. The iMac colors and transparent designs took over the entire all-in-one sector of the computer market, and thousands of everyday consumer products such as coffee makers, toasters, pens, toys, and irons began hitting the market with similar colors and designs. The iMac look became an object design cult in popular culture.

Outraged by such an invasion, a user in France came up with a now-defunct "I Hate Macs" web site, where he or she posted numerous anti-Mac images mocking the design fetishisms of Steve Jobs, the cofounder and CEO of Apple Computer, and the sexualization and genderization of computer cases and other plastic objects.

In fact, the company itself sought to impose a "She" identity upon its early iMacs. Apple's famous TV commercial "She Comes in Colors" successfully established this gender association with the personal computer. With the five different iMacs positioned in a circle, monitors facing out, the Rolling Stones's 1967 psychedelic rock ballad "She's a Rainbow" accompanies the twirling rainbow of feminized machines, this time in a postmodern setting:

> She comes in colors everywhere
> She combs her hair
> She's like a rainbow
> Coming, colors in the air
> Oh, everywhere
> She comes in colors

In February 2001 Jobs introduced the new and improved iMac SE, and, according to the web site apple-history.com, two new patterns "were molded into the case using a technique which took Apple 18 months to perfect." One wonders if Apple's CEO and his designers wanted to capitalize more on the already established public conception of the previous iMacs' gender connotations. On March 3, 2001, Jack Maher, writing on the MacFixIt web site, related the following about his family's flower design iMac SE:

> Our family just received a Flower Power iMac SE from the Apple Store. The site said to expect a seven day wait, we got it in three. My wife and daughter think the Flower Power design is beautiful. The coloration is subtle and not as garish as it may appear from the photos on the Apple site. The colors are pastels and translucent. The machine sits on my wife's desk, alongside a window. When the sun passes through the case, it creates a very pleasant appearance. Definitely NOT your standard Beige Box.

The user's comments about the plastic enclosure of the computer are fascinating. Indeed, his and his family's interaction with their new object is not a classical human–computer interaction. He does not talk about how fast their new computer is, what it is capable of doing, and so on. He focuses solely on the flowery plastic, thus equating the plastic clothing with the machine's body itself. Perhaps more than any other hardware company, Apple invests heavily in researching human psychology and consumer interactions with objects. For potential "male" users, the iMac SE's see-through graphite design is quite revealing and seems to be based on the voyeuristic tendencies of the male gaze.

Computer magazines dedicated to the Mac platform seemed to be delighted that the minority status of the MAC OS (operating system) could be changed with the success and popularity of the iMac line. The Macintosh "geek" culture was happy that the iMac runs only Mac OS and not Windows. A cartoon published in the May 2000 issue of *Mac Addict* magazine not only expressed Apple's "victory" over Microsoft but also provided further testimony of the accepted gender status of the iMac: "Sorry. . . . I don't do windows!"

Following the gender success of the iMac, many small companies saw the business potential in producing iMac peripherals (quite similar to the multitude of later products that claimed to add more functionality to the iPod line). Many of these peripheral companies focused on the sex and gender associations of their iMac products in hopes of rapid sales boosts. One of the most successful such companies was Contour Design, which, among many other peripherals, developed and produced "nice legs" for the already beautiful female iMac.

The portable partner of the fruit-colored iMacs (Jobs being a vegetarian) were the iBooks. On July 29, 1999, on his TechTV show "Silicon Spin," John Dvorak described Jobs's new laptop computer:

> The only thing missing from the Apple iBook is the Barbie logo. The system, which looks like a makeup case, promises to be a disaster once people come to their senses. . . . [T]his system is an embarrassment. . . . I can only describe it as a 'girly' machine. You expect to see lipstick, rouge, and a tray of eye shadow inside when you open it. You don't expect to see a 12-inch LCD; you expect to see a 12-inch mirror. No man in his right mind will be seen in public with this notebook.

Dvorak's angry, and somehow sexist, reaction to the new Apple laptop was not the only one. In an interview with *Business Week* published online on January 18, 2002, Jeff Raskin, who joined Apple's Cupertino headquarters in 1978 and shortly after that became the manager of the "Macintosh Project," sounded as straightforward as possible in his criticism of Jobs's attachment to the form fetish:

> What Steve Jobs did was decree that the Apple II was to have an aesthetic enclosure. He said we have to put this in a pretty box. We can't sell a naked board. He was absolutely right. But what he has been doing ever since is repeat that formula. They keep the hardware up to or slightly above the standard set by PCs, but they can't think outside the pretty box.

No matter how much the new revolutionary designs of Apple's enclosures were criticized by some leading analysts and computer experts, millions of consumers embraced the unusual form fetish found in these machines, from iBooks to Power Macs. It came as no surprise that the October 2000 issue of *Playboy* magazine featured a playmate on its front cover, posing with an Apple iBook. The color of the playmate's shorts and the curves of her body were photographed in unison with an iBook in an effort to make her look like the computer and the computer look like her. Just like the reified model, an object of the male gaze, the computer itself is transformed into an aesthetically pleasing plastic object by focusing only on its colorful shell. Neither of the two models, the human or the machine, manifests any other sign of their being beyond their enclosures.

At the MacWorld Expo in January 2001, Jobs introduced his high-end notebook computer for "professionals," the PowerBook G4 Titanium, which featured a 15.2-inch "megawide" LCD display, a slot-loading DVD drive, and a 400 MHz PowerPC CPU, all housed in an enclosure made of titanium. Quite a luxury at the time, the titanium look and power was a departure from the flashy plastic color designs. As argued above, the lower-end iMacs and iBooks had "sex appeal." Jobs made it clear at the expo that the new PowerBook G4 was not only powerful but also sexy: "We think it has the power and the sex."

The Wired News web site used the headline "Titanium titillation" for its article on the new computer:

> [It] is very small and sleek and has just about everything you'd need to replace a desktop machine. And when you look at it up close, you realize just how amazing the attention to detail is. . . . At the Apple booth, a bunch of guys (they're always guys) [were] admiring one of the new PowerBooks on a revolving pedestal. . . . They started dancing and clapping with glee.

Apple certainly is not alone in assigning sex and gender identity to computer products. Regardless of their operating systems, many companies have tried to sell their products (from small peripherals to computers) through a clever manipulation and, in many cases, exploitation, of sex and gender values and perceptions. Research on this subject suggests that the weaker the quality of the product is (including of course the entire iMac line), the greater the need for the usage of sex and gender in marketing it. The buyers of high-end machines (from workstations to highly expensive servers and other specialized computers) do not need to be manipulated through sex- and gender-obsessed advertisements. Indeed such a business strategy would backfire. Generally speaking, these buyers are highly educated and possess a great deal of technological knowledge, and their attraction to the product is based on the technology itself, not the color and "sex appeal" of the enclosure. Compaq, known for its run-of-the-mill budget PCs, had once placed great emphasis on the "gender qualities" of its Presario desktops and notebooks in its advertisements and attempted to provide its potential male and female buyers with an "iMac taste" based on the buyers' sexual "chemistry" and their presumed gender/color associations (see *PC World*, September 2000, p. 61, and *Maximum PC*, September 2000, p. 1).

Personal computer companies' feminization of their budget machines is neither country nor culture specific. This is more or less an international marketing phenomenon. An ad published in the Turkish version of *Chip* magazine targets the potential male buyer with a sex-centered interpretation of an all-in-one PC ("The Best Model of the World," *Chip*, August 2000, p. 41). The woman in the ad is "en ince" (the slimmest), "en şık" (the most stylish), "en modern" (the most modern), and "en kullanışlı" (the most utilitarian). The camera's focus is on the model. The machine itself is just a pretty background prop hoping to be sold in the chaos of a cognitive confusion.

The models featured in the ads for VAIO FJ computers continue Sony Corporation's determination to establish the "female" identity of its FJ series notebooks. VAIO FJs are known to be middle-of-the-road computers designed for middle-of-the-road computing tasks. In general, Sony's VAIO desktops and notebooks have a reputation for their high-end parts and impeccable attention to detail. Only for the FJs, however, is this much emphasis placed on sex and gender. The FJ's advertisers (like those of the early iMacs) have been paying special attention to the feminization of the machine by showing the "special" and "sweet" color enclosures being carried by professional models with black, blond, and red hair. Especially through the FJ, VAIO engineers, designers, and advertisers seem to be attempting to create a new level of human–computer interaction, an interaction that goes above and beyond the user's traditional computing needs and habits. The FJ and its ads seem to center around the establishment of new postmodern lifestyles that are colorful, polished, flirtatious, and daring.

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Kemal Silay

CONCUBINAGE

The term *concubinage* from the Latin expression *concubīna*, which derives from *con* (with) and *cubare* (to lie), refers to the state of a man and woman cohabiting as married persons without the full sanctions of legal marriage. A woman who enters this kind of relationship is known as a concubine. Concubinage may be of long—even lifelong—duration and sexually exclusive. But because this relationship is usually without legal protection for the woman and her children, it can also be terminated with relative ease. In contrast to a wife, a concubine has limited rights of support. Although her children might obtain acknowledgement as the man's offspring, their entitlement to property was usually restricted, especially if the father had progeny by his legal wife. In general, the practice of concubinage has endured in many different civilizations and until the early twenty-first century, because it was (and is) a means of protecting inheritance without denying men sexual pleasure. In some societies, such as imperial China, concubinage also became a demonstration of conspicuous consumption, awarding prestige to those men able to afford it.

Concubinage has been practiced since ancient times. Anthropologists have argued that most societies have made a distinction between legally sanctioned unions and the cohabitation of unmarried couples (concubinage) or casual sexual relations. Written evidence from ancient Mesopotamia demonstrates there was differentiation between legitimate marriage and concubinage. In ancient Israelite society, men were free to have sexual relations with concubines (and slaves or servants) along with their wives. There are several dramatic stories in the Old Testament involving concubines. *Judges 19* narrates the sad fate of a concubine thrust outside of her house, then gang-raped for an entire night, and finally murdered by her own master. In *2 Samuel 5:13* one learns of King David taking concubines, and in *2 Samuel 15:16*, his leaving ten concubines behind when he fled Jerusalem in the face of Absalom's coup. By contrast, in the case of ancient Egypt, where women of all social classes had the same legal rights as men, and marriage was monogamous, there is doubt whether concubinage did in fact exist.

In classical Greece the concubine occupied the status between the wife and mistress or courtesan. The well-known passage from Apollodorus's speech *Against Neaira* differentiates three categories of women in Athens: "For we have courtesans (*hetairai*) for pleasure, and concubines (*pallaki*) for daily service of our bodies, (and) wives (*gunaikes*) for the production of legitimate offspring and to have a reliable guardian of our household property" (Davidson 1997, p. 73). One of the effects of Pericles's (495–429 BCE) citizenship law of 451 BCE was to limit the ability of concubines' children to inherit. They inherited only when a man had no children by his recognized wife.

In ancient Rome, concubinage had a somewhat different status. There it could be considered a lasting sexual union, the resort of those who could not legally marry such as legionary soldiers, or persons of different social status such as a senator and a freed woman. The second and third centuries CE saw a proliferation of laws on concubines, which made clearer what constituted legal marriage and what legal status concubinage held. Unlike marriage where the giving of a dowry was the norm, long-term concubinage did not involve such property exchange. A dowry (being understood as the property a wife brought to the marriage) was not legally necessary for either Roman or Greek marriage, but there was a strong moral duty for this institution. A marriage without a dowry created the impression of concubinage. Thus, in ancient Rome, concubinage was not a union adjunct to marriage, but, rather, proved an alternative, especially for widower men. Several Roman emperors—Vespasian (9–79 CE), Marcus Aurelius (121–180 CE), and Antoninus Pius (86–161 CE) among them—lived with concubines after the death of their wives. As all these rulers had already designated heirs to their throne, and did not marry the women with whom they lived, they avoided the squabbles between heirs descended from different wives, which had occurred in Hellenistic monarchies.

With the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, the distinction between marriage and concubinage blurred because of the attitudes of the Christian church. As early Christian ideas on marriage stressed consent above dowry to be the constituent element of legal marriage, it became difficult to distinguish concubinage from clandestine marriage where consent had been given, but no dowry. Although ecclesiastical pressure against concubinage among the clergy and the laity did exist throughout the Middle Ages, canon law in fact adopted an ambivalent attitude toward this practice. Saint Augustine's (354–430) ideals of lifelong monogamy for royalty and celibacy for servants of the church notwithstanding, the records for the Carolignian and Merovingian dynasties demonstrate concubinage persisted among sovereigns and their descendants, as well as the clergy and the laity. Even the medieval canon lawyer's (Franciscus Gratian [d. 1159]) attempts to wrestle with the problems of clerical concubinage did not offer a satisfactory solution, and for the next several hundred years the vagaries associated with concubinage circumscribed the status of sexual relations among the married and unmarried of whatever social class. It would take the church's Tridentine reforms (held from 1545–1563) to abolish the legality of concubinage and clandestine marriage. From then onward, both the Catholic and Protestant churches subjected sexual activity to regulation in official documentation.

Such regulatory attitudes also guided the mindset of the first Europeans who explored and colonized the New World. In pre-Hispanic MesoAmerica and the Andes, where polygamy was common practice, the imposition of Christian models of behavior prompted the Indian native population to substitute concubinage and forms of slavery in response to their overlords. Concubinage with Spaniards also served as a means for natives, and later black slaves, to enter colonial society, which also contributed to the transfer of landed property to the Spanish and half-castes. In Dutch Asia the keeping of concubines was at first widespread among Dutch East India Company officials as well as ordinary crew, but in 1622 the company authorities issued an edict forbidding the practice. Thereafter, marriage between Dutch (Calvinist) men and local (converted Christian) women was encouraged.

In other regions outside Western Europe concubinage was a vehicle for dynastic reproduction. Indian rajas, khans, and sultans kept large harems with concubines, a practice that persisted even under the British Raj in the princely states. Iranian monarchs and noblemen from the sixth century BCE until the nineteenth century CE

Fifth-Century Fresco Painting of Two Concubines. © JEREMY HORNER/CORBIS.

(i.e., first Zoroastrian and subsequently Sunni and Shi'ite elites) maintained large harems with numerous concubines. Among the ruling elite of the Ottomans, it was the custom for nearly 200 years before the reign of Suliman the Magnificent (1520–1566) to take concubines rather than wives to avoid interdynastic strife. Suliman's restructuring of the Ottoman political system used marriage as the vehicle for dynastic reproduction and primogeniture as a principle of succession. Thereafter, women, as members of the royal family, also began to exercise social and political power. The quarters where these royal women and their children lodged was the harem, that part of the imperial enclosure forbidden to male strangers. By the seventeenth century the harem became a site of European fantasy and obsession. As evidenced by their many paintings, Europeans thought the harem to be a location of sexual license, symbolic of Oriental despotism, and the weakness of the Turkish sultanate. But, in fact, the harem was an important government agency for the supervision of Ottoman statecraft. One may compare it to the Keno Palace in Nigeria where for over 500 years its concubines supervised the Hausa state's grain and indigo operations.

Harem is also the usual rendition of the Chinese language term *hougong*, literally meaning "the palaces behind." These were large-size quarters in the imperial palace for the emperor's consorts and concubines, as well as their servants. Ordinary Chinese people also possessed concubines who commonly came from an impoverished background, but men could have only one wife. A man who still had no heir at the age of forty was encouraged to take a concubine, but often rich men acquired a series of concubines to mark their status. Whereas the sons of concubines were equal to those of the wife in matters of inheritance, the status of their mothers was usually no more than a servant or maid. Moreover, a concubine was expected to obey her master's wife. Until the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), it was illegal for a man to promote his concubine to wife, even if his wife had died. The low-class status of concubines continued well into the twentieth century.

Now in the early twenty-first century, as increasing numbers of men and women in Euro-America choose to live together without marrying, the word *concubinage* has taken on new legal, social, and cultural meanings. In France *concubinage* is the official term for the cohabitation of heterosexual and (since 1998) homosexual couples. But concubinage in other societies outside Euro-America probably continues to carry a social stigma.

SEE ALSO *Harems.*

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CONDOM

SEE *Contraception: IV. Relation of to Sexual Practices and Gender Roles.*

CONDUCT BOOKS

As didactic literature, conduct books did not adhere to a particular form or subject matter. They were written for a specific but usually anonymous audience, which could be male or female, aristocratic or, especially in the late Middle Ages, bourgeois. Determining the actual audience for the books is complicated since the texts were appropriated by readers of status other than those intended. People of lower social status read conduct books of the upper class precisely with the aim of learning aristocratic behavior and, ultimately, attaining elite status. Subtypes of conduct literature include the Mirrors for Princes, the estates poem, and the courtesy book. Historians also consider many other texts that do not conform to any of these subtypes to be conduct literature.

MIRRORS FOR PRINCES

The Mirrors for Princes were written for an aristocratic, male audience. While they are hardly representative of conduct literature generally, since in some cases either the author or the patron could be identified, these texts were among the first conduct books to be edited and studied. The *Policraticus* (early 1160s) by English ecclesiastic John of Salisbury (1115–1120), dedicated to Thomas Becket but written with Henry II in mind, is fairly typical of the genre, with its blending of moral, political, and legal concerns. The author shows little interest in sexual matters, but the Prince is enjoined to exercise moderation in all areas of his public and personal life and to shun bodily pleasure so as not to become, like Julius Caesar, "ensnared in the bonds of Venus by a shameless woman" (John of Salisbury 1990, p. 35).

An *Enseignement des Princes* (Instruction of Princes) figures among the didactic works of the thirteenth-centurycourtly poet Robert de Blois, as does a companion text, the *Chastoiement des dames* (Correction of Ladies). Contrastive reading of these texts provides insight on how courtly society in northern France constructed the masculine and feminine spheres. While the *Enseignement* focuses on the Prince's social interactions in the public arena of the court, the *Chastoiement* emphasizes feminine honor and *mesure* in an exposition in which the fetishized female body becomes the locus of male anxiety (Krueger 1990). In a somewhat similar way, the *Miroir des bonnes femmes* (Mirror of Good Women, c. 1300) describes, for the urban elite of Burgundy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, female honor as the "ideological locus of social prestige upon which the whole family builds its new status" (Ashley 2001, p. 102).

ESTATES POEMS

Usually written by clerics and advocating respect of the Church's prerogatives and teachings, estates poems either idealize or satirize the various estates of Christian society. The earliest example in the vernacular is the *Livres des manières* by Etienne de Fougères, chaplain to Henry II, in which the author seeks to define the proper relationship among the estates after the murder in 1170 of his colleague, Thomas Becket. Etienne is preoccupied with female sexuality, making women one of his six estates of society. He expresses no interest in peasant women but lambastes the bourgeoises (females of the class) who think themselves "courtly" (*courtoises*) if they take a lover or who may seek to settle a debt by having sex with their creditors. He is most ferocious in dealing with the ladies of the court, whom he accuses of adultery, homicide, infanticide, and, in a lengthy tirade, lesbianism. The satirical tone of this passage and others in the poem belies a deep-seated anxiety over female sexuality, particularly the thought that women might escape the control of men.

COURTESY BOOKS

Late-medieval courtesy books were written either for noble or bourgeois readers and circulated widely in urban communities, especially after the appearance of printed versions, such as *Caxton's Book of Curtesye* (c. 1477). Typically focusing on behavior in the household and at table and more generally on issues of economy and consumption, courtesy books tend to be highly attentive also to issues of social standing and gender. For instance, *What the Goodwife Taught Her Daughter*, which circulated in the mid-fourteenth to the late-fifteenth centuries, focuses specifically on female behavior in and outside the household. Although ostensibly a book of advice for bourgeois daughters, medievalist Felicity Riddy argues that it more likely served as a guide for women managing bourgeois households and female servants from either lower social backgrounds or the countryside. In this text unregulated female sexuality is presented as potentially disruptive to relations within the household and damaging to its good standing in the social fabric of the broader community.

One of the most striking features of conduct books, especially more developed ones like the *Mesnagier de Paris* (written in 1394 by a Parisian householder for his young wife) or the *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles* (written in 1371–1372 by a provincial nobleman for his daughters), but also shorter texts like Jean Gerson's *Sur l'excellence de la virginité* (1395–1398), is the way in which their patriarchal discourse seeks to harmonize conflicting concerns (social, familial, sexual, spiritual) and construct a script for living for a subject. As such, they are more prescriptive than descriptive, but they offer many insights into social and sexual dynamics in the medieval and early modern periods.

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CONFUCIANISM

Confucius is the Latinized honorific name for K'ung Ch'iu (551–479 BCE), acknowledged founder of the tradition. His goal was to produce *junzi* (noble sons), morally perfected and ritually sophisticated gentlemen who would give their lives to the service of the state. Chinese women of the time did not hold public positions of political power, and thus Confucius had no female students. Indeed, tradition maintains that the master had little to say about women at all. In the *Lunyu*, the brief collection of Confucius's teachings known in English as the *Analects*, women are described merely as difficult to deal with.

The prominent early Confucian interpreter Mencius, or Mengzi, (371–289 BCE) accepted the notion that women were socially subordinate. He also made clear that the worst form of unfiliality was to have no sons, thereby lending implicit support for a system of secondary wives and concubinage that valued women solely for their reproductive capacity. Yet Mencius never suggested that women were intellectually inferior or in greater need of moral education than men. Women, like men, were understood to possess innately the seeds of justice, propriety, wisdom, and humaneness that, if nurtured properly, would grow into true humanity. Nothing in the earliest texts of the tradition denied women the capacity or possibility of becoming a *gentleman* despite the gendered terminology.

After centuries of interstate warfare, the Han dynasty (second century BCE through the second century CE) ushered in a time of relative peace and stability. A Confucian academy was founded, and its tenets were established as state orthodoxy. The ritual texts compiled during this time, such as the *Liji* [Book of rites], dictated that the sexes be differentiated and kept distinct and distant from the age of seven onward. Men and women were to be separated within the home, even to the degree that their clothes should not be hung on the same peg. Although few beyond the wealthy upper class ever followed the myriad sex-segregation rules laid out in the ritual texts, a general notion of maintaining distinctions and distance between males and females was widely observed.

The Han Confucian scholar Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BCE) is credited with melding indigenous cosmologies, in particular the yin and yang theory, with Confucian political and moral ideologies to demonstrate the centrality of the ruler in upholding cosmic order. He constructed a comprehensive model of rulership that associated the ruler with yang (characterized by strength, growth, light, and the promotion of life) and asserted the primacy of yang over yin (characterized by passivity, weakness, darkness, and destructive tendencies). This correlation of the ruler with yang and the ruled with yin confirmed the necessary dominance of yang. All people manifest yang and yin qualities, and as people fulfill different sides of their core relationships, they shift between yang and yin status. However, the binary hierarchy of Han cosmology fueled the tendency to diminish the estimation of yin-associated individuals, which included eunuchs and homosexuals as well as women. *Woman* was essentially the embodiment of yin, and a growing ambivalence toward them ensued.

Despite this growing ambivalence, a new literary genre—biographies of virtuous women—appeared in the Han. Archivist Liu Xiang (77–6 BCE) compiled the *Lienü zhuan* [Biographies of exemplary women], sketching the lives of notable women, including those whom he found wise and able in reasoning. These traits were not praised independently but were valorized insofar as they were manifest in the service of family or state needs. Maternal virtue was prized most highly, and the most famous exemplar was Mencius's widowed mother. She moved their residence three times in search of an environment conducive to her son's moral upbringing, and she once shocked her son by destroying her weaving—their source of income—in response to his lack of diligence in his studies. Thoughtful, wise, and bold in her initiatives, she illustrates the Han acceptance of womanly virtue in still-surprising and public ways.

The second gendered literary genre to emerge during this time was books of instruction for women, the first of which was written by Ban Zhao (d. 116 CE), an educated woman associated with the imperial court. Her work, the first explicitly didactic text for women, *Nüjie* [Instructions for women], clearly illustrates both the emergent ambivalence toward women during the Han and the Confucian tradition's privileging of the male gaze. She was a champion of girls' education—but only so that they might better fulfill their ritual responsibilities, support their husbands, and educate their own children. Drawing on images found in newly canonized texts such as the *Shijing* [Odes] and *Liji*, Ban Zhao promoted the subordination of women by urging them to cultivate humility and the four virtues of chaste and demure conduct, upright bearing, propriety in speech, and efficiency in work.

Ban Zhao's work proved singularly influential. It was copied and imitated over the centuries, but with each new generation of instructional texts, the estimation of female abilities diminished. The realm of female influence was increasingly limited to the domestic sphere: men go out, women stay in. For women of the upper classes, this ultimately meant virtual confinement to the nonpublic rooms and courtyards of the home; for women of lower economic classes, the need for their labor in the fields, in the market, with the herds, in the production of silk, or in the manufacturing of household items meant that such notions were often given little more than lip service in the face of practical necessity.

All women, however, were governed by the doctrine of *thrice following*. The original context for thrice following in the *Liji* was that females were to follow the social rank of the male head of their household (in style of dress or ritual processional order); later reinterpretations incorporated a sense of submission to authority so that the term came to be understood as the *three obediences*. In this way women labored under a considerable burden: In addition to their economic contributions, they were expected to be good wives and virtuous mothers whose universal vocation was to establish a harmonious domestic environment so that the men who dominated their lives could more successfully pursue their public endeavors.

Legal protections for women were few but significant. A woman's property, including her dowry, was her own, even after marriage. And although a man could divorce his wife for any of seven conditions (failure to produce a son or to serve his parents, or for promiscuity, theft, disease, loquacity, or jealousy), a woman had three possible lines of defense. First, if her husband's parents had died and she had mourned them, she was understood to be linked to the family permanently and could not be cut off. Second, if divorcing a woman would render her homeless and destitute, she could not be abandoned. The third condition is both poignant and telling: If the woman had been the wife of youth and poverty, enabling the man to rise to his current status, she could not be dismissed. A woman could divorce her husband for a variety of reasons, but she risked poverty, social isolation, forced remarriage, and the certain loss of any minor children to the father's family. A woman of the upper economic echelons might be taken back into her natal family and supported, but for the overwhelming majority of women, remaining with one's husband, however bad or brutal, might well be the better choice.

Confucian sex and gender ideals were not confined to China. Beyond its shifting borders, the historical interplay between native identity and Chinese influence dramatically affected gender identities and the range of acceptable social roles for men and women. Both Korea and Vietnam were subordinated to Chinese rule for centuries. As outpost colonies, or commanderies, their native elite populations often embraced Confucianism for its principles of orderly government and for the literacy and literary culture that accompanied it.

Korea's peninsular location formed a natural bridge between China and Japan, and merchants, missionaries, and travelers traversed its territory; cultural imports competed with indigenous traditions. However, although Korea's political, educational, and aesthetic sensibilities were influenced greatly by China, the country was far from major Chinese cultural centers and thus could maintain a degree of cultural autonomy. The preservation of Korean cultural identity was aided by its language, an Altaic tongue closer to Japanese than Chinese, and by a strong female shamanic tradition focused on maintenance of close ties with ancestral and spirit worlds.

By the fourth century China's hold on its far-flung colonies weakened. Korea's disparate clans united into three kingdoms, all of which embraced Mahayana Buddhism. Historical works suggest that even in the northernmost kingdom of Koguryo, relations between the sexes were quite free. Chinese observers noted with discomfort that companionate marriages were valued in every social stratum and remarriage was widely accepted. Liberal relations between the sexes continued from the late seventh through the tenth centuries under the Silla dynasty. In the succeeding Koryo period (918–1392), despite the increasing influence of a revitalizing Confucianism from Song dynasty China (960–1279), men and women continued to enjoy a great degree of freedom in public as well as private matters. Women could be acknowledged heads of households and had equal inheritance rights with men. Shocked Chinese ambassadors sent reports of nude bathers of both sexes swimming together. Gradually, however, the ideals of gender segregation and silence, submission, and chastity for women gained currency once Confucianism was adopted as state ideology in the early Choson dynasty (1392–1910).

With the development of Neo-Confucian schools during the Song dynasty, ambivalence toward women was unprecedented, as women were identified as the locus of male distraction—an attitude that led not only to increased regulation of women but served also to deepen their erotic attraction. Silk and textile production was increasingly commercialized and offered the possibility of significant wealth for women, who still retained personal property rights. The booming economy, however, produced conditions in which the commodification of women and the trade in them increased; as an emergent merchant class grew, a lively market developed for concubines, courtesans, prostitutes, maidservants, and slaves. Footbinding, initially a practice of the courtesan class, spread beyond that social group and was practiced, to varying degrees, by women of all but the lowest socioeconomic groups, for whom the crippling of half the labor force could not be tolerated.

During the Song dynasty, manuals of family instruction proliferated. In them, appreciation for womanly talents in the domestic realm vie with the advocacy of confining concepts, such as chastity for both the unmarried and the widowed. The Confucian scholar Yuan Cai (late twelfth century) made note of wise and worthy women with stupid, unworthy, or inept husbands who nonetheless somehow managed the family on their own, keeping the accounts and not allowing others to take advantage of them. Similarly, the great architect of Neo-Confucianism, Zhu Xi (1130–1200), emphasized functional distinctions between men and women but affirmed that unless a woman was educated and cultivated, she could not perform her crucial function within the home.

The conflation of sex and gender, the reduction of women's roles to that of wife and mother, and the resultant tight controls over women's sexuality and autonomy, reached their apex when Neo-Confucianism was established as state orthodoxy in the later Yuan (1280–1368) and Ming dynasties (1368–1644). Functional literacy rates were rising and the printing of cheap illustrated morality books produced a shared culture in which the Neo-Confucian obsessions with chastity for women and filiality for men predominated. The lives of upper-class men were dominated by the drive for public success, whether through education and advancement in the civil service examination system or through commercial endeavors. Upper-class women, again confined to the upper quarters, might be educated and cultivated, but their social value was derivative; by the Ming-Qing dynastic transition (mid-seventeenth century), the ideal wife was described as one who complemented her husband *like a shadow or an echo*.

Not all Confucian scholars held such diminished views of women; records indicate many over the centuries, acquiescing to their daughters' pleas to be educated or not to have their feet bound or not to be married to a man of lesser abilities. Famously, K'ang Yuwei (1858–1927) persuaded the emperor to institute what was later called the Hundred Days' Reform. K'ang's Confucian vision radically advocated peace and equality for all people, including women. He felt that men and women should be free to choose their marriage partners and to move equally in the public sphere. His reform program, as its name indicates, was short-lived, undone by the empress dowager.

In Korea, Neo-Confucianism was promoted by the founders of the Yi and Choson dynasty (1392–1910) to justify their control and to better regulate their state. Following the Chinese system, examination in Confucian texts now determined the selection of officials, who—heavily influenced by Neo-Confucian's suspicion of women and by the yin and yang theory—inaugurated a process that gradually eroded women's rights and privileges. Ancient practices of matrilocality were abandoned in favor of patrilocal residence and orientation; also, the legal status of wives and mothers was reduced, inheritance laws changed from equal distribution among all siblings to sole inheritance by the eldest son, and widow chastity was strictly enforced. Exemplary biographies of virtuous women, didactic texts for women, and books of family instruction proliferated and promoted the most restrictive Confucian vision of women—a vision that could have severe consequences for men as well. Even the most accomplished man might find his upward mobility within the *yangban* system (stratified civil bureaucracy) stymied by the discovery of an unchaste woman in his family line. It is arguable that Korean implementation of Confucian sex and gender rules surpassed even the most rigid laws in China. By the early twentieth century Confucianism permeated every aspect of Korean society and its ideals of quiet, obedient, chaste, and industrious women who were completely nativized.

Unlike Korea and Vietnam, Japan never suffered occupation by the Chinese. Geographic and social isolation fostered a strong consciousness of native identity, fostered by an indigenous religious tradition, Shinto, that imbued the land and its people with a distinctive sacredness. Chinese influences were consequently slower in coming and were adopted selectively. Nonetheless, Confucian influence gradually increased during the mid- to late Heian era (ninth to twelfth centuries), and women in the upper classes were increasingly relegated to the domestic realm and to auxiliary ritual roles. Some turned to literary pursuits, as the development of the kana syllabaries facilitated literacy; Heian court ladies wrote volumes of elegant literary works (in contrast to their male contemporaries, whose Chinese-language works are less distinguished). Women in the Kamakura period (1185–1333) still commanded a degree of respect, evidenced by the retention of historical rights to inherit property and titles. In a new appreciation of the concept of thrice following, women of the samurai and upper classes were expected to manifest the same ideals of courage, loyalty, sacrifice, and stoicism as their fathers, husbands, and sons.

Once the Tokugawa rulers (1603–1868) espoused Neo-Confucianism as the ideological basis for their rule, male domination became the norm; the estimation of women as little more than heir providers gradually filtered down through Japanese society. The Meiji Restoration (1868) did little to restore women's earlier status. Men were awarded rights and privileges but women were accorded duties and obligations. When rights for women were granted, as in the 1872 mandate for women's education, the rationale provided was in complete accord with Confucian norms: Women should be educated so that they might become *ryusai kembo*, or good wives and mothers.

In Vietnam Confucian influence was as varied over time as it was geographically, waxing and waning with the rise and fall of the Ly and Tran (1054–1400) and Le and

Nguyen (1428–1802) dynasties. In general, Confucian social values and mores were espoused more than enforced, and their adoption was often a byproduct of a desire to take on attitudes and rituals conducive to maintaining a close and supportive family network. For this reason Zhu Xi's *Jiali* [Family instructions] was as honored as any classic Confucian philosophical work. However, as in China, textile production afforded women their own means of livelihood and a modicum of social power, as did opportunities to avoid or abandon restrictive family obligations by renouncing the world and entering a Buddhist nunnery.

Throughout the Confucian-influenced cultures of East and Southeast Asia, the twentieth century witnessed the collapse of dynastic systems of rule, followed by successive waves of republicanism, communism, and capitalism. In China early twentieth-century social reformers called for the abolition of feudal Confucian attitudes and practices typified by the subordination of women and manifest in high rates of female infanticide and low rates of literacy, earnings, and autonomy. The early Chinese Communist Party institutionalized the vilification of Confucianism and declared that as *women hold up half the sky*, they should be put to equal use in building the new society. In practice female Communist Party members have been employed typically in supporting organizational roles or in bureaus that focus on domestic or women's affairs.

Marriage, divorce, and inheritance laws have redressed certain historical wrongs, but changes have been slow in coming. The People's Republic of China (PRC) altered its marriage laws in 1950, but popular resistance proved widespread, with the greatest resistance often coming from women who feared the loss of what authority they had as mothers and mothers-in-law. The PRC government also attempted to alter traditional norms out of a desperate need to curb rampant population growth. In the early 1970s a draconian one-child policy was imposed. Despite a campaign in 1974 (as part of an anti-Confucius campaign) to encourage the valuing of girls, a shift to matrilocal marriage, and a reinvention of filiality to encompass care for both parents and parents-in-law, the identification of heir with son remained little changed. Moreover, the traditional view that women are responsible for reproduction is largely unchallenged. Male contraceptive use is generally low and thus women have borne the brunt of coercion (forced intrauterine device insertion, abortion, and sterilization) for failures to comply with the policy, regardless of familial pressure for additional pregnancies in hopes of having a son. One consequence of the one-child policy has been a rise in female infanticide; a second has been the commodification of abandoned female babies for the foreign adoption market.

Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, reappraisals of Confucian tradition have been ongoing. Concern over a perceived moral decline that has accompanied the rise of capitalism has been one cause; another is the appreciation of Confucianism's role in the success of other East Asian economies. The result is a shifting mix of resurgent traditional values complicated by rapid economic change. In urban areas and among the more educated, sex roles are more flexible than ever before, but in general, as women move out of the domestic sphere and take up outside employment, they tend to shoulder a double burden. Men go out and women may now also go out, but the latter also spend long hours staying in. Domestic chores and child-rearing responsibilities continue to fall disproportionately on women. Under the multiple stresses of tradition and modernity, it is not surprising, therefore, that as many as 25 percent of all rural women attempt suicide, according to one recent estimate.

Technological advances have combined with continuing son-preference to a devastating effect on the sex ratio of male to female babies. A normal ratio would be 105 to 106 boys born for every 100, reflecting a natural imbalance that compensates for higher male mortality rates. In 2000, the ratio was 110 to 100, and in 2005, 118 to 100. In that same year in the southern province of Hainan, the ratio reached as high as 135 to 100. As alarming as these figures may be, it is worth noting that the modern imbalance is charted at birth and is attributed to sex-selective abortions following ultrasound scanning. Prior to these technologies female infanticide was widely practiced and extant census records indicate similar sex ratio imbalances among the adult general population in certain rural provinces in the nineteenth century. Worrisome consequences of the present phenomenon of *lost girls* are its future effect on both men and women: It is estimated that by 2020, there will be a surplus of 30 million men of marriageable age in China, the majority of them seeking heterosexual partners. Already in some rural areas, girls and women are once again being sold into marriage and realize few, if any, of the rights the law affords them.

In the other Confucian cultures of East Asia, the postwar years of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have witnessed the dismantling of aspects of the Confucian sex–gender system, albeit slowly and sometimes fitfully. In the Republic of China (Taiwan) the nationalist government eagerly employed factory women in the 1950s and 1960s as part of a plan to build a powerful economy; once economic success was assured in the 1970s, women were urged to retreat to traditional roles as wives, mothers, and part-time volunteers. By the early twenty-first century, under the influence of feminist and gay-rights movements, traditional relationships and gender roles are challenged daily. So-called *New Confucian* thinkers such as Tu Weiming (b. 1940), along with scholars from both Confucian and non-Confucian backgrounds, seek to recover a more balanced view of historical roles for women and men and to question assumptions about the gendered division of labor within Confucianism's five relationships. Sociologist Li Kuo-Ting (b. 1910) has called for a new sixth relationship (of an individual to a group) to reflect the needs of a modern civil society.

In Japan the Confucian legacy is also clear yet complex. Parliament in 1986 passed the Equal Employment Opportunity Law for Men and Women, which, despite its name, did not prohibit the differential treatment of women in the workplace; the law requires only that employers *endeavor* to prevent discrimination. Women are expected to leave their job or career in favor of marriage and motherhood, although resistance is observable in that the average marriage age for women has been rising steadily since the 1980s. A well-publicized example of the conflict between career and marriage was played out in 2006 when Crown Princess Masako (b. 1963), a former career diplomat whose marriage to the crown prince had only produced a daughter, came under intense public scrutiny for her failure to produce an heir. Although the biological facts of fetal sex-determination were well understood, there was significant public sentiment that the princess had simply waited too long to marry and begin having children and thus had put the line of succession in jeopardy. The feared crisis was averted when Princess Kiko (b. 1966), wife of the emperor's younger son and widely perceived as a traditional Japanese woman, bore her third child—a son.

That a Japanese woman's career is secondary to her reproductive function is evidenced in the understanding of women's earnings being seen as supplemental rather than essential to their family's maintenance. The majority of women continue to earn far less than their male counterparts and are typically bypassed for promotions in favor of their male counterparts. Secondary status in the workplace, however, should not be interpreted as entirely negative for women. Reluctant to interrupt their career, however slowly it may progress, or to leave the outside world permanently, increasing numbers of women are delaying marriage significantly or deciding to forego it altogether; others are returning to the casual workforce after their children are grown. The numbers of single women who continue to live in their natal home and amass significant personal savings, and the increasing numbers of middle-aged women with both money and leisure time, has translated into an adult female population with greater autonomy than ever before—and with varied means of exercising it through consumerism, continuing education, and travel. Conversely, the burden of familial (and filial) responsibility continues to weigh on men, often trapping them in lifelong corporate careers that offer little mobility or challenge.

In the Republic of Korea the 1948 constitution mandated equality for men and women, but it was not until 1987 that laws were strengthened by the revised constitution and not until 1991 that new family laws abolished differential inheritance for sons and daughters. Women labor under the familiar dual burden of working outside the home only to return and assume domestic responsibilities as well. Although Korean women, as with women in Japan, are often highly educated, they remain barred from the highest levels of the corporate and academic worlds; most Korean women labor in low-wage production jobs. Child care facilities remain inadequate to the demand, forcing women out of the workplace for years at a time.

Throughout Confucian Asia the early twenty-first century is bringing moves to reevaluate tradition as these cultures struggle to combine economic success with the challenges of becoming modern industrial and technologically sophisticated societies. For Confucians new social configurations form the greatest challenge to the vitality of the tradition. Confucians now debate the role of same-sex partnerships; homosexuality was historically tolerated if it did not interfere with the marital bond (i.e., the requirement to produce a legitimate heir), but can such partnerships be construed as families in any traditional sense? Likewise, the increasing shift from patrilocality to neolocal patterns of residence for young adult couples has altered the meaning and practice of filial responsibilities for sons as well as daughters, as has the sex-ratio imbalance resulting from population limitation measures. Indigenous feminist movements continue to challenge Confucian patriarchal structures and in the process to change conditions of education, employment, and social relations for men and women alike.

These same reevaluations are occurring in diasporic communities in Europe and North America. Statistically underreported as a worldwide religious tradition, Confucianism beyond East Asia is a somewhat invisible but deeply rooted cultural system that continues to direct the lives of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese emigrants. How Confucian emphases on familial responsibilities (including parental participation in choice of marriage partners and pressure to produce an heir), filial obligations (particularly heavy on sons in terms of educational attainment and marriage expectation), and the gendered nature of labor will alter in the global environment of the twenty-first century remains to be seen, but given the longevity and tenacity of the tradition, it is a sure bet that it will be a lively struggle.

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CONTRACEPTION

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

Contraception is the prevention of conception or impregnation. This is in contrast to birth control, which is control of the number of children born. Conception is the process of becoming pregnant, whereas impregnation is fertilization (the union of two gametes; in the case of humans, a sperm and an egg).

The World Health Organization (WHO) categorizes current contraceptive devices and methods into eight classes:

1. Hormonal (includes oral, injectable, transdermal, and cervical delivery of contraceptive hormones; also includes emergency contraception [morning-after] pills)
2. Implants
3. Intrauterine devices (IUDs, including emergency contraception IUDs)
4. Barrier methods (includes male and female condoms, methods of spermicide delivery, diaphragms, and cervical caps)
5. Fertility awareness-based methods (the avoidance of conception/impregnation during fertile periods)
6. Lactational amenorrhea (lack of fertility caused by the hormonal changes of lactation)
7. Coitus interruptus (withdrawal of the penis from the vagina before ejaculation)
8. Surgical sterilization (male and female)

Effectiveness rates vary in the United States, ranging from 99.5 percent for sterilization, to 24 percent for cervical cap use in women who have previously given birth, to 15 percent for random chance alone (World Health Organization 2004, p. 6). The effectiveness of many forms of contraception is also affected by the technique of the person using it; for instance an improperly applied condom or improperly inserted diaphragm will increase the probability of conception.

It is likely that contraception has been practiced since the inception of humanity. First designed by trial and error and imbued with sacred, mystical, and political implications common to the period in which they were practiced, contraceptive methods became increasingly effective as a result of rational design arising from greater understanding of male and female reproductive anatomy in the 1850s.

Although religious and political factors impact the acceptance and utilization of contraception in the early twenty-first century, the medical, social, and political need for rational contraception is generally accepted.

SEE ALSO *Chastity Belt.*

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II. BELIEFS AND MYTHS

Myths and beliefs about conception and contraception reflect the beliefs and mores of the culture of the society and the level of knowledge regarding reproductive anatomy. Anatomists and biologist supplanted the early influence of priests, shamans, and seers as reproductive anatomy was better defined.

Most early theories of male and female roles in contraception are linked to the existence and influence of outside entities; for instance one ancient belief held that a woman could become pregnant by bathing in a stream populated with eels. Similarly others believed that a male child entered its mother in the shape of a serpent, while a female child entered as a snail. Others believed that a *wandering womb child,* in the shape of a small frog, would leave the mother's body at night in search of food and water. If the woman closed her mouth and the womb child was unable to return, the woman remained childless.

Belief in the spirit world often influenced opinions about conception and contraception. Ancient Nordic texts describe spirit children who resided in bodies of water or trees. A woman who swam or bathed in water or consumed fruit from a tree containing a spirit child would become pregnant.

Similarly other myths regarding conception were centered on then-current understanding of the uterus. Ancient Egyptians considered the uterus an independent animal capable of performing different types of movement within the woman's body. Greco-Romans, notably Hippocrates, believed that if the uterus were not fed sufficient sperm it became feral within the woman's body, wreaking havoc on other internal organs and unable to produce children.

Myths and beliefs surrounding contraception in the early twenty-first century, in many instances, continue to demonstrate a misunderstanding or lack of knowledge of the human reproductive system and functions.

Some common untrue myths and exaggerations about contraception include:

- Breastfeeding is 100 percent effective for contraception
- A woman cannot become pregnant without experiencing an orgasm
- A man cannot impregnate a woman if he does not experience an orgasm
- A woman cannot become pregnant the first time she has sex with a man
- A woman has one fertile day monthly; sex on the other days is safe
- Sex standing up, or sex with the woman on top, is effective for contraception
- Plastic wrap or balloons are excellent substitutes for male condoms
- Pregnancy will not occur if the man ejaculates outside the vagina
- Douching after sex prevents pregnancy
- A woman who showers, bathes, or urinates immediately after sex will not become pregnant
- Oral contraceptives are immediately effective
- Oral contraceptives can be used only for a short portion of the woman's reproductive life
- Oral contraceptives always cause weight gain
- Oral contraceptives cause high blood pressure
- Oral contraceptives cause fibroid tumors in women
- Oral contraceptives are a treatment for endometriosis
- Oral contraceptives cause acne
- Intrauterine devices (IUDs) cause sterility or infertility

Other untrue myths and exaggerations include:

- Women cannot become pregnant on a boat
- Women cannot become pregnant if they consume large amounts of milk
- Ingestion of folic acid increases the chance of becoming pregnant
- A male is fertile only when his testicles feel cold to the touch
- A male can decrease his sperm count by drinking large amounts of alcohol immediately before sex
- Pregnancy occurs only if sex occurs daily
- Cola soda douches are effective contraceptives

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III. METHODS

The modern birth control movement began in 1912 when Margaret Sanger (1883–1966), a public health nurse, became concerned about the adverse health effects of frequent childbirth, miscarriages, and abortion. Challenging laws prohibiting distribution of information about (and access to) contraception, she opened the first family planning clinic in Brooklyn, New York, in 1916. The American Birth Control League, a precursor of the Planned Parenthood Federation, was founded in 1916 with the stated purpose, "To enlighten and educate all sections of the American public in the various aspects of the dangers of uncontrolled procreation and the imperative necessity of a world programme of birth control" (Sanger 2003).

Further legal actions during the 1920s and 1930s made contraceptive information and methods more accessible. In 1942 the American Birth Control League was reorganized and renamed the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. In 1960 the United States Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved the first oral contraceptive, and the U.S. Supreme Court declared state laws banning contraceptive use by married couples unconstitutional (Griswald v. Connecticut, 381 U.S. 479 [1965]), clearing the way for further legal challenges and creating an environment that encouraged development of new birth control methods.

Injectable and Oral Contraceptives. *An injectable hormonal contraceptive (top) and a traditional oral contraceptive pill.* **AP IMAGES.**

METHODS OF CONTRACEPTION

There are several mechanisms of birth control: hormonal manipulation, hormonal implants, intrauterine devices, emergency modes of preventing pregnancy, barrier methods, fertilization awareness methods, and surgical sterilization.

Hormonal (includes oral, injectable, transdermal, and cervical delivery of contraceptive hormones; also includes emergency contraception [morning-after] pills) The reproductive cycle and fertility of a woman is under intricate hormonal control and can be manipulated by administration of estrogens, progestins, or a combination of both to modulate menstrual cycles and prevent ovulation. Oral contraceptives (birth control pills) are the most common method of female hormonal contraception. Following animal research in the 1930s and 1940s, a precursor of progesterone (a progestin) was discovered in Mexican yams. This discovery of a readily available, abundant source of progesterone precursor heralded the commercial development of progesterone tablets, which were initially approved by the FDA in 1957 for the treatment of gynecologic disorders. In 1960 the FDA approved the first preparations for contraceptive use.

Commercial development of a multitude of combination progestin/estrogen, progestin-only, and estrogen-only tablets, with varying formulas, strength combinations, and packaging, soon followed. All had in common two aspects: a cycle of twenty-one days of active hormonal ingredient(s), and the need for daily oral administration. Other regimens, including eighty-four days or twenty-four days of active hormone ingredient(s), have become available since 2000.

Contraceptive hormones can also be administered by long acting (depot) injection administered every three months, transdermally by use of a patch applied to the skin (typically weekly), or by the use of a hormone-infused flexible ring inserted around the edges of the cervix and left in place for one month.

Implants Contraceptive implants were approved by the FDA for human use in 1990. Flexible, closed plastic capsules containing active hormones, they are inserted under the skin, eliminating the need for daily oral dosing. The composition and total number of capsules inserted vary by product; most capsules are between thirty and forty four millimeters long and are designed to provide contraception for a maximum of five years. Other capsules designed to provide up to three years of contraception are in development. All implants require insertion and removal by a healthcare provider in a minor surgical procedure. Biodegradable implants that will not require surgical removal also are in development.

Intrauterine Devices (IUDs, including emergency contraception IUDs) IUDs are small objects inserted into the uterus. Although the exact mechanism for their effectiveness is not well understood, it is hypothesized that the IUD creates an inflammatory foreign body reaction in the uterus, creating a hostile environment for implantation of a fertilized ovum.

Development of modern IUDs began in the early 1900s but faltered due to political and social pressures. The German physician Ernst Gräfenberg reported the clinical performance of an IUD in 1929; however reports of pelvic inflammatory disease (PID), combined with political pressures exerted by the Nazi party, stifled further research. Development continued until the 1950s, with researchers utilizing a variety of materials and conformations. In 1958 Lazar Margulies developed a plastic coil IUD, the Margulies coil, but this device was soon supplanted by the Lippes Loop, created by another American physician, Jack Lippes. The Lippes Loop became the most widely prescribed IUD in the United States during the 1970s.

Further refinements have since included design of the T-shape IUD and the addition of copper or progesterone to the device itself. The copper IUD is T-shaped, wound with fine copper wire, and can remain in place for ten years. The progesterone IUD is also T-shaped and contains a reservoir of progesterone for delayed release; it may be left in place for one year. The most common side effects include cramping, bleeding, and accidental expulsion of the IUD.

Emergency Contraception Emergency contraception (EC) can be accomplished via the administration of EC pills (ECPs or morning after pills) or the insertion of a copper IUD. The term morning after pill is a misnomer. ECPs may be administered immediately after unprotected intercourse, or up to 120 hours after. Effectiveness is highest when taken as soon as possible. Two types of ECPs are available—progestin-only and a progestin-estrogen combination (oral contraceptives). The high-dose progestin-only pill has largely replaced the progestin-estrogen combination pills; it works by preventing the release of an ovum from the ovary and may prevent the fertilization of an ovum or attachment of the fertilized ovum to the uterus wall. The progestin-only pill will not affect a fertilized egg already attached to the uterus.

Copper-bearing IUDs may be inserted up to five to seven days after ovulation to prevent implantation of the fertilized ovum in the uterine wall. However difficulties in determining the exact time of ovulation make this method less dependable.

Barrier Methods Barrier methods are those that physically prevent the union of egg and sperm. Methods include male and female condoms, spermicide (which also kills sperm), diaphragms, and cervical caps.

Male condoms are tubular sheaths applied over the penis to capture and store sperm during intercourse. They must be removed from the vagina intact and cannot be reused. Although condoms made of thin animal intestine were popular before the early 1980s, the possibility of AIDS transmission greatly diminished popularity. Latex has since become the most popular material for condoms. Men and women should use only water-based lubricants if necessary; oil-based lubricants degrade the integrity of the condom. Female condoms, much less common than male condoms, form a tubular corridor between the opening of the vagina and the cervical cap to prevent penetration of sperm into the cervix.

Spermicides are available as jellies, creams, ointments, and foams. In addition to presenting a physical barrier to the passage of sperm into the cervix, they contain chemicals designed to kill sperm.

Diaphragms are shallow latex domes or cups designed to fit snugly over the entire tip of the cervix. The outer ring is flexible to facilitate insertion through the vagina. Women should use diaphragms with spermicides to enhance effectiveness. They can be inserted up to two hours before sexual intercourse, and remain in place for at least six hours after.

Cervical caps resemble diaphragms but are smaller and designed to fit over the cervical opening (os) itself. The cap is filled approximately one-third full with spermicide before insertion through the vagina. The cap is inserted immediately before intercourse and must be left in place for at least eight hours.

Fertility Awareness-based Methods Fertility awareness-based methods (the avoidance of conception/impregnation during fertile periods) are also known as rhythm methods. Fertile periods can be gauged by tracking menstrual cycles on a calendar; measurement of the woman's basal body temperature; changes in viscosity of cervical mucus; or ovulation prediction kits.

In a woman with a regular twenty-eight-day menstrual cycle, ovulation occurs fourteen days prior to menstruation. By tracking menstrual cycles on a calendar couples can determine a woman's fertile periods and avoid unprotected intercourse during that time.

A woman's body temperature rises slightly (between 0.4 and 0.8 degrees Fahrenheit) immediately before, during, and after ovulation. Similarly the quantity of vaginal mucus increases and viscosity thins before ovulation. Ovulation prediction kits measure the quantity of leutenizing hormone (LH) in the woman's urine. LH levels surge twelve to twenty-four hours before ovulation. Thus the couple is able to monitor the period during which fertilization is most likely.

Lactational amenorrhea (lack of fertility caused by the hormonal changes of lactation) is a contraceptive method based on the infertility of a woman who is fully breastfeeding. Prolactin released during suckling of the infant suppresses ovulation, thus preventing pregnancy.

Coitus interruptus is withdrawal of the penis from the vagina before ejaculation, preventing the deposition of semen in the vagina.

Surgical Sterilization (male and female) Vasectomy is the most common method of male surgical sterilization. In a minor surgical procedure, the vas deferens is cut, a small section is removed, and the ends are tied off or cauterized. Sperm do not reach the urethra and are resorbed by the body. Vasectomy does not affect the male sex drive or sexual performance.

Tubal sterilization (tubal ligation or having one's tubes tied) is the most common form of female sterilization. The fallopian tubes are tied off or clamped to prevent the union of sperm and ova. This is accomplished through a small incision in the abdomen in which the surgeon secures the fallopian tubes by hand or by use of a laparoscope. Tubal ligation does not affect sex drive or performance. Alternatively hysterectomy (a major surgical procedure in which the uterus is removed) renders a woman sterile. However, due to removal of the hormones manufactured by the uterus, hysterectomy can affect female sexual response and arousal.

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IV. RELATION OF TO SEXUAL PRACTICES AND GENDER ROLES

While the primary use for contraception is to prevent pregnancy, it also has many other applications. In particular, both condoms and birth control pills have non-contraceptive therapeutic uses.

CONDOMS

Though the surest way to avoid contracting or spreading sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) is to practice abstinence or limit sex to a monogamous, long-term relationship; when that is not practical, condoms provide an important form of defense. Consistent and proper use of latex condoms helps prevent the spread of diseases such as chlamydia, gonorrhea, trichomoniasis, and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) but provide only limited protection against other diseases such as human papillomarvirus (HPV or genital warts), syphilis, and genital herpes because infective tissue or lesions may occur outside the area normally covered by a condom. Condoms should be used with water-based lubricant since oil or petroleum-based products can cause the latex to break down. Condoms with nonoxynol-9 (a spermicide) should be avoided since they may actually increase the chance of transmitting HIV between partners. In non-monogamous relationships, condom usage is advised even with sexual practices unlikely to result in pregnancy, including oral sex (fellatio, cunnilingus, or anilingus). To avoid spreading disease during oral sex, it is important to keep both semen and vaginal fluids out of the mouth. The use of an unlubricated, non-spermicidal condom will help prevent the transmission of disease in men. Flavored condoms, which help dispel the latex taste, are available. A dental dam (a square of latex or silicone) or a condom that has been cut into a square serves as a barrier between the mouth and the vagina or anus. Premade dental dams have the advantage of being larger and thus covering more surface area. Female condoms (a latex tube fitted with two rings at each end, which is inserted into the vagina—one ring fitting snuggly against the cervix and the other remaining outside and covering the vulva) are also helpful in preventing disease. The use of condoms in anal sex helps prevent urethritis (an infection of the urethra) by shielding the penis from exposure to residual fecal matter in the rectum. Condoms are the only form of contraception that offers protection against the spread of infection.

In addition, condom use is sometimes prescribed to treat cervical mucous incompatibility with the sperm, a condition where the woman manufactures antibodies to her partner's sperm resulting in unwanted infertility in couples trying to conceive. In this case, condoms are not used to prevent conception but rather to facilitate it. After three to six months of condom usage during intercourse, the woman creates fewer antibodies thus allowing the sperm to pass through the cervix where it can then fertilize the egg.

ORAL CONTRACEPTIVES

Birth control pills have other therapeutic applications beyond pregnancy prevention. Oral contraceptives are frequently prescribed for medical conditions, especially those dealing with menstruation. They are helpful in the treatment of irregular menstrual cycles (oligo-ovulation), dysmenorrhea (lower abdominal pain and cramping associated with menstrual periods), and dysfunctional uterine bleeding (such as spotting between periods) by controlling the hormonal balance. Birth control pills also provide hormonal therapy for patients with endometriosis, a common and painful condition where endometrial cells from the inner lining of the uterus are regurgitated through the fallopian tubes during menstruation and implant in the abdominal or pelvic cavity. The main treatment is hormonal suppression with or without surgical excision of the ectopic (outside of the uterus) tissue. Because of the increased rate of cancer of endometrial tissue in women suffering from this condition, hormonal therapy with birth control pills (with both progesterone and estrogen) is often prescribed.

Certain cases of hirsutism (a condition noted by excessive facial and body hair caused by the over-production of male hormones or androgens) may benefit from the administration of oral contraceptives. The condition is often associated with anovulatory ovaries and the cessation of menstrual cycles. In severe cases, the clitoris enlarges, the voice deepens, and balding can occur. Because most cases involve excess androgen production, treatment is directed toward interfering with the hormonal imbalance. Oral contraceptives may work by inhibiting the hormones that stimulate the secretion of the androgens. In addition, birth control pills are useful in treating acne associated with hirsutism (as well as non-androgen related outbreaks).

RELATION OF CONTRACEPTION TO GENDER ROLES

As soon as people made the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy, undoubtedly, the search began for the safest and most reliable way to prevent it. Early methods of birth control were behavioral, such as abstinence, which needed to be practiced equally between male and female partners. The Bible mentions the sin of Onan or *spilling the seed*, which includes the withdrawal method of birth control (coitus interruptus) in which the man avoids ejaculation until after he withdraws his penis from the vagina.

Old folk remedies generally centered on the woman's role in contraception. It is not surprising that women, who bore the risks of pregnancy and the subsequent care of the children, were eager to experiment through trial and error to find a way of controlling conception. Early Egyptian women douched with a wine and garlic mixture or inserted a plug of crocodile dung and sour milk into the vagina as an early barrier or spermicide (or merely to discourage sex through the presence of the concoction itself). Early Greeks and Romans placed absorbent material in the vagina to soak up the semen. Though penis sheaths were documented back to ancient Egypt, they were mainly decorative. Later linen versions were used (very often unsuccessfully) to prevent conception, an attempt at shared responsibility for pregnancy prevention between the sexes.

By the 1900s, contraceptive methods included vaginal sponges, douching, withdrawal, abstinence, and notably (owing to the invention of vulcanized rubber in 1842) the rubber condom. However these options became increasingly inaccessible to women as attitudes about contraception changed. Abortions were banned, owing in part to the danger they posed to women in pre-antibiotic days, but the subsequent prohibition on birth control or information about contraceptive methods (even for married women) was due to a certain degree of sexual politics since women had no say in legislation. Women's access to birth control was severely limited in the United States in the late 1800s by the Comstock Act (1873), which made it illegal to distribute birth control information through the mail on the grounds that it was obscene. States passed other laws making it illegal for individuals to give information to each other, including physicians to their patients.

During this time, doctors (predominantly male) began to replace midwives in the management of pregnancy and birth, removing yet another possible avenue through which women could receive birth control specifics. A married woman (for it was illegal to dispense contraception to unmarried women) needed documented proof that pregnancy would endanger her life to acquire legal and medical permission for access to contraceptive advice or materials. Activists like Margaret Sanger (1883–1966) in the early twentieth century challenged the contraception laws, but it was not until 1965 that birth control was finally legally accessible to all adults.

In 1960 the first oral contraceptive for women was marketed, and the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) made abortion legal during the first trimester of pregnancy. For the first time women had the means and the power to control their own fertility without relying on the compliance of their male partners. Nevertheless patriarchal institutions, such as the Catholic Church, continued to oppose the use of artificial contraception.

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS ON CONTRACEPTION

In the early twenty-first century, the responsibility for birth control still lies predominately with women. Types of contraception for women far outnumber those for men. Except for the addition of vasectomy, the methods available to men have remained largely unchanged since the nineteenth century. Women's options though have greatly improved in efficacy and convenience: IUDs, diaphragms, sponges, female condoms, vaginal spermicides, and, significantly, birth control pills. The introduction of birth control pills ushered in a revolution that included sexual freedom for women, though with a cost: Female methods of birth control come with a higher risk for potential health issues for the woman. Though researchers have worked on developing a male oral contraceptive, none exists, due in part to potential side-effects (including dizziness, drowsiness, constipation, impotence, and permanent infertility) and the reluctance of women to accept a form of birth control that relies exclusively on male compliance.

Worldwide, women assume a disproportionate share of the responsibility for the prevention of pregnancy compared to men. According to a 1998 United Nations study, 40 percent of couples rely on female-based contraceptive methods and only 8 percent on male-based methods (United Nations 1998, p. 175). Figures for elective sterilization follow a similar pattern. Though vasectomy is a quick, simple surgery that may be performed in a doctor's office, more women undergo tubal ligation, which is more complicated and costly. Many insurance companies will pay for a woman's elective sterilization but not for a man's. Researchers suggest a variety of reasons for the imbalance between the genders in responsibility for birth control. One is the attitude that a women's position is partially defined by her role as child bearer, and as such she must control her fertility. Also many women prefer a form of contraception that puts them in control. Ultimately the most convenient, reliable, nonsurgical methods of birth control are those used by women.

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Diane Sue Saylor

V. POLICIES AND EFFECTS

Contraception serves to control the reproductive outcome of sexual intercourse between a fertile male and a fertile female. As modern methods of contraception were being developed in the mid-twentieth century, many institutions began to formulate policies attempting to govern the use of "artificial" contraception, often linked with policies about abortion. These institutions included governments and government agencies, religious groups, and medical and professional organizations.

GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES

Governmental policies typically view contraception in the context of population increase or decrease, variously prohibiting, encouraging, or requiring the use of contraception to serve differing demographic, economic, political, and social agendas. Governments employ a variety of methods, including moral propaganda, economic incentives and disincentives, legal and administrative policies, and public-service advertising. Several examples from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries illustrate the variety of governmental policies, both in intended impact on fertility and in whether they were directed primarily at women or men.

India In the mid-twentieth century population growth rates, especially in Asia, were perceived as skyrocketing in this region, contraceptive policy has been directed at curbing population growth. India's initial population-control effort of 1964–1965 provides an example of a governmental contraception policy intended to decrease population growth rates by employing methods directed primarily at men. This program focused on vasectomy, using incentives for "adopters" (the notorious transistor radio for men who would submit to a vasectomy on the spot); "canvassers," or recruiters paid to deliver vasectomy prospects to clinics (Repetto 1968); and penalties for men with more than a specified number of children. In some areas, vasectomy was forcibly imposed. This wildly unpopular program lasted only slightly over a year and contributed to the downfall of Indira Gandhi's government. It is believed to have had little direct impact on population growth rates in India. A later statement of

Indian government policy—promulgated April 16, 1976, and intended (as the statement put it) to secure the future of the nation, remove poverty, and counter a "population explosion of crisis dimensions" (Singh 1976, p. 309) that would dilute the country's economic progress and continued to offer monetary compensation for sterilization (of both males and females) but also proposed other methods of promoting family planning.

China A governmental policy intended to limit population growth by employing contraceptive methods focused primarily on women is to be found in China's one-child policy, introduced in 1979 and, although eroding, is still officially in force. Aware that it had a quarter of the world's population but only 7 percent of its arable land, China limited urban dwellers to only one child; rural residents in some areas were permitted a second child if the first has a disability or is a girl. China's population-containment policy has made use of circumstantial controls as well as virtually universal access to modern contraception and abortion to limit fertility: The age of marriage was increased, spouses were sometimes assigned to work in different cities, women's menstrual cycles were publicly monitored, and the use of contraception was encouraged or mandated. Penalties, including fines, loss of employment, and loss of housing and benefits, were imposed for excess births. The use of an intrauterine device (IUD) after the birth of a first child was required, and sterilization was required after a second; these two long-term methods have accounted for 90 percent of contraceptive methods used since the 1980s and have kept abortion rates to almost half that in the United States (Hesketh, Li, and Zhu 2005), although some choice in types of contraceptives is now permitted.

The one-child policy, maintained for more than two decades—the approximate duration of a generation—has had a dramatic impact on China's growth rate. Growth rates had begun to decline before the one-child policy was put in place, but with its sustained imposition, growth rates dropped from a 1969 high of almost 6 children per woman to 1.7, below replacement rate, in 2004. The social impact of this policy is referred to as the "4:2:1" phenomenon (Hesketh, Li, and Zhu 2005), describing the obligations of responsibility given the proportion of grandparents and parents for each child.

Romania In the wake of World War II, population growth rates in Eastern Europe dropped to the lowest in the world, and many Eastern European governments developed pronatalist policies governing contraception and abortion. Nicolae Ceausescu's Romania, which in 1966 strictly limited abortion, provides an example of a governmental policy intended to increase a state's population (and hence its workforce). Women were expected, indeed required, to have at least four children: This was "every healthy Romanian woman's patriotic duty" (Legge and Alford 1986, p. 725). As in many other Eastern European countries (for example, Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, and to a lesser extent the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia), artificial birth control and modern forms of contraception were not readily available or of very low quality. The impact of Romania's 1966 abortion prohibition is well documented: The birthrate peaked sharply within a year, but the principal long-term effect was a dramatic rise in illegal abortion and maternal mortality. As in much of Eastern Europe, reliance on withdrawal and abortion has remained the primary means of fertility control.

Global Family Planning Family planning programs have been instituted in the majority of the world's nations. Although the early programs strongly emphasized contraception and population control, since the 4th International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994, greater emphasis has been placed on economic development, women's education, employment for women, women's access to health care, reduced infant and child mortality, and other noncoercive means of social change associated with reducing population growth rates. Modern contraception has been made widely available in many areas of the developing world, largely financed by foreign-aid programs, and enhanced methods of promoting knowledge, access, and practice are in place. The term *birth control* has been largely replaced by *family planning*. In the 1960s fewer than 10 percent of married women were using contraception; by 2003 the proportion was 60 percent (Cleland et al. 2006).

Despite these trends, population reduction programs in some nations, particularly China and India, have been sharply criticized where pressures to decrease family size combined with a strong preference for sons, result in "missing girls"—a sharp imbalance in gender ratios at birth. More focused contraception programs are sometimes also criticized for bias. For example, governmental programs that provide special access to contraception for specific population subgroups—inner-city adolescent girls, for example—are sometimes said to be racially biased. Some attack the use of contraceptive technology, such as that used in family-planning programs, as "a destructive and even deadly weapon in the war on population" (Hartmann 1995, pp. 173–174). In addition, government programs and even the open-market availability of contraception have also faced criticism: A Christian pregnancy-counseling organization, A Woman's Concern, labels the distribution of contraceptives as "demeaning to women."

Population Decline and Fertility Encouragement Population decline, or perceived decline, is also of concern in many European and Asian countries, to some degree offsetting the attention paid to contraception. Governmental programs in some countries where fertility rates have been falling, such as Germany, provide special benefits for childbearing, including financial payments, maternity/paternity leave, home loans, and child care, although these countries continue to provide access to modern methods of contraception. Concern with high AIDS mortality rates in sub-Saharan Africa has deflected attention from family planning, and although condoms used for disease prevention also have a contraceptive effect, birthrates remain high: 5.9 children per woman in west Africa, 5.7 in east Africa, and 6.3 in middle Africa (Glasier et al. 2006), although these high birthrates may be accompanied by high death rates and particularly high rates of infant mortality. In some countries, high birthrates are encouraged by dissident or subordinate population subgroups, which are led to mistrust or reject contraception, or by groups that have been subject to population-reducing disasters such as ethnic massacres, wars and civil wars, refugee dislocations, epidemics of infectious disease, and natural disasters, including earthquakes and tsunamis.

Nevertheless, there remains a substantial "unmet need" for contraception, encompassing an estimated 120,000 couples in 2006, most but not all in developing countries. The fecund married women in these couples wish to avoid further childrearing or to postpone their next child for at least two years but are faced with an absence of contraception. Even in the developed world, including countries such as the United Kingdom where contraception is available free of charge, most pregnancies that end in abortion are conceived either without any contraception, with incorrect or inconsistent use, or with the use of less-effective methods (Glasier et al. 2006).

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The policies of religious groups concerning contraception range from condemnation to celebration. Among Protestant groups, the Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the United Methodist Church, and the Unitarian Universalist Church support the use of contraception as a component of responsible family planning, variously emphasizing the importance of strong and stable families, healthy and wanted children, and the sexual expression of love between married couples. Some also accept the use of contraception in relationships outside marriage. Southern Baptists and Evangelical Lutherans accept the use of contraception by married couples. Many other Protestant groups encourage individual decision-making about contraception.

Judaism's three principal branches differ in attitudes about contraception. Orthodox Judaism discourages contraception, permitting abstinence only, except for health reasons, and indeed the Orthodox practice of restraint from intercourse for a specified number of days after the menses serves to encourage intercourse at the time of ovulation, ensuring maximum fertility. Reform Judaism's view is much like that of the liberal Protestant groups, supporting contraception for responsible family planning and other reasons. Islam also exhibits a wide variety of views: Some traditions insist that all family planning methods are prohibited; others point out that male withdrawal is clearly permitted in the Koran; and others accept contraception in general, especially to protect the health of the woman or the well-being of the family. Islam encourages procreation; so do Hinduism, Catholicism, evangelical Christianity, and Mormonism.

The Roman Catholic Church holds one of the most strongly prohibitive teachings concerning contraception. As articulated in Pope Paul VI's 1968 encyclical letter, *Humanae Vitae*, Catholicism condemns the use of all forms of artificial contraception and all sterilization "permanent or temporary," or "any act specifically intended to prevent procreation," insisting that the sexual act of a married couple must be capable of being both "unitive" and "procreative." Catholicism does accept the use of "natural" family planning based on rhythm methods. Adherence to the teaching varies. In the United States, Catholic women (of non-Hispanic ethnicity) use artificial contraception at the same rate as do Protestants and Jews.

While religious teaching concerning contraception is usually presented as a matter of individual spiritual commitment, some critics insist that the rejection of contraception by specific religious groups (such as Catholicism and Islam) is a pronatalist policy in disguise—a matter of sectarian arithmetic intended to increase the number of that group's adherents.

MEDICAL AND SOCIAL POLICIES

Medical and social policies have often focused on the role of contraception in promoting individual and community health. Traditional medical policy in the United States was highly paternalistic, holding that a woman's request for fertility control by means of sterilization could be honored only if her age, multiplied by the number of living children she already had, reached an adequate figure. This rule is no longer invoked, but physicians remain reluctant to use irreversible sterilization procedures for young adults without children. Contemporary medical policy has focused on the importance of effective contraception in preventing unwanted pregnancy, on making a wide range of types of contraception available to women, and on encouraging informed, reliable use.

Noting that in the developing world, unsafe sex is the second most important risk factor for disability and death and the ninth most important in the developing world (Glasier et al. 2006), calls have been issued for universal, reliable access to modern methods to prevent both unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases.

Political friction has surrounded several forms of contraception. Controversial events have included the manufacturer's concealment in the early 1970s of the safety risks of the Dalkon Shield IUD (Hartmann 1995), friction over suggestions for nonvoluntary implantation of Norplant in women receiving welfare (Moskowitz and Jennings 1996), disputes over abstinence-only programs as politically motivated in both domestic and international contexts (Fathalla et al. 2006), disagreement over whether health insurance policies should be required to cover contraception for women, and disputes over the refusal of some pharmacists to dispense the so-called morning-after pill and/or contraception in general. Data bearing on some disputes has been assembled: For example, in the United States 77 percent of the drop in pregnancy rates among younger teens, ages fifteen to seventeen, is due to improved contraceptive use and 23 percent to abstinence; in eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds, better contraceptive use is responsible for 100 percent of the decline (Santelli et al. 2007). In general, medical and global-health organizations stress the importance of the revitalization of political commitment to improving sexual and reproductive health for all, including access to safe and reliable contraception.

THE FUTURE

Governmental policies, religious teachings, and medical and institutional policies variously cover female and male natural family planning, withdrawal, condom use, male and female sterilization, and "artificial" or technologically advanced female contraception. But few governmental, religious, or medical entities have developed policies concerning new technologies for long-term male contraception. It remains to be seen whether such technologies will be successfully developed and if so, whether governmental, religious, and medical and policies will generally track policies concerning "artificial" female contraception.

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COPROPHILIA

Coprophilia is the condition of desire for sexual gratification and sexual arousal derived from the smell, taste, or sight of feces or from the act of defecation. It commonly is referred to by the slang term *scat*. Although ostensibly a somewhat limited practice, it figures prominently in the foundations of the science of psychology. Sigmund Freud outlined a stage of psychosexual development called the anal stage that involves the child's obsession with the anus as an erogenous zone. The process of toilet training sets up a conflict between the child's pleasure in defecation and pressures exerted on the child to control his or her bodily functions. The way children resolve this conflict is seen as a primary means of establishing the way they later will deal with authority and issues of possession.

DEFINITIONS OF COPROPHILIA

Coprophilia is related to this psychosexual conflict but is not a developmental stage. It is a condition that occurs in adults and represents the small number of individuals who reject social pressure to control elimination and instead find the act of defecation pleasurable and erotic. Because of the relationship of coprophilia to eroticism and anality, for much of the twentieth century it was considered by psychologists to be related almost exclusively to homosexuality (Karpman 1948). After frank analyses of actual sexual behavior such as that of Alfred Kinsey and other studies in the post–sexual revolution era, the ascription of coprophilia solely to homosexuals has been shown to be false. In fact, so few data exist that there appears to be no consensus about the connection between coprophilia and the choice of sexual partners.

The term *coprophilia* also has a more general definition as an affinity that can become an erotic fascination with filth and uncleanliness. Among the very few case studies that address coprophilia, several use the term in this sense. A 1955 study of a woman named Evangeline, for instance, describes the pleasure she took in maintaining a filthy home. Although a great deal of the filth consisted of her feces and that of her pets, most was of a generalized nature (rotting food, dust, animal hair, etc.). She expressed no particular interest in the act of defecation but took delight in its product as well as the presence of other types of waste material (Xavier 1955).

REACTIONS TO COPROPHILIA

Coprophilia generally is regarded as the most taboo consensual sexual activity and commonly is reviled as much as or more than violent or nonconsensual acts such as rape and pedophilia. It is considered so transgressive that unlike other fetishistic or paraphilic sexual practices, there is very little published literature on the topic. Not only is there a dearth of popular material, but even academic literature seems to shy away from the topic. A very few medical and psychological studies have been conducted, but even among those disciplines little research exists. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV) of the American Psychiatric Association (1994) classifies coprophilia as a paraphilia, or atypical sexual interest. It falls under the category of "Paraphilia Not Otherwise Specified," which is a blanket designation used to describe conditions that occur in such small segments of the population that they do not warrant individual headings. This is not an accurate measure of the prevalence of the practice, however, for the DSM-IV is primarily a diagnostic tool for conditions that are to some degree debilitating. If sexual activity involving feces is incorporated into an individual's sexual practice with no apparent effect on other aspects of that person's life, it will not necessarily figure into the statistics in the DSM-IV.

A nonscientific measure of the discourse on coprophilia would be the pornography industry. Although the adult entertainment industry is quick to capitalize on most sexual practices, including rape, pedophilia, sex with animals, and other fringe practices, very few magazines, web sites, or films feature coprophilia. A limited number exist, although there is no concrete information about their popularity. The majority of noncommercial web sites that address the topic seem to be constructed by practitioners of coprophilia, making their information biased at best.

THE PRACTICE OF COPROPHILIA

Coprophilia usually is considered an unsafe sexual practice because of the possibility of infection from contact with the waste products of the human body. Contact with one's own feces is generally safer than contact with that of a partner, but both carry risk, particularly of bacterial infection. Hepatitis is a particular danger to coprophiliacs, although many other infections are also possible. Coprophilia can be practiced relatively safely if there is no direct contact with the feces. If it is practiced alone, this would include smelling or looking at the feces after defecation; using mirrors, video technology, or photography to watch oneself defecate; or taking extreme pleasure in the sensation of defecation. These acts are less safe when practiced with a partner, but if the arousal and gratification arise primarily from viewing the act of defecation or from smelling the feces, the risk of infection is minimal.

Several variations on these practices exist, along with a proliferation of slang terms that seem to belie the ostensibly small population of individuals who practice coprophilia. The term *glass-bottom boat* is used to describe defecation onto a piece of glass, clear plastic wrap, or another transparent material while a partner watches from below. Thus, there is a feeling of being defecated on without actual contact with the feces. Direct defecation onto a partner's body without a barrier is described by the slang terms *steamer* and *Cleveland steamer*. This is a far riskier behavior, but as long as the feces do not come into contact with broken skin or a body opening, the risk of infection is minimal.

The most taboo form of coprophilia is the eating of feces, or coprophagia. It is thought to be practiced by an exceptionally small number of people and is one of the most risky sexual behaviors. Some species of animals, such as rabbits, routinely practice coprophagia as a part of their digestive process, and others, such as dogs, engage in the practice without any obvious physiological need. In humans, however, it is a rare occurrence.

One case study indicates that the consumption of feces can be a means of disposal of feces used for other sexual acts; the erotic sensation may be confined to coprophilia, whereas coprophagia serves essentially to destroy the evidence of coprophilic practice (Hingsburger 1989). True coprophagia, in which pleasure is taken in the act, seems to be confined to the realm of mental illness; even popular references to coprophilia almost never extend to coprophagia. There are at least partial exceptions to this, however. In water sports or urolagnia, the consumption of the body's waste products is somewhat common. This practice is limited to urine, however, and does not include solid waste. Also, there is a somewhat common sexual practice called anilingus (referred to by the slang terms *rimming* and *tossing salad*) in which the anus is licked by a sexual partner. In almost all cases, however, cleanliness of the anus is desired by the person performing anilingus. Although the practice is related to taking pleasure from an ostensibly taboo act, the fascination is with the anus itself, not with defecation or feces.

Even rarer are instances of humans consuming the feces of other species, although such cases have been documented. One instance was captured on film: In the 1972 movie *Pink Flamingos* the director John Waters filmed his star, the drag queen Divine, picking up the feces of a dog and eating them. The intent of the scene was to establish the complete perversion of the character as Divine campaigned for the title "the world's filthiest person." Even among the variety of sexual practices depicted in the film, the scene showing coprophagia is by far the best known and most notorious.

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Brian D. Holcomb

COURTESANS

Courtesans are at the high end of the sexual traffic in women. Although some achieved great wealth, most began as poor girls who were sold or driven into the sex trade as their only means to a better life. Etymologically the word courtesan refers to a woman attached to a royal court, a female courtier. Most often she was elegantly dressed and coiffed, beautiful, mannerly, a talented singer, dancer, or musician, and a great wit or conversationalist. She was a woman trained to attract attention and to please men. In contrast to prostitutes who have many clients and whose incomes range from bare subsistence to comfort, courtesans usually had a single patron who paid all their extravagant expenses. James Davidson (1998) notes the distinction to be made between the gift-exchange practice of the ancient Greek *hetaera*s that established a relationship of patronage and friendship, and the commodity-exchange practice of the prostitute that did not. While some *hetaera*s took cash as well as relationship-establishing gifts in exchange for their company, during which sex was a distinct possibility, prostitutes were explicitly paid cash for sex. This distinction between presents and payments is useful for ancient and medieval India as well, especially in the case of the *devadāsī*s who were supported by their temples and by kings. In later periods of European history courtesans were associated with royal courts that had the money, leisure, and interest to enjoy their various talents, such as the courts of Renaissance Italy and of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France and England, although almost any man possessed of great wealth was welcomed by them. Courtesans were often in direct competition with male courtiers for the acquisition of patronage, wealth, and political influence, and the acrimony of courtiers is apparent in the male-dominated voice of history (Rosenthal 1992).

While men used courtesans for pleasure, religions used them for didactic purposes. The religions of the world abound with stories about repentant courtesans, such as legends of the Magdalene, or about their venality and dangerous powers of seduction, which they used to jeopardize male religious practice. This is equally true in South Asia, with the additional belief that they were powerful sources of fecundity on many levels.

INDIA

Courtesans have long been a staple of South Asian myth, literature, drama, and ritual life. Plays featuring courtesans were frequently performed during spring fertility festivals to help promote the fruitfulness of humans, animals, and crops. In keeping with this connection between courtesans and fecundity, there are many tales in which a king can only end a drought by sending a courtesan to seduce a celibate sage. This theme was enacted in an annual ritual by *devadāsīs*, the sacred courtesans at the temple of Jagannātha in Puri, in order to hasten the monsoon rains. The connections between semen and rain have a long history in the ancient world, and both are also connected to fecundity and thus to power. It was believed that by withholding his semen a sage could blight the land, unless the king had a greater command over the powers of fertility, or unless he could command the auspicious powers of a beautiful and fertile woman. In similar scenarios, the god Indra sends divine courtesans (*apsara*s) to seduce celibate sages whose spiritual power threatens his own.

There are also many Buddhist and Hindu stories in which courtesans fail in their attempts at seduction, which serve several purposes: Whereas they highlight an ascetic's control of his sexuality, they also serve as a warning about the dangers of sexuality to spiritual power and they define women as sexual temptresses.

Courtesans in India, and in Japan as well, lived in their own section of town, a red-light district of sorts, but one in which the arts flourished. Many were accomplished singers, musicians, dancers, poets, and wits, and they knew the arts of costume, cosmetics, and setting. The courtesan district was imagined to be separate from the mundane world, to be a place of art and refinement, populated by beautiful, sexually available women. In Japan, this is known as the "Floating World." The entrance fee, of course, could be high; plays and stories frequently tell of men who met financial ruin in their pursuit of the many pleasures offered by these skillful women.

Devadāsīs present the most complex picture of South Asian women who have been classified as courtesans. This complexity is connected to the sacredness of their temple office, and thus to their relationship with divine beings, and to kings, who in India, as in many parts of the world, were considered divine. Indeed, *devadāsī*s brought together the courtesan and the sacred by often classifying themselves as *apsara*s, divine courtesans.

One became a *devadāsī* either by inheriting the office, for instance being the daughter of a *devadāsī*'s brother, or being adopted by a *devadāsī*, as *devadāsī*s were not supposed to give birth to children. Instead, their stored-up procreative powers were heightened by their sexual activity, which they passed on to the brides and infants they blessed, and to the entire kingdom through their ritual functions. They were ceremonially dedicated to the temple before they reached puberty (a tradition that was outlawed in 1947 by the Devadasi Act), and from that moment they were considered married to the ruling deity of the temple. Since the king was considered to be the living incarnation of the god Jagganātha (Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Kriṣṇa), a tradition existed that the king consummated the marriage. If she wanted, a *devadāsī* could then establish a liaison, but only with an upper caste man who lived in the area served by the temple.

The most famous Buddhist courtesan was the beautiful and rich Amrapālī, known throughout India for her intelligence and accomplishments. In her story the ascetic and the courtesan receive a new twist: It is the ascetic, the Buddha, who seduced the courtesan into abandoning worldly life, for Amrapālī became a Buddhist nun and achieved enlightenment. Buddhist authors also used courtesans to dramatize teachings about impermanence, especially of the body. For instance, in a poem attributed to Amrapālī after she had become a Buddhist nun and grown old, she says:

> Once my body was lovely as polished gold;
> now in old age it is covered all over with tiny
> wrinkles. . . .

In the *Saundarānanda*, a popular literary work by the first-century Buddhist monk Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddha takes his half-brother to see the beautiful *apsara*s of heaven in order to get him to abandon his beautiful wife and become a monk.

JAPAN

The complexity of Japanese prostitution is demonstrated by the hundreds of words that can refer to prostitutes, who participated in a hierarchical world based on rank, artistic accomplishment, and beauty. Since even noble families could fall on hard times, girls from all levels of society were sold into prostitution, as were samurai wives caught in adultery. The highest ranked were the *tayu*, who were proficient in dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, composing poetry, serving tea, and other arts. The distinctive and magnificent clothing of courtesans included almost foot-high black-lacquered wooden clogs. Geishas did not arrive on the scene until the late eighteenth century. The word *geisha* means artist, indicating that they were entertainers, mainly musicians and dancers. Their roles changed time and again as Japanese society changed, but their main function was and is to entertain and amuse men at banquets. Any involvement with the sex trade is hard to pin down. While they had different licenses than prostitutes, some clearly engaged in sexual activity with their customers. Traditionally, the transition from apprentice to geisha involved a one-time sexual encounter with a patron.

Both courtesans and geishas were often the subject of Kabuki plays that end in the double suicide of the woman and her lover due to thwarted love (Shively 1978). Kabuki began with the performance of a woman called Okuni in 1603; she mimed and danced the role of a dandy visiting a brothel, which became another enduring theme in Kabuki. Theatrical performers and prostitutes have long been associated in many parts of the world; in

Courtesans. *Illustration of Japanese courtesans in a brothel.* © ASIAN ART & ARCHAEOLOGY, INC./CORBIS.

Japan, courtesans and actors were both represented in popular prints, some of which were sexually explicit.

ANCIENT GREECE

In ancient Greece, courtesans are usually thought of as hetaeras, such as the well-known Aspasia, made famous by her relationship with Pericles (c. 495–429 BCE) and admired by Socrates. But *hetaera* is a slippery term that was also used for more common prostitutes, including those who were slaves. The best-known hetaeras are from the late fifth to the third centuries BCE. Generally, they were hired for an evening or longer as escorts. Sometimes men formed alternative households with them. Rarely, they had their own households. Those who did were called *megalomisthoi*, or "big fee" hetaeras; these courtesans were written about in plays, mainly comedies, and posed for artists. Phryne, a fourth-century BCE courtesan, modeled for the first Classical female nude by Praxiteles. According to Callistratus (*On Hetaeras*), Phryne became so rich that, after the destruction of Thebes by the Macedonians, she offered to have the city wall rebuilt if they would put up the inscription: "Alexander may have knocked it down, but Phryne the hetaera got it back up again."

Hetaeras were taken to festivals and drinking parties all over Greece, but especially to elaborate dinner parties known as symposia, which also usually included female sex-workers of other categories. Like geishas, hetaeras were cultivated and charming, and they made these banquets more pleasurable for men, often pretending to enjoy men's off-color jokes and telling some of their own.

MODERN EUROPE

In the nineteenth century prostitution was widespread throughout the major capitals of the world, but nowhere else was it as highly regulated as in Paris with its registry of prostitutes and the dreaded bimonthly medical checks for venereal disease. Yet there were many ways around registering, which was voluntary until enforced after an arrest. Procuresses prevented actual police scrutiny of prostitutes, while underpaid girls working in shops or laundries supplemented their incomes through an older lover. Further up the social scale, women who had slipped a notch or two were able to maintain independent establishments where they entertained men. At the top were the celebrated courtesans whose extravagant lifestyle was a testament to the wealth of their patrons. This was actually a financially impractical situation, since the courtesan spent almost all she was given on display without being able to secure anything for her future. It also made her the focus of widespread criticism when hard times hit.

This is the era of Blanche de Païva, a Russian émigré whose excessive but beautiful home still stands on the Champs Elysées; Marie Duplessis, who was the inspiration for Alexandre Dumas's *La Dame aux camélias*; and Apollonie Sabatier, who was immortalized in the poems of Charles Baudelaire.

During La Belle Époque (c. 1890–1914), some of the best-known courtesans were dancers who performed at the Folies Bergères, which provided them with a very public opportunity to display their charms and which continued the long-standing associations between prostitutes and performers. Among these, Caroline Otero, frequently called "the last great courtesan," stands out. She was born the illegitimate daughter of a Gypsy mother and a Greek army officer in 1868. Like her mother, she began earning her living as a dancer while still a child. By 1890 she was a major star on the Paris stage, courted and feted by a slew of wealthy and aristocratic lovers who made her jewel collection the talk of Europe. Unfortunately, she lost her entire fortune through her passion for gambling and a series of bad investments. She died, destitute, in 1965.

The world-renowned Mata Hari also met a bad end. Born in provincial Holland in 1876, she was named Margaretha Geertruida Zelle. She escaped the narrow life awaiting her by answering a newspaper ad seeking a wife for a colonial military officer stationed in the Dutch East Indies. After several years and two children, she began performing native dances at the officers' club. When her marriage failed, at age twenty-seven she went to Paris to begin a career as a highly erotic oriental dancer and a courtesan with innumerable lovers. Her greatest success was between 1905 and 1920, but her talent as a dancer was limited and she grew fat, petulant, and poor. In the middle of World War I she fell passionately in love with a much younger Russian officer serving with the French. In her wild pursuit of him from one military post to another, she used forged papers to cross national borders, which led to the accusation that she was a spy for Germany. She was found guilty and executed by a firing squad in 1917.

CONCLUSION

In a wide variety of patriarchal societies, royal and rich men created a market for talented, beautiful, and sexually available women who were able to mingle socially with powerful men in ways virtuous women were not. Most languages have a rich vocabulary of terms to place women in various sexual categories (Davidson 1998, Young 2003). For example, in Sanskrit there is the distinction between the *kula-strī* (a wife, a woman from a good family) and *vāra-strī* (a courtesan, a restraining woman). This distinction between the good wife and the bad courtesan is particularly brought out by the contrast in sixteenth-century Venice: between the courtesan's social mobility, public role, and relative freedom of movement and the restrictions imposed on the movements and public role of aristocratic women. In literature and art they were both denigrated as venal and overly sexed women or romanticized as women with noble feelings, courage, and loyalty. In all this may be seen that courtesans were products of male longing for a bad girl who could be controlled and who would love the controlling man for his domination.

Economically, this categorization into good and bad breaks down even further. Courtesans were bad because they drained men of money, but they were also lauded as the treasures of Venice because they fulfilled the need for sexually available women in a prosperous mercantile city-state, and they attracted rich tourists. Sex tours have long existed. Similarly, in the Tamil epic *Manimekhalaï* (Shatton 1989), a young courtesan is initially thwarted in her desire to become a Buddhist nun by the leaders of her city who see her as a major attraction of wealth to their city.

Because they are bad (and have money), courtesans appear to have a freedom of movement and expression unknown to other women but, like their extravagant costumes and jewels, their freedom was part of a performance piece that reflected glory on their male protectors. The courtesan could, and often was, brought down hard and fast because she was always under legal constraint and thus even more vulnerable to male whim than "good" women.

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Serinity Young

COURTLY LOVE

The term *courtly love* (*amour courtois*, *amore cortese*, *fin' amor*) was coined by the literary critic and philologist Gaston Paris in 1883 in an essay on Chretien de Troyes's *Conte de la Charrette* to define the chivalric love bond between Lancelot and Guinevere. Paris described it as an illicit and adulterous form of love accompanied by an almost sacred and obsessive devotion to the lady (*domna)* or lord (*midons*, from *meus dominus*). The socially inferior lover aspires to obtain the favor of the loved one to whom he or she pledges obedience, humility, and faithfulness and become worthy of that person through virtuous deeds, courtesy, and noble acts. The lover-troubadour is at the mercy of the lady and must comply with whatever she demands; the verb *servir* comes to be defined as "to love." Feudalism, kingship, and religious fervor, especially in the form of the Marian cult, were major contributors to the genesis and practice of courtly love, and the lady would be not only a sovereign but a *typus Mariae*, a type of the Virgin Mary.

DEFINITION OF COURTLY LOVE

Courtly love is a religion of love that contradicts Christian theology and its social conventions, for it transgresses the boundaries of Christian marriage and proposes a love relationship between socially unequal persons. Elements such as the lady's married status, jealousy, the suspense of waiting, physical distance, clandestine meetings, the excitement of the possible encounter, the envy of others, and the role of nature in arousing expectations were contributing factors to the cult. Courtly love would become the inspiration and practice of male poets, or trobadours, from *troubars* (from the late Latin *tropare,* meaning to compose music in tropes) and female poets (*troubatriz)* in the courts of Provence in southern France and nearby territories, using the *langue d'oc* in contrast to the *langue d'oïl* of the north, where poets were called *trouvères*. The poems were to be transmitted orally with musical accompaniment, as in the tradition of the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas*.

Gaston Paris defined the major components of this idealistic, passionate, and spiritual love that was influenced by Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, the sociopolitical conditions of twelfth-century courts, and the flourishing of Provencal love lyrics. It consisted of a code or set of rules of love that could be practiced in the refined and sophisticated courts of southern France, northern and southern Italy, Catalonia, and northern Spain. That part of Spain had absorbed an Arabic civilization that might have contributed poetic forms such as the *pastourelle* and a code of behavior, the *senhal,* that prohibited the identification of the loved one, as demanded by social etiquette.

Paris located *amour courtois* at the court of Marie de Champagne, the daughter of Eleanore of Aquitaine, where the poet Chretiens de Troyes and the theorist Chaplain Andreas Capellanus, who codified the rules of courtly love in the treatise *De arte honeste amandi*, were active. Capellanus's treatise prescribed the rules for courts frequented by wandering minstrels, ladies, and suitors engaged in contests of amorous entertainment that included *questions galantes questioni d'amore*, a sort of riddle game resolved by the mistress or the *midons*. Some of the prescriptions advocated by Capellanus are that marriage should not be an impediment to true love; that a lover cannot be bound by one love; that no one who is loved can refuse anything to love and nobody can love if he or she is not driven by the power of love ("Amor ch'a nullo amato amar perdona," says Francesca da Rimini [Dante's *Inferno*, canto 5, line 103]); and that the literary convention of *fole amor* (mad love) obscures the lover's reason.

The idea of a hidden love whose revelation can be damaging and fateful is contained in the *senhal*, the hidden identity. The *midon*'s love enhances the nobility, dignity, and valor of the lover. The assumed social position of the loved one and the lover in these poems, akin to that of the feudal lady or lord and vassal, and the obsessive idolatry of the loved one became a poetic practice that spread quickly to other regions and countries and persists today. It had a particular influence on vernacular love poetry in Italy, on the Sicilian School at the court of Frederick II in Palermo, and later on the poets of Tuscany and Bologna, including Guido Guinizelli, the founder of the Sweet New Style (*Dolce stil novo*).

DANTE'S DEFINITION OF COURTLY LOVE

The first critical exposition of this form of poetry is recorded by Dante in *Vita Nuova,* where he gives a concise chronology of the development of vernacular lyric poetry in the countries of *Romania* and states that poets wanted to make their verse intelligible to ladies. In *Purgatorio*, canto 26, Dante attributes to Guinizelli the highest achievement of the Italian vernacular, but Guinizelli gives that honor to Arnaut Daniel, the Provençal love lyricist and craftsman of the most audacious techniques, such as the *sestina*. To honor the poet Dante makes him speak in Provençal in *Purgatorio*, stressing how the learned Tuscan poet wrote in that expressive and refined language of love. Dante might have been influenced by the troubadours, but primarily in terms of language and technique; in his conception, *gentilezza* and *cortesia*, as expressed in the fourth book of the *Convivio*, are innate virtues that are not related to the courts. Although he states that the word *cortese* derives from *corte***,** he believes that *virtu'* (virtue) and good manners or customs *bei costumi* are no longer present in the courts. Thus, his *canzone* and philosophical exposition in *Convivio* IV challenge the belief that nobility is derived from inheritance and champion the presence of individual virtue and merit at every social level. The audience for the *Convivio* is in fact diverse and democratic and includes women.

POETIC FORMS AND TECHNIQUES

The historical existence of courtly love and the issue of whether it was the product of critics' imagination have been subject to debate. However, this form of poetry has a concrete textual reality with rules and governing poetic images in which nature and society play a leading role, especially in terms of language, prosody, and rhetoric. Subsequent poets found these poems worthy of imitation, from Dante and Petrarch, to the poets of the late Italian Renaissance, to those of the Pleiade, to Spenser, to the European romantics and postromantics, and to modern poets such as Eliot and Pound, Adrienne Rich, and Muriel Rukeyser, among others.

MODERN ANALYSES

C. S. Lewis (1958) wrote that this form of poetry was revolutionary and everlasting: "Even our code of etiquette, with its rule that women always have precedence, is a legacy from courtly love, and is felt to be far from natural in modern India or Japan. … French poets, in the eleventh century, discovered or invented, or were the first to express, that romantic species of passion which English poets were still writing about in the nineteenth. They affected a change which left no corner of our ethics, our imagination, or our daily life untouched, and they erected impassable barriers between us and the classical past or the Oriental presence. Compared with this revolution the renaissance is a mere ripple on the surface of literature" (pp. 3–4). In contrast to that statement, Peter Dronke (1968) attempts to demonstrate that *amour courtois* is not necessarily a new conception of love: "For I would like to suggest that the feelings and conceptions of *amour courtois* are universally possible, possible in any time or place and on any level of society. They occur in popular a well as in learned or aristocratic love poetry. … The unity of popular and courtly love poetry is manifest in the courtly experience, which finds expression in both" (pp. 2–3).

Martin de Riqueur (1948) proposes a fourfold thesis of origins: folkloric, Arabic, Medio-Latin, and liturgical. Modern criticism holds to the view that structural and stylistic elements of Provencal poetry were derived from Arabic predecessors in El Andalus, the center of Arab civilization in Spain, such as the *Book of Flowers* by Ibn Dawoud and the *Dove Neck's Ring* of Ibn Hazam, as well as Avicenna's *Treatise on Love,* which deals with human and divine love. The Mozarabic *Khardjas* and the lyricism found in the *muwwashah* or *canso* definitely were assimilated into the *chanson de toile*, the *canso*, and the *pastourelle*. The Arabic influence also may be present in the Sicilian School because of the Arab presence in that island for more than one hundred fifty years.

MAJOR POETS IN THE TRADITION OF COURTLY LOVE

Some of the exponents of courtly love operated in the castles and courts of Occitania, which became the target of the Albigensian crusade initiated by Innocent III in 1209 against the Cathars, who professed a mixture of Gnosticism and Manichaeism. The fall of the fortress of Montsegur in 1244 resulted in the de facto eradication of the practice of courtly love that had begun with William of Aquitane (d. 1127), who wrote eleven *canzos* (songs) in the language of Limousin that were filled with desire and verdant backgrounds and who was influenced by Robert D'Abrissel (1050–1117), who founded the monastery of Fons Ebraus, which attracted many aristocratic ladies, and soon was to be an enemy of the Church.

Those who honored this poetry and its tradition include Bernard de Ventadour (1148–1194), Marcabru (c. 1135–1158), Jaufré Rudel (who set the theme of *enamourment* from afar), Peire Vidal (1180–1210), Peire Cardenal, Bertrand de Born (died 1210), Girault de Borneilh (1165–1200), and Arnaut Daniel (1180–1210). Among the many women *troubairitz*, the Countess of Dia from Die, born circa 1140 and married to the Lord of Die, who explicitly said, "*Ben volria mon cavalier tener un ser en mos bratz nut*" [How I wish just one night I could caress/ that chevalier with my bare arms] was the first and most renowned (Bogin 1980, p. 88). Others include Almuc de Castelnau and Iseut de Capio (c. 1140); Azalais de Poicarrages (c. 1140); Maria de Ventadorn (born circa 1165), who in a *tenson* with Guy d'Ussel said that she should never honor the lover as a lord, but as a friend; Alamanda whose *vida* Giraut wrote and who exchanged a *tenson* with him (a discussion on courtly behaviour between two people or an exchange through verbal invective); Garsenda (born circa 1170); Isabella (c. 1180), who says: "Elias Cairel, I want to know/ the truth about the love we once had; so tell me, please/ why you have given it to someone else" (Bogin 1980, p. 111); Lombarda, who writes in *trobar clus*, (dfficult or hermetic style, in contrast to *trobar leu,* easy style) Clara D' Anduza; Castelloza, perhaps the finest woman *troubatriz*; and Guillelma de Rosers, whose *vida* was authored by Lanfranc Cigala, a Genoese lawyer and poet (Bogin 1980). Those poets used forms such as the *canso*, *tenso, sirvente, alba,* and *pastourelle*, and their stanzas were called *coblas* and the *envoi* and *tornada*.

These women and men created a conception of love poetry that inaugurated a new era in Western European literature that was characterized by the aspiration to gain access to a loved one in body or in spirit. In this system every married lord or lady had an admirer who understood true love; this explains the travails, jealousies, laments, *planhs*, waiting, and disappointments that make up these erotic experiences. The desired *midons* of the troubadours and *troubatriz* become the subject of psychological and poetic turbulence, of hallucinations, fantasy games, and phantasms. The ultimate goal is partial fulfillment or partial joy, for total satisfaction is prohibited by the inequality of the lovers' status. *Fin' amor* is present in the courts of Occitania and its civilization, where the reality of love oscillates between the platonic, the religious, the spiritual, the erotic, and the adulterous.

The condition of women in the lower classes was that of a domestic servant exposed to the caprices of the lord or that of a *femna* or *molher* in the middle strata subject to the husband or the father. A lady (*domna*) in the higher class was subject to her lord; thus, the troubadour and *troubatriz* found the solution in the poetic practice of *fin' amor,* breaking the social barrier through adulterous love, even if only in spirit

The peculiarity of *fin'amor* is that the concept of the lady is paradoxically opposed to the traditional portrayal by moralists, theologians, and Church Fathers: that she is subject to the weakness of the flesh. In *fin'amor* she in effect uses her intellect and superior position, her distance and coldness, to entice her lover.

Arnaut Daniel would say: "*Tot iorn meilleur et esmeri/ Car la gensor serve e coli/ Del mon, so.us dic en apert*" [Every day I am a better man and purer/ for I serve the noblest lady in the world,/ and I worship her,/ I tell you this in the open]. Giraut de Borneihl (1165–1200) wrote: "*Si la belle cui sui profers me vol onrar D'aitan que m denhe soufertar/ qu'eu sia sos fis entendens/ sobre totz sui rics e manens*" [If the beautiful lady I want to belong to/ wants to honor me just so much that she agrees to let/ me be her faithful lover/ I am might and rich above all men]. The Countess of Dia advocates openness, frankness, and sincerity regarding her loved one: "*Dompna que en bon pretz s'enten deu ben pausars'entendensas/ en un pro cavalier valen/ pois qu'ill conois sa valenssa, que l'aus amar a presenssa;/que dompna, pois am'a presen,/ ja pois li pro ni li valen/ no.n dirant mas avinenssa.*" [The lady who knows about valor/should place her affection/ in a corteous and worthy knight/ as soon as she has seen his worth,/ and she should dare to love him face to face; for corteous and worthy men/ can only speak with great esteem/ of a lady who loves openly]. In the poem "A chantar m'er de so qu'ieu non volria," [Of things I'd rather keep in silence I mus sing:] the envoy states: "Mas aitan plus vuoill li digas, messatges,/ qu'en trop d'orguoill ant gran dan maintans gens."But above all, messenger/ make him comprehend, that too much pride has undone many men." Tibors (born circa 1130), perhaps the earliest of the *troubaritzs*, says with spontaneity: "*bel dous amics, ben vos posc on ver dir/ que anc non fo qu'ieu estes sin desir*"[Sweet handsome friend, I can tell you truly/ that I have never been without desire] (Bogin, 1980, p. 80). Bleiris de Romans, about whom very little is known, wrote a chanson addressed to another woman, Lady Maria. Scholars have denied that this might be an amorous song to another woman, but its sincere tone and content betray such erotic love. The poems of Alais, Iselda, and Carenza surely contain allegorical elements (Bogin 1980).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE TROUBADOURS

Women troubadours have traits distinctive from those of their male counterparts, and as Bogin (1980) points out, they were not slaves to tradition but were "free of formulas" and genuine in revealing their feelings. The key is that they were "writing for personal not professional reasons" (p. 68). This can be seen in all their poems, and they use a much more concrete language that reveals the true individual in a form of "feminine writing" (*écriture feminine*).

Male troubadours appear to employ much more artificial, conventional language and use constructed images as if they were part of a system. The women, though well versed in courtly rhetoric, seem to employ a language of the soul and of the heart, not necessarily advocating a physical relationship but instead the recognition of their individuality and worth, the nobility of their feelings and frustrations. Although the women troubadours may not surpass the men in their technique, they improve the poetry in terms of themes and realism, sincere sentiments and language.

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CREATION STORIES

While some scholars point to the positive role of creation stories as the sources of moral values that encourage cohesiveness of the society (Malinowski 1962), feminist thinkers argue that creation myths have carried a negative influence on the life of women. Because most creation stories mirror the patriarchal structures of their culture, they often encourage women's subordination and passivity.

INDO-EUROPEAN MYTH

The Rig-Veda, the Vedic creation hymn, shares much with many other Indo-European myths (Greek, Zoroastrian, Celtic, central and western European, etc.) such as polytheism and its veneration of nature. Chapter 10 of the Rig-Veda (c. 1500–1300 BCE) describes a creative process as the sacrifice of the thousand-headed, thousand-footed primal man Parusa. When the gods perform the sacrifice of Parusa, there emerges a clear hierarchy as the upper parts of his body are employed for creation of higher states of existence and the lower for the more common. Out of Parusa's head emerges the sky, while his feet become the earth.

Parusa is a man, which signifies that all reality, even the divine, has its origin from a male body. While recognizing male primacy, the Vedic hymn describes a reciprocal engendering that is taking place between the female and the male energies. The female creative energy arises out of Parusa, but this female energy is also a source of Parusa, an energy that is necessary for the fashioning all of reality. This female energy will appear in future Hindu mythology as Sakit, the creative energy of the principal male Hindu gods.

HINDUISM

In contrast to the oldest, Vedic account of creation, in later tradition (200 BCE), creation comes from Brahma (the masculine expression of Brahman), who creates through his thought ("out of nothing"). While in principle Brahman is beyond gender, the expressions of the divine responsible for creation are often portrayed in masculine images. In addition to Brahma, Shiva (the destroyer, god of procreation) is also masculine. During the fifth century CE, Hindu scriptures introduced a single Great Goddess (Devi, Shakta) who is the material cause of creation (tantric and Shakta traditions). Within the tantric tradition, various female incarnations of the Great Goddess provide the masculine Gods with their creative abilities. Thus, the masculine creators (Brahma or Shiva) rely on their female divine cohorts (Lakshmi or Kali) for their creative abilities. While the male gods are still performing their creative acts, they are impotent without the creative energy (shakti) provided by their female consorts.

Kali testifies to the power of the female goddess (one of many incarnations of Devi) because she defines the fierce divine. Carrying a sword, Kali wears a girdle of severed heads and a necklace of skulls. Fitting for a consort of Shiva, she symbolizes the power of destruction, but this mode of operation leads to a creative process of transformation. As Kali destroys the impediments to realizing the truth, she frees the followers to follow the truth. While the tantric followers of Kali see her as a cherishing mother, others see her as a stereotype of female chaotic presence, which is blamed for bringing destruction on others. Still others believe that Kali provides a needed counterbalance to the stereotypical concepts of femininity.

BUDDHISM

From a Buddhist perspective, this universe is not the only one that exists, but rather there is a cycle of "creations" and destructions that follow one another. At the same time, Buddhist teaching rejects the idea of a creator of the universe. Instead, the universe is maintained by the cycle of causal conditioning called dependent origination. This concept centers around a radical interdependence between all aspects of reality. Everything that exists, exists because it depends on the existence of everything else. That is, nothing can exist without specific causes that bring it about; however, these causes, depend on other causes or conditions. As a result, it is impossible to single out one specific cause for the whole matrix.

The concept of God as creator or as savior is rejected in Buddhism. Because human salvation is a matter of self-realization reached through enlightenment, it is this form of human creativity that is stressed by Buddhists. In the Mahayana tradition, Buddhas and bodhisattvas assist human efforts along the path of enlightenment. These are celestial or earthly beings who have reached enlightenment but were once ordinary human beings. Kuan-yin, a female bodhisattva of compassion, postpones her nirvana (state of bliss, release from the cycle of reincarnation) in order to assist others in their efforts toward enlightenment. Another important female Buddha is Tara found in Vajrayana Buddhism. She appears in two forms—Green Tara and Red Tara—the former specializing in compassionate action, and the latter in removing obstacles to enlightenment. Red Tara wears a garland of severed heads and carries a hooked knife and in many ways resembles the Hindu Kali.

ZOROASTRIANISM

The Zoroastrian creation story describes creation out of chaos by Mazda Ahura, an omnipotent and omniscient god creator. If Mazda Ahura represents the beneficent, high deity, the other lesser deity, Angra Mainyu, represents the evil spirit that brings chaos and disorder. Already within this original dualism there is a gender distinction because Mazda Ahura is referred to as the "father or of order" and the wise lord, whereas the source of disorder (embodied in Angra Mainyu) is personified as feminine. Mazda Ahura and Angra Mainyu produce, respectively, beneficent spiritual beings and as well as demonesses. Whereas beneficent beings include both passive feminine and active masculine beings, demonesses are exclusively feminine.

The first human pair, Mashya (male) and Mashayana Mashyana (female), had their common origin from the semen of the first human, an androgyne named Gayo-Maretan. Initially they sinned together and shared mutual responsibility for the sin. This original equality is soon replaced, however, when Mashyana commits an irreligious ritual act of worshipping the demonic spirits. As a result, woman is seen as susceptible to temptation and evil and as the source of spiritual chaos.

ANCIENT GREEK

Only in the late eighth century BCE do we find the fully developed The Greek creation myth appears fully developed only in the late eighth century BCE in the work of the poet Hesiod. In the beginning there is an absence of form, the absence itself called Chaos. Out of Chaos arises Gaea (the earth), Tartarus (deep pit), and Eros (love). Gaea gives birth by herself to Uranus (the sky) on whom she bestows equal partnership and who becomes her mate. Uranus engages in a continual sexual encounter with Gaea in order to avert keep the offspring from emerging into the world and thus engendering. In order to free herself, Gaea arms her son Kronos, who castrates Uranus of his power over Gaea. The earth and the sky are thus forever separated.

Gaea appears as a powerful goddess, who eliminates the schemes of her cohort by employing her son. Out of Uranus's severed genitals, Gaea creates the female Furies, who are responsible for assuring retributive justice in the world. Gaea is a prototype for other strong female Goddesses goddesses in the Greek pantheon (such as Rhea, Demeter, and Athena) who manipulate their destiny through intricate plotting, enlisting the help of their children, withholding fertility, or giving birth.

Humanity is fashioned by a divine artisan, Hephaestus, or the mediator Prometheus (according to Hesiod). There is a separate account of the origin of a woman. When Prometheus steals fire for the human race, Zeus punishes humanity by creating an evil called woman. The first woman, the mother of all women, is both beautiful and evil and receives the name Pandora. She is the very goddess who, according to the patriarchal rendering of Hesiod, by opening her box releases all woes that afflict humankind.

BABYLONIAN

The Babylonian myth of Enuma Elish (1100 BCE) depicts the primal force as water, which that from the beginning takes on male and female characteristics. That is, there is a commingling between the male Apsu, the primordial freshwater ocean, and Tiamat, the female saltwater. Out of this pairing emerge several generations of gods. The Strife ensues, in which newer generations of male gods revolt against the original pair. Younger gods kill Apsu, which, in turn, results in the an all-out battle between Tiamat and the rest of the gods. The gods finally conquer Tiamat and create the world out of her dismembered body. The gruesome detail of the cutting of Tiamat's body communicates the pleasure over the conquest of the goddess. The story suggests that the primordial female goddess not only introduced chaos into the universe but also received a deserved punishment.

The vanquished body of Tiamat gives rise to the new hierarchy, i.e., that of heaven over earth, male power over female power. The female passion (or chaos) is subdued by the male rational order.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

Hebrew and Christian tradition derive their creation story from the book of Genesis, where God is described as creating the universe out of nothing by the power of divine words. There are two creation stories describing the creation of the first human couple, Adam and Eve, in Genesis 1:1–2:3 and Genesis 2:4–3:24. The first account (c. sixth century BCE) stresses the equality of both the sexes as it speaks of both as being created in the image of God. In the second narrative (c. tenth century BCE), Eve is created out of Adam's rib and is the one who leads Adam to disobey the divine commandment. Traditionally this second story was understood as a sign of women's subordination to men because Eve was created after Adam, from Adam, and for Adam. Furthermore, her disobedience was taken as evidence of her vicious nature, which brings evil into the world. Eve and all women were thus seen as the weaker, inferior sex. Contemporary scholars either reject completely the second story as intrinsically patriarchal or reinterpret the myth. New interpretations point to the fact that creation from Adam symbolizes the mutual need for companionship while the eating of the fruit by Adam and Eve pictures the joint disobedience of the first couple. Eve's initiative to consume the fruit could also be interpreted in a positive light as an expression of her more independent nature.

Jewish apocryphal tradition relates a story about another first woman, Lilith, who according to rabbinic tradition was a night demon who seduced men and killed children. Jewish feminists agree with the tradition that Lilith asserted equality with Adam, but reject the demonic portrayal. Instead, they suggest that such a negative rendition of Lilith reflects a patriarchal fear of a strong female presence.

ISLAM

In Islam, as in Judaism and Christianity, God creates the universe out of nothing in six days. Adam and Eve—the first human beings—appear in the Muslim scenario as well, but there are significant differences between the Muslim and the Hebrew accounts. Overall, the Muslim creation story of the first couple affirms the equality of Adam and Eve. According to the Qur'an, Adam and Eve are created from one genderless source (*nafs*); they have one point of origin that comes from one living entity. In contrast to Genesis, Eve is not formed out of Adam, but both Eve and Adam are formed from a previously existing, genderless being. After creation out of *nafs*, Adam and Eve are irrevocably linked to each other in providing comfort, companionship, and support. Satan tempts both Adam and Eve, and both disobey by eating from the tree. The Qur'an leaves no possibility to infer that Eve is a secondary and inferior form of creation, nor that she is more responsible for the Fall fall of humanity. Eve is not singled out as the initiator or temptress of evil, and instead Adam and Eve share the same culpability for their deeds.

SEE ALSO *Adam and Eve.*

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Wioleta Polinska

CRIME

SEE *Sex Crimes.*

CROSS-DRESSING

SEE *Transvestism.*

CRUISING

Cruising refers to the act—and the art—of soliciting a type of sexual activity that is anonymous, impersonal, and often promiscuous. Commonly associated with gay male sexual cultures, cruising references the search for public sex in bars, bathhouses, backrooms, clubs, discos, gyms, beaches, parks, dumpsters, public restrooms (tearooms in the United States or, in the United Kingdom, cottage houses), highway rest stops, piers, churches, and, most recently, on the Internet. When one individual cruises another individual to *get off* or to *hook-up*, such interactions are usually prompted by exchanges that involve mutual and sometimes silent recognition of the search for sexual gratification—a smile, a nod, a hand gesture towards the crotch, a light from a cigarette—that may or may not result in sexual contact. Cruising thus references the activities that occur prior to sexual contact between two or more individuals.

While cruising is considered to be an act that occurs between anonymous persons, it has also been integral to the formation of gay male sexual cultures. Historians and cultural critics of sexual history have shown that the visual, verbal, and non-verbal codes constituting cruising have been central components to the development of urban gay male subcultures since at least the late nineteenth century. Through their cruising, early twentieth-century gay men transformed public spaces such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the bathhouse, the cafeteria, and the street into erotic zones that permitted the mutual recognition and enactment of same-sex desire. Later generations of gay men—particularly those in the late 1960s and early to mid-1970s—would make cruising an integral aspect of modern urban gay life, so much so that it has stereotypically come to define gay male sexual activity in the decades prior to the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) crisis. Though often impersonal, cruising facilitates the development of a collective gay male group identity. Numerous self-identified gay male authors such as Samuel R. Delany, David Wojnarowicz, Edmund White, and Michel Foucault have commented on the communitarian possibilities latent within this anonymous act.

While it enables the mutual recognition of gay desire, cruising is not entirely the domain of gay men. Even though cruising permits gay men a space of identity recognition, it is not always reliant on the recognition of a shared sexual identity. Historian George Chauncey argued that gay men would frequently cruise *trade*—men who did not self-identify as gay—in public parks in the 1920s and 1930s. And as sociologist Laud Humphreys demonstrated in his influential sociological evaluations of public restrooms in the United States, cruising in the 1960s was an act by which many men who did not self-identity as gay often participated in their search for sexual gratification. Moreover cruising can also occur between opposite-sex individuals, as well as women who self-identify as lesbians. Indeed many erotic encounters that do not have monogamous coupling as their end results could be considered versions of cruising.

Precisely because cruising has been associated with anonymous, impersonal public sex, it has also been a point of controversy both inside and outside the gay community. Critiques of cruising as an erotic practice that promotes promiscuity appear in the documents of homophile organizations such as the Mattachine Society as well as those of radical gay organizations such as Gay Liberation, have been voiced during the numerous local and national sex panics that emerged as a result of the ongoing AIDS crisis, are subtext in films such as William Friedkin's homophobic *Cruising* (1970), and are even raised in debates over gay marriage in the United States and elsewhere. Such critiques are commonly accompanied by an increased policing of public spaces where cruising occurs as well as attempts to close bars and clubs that permit individuals to cruise each other.

While cruising in public spaces such as bars, piers, and parks has come under fire in the early twenty-first century, a renaissance of cruising has occurred on the Internet. Places available for anonymous, impersonal sexual exchange are cataloged on websites, some according to town, city, state, as well as university. Other sites permit individuals to post data about themselves for a possible hook-up. Likewise chat rooms on the Internet facilitate sexual contacts between individuals or groups. These mediated social spaces adopt functions similar to those of public spaces in the early-twentieth century, suggesting that cruising will remain central to late modern erotic life.

SEE ALSO *Frottage.*

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Scott Herring

CUNNILINGUS

SEE *Oral Sex; Sexual Practices.*

CUPID

SEE *Eros, Cupid.*

Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

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VOLUME 2

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

EDITOR IN CHIEF

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DADDY

The term *daddy* usually refers to an older male in a romantic or sexual relationship with a younger person. More than a simple indication of a couple's difference in chronological age, however, daddy signals a particular role in an unequally structured relationship in which the male has greater financial resources or more social power or cultural authority than his partner. The term covers a variety of possible roles and relationships, with different but related meanings in heterosexual and gay male cultures.

HETEROSEXUAL DADDIES

Although marriage or sexual relationships between older men and younger women have been a feature of many cultures over the course of history, the term first appeared in the United States in the early years of the twentieth century, gaining general currency during the 1920s. It was usually synonymous with the term *sugar daddy,* connoting an older man who gives money or gifts to a younger woman in exchange for companionship or sexual favors. The younger woman in such a relationship is sometimes referred to as a gold digger. An early example of this concept of the daddy can be found in Anita Loos's *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1925), in which the flapper Lorelei Lee is financially supported by her middle-aged daddy, Gus Eisman, "the Button King of Chicago." In the early twenty-first century, the term is often used when a male financially assists or gives gifts to a woman in a relationship even if there is little difference in their ages.

Since the 1920s, the daddy and the gold digger have become familiar cultural icons, spawning films (e.g., *How to Marry a Millionaire* [1953]), popular songs (e.g., Cole Porter's "My Heart Belongs to Daddy" [1938] and the Jackson Five's "Sugar Daddy" [1971]), and catchphrases ("Who's your daddy?"). Sugar daddies are common in many parts of the world, including sub-Saharan Africa, where the practice has been identified as a factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS (McLaughlin 2005). Less frequently, daddy is sometimes used to refer to an older male who is the erotic object choice of a younger woman, independent of any financial considerations.

GAY DADDIES

Age differences in male-male sexual relationships have been a socially approved practice in a variety of cultures from premodern Japan and Mughal India to the Middle East. The most familiar example of such relationships in Western culture, however, is the concept of *paiderastia* in ancient Greece, in which an older male would act as the mentor, protector, role model, and lover of a youth between the ages of fourteen and twenty (Crompton 2003). Although this practice bears similarities to some contemporary notions of the daddy role in gay culture, the vast historical and cultural differences between *paiderastia* and twentieth-century conceptions of homosexuality make it difficult to draw a clear connection between the two. The meaning of daddy in gay culture can best be thought of as a twentieth-century concept signaling a dominant role in a male-male relationship that is unequally structured in one of several possible ways.

The term is first recorded in gay culture in the 1930s, and one of its meanings is a male who acts as a sugar daddy in a fashion analogous to the role in straight culture. A recent example of this phenomenon can be found in the off-Broadway musical and subsequent film *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* (2001) in which young Hedwig's rescue from his drab life in East Berlin by American GI Luther Robinson is celebrated in a musical number ("Sugar Daddy").

Given the gradual lessening of stigmas associated with aging and an increased emphasis on masculine self-presentation in the gay community, daddy has taken on additional meanings in gay culture since the 1970s. The term is now commonly used to refer to an attractive middle-aged or older man who is the erotic object choice of a younger man, largely because of an association of age with maturity, emotional stability, authority, and masculinity (Adam 2000). There are a number of web sites devoted to daddies and their admirers, and representations of "hot daddies" form the basis of a recognizable subcategory of contemporary gay pornography.

Equally commonly, the term daddy can also refer to a particular role in *daddy-boy relationships* in gay leather or sadomasochist culture, in which the daddy is the dominant partner both psychologically and sexually. In such instances, the roles refer to the distribution of power within the relationship and may have little to do with chronological age (so that the boy can be the same age as, or even older than, the daddy).

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Dennis Allen

DAHOMEY, WOMEN WARRIORS/WIVES OF THE KING

Precolonial African societies had a clear but flexible gender-based division of tasks that excluded women's participation in the military as warriors. It is possible that in Africa, as elsewhere, war and gender existed in a relationship of "reciprocal causality" (Goldstein 2001, pp. 6, 191, 410). Female armed forces that served the kings of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dahomey (present-day Benin), nicknamed Amazons by European visitors in reference to the prodigious female warriors of Greek mythology, constitute the only documented exception to that rule.

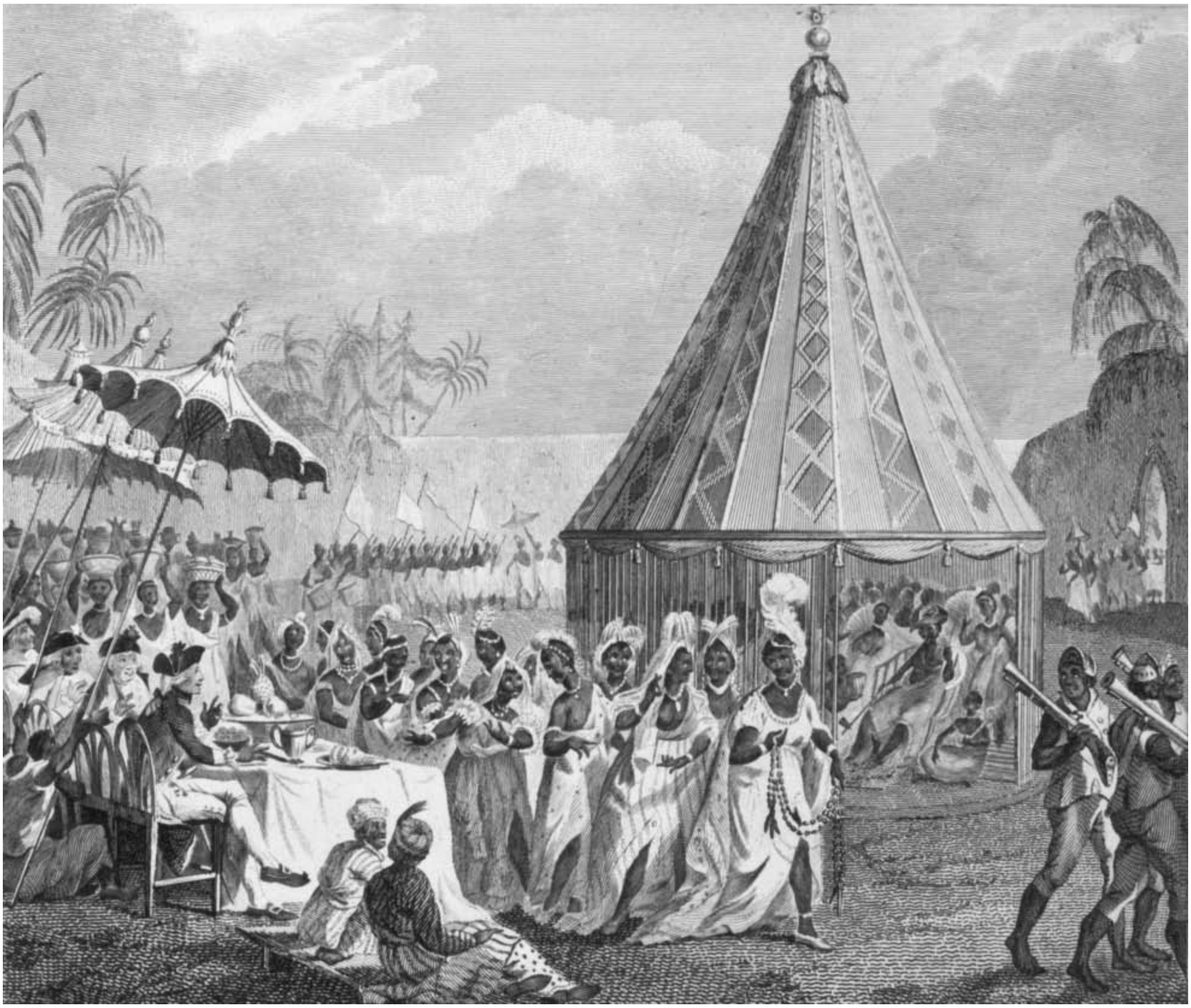
This institution, which probably was borrowed in the early seventeenth century by Dahomey, may have begun with female "rangers of the forest" (Forbes 1966) called *gbeto*, who specialized in hunting elephants. With the attrition of the elephant population, the *gbeto* no longer hunted for ivory but for the royal palaces' needs for meat and ceremonial sacrifices in Abomey, the capital city. Selected for their exceptional endurance, the *gbeto* dressed in brown shirts and knee-length trousers; they sported two antelope horns attached above their foreheads by an iron or gold ring. Separated into two regiments under Gezo (1818–1858), the four hundred *gbeto* remained an elite corps among women warriors until the end of Amazonism.

The first record of women's presence in the battles fought by Dahomey for territorial expansion toward the Atlantic coast and access to the international slave market concerns a 1708 operation. In his 1728 onslaught on Whydah, King Agadja, who was short of men, also used women warriors who greatly exceeded his expectations. His successors also owed important victories to women soldiers whose loyalty to the crown was legendary. For instance, in 1818 Adandozan's female guard fought to the death to protect the king from conspirators. Gezo's reign is considered the "Golden Age of Amazonism" (Almeida-Topor 1984, p. 38). He increased the recruitment of female warriors, organizing some 2,500 women in permanent divisions and units that included his personal guard.

Typically, the women were recruited among young prisoners of war (i.e., slaves), drafted from Dahomean commoners' families, and chosen from among volunteers. Occasionally, adulterous or rebellious women would be recruited. They wore a sleeveless waistcoat, trousers, and a white cotton hat ornamented with blue stylized crocodiles. They were armed with blunderbusses and muskets, bows and arrows, and eighteen-inch-long razors mounted on a two-foot pole and weighing eighteen pounds. Women warriors ostensibly displayed amulets, sang self-praises, and observed impeccable discipline. Proud of being exceptional women, they nevertheless cultivated a masculine appearance to fit into the palace's military culture.

Though not sexually involved with the king, women warriors were given the title Wives of the King. In fact, they were held to celibacy (and often given an amenorrhea-inducing contraceptive), though records of punishments for pregnancy point to their will to recover some control over their bodies. Marriages between a king and a woman soldier remained exceptional, though Glèlè married Tata Ajachè and Behanzin married Dimedji.

A cornerstone of Dahomean resistance to French colonial forces, Amazonism dissolved with Behanzin's capitulation in 1894. In anticipation of the war that



Dahomey Wives of the King. *Public Procession of the King's Women, an engraving by Francis Chesham, c. 1793, depicts a procession of the Dahomey wives of the king.*

broke out in 1890, Behanzin (1889–1894) had reformed the female troops to maximize their efficiency in the face of European technology. Women soldiers fought heroically on the front line against French officers and African *tirailleurs* (riflemen), attempting to cut the enemy's throats with their teeth and sink enemy boats. Despite enormous casualties, they also engaged in guerrilla warfare. In 1894, the fifty survivors, along with the reserves, began to return to family life without seemingly transforming existing gender relationships.

There are many descriptions of Dahomean women warriors by European travelers, colonial administrators, and army officers, and a group posing as Amazons was on display at the zoological garden in Paris in 1890. Though seen through a voyeurist lens, the Amazones, who dispelled the myth of women's physical inferiority, provided a welcome alternative to two other African icons promoted by nineteenth-century scientific racism: the bestial Hottentot Venus and the blissful *Tirailleur senegalais*. African images of Dahomean women soldiers are carved on bas-reliefs on the royal palaces in Abomey. The novelist Paul Hazoumé evoked those warriors in *Doguicimi* (1938). Roger Gnoan Mballa's controversial movie *Adangaman* (2000) focuses on their role as slave hunters. The Beninese singer Edia Sophie paid homage to them in the popular song "Oum kpé zon toé" (1965), and in 1961 a musical band of Guinean women gendarmes took the name Les Amazones de Guinée. The internationally renowned Beninese singer Angelique Kidjo often is referred to as the Amazon of Afrofunk.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Amazons; Chastity; War.*

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Sylvie Kandé

DAMIAN, PETER
c. 1007–1072

Born into a noble but poor family in or around 1007 in Ravenna, Italy, Peter Damian became an influential figure in the Catholic Church at a time when it was marked by scandals, corruption, and schism. Orphaned at an early age, he was eventually cared for by an older brother who then facilitated his education. Damian excelled in his studies first at Ravenna, then Faenza and Parma, and became a renowned teacher of rhetoric by the age of twenty-five. Rejecting the distractions and scandals associated with university life, around 1035 he joined the monastery at Fonte Avellana, where he became prior in 1043, leading the monastery into a new prosperity. This office he held until his death in 1072 in Faenza. Though he had retreated from the world, Peter kept close watch on the Church, and served frequently as papal legate. He was eventually named Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia—over his protest—in 1057. By the time of his death in 1072, he had earned a reputation as a reformer, opposed to simony and clerical marriage, and as a zealous combatant of sodomy.

While the act of sodomy had been criticized as early as Tertullian (c. 160–c. 230), and same-sex relations condemned both in church councils, such as the Council of Elvira (305–306), and in penitentials, as John Boswell claimed, an argument could be put forth for a certain tolerance of homosexual behaviors through the twelfth century. However, Damian's *Liber Gomorrhianus* (c. 1049), addressed to Pope Leo IX (r. 1049–1054), sharply condemns any attitude of leniency, and especially any papal leniency, in cases of "sins against nature." In the *Liber Gomorrhianus,* through a preface and twenty-six chapters, Damian categorizes and condemns homosexual acts without mincing words. He elaborates a typology of four categories of "sins against nature": masturbation, mutual masturbation, interfemoral intercourse, and anal intercourse, with the latter being the most serious. Citing earlier ecclesiastic sources, he argues that males guilty of such acts should not be clerics. Following the same logic, he criticizes mutual confession by priests engaging in same-sex activities. Clerics who were sodomites should repent and remove themselves from the clergy. He denounces the inconsistencies and the laxness of the penitentials on this subject and rails against the morally corrupting influence of homosexuality. Mark D. Jordan (1997) credits Damian with moving sodomy into the category of sin, by likening it to blasphemy.

By invoking Gomorrah, Damian's polemic suggests a parallel between the moral state of the Church, corrupted by practicing sodomites, and the fate of the inhabitants of that city. The threat of destruction looms on the horizon. While Damian's text may then read as a classic example of European medieval homophobia, David Lorenzo Boyd (1995) has pointed out that Damian's argument can also be seen as expressing the fragility of the heteronormative model and the instability of the dominant. Derived from a gendered vision of behavior and located in the male body, the effect of the "unmanned man" and the "effeminate man" goes beyond the boundaries of the Church and disrupts the binary power system that structures medieval society.

Although Pope Leo IX recognized the value of Damian's intentions, he was critical of the excessive nature of the text and rejected Damien's call for executing those unnatural practitioners. Thus the immediate effect of Damian's text was less than he hoped for. Nonetheless, *Liber Gomorrhianus* reveals the anxieties of the medieval clergy in relation to sexuality and must inform any discussion of sodomy in the Middle Ages.

SEE ALSO *Alan of Lille; Aquinas, Thomas; Body, Theories of; Catholicism; Effeminacy; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Lesbianism; Middle Ages; Sodomy, Repression of.*

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Edith Benkov

DANCE

The human body as instrument means that dance is always gendered. The dichotomy between mind and body, primarily though not exclusively a Western notion, has generally privileged the mind. The Enlightenment body was the locus of emotion, not reason. The danced body, with its elaboration of human movement using repetition and redundancy to heighten the experience, has particularly antagonized those who favor the mind, and more often than not, negative perceptions have centered on sexuality. The power of the body in dance stems from two different sets of attributes: One, dance has the capacity to generate a kinesthetic response in the observer; two, embodied forms speak through a variety of voices and channels, creating multiple meanings that may be ambiguous and contradictory. Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1994 [1962]) describes the human body being in the world as the heart is in the organism; in this position, the body keeps the visible spectacle constantly alive. It breathes life into it, he says, and sustains it inwardly, and with it, forms a system.

Movement has always been controversial and associated with both goodness and evil. In the medieval notion of the Great Chain of Being, light, warmth, and movement are associated with the higher orders of beings. Ordered movement takes on even greater importance in the Elizabethan concept of the Cosmic Dance. In the *Inferno*, the poet Dante elaborates on life and movement. He puts the most evil sinners, the traitors such as Lucifer, in the eleventh circle of hell where they are frozen immobile for all eternity. They are forever removed from those angels who are moving, dancing, and singing around a God who is a point of light in constant motion (Royce 1984). In contrast, those whose sin was one of reckless passion are fated to be blown about forever by the ceaseless winds of the second circle, out of control after death just as they were in life.

The theatrical productions of the English dramatist Ben Jonson (1572–1637) reflected his conception of movement as the disposable shell of a masque, while the poetry of the text was its abiding essence (cf. Barish 1981). He gave form to his ideas by using formal, serene, mathematically perfect movement in the masques to portray goodness and a sense of proportion and jerky, backward, unnatural movements in the anti-masques to convey the opposite.

Dance reifies movement and the body, which is its instrument. It is useful to examine the presentation and perception of gender in dance by isolating three arenas. One is the arena of formal qualities, the technique and aesthetic choices that direct which forms, out of a vast range of possibilities, represent a particular genre. A second centers on the meanings or narratives implicit or explicit in a genre or in a dance composition. The third refers to meanings and assumptions that come from the larger context, which may be as narrow as a performance or as broad as society (Royce 1987b). None of these aspects exists independent of the others, but focusing on each, then on the ways in which they interact, reveals something fundamental about how cultures regard and manipulate the body.

FORMAL QUALITIES OF DANCE

Form can usefully be divided into body, technique, and style. Most cultures and virtually all dance genres have notions about the ideal body for dance, which may or may not be the same ideal for the body generally speaking. Even in societies in which everyone is expected to dance, such as some of the Tewa pueblos in the American Southwest, the featured dancers have bodies regarded as more pleasing for the dance than the corps. They are also regarded as "better" interpreters of the ritual. There is some relationship between the attributes of the body and the technique of the genre, but it is difficult to say which way the influence goes. For example, both Cook Islands and North African Muslim women's dances focus on the pelvic area, and the ideal form to show off the movements is a womanly torso, hips, and pelvis. But while the desired body type is the same, both the technique and the context are quite different. In Cook Islands dance, women and men dance together in opposing lines, whereas North African women dance for other women and not in the presence of men. Cook Islands women swing their hips from side to side, never in a circular fashion, and their shoulders remain motionless. Moroccan women rotate their hips in a series of circles that gradually involve the whole torso.

This "womanly" body, quite distinct from its male counterpart, is far from the one demanded by twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century classical ballet in which the ideal is the androgynous or gender-neutral body. The ideal state for the ballet dancer, male or female, is as instrument, athlete, abstraction—neutered and celibate. Whereas the classic "story" ballets have clearly designated male and female roles, the more contemporary repertoire does not rely on such narratives. The technique, then, for women and men, has become less distinct. With the exception of dance *en pointe* and to a lesser extent, supported adagio, women and men are expected to be equally at home in most of what used to be two separate techniques.

A resistance to the androgynous, thin, long-necked and long-legged, small-headed female ballet body so beloved by George Balanchine (1904–1983) appeared in modern dance as a symbol of its total separation from ballet. Coincidentally with the acceptance of a wider range of acceptable and gendered bodies came the declaration of equal status for women dancers. The American choreographer Twyla Tharp (b. 1941), who can best be characterized as a crossover choreographer and a rebel, created a company in which there was no standard body type. Any and all shapes and sizes were accepted so long as the dancers could master the grueling technique and choreographic demands. Her company looked like a cross-section of the American public. Indeed, some of her pieces invited local audience members to participate. She would also frequently choreograph pieces for a cast of three women, only to change the cast at a later performance to three men. While the bodies were gendered, the choreography was not.

The American company Pilobolus (named for a fungus) not only has no standard body type, in its fundamental repertoire all bodies are used as building blocks for a choreographic architecture that has little or no reference to gender. In its beginning years in the 1970s, the Pilobolus creators depicted the subhuman and the fantastic, not using the body as dance normally conceives it. Their choreography denied the shape of the human body as well as the body's capabilities when used independent of other bodies. The shapes were mesmerizing but not human (Royce 1987a). As the company developed, its members began creating thematic pieces that allowed the human body to reappear, although the gendered body still remained in both form and narrative subsumed in the humanity, rather than the humanness, of the choreography. Their themes, then, are those reflecting humanity—love, conflict, sorrow, happiness, relationship—and while they are interpreted by gendered bodies, the focus does not lie with the bodies themselves.

Men's bodies have often stood for both men and women. Prior to the late seventeenth century, men danced both male and female roles in the ballets of the French court. In Kabuki theater, women's roles are played by males known as *onnagata*. The development of the *onnagata* provides an interesting commentary on the interchangeability of men and women. Kabuki in the 1600s was a popular form of theater performed by women as well as men. By 1629, the rowdiness that Kabuki seemed to generate in its audiences prompted the government to ban women from performing. Young men replaced them. People continued behaving in a scandalous manner leading the government to ban Kabuki altogether in 1652. Kabuki was "reborn" by an implied connection to Nō theater, a traditional and respected form of dance-drama, and, like Nō, Kabuki was exclusively male. *Onnagata* regard their portrayal of women as somehow archetypical; they use gestures and postures taught to geishas, including slow, sculpted, deliberate movements, hips tucked under and forward, knees slightly bent and held together, and turned-in toes. It is a codified technique that signals "woman." It does this so well that it can be referenced when actors want to signal this kind of hyperstylized feminine principle.

Lindsay Kemp used the *onnagata* figure in his 1974 production of Jean Genet's *Notre-Dame des Fleurs* (1944; *Our Lady of the Flowers*, 1949) in order to make the audience comprehend immediately the transvestite nature of Divine. As he made his slow way across the balcony, dressed in a long, white, close-fitting gown, Divine did so with the sliding step of the *onnagata*—sliding the foot forward, raising the toes up, then pointing them down again, sliding the other foot forward. His hips were tucked under, knees bent, and his head cast down and to one side (Royce 2004). The power of the female contained in Kabuki *onnagata* technique, posture, and style conveys itself directly and with absolute clarity. Genet, in *Notre-Dame des Fleurs*, speaks to the elusiveness of masculinity and femininity in everyday gesture, when he describes Divine responding to a delicate lover by trying to be more masculine: "She tried for male gestures, which are rarely the gestures of males" (Genet 1963, p. 133). Kemp relied, not on exaggeration of ordinary gestures and movement, but rather on a form that everyone knows to be emblematic of woman.

THE MEANINGS OF VARIOUS DANCE MOVEMENTS

Formal qualities of the body and the movements codified into techniques and genres have a long history of dividing peoples into civilized and other—in cultural, class, and gender terms. While there are vast cultural differences across societies in terms of which particular movements are thought to be appropriate, some fundamental qualities of movement seem to have universal resonance. Ordered, economical, redundant, and inevitable—these are all qualities associated with movement that is pleasing, that is, civilized. Disordered and cluttered movement is unpleasant and a sign of a person or culture lacking discipline and aesthetic sensibility. One of the best demonstrations of this mode of thought comes from the Renaissance courts of Italy and France where to be a member of the court—a courtier—an aristocrat depended on the unmannered grace with which one moved through life. Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) describes this in his book *The Courtier* when he speaks about art, mundane and otherwise: "true art which does not seem to be art; nor must one be more careful of anything than of concealing it, because if it is discovered, this robs a man of all credit and causes him to be held in slight esteem. . . . Art, or any intense effort, if it is disclosed, deprives everything of grace" (in Royce 2004, p. 22). *Sprezzatura*, or nonchalance, was his term for this essential quality of the courtier class.

In the fifteenth-century Italian court, proper grace was the key to one's social standing. The children of the court were taught this in dance lessons, but it carried across all other areas of deportment. Those who moved without grace—effortless grace—clearly did not belong to courtly society. Clumsiness in movement was also equated with spiritual failing: Movements of the body mirrored movements of the soul. If one was clumsy so was the other, and clumsiness of the soul meant corruption, vice, ugliness, and evil. A distinction was made between the clumsy, ugly dances of the peasants and the grace-filled, noble dances of the court (Nevile 2004). Court dance was elevated to its high status not only because of its formal properties and general deportment but also because of its link to intellectual and moral engagement. Properly performed and based solidly in the humanistic philosophy of the court, dance achieved salutary moral results, unlike the rude and riotous dancing of the peasant class, which was totally divorced from any philosophy whatsoever (Nevile 2004). In one sense, the activities of the court humanists of the fifteenth century can be viewed as prefigurements of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1977) and his notions of making the body docile through discipline. Dancing masters of the courts molded their pupils' bodies into graceful, virtuous, moderate symbols of an ordered universe that saw those particular qualities as a pinnacle of accomplishment and their opposites as examples of the basest forms of life.

One of the paradoxes of this division into ordered, graceful courtly dance and lewd and rowdy peasant dance was that there was always an interchange between the court and countryside, with borrowings going both ways. The most famous example is that of the waltz. This dance was originally a variant of the German and Austrian *ländlers*, *voltas*, and *wellers*, all fast-moving, closed-couple dances done in the countryside. Aristocratic attitudes labeled these dances as sexually explicit because of the intimacy of the closed position and the rapid turns, which were thought to excite the passions of the performers. Under its late-eighteenth-century name, the waltz became a popular dance at court where the context of its performance, the wider stance between partners, and, above all, the ordered choreography made it morally and sexually acceptable. Eventually, when it left the courts and became the property of a broader class of people, it maintained this elite image, becoming a dance that was used to mark solemn occasions such as debutante balls, graduations, and weddings. By the late nineteenth century, waltzing societies sprang up as institutions whose members pretended to high social status. The members of these societies agonized over whether or not polkas could be included, the polka never having lost its rowdy, sexually provocative image.

Another dance that has undergone similar changes of status is the tango. If anything, it has become even more highly charged in terms of sexuality. The tango originated in the lower-class sectors of Buenos Aires in the 1880s. The population of these areas was primarily composed of descendants of African slaves. The tango became a popular salon dance by the 1920s when it was danced by middle-aged and older dancers as well as by the younger set. In this form, it was considerably more subdued and less sexually overt than contemporary tango performances. From the 1940s on, the tango has been exported around the globe—to France, to Japan, to Finland—while becoming a staple of international ballroom dancing. As it traveled, the sexual aspects were exaggerated—partners were locked in tight embraces; legs snaked in and around partner's legs and body; the famous "dip" with the women bent backward, head almost to the floor became an essential feature. These are also features of the tango as it is performed in competitive ballroom dancing. This form of tango functions as a nonverbal shorthand for unbridled sexuality and passion in advertisements, in films such as *Last Tango in Paris* (1973), *Scent of a Woman* (1992), and *True Lies* (1994), in touring companies such as Tango Argentina, and, in an early manifestation, Rudolf Valentino's signature tangos of the 1920s.

In this exaggerated form, the tango also stood for male domination and female submission. The man directs his partner who is expected to submit and follow. As a couple, they are as alienated as the Argentine notion of *mufarse*—dwelling on one's inability to affect anything and the sense of exile from self and society. As Julie Taylor (1998) comments, the tango was the perfect symbol of the long civil war that Argentines experienced: "The tango did not give us any rules or a representation of anything. It gave us a space to reflect on rules, to despair or to feel our bodies recognize, sometimes with a disconcerting solace, the way things are" (pp. 84–85). During these difficult years of civil unrest when one might simply "disappear" without leaving a trace of ever having been, the citizens of Buenos Aires were drawn to *milongas*, underground gatherings where one could dance tangos. These *milongas* were banned but continued to be held as underground, illegal gatherings. In this regard, tango has become a national symbol of Argentina both for the Argentines and for the rest of the world. Argentines, according to Taylor, understand the potential of the tango for self-indulgent reflection, but it is the tango form and its responses—"related meditations on

Tango Dancers in Buenos Aires. © JON HICKS/CORBIS.

exile, identity, cultural vitality, gender, and the various forms of death'' (p. 44)—that she explores.

CULTURAL NOTIONS OF DANCE

Because of the power in the elaborated, dense, and multivocalic form of movement that is dance and because the body is the instrument of that power, dance has been viewed across time and cultures as inherently sensual. On some occasions, dance is allowed to function in that uncontained way—fertility rites, rituals of reversal in which the proscribed becomes prescribed, shamanic practices in which the body becomes a vehicle for the gods and the shamans are possessed, rites of passage, or celebrations of marriage that mimic the sexual obligations of the partners. These opportunities are not randomly distributed; indeed, they are carefully constrained, representing marked-off spaces and time. Their use is disciplined and allows societies to recognize human sensuality and sexuality in a manner that does not disrupt community.

When societies with minimal knowledge of each other come into contact, the cultural meanings and contexts of their dances are not understood, and the dances are seen for their form alone. In this way, missionaries, reacting to the hip-swinging dances of the Cook Islanders, clothed them in Mother Hubbard outfits (form-concealing long dresses), and admonished them not to dance. Polynesian societies in general learned rather quickly that the way to retain their dances, given the presence of Christian missionaries, was to define what they did as illustrating with hand and body gestures the hymns taught them. The ring-shout dances and ''patting juba'' of the Africans enslaved and brought to the American South were similarly ways to maintain important modes of expression while obeying the restrictions against dance. The ring-shout was a dance done in a circle and consisted of shuffling and parallel movements of the feet that stayed close to the ground; voices provided the music. ''Patting juba'' was a form in which the individual made music by patting her arms and other parts of the body while chanting.

So long as their feet did not lift off the floor or cross each other, as in the ring-shout dance, so long as they did not use drums, as in ''patting juba'' where the body itself became the musical instrument, what they did could be considered ''worship'' or harmless diversion. In a wonderful example of misperceptions on the part of both societies, the English who colonized vast regions of Africa were disgusted by what they interpreted as the flagrant sexuality of the multiunit torso form of much of West African dance, while the colonized Africans viewed as lewd the colonizers' closed-couple dances, such as waltzes, in which men and women danced together in close embraces. Africans' disgust with white European dances stemmed from the fact that men and women danced together touching each other, something not ever done in African dances where men and women danced separately. Similar reactions occurred in the early-twentieth-century United States when the multiunit torso of the African Americans met the single-unit torso of the North Europeans. Dances such as the black bottom, the Charleston, the big apple, and the turkey trot initially elicited shocked reactions on the part of white society (and were banned by the Vatican), but then were adopted by the youth who were the heart of the post–World War I enthusiasm for life.

Moving from the realm of social dance to theatrical dance in the United States, one sees the same cultural notions about what dance was ordered, civilized, and proper and what was not. Not surprisingly, gender and race influenced general perceptions and the responses to them. Comparing the responses of both public and critics to the dancer-choreographers Katherine Dunham (1909–2006), Pearl Primus (1919–1994), and Ruth St. Denis (1879–1968) reveals the effect of race and related ideas of propriety. Dunham and Primus were both African-American dancers who wanted to portray the dances of Haiti and the Caribbean, in Dunham's case, and of West Africa in the case of Primus. St. Denis, a white dancer from New Jersey, created oriental-style choreographies, based loosely on Indian, Egyptian, and Japanese themes. The public welcomed her flowing white costumes and highly stylized poses as the epitome of femininity, albeit somewhat exoticized. Despite undulating arms and hips, her dances were lauded as tasteful and elegant. Dunham and Primus were criticized for the sexuality of their dances and the "primitive" nature of their costumes. At that time in American theatrical dance, African Americans were relegated to tap, the Black Broadway musicals, and caricatures of themselves in early Hollywood movies. Dunham and Primus defied these categories and were criticized for it. Interestingly, their contemporary African-American male colleagues in dance, such as Asadata Dafora (1890–1965), and later, Alvin Ailey (1931–1989), were welcomed more uncritically both as dancers and choreographers (cf. Foulkes 2002).

CONCLUSION

Dance has been banned, feared for its power, criticized for corrupting morals, embraced as the symbol of the right order of the universe, lauded for providing release and entertainment, used as a medium for connection with the spirits, and seen as necessary for the efficacy of rituals of transformation, healing, and thanksgiving—all these being responses to the rhythmic, kinesthetic-appealing, ordered elaboration of movement known as dance. There are no neutral responses, no way to avoid reacting. We are tugged along despite ourselves. When the meaning inherent in the body and the form is compounded by explicit narrative meanings, and both of these are given additional meaning by the cultural context in which dance is performed, dance becomes a language much like that of ritual or prophesy. One can like it or dislike it, but one cannot argue with it. Dance exists in the moment, in the bodies of its performers, as designs in space and time. It does with us what it wills, and therein lies its seductive power.

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Anya Peterson Royce

DANDYISM

In the most general sense the term *dandyism* refers to a *performative* tradition of social sophistication, cultural refinement and aesthetic sensitivity in men. At the same time, and quite crucially, it also refers to a tradition of male hyper-fashionability that began most notably with the trendsetting behavior of English socialite George "Beau" Brummell in the early nineteenth century and that has continued to this day in the highly stylized public personas of outlandishly *campy* male celebrities like Liberace, Elton John, and "the artist formerly known as Prince."

Because *dandies* are by definition fashion and trend-obsessed, it is virtually impossible to describe how a *dandy* acts or what he looks like in any historically unspecific sense. Nevertheless, evidence from different periods repeatedly stresses the point that where *dandies* are concerned, clothes really do make the man. As Thomas Carlyle quipped in *Sartor Resartus*, "A Dandy is a Clothes-wearing Man, a Man whose trade, office, and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes" (Carlyle 1831). In the early to mid-nineteenth century, then, one might claim to know a *dandy* by his flowing and unkempt locks of hair, his extravagantly draped cape or greatcoat, his fine patent leather shoes or knee length riding boots, his jaunty top hat, his silver tipped cane or his laced and pristine white gloves—all markers of high fashion in men during this period. Later, however, when nominally fashionable attire became more accessible to the common man in the form of commercially produced ready-to-wear clothing, dandies were often forced to distinguish themselves even more dramatically by taking sole personal responsibility for both defining and redefining the very leading edge of what constitutes men's *haute couture*.

While it would be easy in some regard to reduce dandyism to mere stylishness, doing so would also erase the somewhat obscure but very important history of the phenomenon. Among other things, it would ignore dandyism's paramount significance as a symptom of Western modernity. For Charles Baudelaire, who lionized the dandy as the hero of modernity in his 1863 essay "Le Peintre de la vie modern [The Painter of Modern Life]" men of this sort were ingenious, because they aspired to personify the idea of the self-made man in the most extreme, most embodied sense possible. Although he often failed to rival the man of modern commerce in wealth or material possessions, the dandy's ultimate goal was to go the captain of industry one better by transforming his very identity into the most marketable and potentially profitable commodity of all. Indeed, according to critic and literary historian Rhonda K. Garelick, "The reputed goal of [George Beau] Brummell's life was to turn his person into a social artwork" (Garelick 1998, p. 9).

So successful were some dandies at doing this, in fact, that they were often made the subjects of very widely read, highly fictionalized, biographies whose sole purpose was to pay homage to such extraordinary live as these. For example Brummell, who arguably accomplished very little during the course of life by any objective standard of productivity and left even less behind in the form of negative balance sheets at the time of his death, was nevertheless celebrated in several popular tracts including Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly's 1843 essay "Du Dandysme et de George Brummell." In this regard, Brummell and other dandies of the nineteenth century resembled quite closely those figures in modern celebrity culture that are "famous for being famous," and nothing else.

Although dandyism in some respects has far more to do with class than gender, it was nonetheless a highly gendered phenomenon from the very beginning. For one thing dandies were always male; Baudelaire, at least, was famously clear on this point and many other students of dandyism before and after Baudelaire have agreed. Precisely because the dandy aspired to become the very embodiment of modern decadence—the most extreme departure possible from the brutishness of raw, unrefined nature—and precisely because women in the context of the nineteenth century were widely understood to be so closely tied to nature by their temperament and reproductive capacity, women were simply thought to be ineligible for the title. They could be fashionable, of course. But no woman could ever be as totally and spectacularly unproductive of anything other than her own reputation as dandies were typically thought to have to be in order to qualify as such.

As the twentieth century dawned, and as the modern notion of sexual identity began to take shape, the phenomenon of dandyism increasingly assumed a new and somewhat sinister connotation. Specifically, the dandy's effeteness and dedication to fashion were increasingly read as signs of abnormality of some kind—a perfectly accurate reading, in fact, given that one of the dandy's self-conscious goals was to be utterly exceptional and absolutely unique.

Eventually, dandyism came to imply a sense of sexual deviance no doubt in part because of the term's close association with Oscar Wilde, a self-professed dandy who, in addition to being one of the most outspoken advocates of the British aestheticist movement of the late nineteenth century was also tried and convicted as a sodomite in the spring of 1895. If Wilde's rapier wit, hyper elegance and aesthetic sensitivity—in other words, his dandyism—had earned him an international reputation by that time, the very public revelation that he was also a sexual "degenerate" conversely earned him a special kind of ignominy in the minds of many on both sides of the Atlantic, and confirmed the legitimacy of a growing suspicion that dandyism was symptomatic of something more than heightened aesthetic sensitivity alone.

Located somewhere between the invert and the modern homosexual, the early twentieth century dandy came to represent the over-civilized male whose pathological obsession with fashion and social niceties like etiquette marked him, in no uncertain terms, as effeminate and probably queer. In this sense, then, dandyism became a kind of sexualized gender—one that retained certain class-based connotations of effeteness, but one that also took on some of the negative aura then associated with homosexuality and other stigmatized forms of gender and sexual expression.

That said, it is important to note that if dandyism did eventually come to be associated with sexual inversion—homosexuality's late nineteenth-century conceptual progenitor—it was not originally seen as a predominantly sexual phenomenon. If anything, the early erotics of dandyism were rather one-sided and understood primarily in terms of personal magnetism—in other words, less in terms of the dandy's desire for women or men than in terms of women and men's mutual and irresistible desire for the dandy—as acquaintance, as confidant and occasionally as lover. Thus dandyism figures as prominently in the cultural histories of fame and personality as it does in the cultural history of gender or sexuality.

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Colin R. Johnson

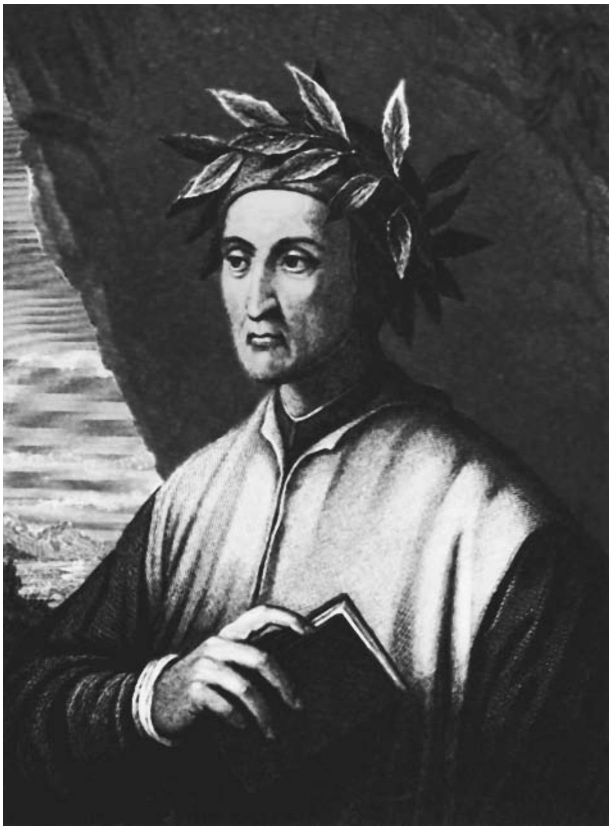
DANTE ALIGHIERI
1265–1321

Dante Alighieri was born in Florence in 1265, but from 1302 on he lived in exile for political reasons. He died in Ravenna in 1321.

DIVINE COMEDY

He is most famous for the *Commedia*, later labeled *Divina* (*Divine Comedy*), composed from circa 1308 until his death. The poem narrates the visit of a hero-everyman to the Christian underworld, the Inferno (Hell, punishment), and then to the realms of Purgatory (expiation) and Paradise (beatitude). It comprises 100 cantos divided into a prologue and three canticles, or *cantiche* (1+33+33+33) totaling 14,233 verses (13, 10+3), written in terza rima, so that, in medieval numerology, everything is based on the numbers one and three. Aiding the *viator* (the hero-everyman or journeyman) are three female figures, Mary, Lucia, and Beatrice, constituting a female Trinity, contrasted to the three-headed monster Lucifer, and the three wild beasts who block the *viator*'s path. The poem raises many ethical, political, and theological questions and is a profound meditation on the significance of life, free will, and Christianity. The *viator* is guided through Hell and Purgatory by Virgil, the Roman poet whose hero, Aeneas, founded Rome and was a privileged instrument of providential history, because Jesus, the Messiah, chose to be born under Roman jurisdiction in Palestine. In Dante's view, Rome's providential history becomes reality as the center of Christianity and of the Holy See, through the evangelization and martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul. Thus, Dante the *viator* is chosen to visit the other world as a new Aeneas and a new Paul, combining the classical and Christian traditions. Beatrice, his muse, is the pilgrim's second and most important guide from the top of the Mount of Purgatory, the new Eden, to the Empyrean in Paradise, his inspiration and savior as the poet is lost in a dark wood. The mission to rescue him originated in Heaven with the Blessed Virgin Mary who, in turn, asked Lucia, and then Beatrice herself, to intervene on behalf of her friend. Thus the feminine Godhead is the sole originator of the salvation of one about to be lost forever in the second death, that of the soul.

In meeting Francesca da Rimini in the circle of the lustful (*Inf.* 5), the pilgrim-poet offers a meditation on love—courtly love and the *dolce stil nuovo* (sweet new-style) love Dante practiced—while her adulterous love story cannot but elicit condemnation from the Christian pilgrim and theologian. Such dichotomies are frequent in the work, combining pathos, sympathy, and ethical/religious condemnation. Similarly, in *Inferno* 13, amidst the sodomites, the pilgrim encounters his teacher Brunetto Latini, a famous rhetorician and most worthy citizen of Florence. The pilgrim shows him sincere affection, admiration, and recognition, for he recalls how the tutor taught him on Earth "how man becomes eternal"; yet, Brunetto is relegated to a circle of vice for eternal damnation. In *Inferno* 16, still among the sodomites, Dante is eager to encounter souls of other worthy Florentines, among them Jacopo Rusticucci, who sarcastically blames his sexual preference on his wife: "e' certo la fiera moglie piu' ch'altri mi nuoce" [surely my proud wife more than anything else hurts me] (*Inf.* 16:44–45). Such ambiguous representations render this work vastly significant and appealing. The classical sources, the encyclopedic knowledge, the rich



Dante Alighieri. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

poetic content, the historical, mythological, legendary, and folkloric elements, and the scientific and philosophical texture contribute to making this a widely imitated poem with a long-lasting impact.

Beatrice, above all, is the prime mover who guides the pilgrim-poet through the spheres of Paradise and represents divine grace, the "donna gentile" who encapsulates humanity's highest dignity, closest to the divine in this hierarchical universe. Her role exemplifies the way to God through the seven known spheres of the Ptolemaic system, the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, the Primum Mobile and the Empyrean, and the heaven of the blessed souls in which she herself resides. The grace she imparts has far exceeded that of any other figure of religious import. Her seat is next to Rachel, symbol of contemplation, a figure of the nation of Israel and the church, on the third tier of the Symbolic Rose. She has led the pilgrim-poet from slavery to freedom (*Par*. 31:79–90), from that first encounter when she was nine years old, to the second one nine years later, to her reproaches in Purgatory that made him weep, her step-by-step illumination through Paradise, and her final signal of assent to the lover, directing him to the Highest (31:91–93).

FEMALE HISTORICAL CHARACTERS

Dante's work is also considerably marked by certain female historical characters: Francesca da Rimini with her immortal love story and its powerful drama retold through her perfect knowledge of the art of rhetoric, while her lover Paolo does not utter a word and can only weep (*Inf.* 5:72–142); Pia dei Tolomei, victim of a malicious husband, with her strikingly courteous demeanor and paucity of words (*Purg*. 5:130–136); Sapia from Siena, an envious woman who acknowledges her faults, but also reproaches the *viator* for not understanding that everyone in this place is a citizen of the city of God (*Purg*. 13:85–154); Piccarda Donati and Costanza d'Altavilla, women in the Sphere of the Moon, who were forced to break their vows and are now most distant from God and perfection, but understand fully his design and accept in faith that "in sua volonta' e'nostra pace" [in his will rests our peace] (*Par*. 3–4). The courtesan Cunizza da Romano, along with the figure of Rahab, the harlot of Jericho, are unique in the way Dante transforms their ability to love and their *eros* (erotic love) into *agapos* (love of the divine), and places them in the heaven of lovers, Venus. A woman such as Matelda is idealized, with an aura of mystery and symbolism betraying the poet's admiration and deep respect for her figural model; further, she is the one who guides him through Eden before Beatrice appears, surely as a symbol of active life.

Other important women are the Hebrew women of the Mystic Rose of Paradise, who create the dividing wall between the New and Old Testament figures and are seated below Mary: Eve, Rachel, Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, and Ruth. They are figures of the church, and the mothers of humanity in the Hebrew and Christian tradition, although, interestingly, some of them were barren at first. These, together with Rachel and Leah, are respectively symbols of contemplative and active life, as Martha and Mary, their counterparts in the New Testament, are the most symbolically influential characters aside from Mary, Lucia, and Beatrice. Other notable women in Dante's *Commedia* include the many groups of mythological, historical, or legendary figures: eight of them in Limbo—Electra, Camilla, Penthesilea, Lavina, Lucretia, Julia, Marcia, and Cornelia—all worthy of praise as great souls (*Inf.* 4); and Semiramis, Dido, Cleopatra, and Helen of Troy, who all receive particular attention in the circle of lust.

Women are represented in exempla, such as the "vedovella" (*Purg*. 10:73–93) who contests the Emperor Trajan and forces him to do his duty to avenge the death of her son, an exemplum of filial devotion and tenacity. There is also Michal, "donna dispettosa e trista" (a woman scornful and afflicted) upset at the behavior of her husband David, King of Israel, whom Dante uses as an exemplum of humility. The most dramatic example of humility is of course Mary, who with her words "ecce ancilla Domini" accepts her charge (*Purg*. 10:4–45).

DANTE'S ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

At the same time, Dante remains a product of the Middle Ages, his views reflecting the prevailing attitude toward women. And while his writings do not make him a champion of women in the modern sense, among his contemporaries, Dante appears to be the most receptive to criticism from women, as shown in the *Vita nuova* (New life) and even the *Commedia*, and most sensitive to their role and needs. The *Vita nuova* indeed shows how women friends were his audience, and how they engaged him in changing the mode of poetizing, and of writing in praise of them, not merely pursuing his self-centered adumbrations and meditation. He addresses women in his major canzone, "Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore," [Ladies, Who Understand Love's Every Way] praising their deep understanding of love, their "leggiadro parlare," (fair way of speaking), recognizing that they are just as seized by the power of love as the other sex, "e simil face in donna omo valente" [Likewise a woman by man's worth is taken] (*Vita nuova*, 20). Many of the poems in the *Vita nuova*, including the last one, "Oltre la spera" (Beyond the sphere), are written at the specific request of women.

Mary, for Dante, remains the catalyst and the aim of all his journeys in the *Commedia*, and to her is dedicated the prayer of the last canto in *Paradise*. His song of praise is a poetic reaffirmation of Marian theological teachings, but also the final praise of one who is a sublimation of humankind. Without women, the *Commedia* would not be what it is. In the Mystic Rose of Paradise, of the eighteen blessed people, excluding Mary and Bernard, ten are women and eight men. This is significant, and an indication that Dante's Paradise is a temple to womanhood.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Beatrice; Fornication; Literature: I. Overview; Love Poetry; Middle Ages; Political Satire; Politics; Sodomy.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

DAOISM (TAOISM)

Daoism is a Chinese teaching—or a class of teachings—named after and devoted to the Dao. The term *Daoism* is used for two broad traditions: a polytheistic religion that arose in the second century CE and a philosophy of quietism, mysticism, paradox, and strategy that preceded it. This latter philosophical tradition is epitomized by two texts: the *Laozi*, also known as the *Daode jing* (fourth century BCE; Classic of the way and its power), and the *Zhuangzi* (c. 130 BCE). It is convenient to distinguish philosophical from religious forms of Daoism, though there are many historical and conceptual continuities between them. In the West, the term Daoism has also been used over-vaguely to refer to a spontaneous or naturalistic attitude in Chinese or East Asian culture.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Daoism takes the cosmic Dao as the source and model of all things, embodied by the celestial deities and known to the sages, but neglected by most mortals. In addition to the Dao, religious Daoist teachings also involve heavens and hells peopled by cosmic deities, transcendent persons (*xian*), demons, and ancestors; a correlative cosmology linking the human body to the earth, seasons, and stars; a path to salvation through self-cultivation based on macrobiotic practices, meditation, and good deeds; systems of ritual and talismanry; a literature of scriptures, hagiographies, and poetry; networks of temples and shrines; and communities of nuns and monks, priests and priestesses, and laypersons. In the early twenty-first century, religious Daoism is practiced mainly in China and the Chinese diaspora, while the teachings of the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* are savored by readers around the world.

SEX AND GENDER

Daoist ideology of sex and gender in premodern China largely reflected the ideology of mainstream Chinese society, adding a few new forms of exploitation, yet also offering resources for women and men to escape social bonds or reinterpret mainstream ideology.

Daoism is often represented as the countercultural reaction to mainstream Confucian society, but in fact Chinese society was never uniformly "Confucian," and historical cases of Daoist opposition to mainstream values are the exception rather than the rule. According to mainstream social practice, women were confined to the domestic sphere, where they were to raise children and run the household. Many Daoist texts require laypersons to fulfill their social duties as a basic part of their religious cultivation, and Daoist rules generally would not allow women to become nuns or otherwise neglect their family duties without the consent of the males of their clan.

Yet Daoism also offered resources for women to achieve relative social independence. Widows, spinsters, and other women without family support could become nuns (though official ordination was restricted by the government, and usually costly). As nuns, they were nearly the equals of male monastics, in contrast to the subjection of nuns to monks within Buddhism. One example of a woman who gained social benefits through Daoism is Tanyangzi (1558–1577), from a wealthy clan near present-day Nanjing. As a girl, Tanyangzi fasted to refine her physical form, had daily visions of Daoist goddesses, and desired to become a disciple of the bodhisattva Guanyin. When she was seventeen, her fiancé died before they could be wed, and she jumped at this chance to become a "widow" and a lay renunciant. Although opposed by her parents at first, she succeeded in her life choice, and eventually became the leader of a religious cult whose members included her father, brother, and their friends (Waltner 1987). Tanyangzi was able to use religion, primarily Daoism, to gain autonomy, respect, and salvation.

Is Daoism itself essentially sympathetic to women, or to the feminine? Lines from the *Laozi* such as "It can be thought of as the mother of heaven and earth. I do not know its name, so I style it 'the Dao'" (chap. 25), or "Know the male but keep the female, and be a ravine to the world" (chap. 28), may lead Western readers to view Daoism as a teaching that values the female over the male—yin over yang (Schipper 1993, Laughlin and Wong 1999). The Daoist meditation tradition of inner alchemy also seems to valorize the feminine, because the adept must conceive and gestate a holy embryo within him- or herself, a form of symbolic auto-pregnancy (Despeux and Kohn 2003). Chinese alchemy involves the inversion of yin and yang, so male sexual alchemists assume the bottom ("female") position when gathering *qi* (material energy) from their female partner, justifying this practice by reference to the *Dao de jing*.

In other cases, however, Daoists in fact devalue yin, which represents death, in favor of yang, which represents life. Inner alchemists agree that all people are born with a stock of primal yang *qi*, which they lose over the course of a lifetime. When one's yang *qi* is exhausted, the body has become pure yin, and one dies. Inner alchemy involves conjoining yin and yang energies with the goal of eventually eradicating the yin and producing a transcendent body of pure yang. So within inner alchemy, one stage of the process (gestation of the embryo) is gendered feminine, but the ultimate goal (producing a spirit of pure yang) is gendered masculine. Thus, Daoist teachings at some points seem to valorize the feminine over the masculine, and other points the masculine over the feminine, even within the same practice. One cannot say whether Daoism as a whole is essentially sympathetic to women—characterizations of Daoism are best confined to specific persons, texts, or cases. A variety of positions exist within the tradition and are available for adoption or counter-reading by Daoist or modern interpreters (e.g., Laughlin and Wong 1999).

SEXUALITY

The general view of sexuality in traditional Chinese culture is that, while sexual intercourse is healthy in moderation, and necessary for producing heirs, overindulgence is perilous—especially for men, whose life essence is invested in their semen. The "art of the bedchamber" was practiced in lay society, but for health as much as for pleasure, with the male partner often avoiding ejaculation and recycling his semen up the spine to nourish his brain. Sexual appetite could be satisfied properly and skillfully, but always deliberately and carefully. Daoists also uniformly emphasized the restraint and sublimation of sexual appetites and behaviors, whether by controlled sexual stimulation or by strict celibacy.

Daoist teachings on sexuality can be divided into two categories: teachings found also in the larger culture and teachings unique to Daoism. For Daoists and non-Daoists alike, sexual intercourse could be a macrobiotic (*yangsheng*) practice by which sexual energy was roused, then recycled or released in a controlled fashion, bringing vitality to both partners. For non-Daoist practitioners, this could contribute to ordinary long life, and some Daoists thought it could bring lifespans of Methuselah-length, but not true transcendence. The earliest texts on macrobiotic sexual cultivation date back two thousand years (Harper 1987, Wile 1992).

Unique to Daoism are monastic celibacy, the early sexual ritual known as the "merging of *qi*" (*heqi*), and sexual alchemy. Celibacy has been a practice within Daoism since the fourth century CE if not earlier. Since the rise of the Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) movement in the thirteenth century, a large proportion of professional Daoists have been celibate. The officially recognized ordained Daoist clergy in Mainland China today are celibate Complete Perfection monks and nuns living in monasteries, but an uncounted number of married priests of Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity; i.e., Celestial Master) lineages are also active in rural areas.

The "merging of *qi*" was practiced by Celestial Master Daoists as early as the third century and as late as the tenth. The ritual was performed by paired adepts in a group setting and involved an elaborate sequence of dance-like movements and invocations of deities and cosmic forces, with limited intercourse at several points (Schipper 1993, Wile 1992). This ritual was quite controversial and was criticized both by fourth-century Daoists, who reworked the ritual into a form of spiritual rather than physical sex, and by Buddhists, who saw it as no more than shameless lechery.

Also unique to Daoism is sexual alchemy (*yinyang shuangxiu* [dual cultivation of yin and yang]), a form of inner alchemy in which ingredients for the inner elixir are gathered from a partner through intercourse. The earliest known traces of sexual alchemy date to the tenth century, with more explicit texts appearing from the fourteenth century on. In one form of sexual alchemy, termed "battling to reap at the Three Peaks" (*sanfeng caizhan*), the ingredients to be gathered are tangible secretions, which the man sucks from the woman's mouth, breasts, and vagina, using his mouth and penis (Wile 1992). In a second form of sexual alchemy, the man draws only intangible *qi* from the woman, timing its appearance just before her menses, drawing it up through his penis, and combining it with his own seminal energy to form an initial inner elixir (Wile 1992). Practitioners of the second form of sexual alchemy often condemned those practicing the first form as mere charlatans, and nonsexual alchemists lumped the two forms together in their polemics.

While non-Daoist macrobiotic sexual cultivation teachings were often addressed to men and women together, the great majority of the Daoist literature on sexual alchemy is addressed solely to male practitioners, with women's benefit almost completely neglected (Wile 1992). Critics have even accused sexual alchemy of being a "kind of glorified male vampirism" (Schipper 1993, p. 148). While there is evidence that some women were practicing inner alchemy and sexual alchemy all along, the earliest known texts on inner and sexual alchemy explicitly addressed to women date to the eighteenth century (Despeux and Kohn 2003). Since the mid-twentieth century, Daoist teachers holding modern, Western values have introduced forms of sexual cultivation that treat male and female as equal partners and place a higher emphasis upon sexual enjoyment (Chia 1984). Researchers have yet to discover evidence of homosexual alchemy in traditional China, though some Daoist monastics were homosexual.

While the initial flourishing of sexual alchemy (fifteenth century) occurred long after the initial flourishing of inner alchemy (tenth century), in fact all inner alchemy can be seen as the sublimated sexual intercourse of abstract male and female agents within the adept's own body. All inner alchemy, even as practiced by celibate monastics, involves the refining of *jing*, which is, more or less literally, reproductive fluid (semen or blood). Suggestive parallels have been noted between Chinese sexual alchemy and Indian Tantric sexual practices, but the question of historical links awaits definitive study (Needham 1983).

DAOISM AND THE MODERN WEST

The terms *Dao* and *Daoism* have become familiar worldwide, mainly through translations of Daoist philosophical classics into European languages, but also through the spread of religious, spiritual, and health practices, including sexual practices. Since the nineteenth century, some in the West have known of Daoism through translations, missionary reports, and other cultural adaptations (Clarke 2000), yet Daoism has achieved a modicum of recognition in the West only since the 1960s and 1970s, when there was both an increase in Chinese immigration to the West and a generation of Westerners looking for new teachings from Asia.

Western seekers have been attracted to Daoism as a "third way"—an alternative both to traditional Western culture and society and to the revolutionary experiments of the 1960s and 1970s. Within feminist discourse, Daoism, with its goals of balancing yin and yang, and returning to a primal cosmic state of nondifferentiation, has been proposed as a third way between the twin ills of unreformed patriarchy and feminist "inverted sexism" (Laughlin and Wong 1999). Daoist teachings on sexual health, technique, and spiritual cultivation have also appealed to Western students seeking an alternative both to repressive sexual morality and to the unbridled excesses of the 1960s and 1970s (Chia 1984).

The forces of modernization, Westernization, and secularization have been slow to impact the monastic Daoism of the mountains of China or the priestly Daoism of the villages, but they have affected urban lay Daoists. The Daoist teachings brought to the West by lay teachers have appealed to Western students in part because this Daoism is already partially Westernized, combining Chinese traditional wisdom with modern scientism and Western liberal values. Such Daoist teachers have demythologized their teachings, rejecting Daoist deities, myths, and rituals as outmoded "superstition" or simply as inappropriate for their Western students.

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Clarke Hudson

DATE RAPE DRUGS

Date rape drugs are drugs that are used to assist in the execution of a sexual assault. Effects of date rape drugs can include memory loss, dizziness, sleepiness, confusion, visual disturbance, and loss of muscular control. Although alcohol and marijuana are statistically the drugs most often associated with sexual assault, the term *date rape drug* is most commonly applied to GHB (gamma hydroxybutyric acid), Rohypnol (flunitrazepam), and ketamine. All three drugs are odorless and all but tasteless when added to a flavored drink and are often used without the knowledge or consent of the victim. They are quickly metabolized, leaving little physical evidence to support a victim's claims of sexual assault; similarly, the memory loss often induced by the drugs may render victims unaware of the attack until eight to twelve hours after its occurrence and make collecting sufficient evidence to prosecute the offense difficult.

Street names for GHB include "G," "grievous bodily harm," and "liquid ecstasy" or "liquid X." GHB is available as a white powder and as an odorless, colorless liquid. It can be easily synthesized and its analogues—GBL and BD 1,4—are readily available. Its effects include relaxation, memory loss, and dizziness. GHB overdoses are fairly common and often severe; more emergency room visits and deaths are associated with GHB than with either Rohypnol or ketamine.

Rohypnol, commonly known as "roofies," is the brand name for the drug flunitrazepam. Though illegal in the United States, Rohypnol is prescribed in Latin American and Europe as a sleeping pill. Originally, the Rohypnol pill was white, but the drug's maker has begun including a dye that should render the dissolved pill visible in liquid. Rohypnol's most notable effect is anterograde amnesia, which renders its user incapable of remembering events that occur while under the drug's influence. Rohypnol also induces muscular relaxation or loss of muscle control.

Ketamine, often called "special K," comes in both liquid and powder form and is approved for use in the United States as a veterinary tranquilizer. It is closely related to PCP and produces the sensation of being separated from one's body. At higher doses, the drug also induces hallucinations and an inability to move.

The most common date rape drugs are also known as club drugs, because of their popularity and wide availability at nightclubs and raves. Indeed, reports of sexual assault related to GHB, Rohypnol, and ketamine are associated with the rise of the rave scene in the early 1990s, and the drugs are most widely used by teenagers and young adults. The euphoric effects of the drugs make them attractive substitutes for ecstasy, the club drug of choice, and they are readily available in nightclubs and bars. (GHB is easily synthesized in home labs; the smuggling of Rohypnol into the United States, especially from Mexico, has risen steadily; and ketamine is routinely stolen from veterinary clinics and diverted from suppliers.) The increased incidence of sexual assault related to the drugs led to the passage by the United States Congress of the Drug-Induced Rape Prevention and Punishment Act of 1996.

SEE ALSO *Rape.*

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Maureen Lauder

DATING

Although traditions of courtship have existed in cultures across the world since the beginning of recorded history, the ritual of dating is in many ways a distinctly American, distinctly twentieth-century invention. In the most general sense the term refers to the practice of two people exploring mutually held romantic and erotic interests through one or more casual meetings that typically involve joint participation in some form of leisure or recreational activity. Common examples include dining out, seeing a movie, attending a live performance, or, in certain special cases, engaging jointly in some rare or extreme experience, the very rarity or extremity of which is intended to mark the occasion as exceptionally memorable or meaningful. Rides in hot air balloons, skydiving excursions, and impromptu trips to tropical beach resorts figure prominently in what has become a relatively cliché-ridden popular consensus regarding what constitutes a super-romantic date.

In modern parlance the term *dating* is often also used to refer to an extended period or established condition of exclusive romantic and sexual commitment between two people. Although there are no hard and fast rules governing the appropriate duration of such a period or condition, dating of this sort is widely understood to be an exercise in prolonged personal exploration through which two people assess whether or not they are truly well-suited to one another in an emotional and sexual sense. In other words, dating in this sense often serves as a means of practicing emotional and sexual fidelity and as an opportunity to test the durability of love and erotic attraction over an extended length of time. In the context of heterosexual relationships especially, people who are dating in this sense often regard the experience as being preliminary to formal engagement and marriage. Of course dating often serves a similar function in the lives of many lesbians and gay men as well. But the fact that same-sex relationships are currently ineligible for federally sanctioned, formal recognition in the United States means that the term *dating* is sometimes used by those involved in same-sex relationships to describe romantic attachments of any duration simply because there is no formally contractual or socially legitimated condition into which such relationships can eventually graduate.

Given its considerable flexibility, the term *dating* has more or less superseded in common usage all other words and phrases in English that denote the act of engaging in recurring romantic appointments with another person. This is probably because many of the available alternatives carry subtle but significant connotations that render them inaccurate or inappropriate in one sense or another. The term *courting*, for example, registers as old-fashioned or archaic, whereas the term *seeing* registers as slightly tentative or euphemistic. By contrast, the phrase *going out with* carries a slightly juvenile connation, possibly because it so closely resembles *going with*, a phrase that has enjoyed considerable popularity among American primary and secondary school students for some time. Since the 1990s American youth culture has either produced or adopted a whole range of related expressions, including *hooking up with* and *getting together with*. But insofar as these expressions are imbued with a sense of vulgarity, and to the extent that they tend to describe furtive sexual liaisons rather than planned romantic encounters, they are in many respects more closely related to the dizzying array of slang terms that exist for sexual intercourse than for *dating* as such.

DATING AND CLASS

Because dating in the modern sense tends to involve expense of one sort or another, the casual, elective, and public nature of the practice also marks it, in some regard, as a decidedly middle-class ritual. Unlike the extremely wealthy who have tended to approach courtship and marriage instrumentally as a means of protecting or strategically augmenting existing family fortunes, and unlike the extremely poor who have enjoyed only limited access to the money and leisure time required to fully engage in the ritual, members of the middle class have wholeheartedly embraced dating precisely because it accords so well on so many levels with the popular American ideals of meritocracy and laissez-faire philosophy.

For example, insofar as dating in the modern sense can be understood as a ritual practice in which particular individuals vie against one another for the purpose of winning the romantic and sexual attention of women or men of quality, dating is a competitive activity—one that mirrors the free market economy in a structural sense. At the same time, it is also a markedly bourgeois tradition insofar as those who have the means to engage in dating tend to view the ritual as being primarily about ostensibly apolitical matters such as taste and feeling rather than the servicing of particular social and economic interests. Nevertheless, and despite popular resistance to the notion that dating primarily serves as a mechanism for sorting society into pairs whose individual members serve one another's social and economic interests in various ways, there is a general consensus that the ritual itself can be both highly rewarding and utterly exhausting in emotional, physical, and financial terms.

THE EVOLUTION OF DATING

In many ways the history of dating is merely one chapter in a much larger history of the rise of capitalism in the United States. Indeed, in some respects what most distinguishes dating from earlier forms of American courtship is the extent to which this modern ritual depends upon and is enacted through participation in various forms of consumption. As noted above, dating in the United States in the early twenty-first century almost always involves purchasing something: dinner at a restaurant; admission to a movie, concert, play, or other special event; a particularly flattering outfit; or popular romantic accoutrements including flowers, candy, wine, or other small gifts. Although gestures of courtesy have probably always played some role in rituals of courtship in the United States and elsewhere, going out for the purpose of consuming conspicuously has not always defined romantic engagements in the way that it does now.

During the nineteenth century, courtship in the United States tended to take place in the context of a largely home-centered and female-controlled system known as *calling*. In this system, historian Beth Bailey explains:

> Women designated a day or days at home to receive callers; on other days they paid or returned calls. The caller would present her card to the maid (common even in moderate-income homes until the World War I era) who answered the door, and would be admitted or turned away with some excuse. The caller who regularly was not received quickly learned the limits of her family's social status, and the lady at home thus, in some measure, protected herself and her family from the social confusion and pressures engendered by the mobility and expansiveness of late nineteenth-century America.
>
> *(Bailey 1988, p. 15)*

For whatever its functional similarity to the modern ritual of dating, calling also differed from it in some very important ways. First and most significantly, calling was, in one sense, considerably more private than modern dating. Despite the fact that calls were often complicated exercises in etiquette and social nicety, they were, nevertheless, private affairs in the sense that they occurred within the confines of domestic rather than commercial space and in terms of familial graciousness and hospitality. At the same time and precisely because calls took place within the home, they also entailed considerably more involvement on the part of parents acting as chaperones than is typically the case where modern dating is concerned. So in this sense calling was also a more—or at least differently—public experience than modern dating.

Calling remained the primary mode of formal courtship in the United States throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when dating began to emerge as both a practice and a colloquial expression. Many factors contributed to the demise of the old system of calling and the rise of dating as the primary form of courtship in the United States, but two factors contributed most: widespread urbanization and the advent of the automobile. Twentieth-century urbanization resulted simultaneously in a dramatic increase in the number of unmarried women and men living within arm's reach of one another in American cities and a dramatic decrease in the size of their respective living quarters. This in turn prompted American city dwellers of all ages, but particularly the young and single, to develop new ways of using public space for essentially private purposes, including courtship and the pursuit of sexual pleasure.

Indeed, as historian George Chauncey (1994) has noted in a slightly different context, privacy could often only be found in public in many densely populated American cities during the early twentieth century. For most working-class and many middle-class women and men, restaurants, cafes, theaters, public parks, and even public sidewalks necessarily served as alternative living space in overcrowded cities. Under such circumstances, it was almost inevitable that aspects of intimate life such as courtship would begin to spill out of the Victorian parlors where they had once occurred and into the streets. The most extreme example of this dialectical and somewhat counterintuitive relation between public space and the experience of privacy is undoubtedly the culture of cruising and public sex that emerged among homosexual men during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in most American cities. In many ways, though, the now familiar and wholly normative ritual of heterosexual dating was also an outgrowth of these same developments in the structure of American urban life.

Of course this is not to suggest that dating should be understood only as a solution of last resort to the romantic problems inherent to urban overpopulation. For even if American cities had not become so densely populated that cramped apartments no longer provided sufficient space for romance, it seems highly unlikely that urban youth culture, including the culture of courtship among the unmarried, would have remained indoor activities for very long. During the early twentieth century, especially, urban spaces teemed with alluring commercial venues offering inexpensive services and various forms of cheap amusement. To many city dwellers, including younger unmarried city dwellers, these attractions of modern urban life were simply too irresistible to ignore. Unlike calling, dating provided an excellent reason to go out and experience everything the city had to offer.

Among men the shift toward dating in the modern sense was regarded with some ambivalence, at least initially. While many middle-class men were happy to be able to avoid the hours of highly stylized social ritual that had played such an important function in the system of calling, they were also often surprised and overwhelmed by the added expense that dating entailed. Of course even in the 1920s American men were quick to explore and exploit the many benefits that came along with courting in public and being out of their parents' line of sight. Chief among these pricey benefits was the opportunity to press the limits of premarital sexual experimentation. For their part, many working-class men were simply happy to have the opportunity to compete for a woman's affection at all. Under the calling system many would simply never have made it through the front door. In dating, however, men of working-class or men who came from less than desirable families had an improved chance of meeting a desirable women and earning her love and devotion before confronting anxious and judgmental parents, many of whom continued to exert pressure on their daughters to *marry up* to whatever extent they could.

Whereas men benefited in some ways in the shift from calling to dating, it was arguably women—particularly working-class women—who benefited the most. As historian Kathy Peiss (1986) has shown, working women in cities such as New York used the highly gendered protocols associated with dating in order to expand their ability to participate in America's burgeoning consumer culture. Rather than wasting their own paltry wages on dinners out and admission tickets, many working women chose to spend their limited financial resources on cosmetics, fashionable clothes, delicate lingerie, and other items that might make them more attractive to men. In so doing they were effectively investing their money in the hopes that an attractive new skirt or coveted pair of nylons would yield a profit, both figurative and literal. As many working women correctly calculated, the value of a night out on the town with a particularly well-heeled and generous date could be considerably higher in terms of both fun and dollars than simply staying in or paying one's own way.

The other major development that contributed to the emergence of dating was the arrival of the automobile. As a cause for dating's victory over calling, the automobile's significance has probably been somewhat exaggerated. For in point of fact the shift from calling to dating was already well under way by the time Henry Ford's manufacturing revolution managed to park a car in every American driveway. Nevertheless, automobiles did play an increasingly important role in the practice of American courtship as the twentieth century progressed.

Precisely because the automobile splits a certain kind of conceptual difference between the privacy of the home and the publicness of the street, it very quickly became a refuge of sorts for young people seeking a place to go where they might enjoy some modicum of privacy in public. Ironically, the place that many found to be most convenient in this regard was actually the backseat of a car. In rural and suburban areas, especially, the fact that cars were also legitimate modes of conveyance had the added benefit of expanding the size of the territory in which Americans might seek romantic partners. But where this history of dating is concerned, the importance of automobiles in motion actually pales in some respects when compared to the importance of automobiles at rest, or when parked, as couples would often seek out secluded areas in their automobiles for the purpose of furtive lovemaking.

FURTHER VARIATIONS

As American youth gained increased independence from their parents and as nineteenth-century traditions of formal courtship and socially mandated chaperonage began to erode, new variations on dating emerged. In many cases these variations preserved particular aspects of nineteenth-century courtship, which had been useful to someone in one sense or another. For example, by the mid-twentieth century nervous parents had grown especially fond of the institution of double dating because it satisfied their children's desire for social independence, while simultaneously preserving some aspects of chaperonage. As Beth Bailey points out, "Petting and necking would still go on, but weren't as likely to get out of hand with another couple sitting in the front seat" (Bailey 1988, p. 84).

Similarly, blind dating—a practice in which individuals allowed family members or friends to set them up on dates with people whom they had never met—preserved some aspects of traditional matchmaking, while simultaneously jettisoning the idea that it was appropriate for the facilitating third party to be involved in the affair beyond making initial introductions. In any case, whether it was done in groups or in pairs, by acquaintances or virtual strangers, the ritual of dating continued to be governed throughout most of the twentieth century by a number of largely unspoken social and cultural conventions, the most notable and consistent of which was the generally accepted belief that it was both normal and appropriate for men to both initiate dates and pay for them.

Interestingly, and somewhat ironically, it was this highly gendered convention regarding the propriety of who should ask and who should pay within the context of modern courtship that ultimately transformed the terms *date* and *dating* into extremely useful euphemisms within the professional argot of prostitutes and other sex workers in the United States. In the early 2000s the word *date* is routinely used to describe a paid sexual assignation in the language of American sexual commerce; similarly, the term *dating* is often used to describe an ongoing business relationship between a sex worker and a particular client. Indeed, precisely because it is still so widely accepted that men should demonstrate their social and economic privilege by paying for dates with women, and precisely because it is implicitly accepted that a date may end up leading to a sexual encounter, the choice that many sex workers make to refer to themselves as *escorts* and to their work as *professional dating* is both understandable and rather ingenious. Among other things, it exploits both the logic and language of social and cultural traditionalism where the gendered etiquette of courtship is concerned for the express purpose of blurring further the already rather blurry line that separates dating—that most venerable of all American traditions—from prostitution.

Of course as American traditions go, prostitution and other forms of sex work are as old as the hills—far older, in fact, than dating itself. Still, it is in many ways telling that most modern Americans consider dating and prostitution to be two radically different things despite the fact that both institutions in their most recognizably traditional forms essentially involve men compensating women, whether in cash or kind, for their otherwise categorically undervalued affective and sexual labor.

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY DATING

The practice of dating has been further transformed in the twenty-first century as a result of significant shifts in the social and economic order of American culture. For example, feminism and the sexual revolution have altered the gender dynamics of dating in some important ways. Among other developments, the highly gendered conventions of dating described above—conventions that dictate that men should bear the primary responsibility for initiating and funding dates—are increasingly giving way to a more egalitarian worldview in which women are equally entitled to ask men out on dates and equally obligated to pay when they do. Similarly, casual sex has increasingly come to be seen as a legitimate part of casual dating.

In some respects these developments represent welcome if belated concessions to the demands of some second-wave feminists who argued that antiquated traditions of masculine chivalry were actually sugarcoated reassertions of men's privilege and prerogative in a patriarchal society. From another perspective, however, both can also be seen as manifestations of what historian and cultural theorist Barbara Ehrenreich (1983) has characterized as American men's "flight from commitment" during the second half of the twentieth century. After all, to the extent that American women are still generally overworked and underpaid relative to men, equality (where the obligation to fund the culture of romance is concerned) actually constitutes a new and unequal burden for women who previously benefited in financial terms from men's traditionalist sense that they had a duty to pay. Similarly, while the liberalization of attitudes toward premarital sex has had the desirable effect of allowing many American women to claim their rights to sexual pleasure and bodily self-determination, it has also in some respects underwritten men's increasing refusal to compensate women for sexual access in the form of material gifts, or to insure against the potential costs of unplanned pregnancy in the form of established personal and financial commitments.

Of course this is not to say that increased cost sharing, where the expense of romance is concerned, or sexual liberalization are unwelcome developments from a feminist perspective; but it is to suggest that gender equality in a truly meaningful sense entails far more than either allowing or encouraging women to conduct themselves on precisely the same terms that men do. Rather, in a society where men are often effectively overcompensated in advance in the form of a family wage, women's ability to survive is always contingent to some degree on their ability to recover their share of unequally distributed resources through de facto mechanisms of economic redistribution such as marriage and dating.

Beyond these significant but largely undertheorized shifts in gendered and sexual decorum, the nature of dating has also been transformed by the arrival of the personal computer and other major advances in information technology including, most notably, the Internet. During the 1990s, for example, online dating services gained huge followings among members of the professional elite who, strained by the growing demands of their careers, increasingly claimed to have little time or energy to invest in casual romantic encounters that were unlikely to pay off in the form of a meaningful long-term relationship. Additionally, many Americans began to express trepidation about the prospect of becoming involved romantically with someone who might eventually prove to be incompatible on some significant but unforeseen level.

Online dating companies took excellent advantage of these feelings of cynicism about, and intolerance toward the inconveniences of, modern dating by marketing their services in a few specific ways. *It's Just Lunch*, a company founded in Chicago in 1991, claims to lessen the pressures of modern dating by reintroducing a sense of low-stakes informality to the process and, notably, by minimizing the costs in terms of time and money that are typically associated with casual dating. Other popular online dating services such as eHarmony and match.com market their services by claiming to streamline the dating experience by matching singles using an almost scientific process. Economies of scale, they argue, improve the chances that customers will be able to locate someone who is perfectly compatible.

Additionally, many companies also claim that their services greatly improve the likelihood that dating will yield success in the form of a meaningful long-term relationship. Indeed, at the time this entry went to press match.com actually offered prospective clients a six-month guarantee promising that paying customers would find someone special in six months or would not have to pay for the service. Clearly, dating in the twenty-first century is not only an exercise in the consumption of commodities; it is, in fact, a highly commoditized process itself—one that paying clients increasingly expect will carry a customer-friendly guarantee in much the same way that groceries are expected to be guaranteed for

Young Couple Speed Dating. © IMAGE100/CORBIS.

purity and freshness or consumer electronics are expected to be warranted against manufacturing defects.

For all the many virtual solutions that have arisen in response to the problems of dating in the twenty-first century, there have also been a number of more material innovations in the way that courtship is conducted in the United States. For example, speed dating emerged in the late 1990s as an alternative to the more traditional slow form of the ritual. In effect, speed dating is a kind of structured game in which individuals are given the opportunity to introduce themselves to multiple people in a single evening. Typically, speed daters talk to one other participant in the game for anywhere between five and ten minutes. Then, when the event moderator gives a signal, participants switch dates in round-robin fashion until everyone involved has had the chance to meet everyone else. At the end of the evening participants indicate which dates interested them most. If two speed daters identify one another, then they are left to move their newly inaugurated relationship forward using more conventional means.

Organizers of speed dating events are often quick to argue that this variation on the familiar courtship ritual serves the particular romantic needs of busy middle-class professionals whose harried pace of life makes it absolutely imperative that they get the most out of every hour dedicated to the project of finding that special someone. Still, the fact that speed dating resembles nothing so much as musical chairs suggests that dating in the modern sense may actually be seen by many as a recreational end in itself rather than a means for finding a permanent mate. This may also explain, in part, why dating has become something of a spectator sport in the United States. Building on a tradition that began in 1965 with ABC's *The Dating Game*, reality-based television game shows such as *Who Wants to Marry a Multi-Millionaire?* (2000), *The Bachelor* (2002), *The Bachelorette* (2003), and *Joe Millionaire* (2003), have flooded airwaves during the first decade of the twenty-first century, winning enormous viewing audiences. In 2006 the Lifetime network's *Gay, Straight or Taken?* (2006) managed to collapse the entire panoply of issues surrounding gender, sexuality, and courtship in the United States into a single episodic game show demonstrating, perhaps more persuasively than anything, that dating has entered a very new, very strange phase in its almost century-old history.

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DAUGHTER OF THE NILE UNION

The Daughter of the Nile Union, or Bint al-Nil union, was a women's group founded by Duriya (or Doria) Shafiq (1908–1975) in Egypt in 1948, three years after launching a journal by the same name, *Bint al-Nil*.

Shafiq was the protégée of Huda Sha'rawi, the pioneering feminist and first woman in Egypt to unveil in 1923 (Malti-Douglas 1991). After Sha'rawi's death in 1947, Shafiq and other women formed the Daughter of the Nile Union, which contested repressive social, cultural, and legal obstacles to the full equality of women. Shafiq believed that only women understood other women's suffering and surrounded herself with a group of notable and prominent women, such as Samiha Mahir; Wasfiyya Shoukri; Mufida Abdul Rahman, the first woman in Egypt to earn a law degree; and Zaynab Labib, the first woman to serve at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Egypt (Nelson 1996). The Daughter of the Nile movement also broadened its outreach to awaken poor women, launching literacy centers and health programs in disadvantaged towns.

Because women's conditions were changing at a slow pace, the Daughter of the Nile movement undertook a more drastic approach and transformed itself into a militant movement. Its members clashed with Egyptian authorities over political rights, protested at the Parliament in 1951, and fasted and were arrested on numerous occasions (Badran and Cooke 2004, Badran 1995). Shafiq and Munira Thabet, among others, went on a hunger strike in 1954 in demand of women's political rights (Wassef and Wassef 2001).

The impact of the Daughter of the Nile movement was felt by women's communities throughout the world (Nelson 1996). Along with scores of other women, Shafiq spearheaded the movement that won the Egyptian women's right to vote in 1956 (Wassef and Wassef 2001). Though they countered foreign hegemonies, these feminists had to oppose religious fundamentalists' views that they were complicit with colonial institutions as they demanded their right to vote, an end to polygamy, and a change to divorce laws (Nelson 1996). The movement gained the support of some distinguished intellectual men such as Taha Hussein.

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Hamid Bahri

DAUGHTERS OF BILITIS

The Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) was a lesbian social group founded in San Francisco in 1955 by Del Martin, her lover Phyllis Lyon, and three other lesbian couples, as an alternative to the lesbian bar scene. They named the organization after an 1894 book of poems by Pierre Louÿs, *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (The songs of Bilitis), which included lesbian love poetry. They also decided that using "daughters" would make them sound innocuous, like any other women's social group. Eventually, however, politics began to take up more and more time at meetings. Discussion of the problems facing lesbians influenced the group to focus less on socializing and more on educating the public. DOB began to work with the magazine *ONE, Inc*. and with the male homophile Mattachine Society to sponsor public forums and advocate legal reforms. DOB began publishing *The Ladder*, a newsletter and magazine, in October 1956. *The Ladder* was aimed not only at DOB's urban constituency but also at isolated lesbians who lived far away from supportive big-city communities.

During the 1950s, DOB emphasized the similarity between lesbians and heterosexuals, arguing that most lesbians were not barhopping, sex-crazed deviates, but rather sober, hard-working, respectable women. *The Ladder* published poetry, fiction, articles, first-person essays, and the views of the psychiatric profession concerning homosexuality. *The Ladder* frowned on butch–femme roles as derivative and unladylike, and advocated traditional feminine dress and manners. DOB's emphasis on respectability mirrored the inclusive rhetoric of their brothers in the Mattachine Society, but alienated lesbians who did not share DOB's middle-class political and sexual sensibilities. Readers of *The Ladder* eventually began to object to the magazine's advocacy of feminine dress and comportment, and sometimes openly challenged the organization's emphasis on making lesbians more acceptable to mainstream society. Still, the DOB worked closely with other homophile organizations in the early 1960s to challenge discrimination and harassment of gay men and lesbians. DOB and the Mattachine Society put pressure on police departments to end police brutality against people perceived to be gay or lesbian, and in 1966 forced municipal departments in San Francisco to speak to lesbian and gay concerns in a series of public forums.

The women's movement of the late 1960s put pressure on DOB to abandon its middle-of-the-road respectability and alliances with gay men in favor of radical lesbian feminist politics. In 1968 Rita Laporte became DOB president, and Barbara Grier became the editor of *The Ladder*. With them came a feminist politics that many DOB members did not agree with. When Martin and Lyon tried to wrest control at the convention in 1970, Laporte and Grier refused to attend, took the membership list, and began publishing *The Ladder* themselves as an independent feminist magazine. DOB dissolved the national organization, and without its financial support, *The Ladder* ceased publication in 1972. Individual DOB chapters struggled to survive, but by the early twenty-first century only one remained, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Daughters of Bilitis died with the 1960s, but it also achieved its goal of empowering lesbians to organize, to speak up and be heard in mainstream culture, and to push for political and social reform. It remains one of the most important groups of the 1950s and 1960s, and one of the organizations most crucial to gay, lesbian, and feminist history.

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Jaime Hovey

DEATH

In countries all over the world women have been linked with death. Even in societies where their public role has been severely limited, women play a prominent role in rituals associated with death and mourning. They have also been linked to death through their sexuality. These two areas in which women have traditionally been associated with death are not as distinct as they appear. In the funeral rituals of many preindustrial societies, mourning is juxtaposed with sexuality and humor. At Irish wakes dirges for the dead were followed by sexually suggestive games; in Venezuela and rural Greece women may still use language in their laments for the dead that would normally be regarded as crudely sexual; in Borneo and Madagascar women who are otherwise expected to behave modestly, join in obscene behavior with the males as part of the funeral ceremony. In the early twenty-first century, young men and women in urban centers of Africa attend funerals to find a mate. Wedding and death rituals are also symbolically intertwined in countries as far apart as rural China, Romania, and Greece, with the same sad laments being sung for brides as they leave the house of their parents as are performed at funerals.

Sex, through its connection to fertility and renewed life, may be opposed to death, but the two are never far apart. Eros and Thanatos, Love and Death, were regarded by the ancient Greeks as twin deities. Female sexuality, linked as it is to menstruation and birth, has always been mysterious and potentially frightening to men. Menstruating women, like those who have recently given birth, are frequently considered to be polluted and are forbidden to participate in religious ceremonies. The connection between female sexuality and death is also represented in the literature of many countries where mythical female creatures such as the Sirens, Fata Morgana, Circe, the Hindu goddess Kali, and the Maenads lure men to their deaths by their beauty or kill them while in a state of frenzied possession.

DEATH AS A RITE OF PASSAGE

In early twenty-first century European and North American societies, death frequently takes place in a hospital or a nursing home. A person is said to die at the moment when his or her vital signs cease. Often the precise time of death is observed on a screen. The machines are switched off; the patient is pronounced dead at 6.25 p.m. The modern view of death as a discrete event contrasts strongly with beliefs about death in earlier or less technically developed societies where death is widely regarded as a process rather than an event, as a rite of passage, a process fraught with danger and potentially threatening to the community as a whole.

The anthropologist Arnold van Gennep was the first to discuss the rituals of mourning as rites of passage, that is, as activities appropriate to a transitional phase, just as the rites of initiation are appropriate to adolescent boys about to enter manhood. There is a time, in many different societies of the world, when the dead are believed to inhabit neither the world of the living nor the world of the dead. Unless the suitable rituals of burial and mourning are performed, the dead will not, it is believed, successfully separate from the living. They may even cause the living harm. This makes the performance of death rituals one of the most important activities for the living.

Antrhopologists Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf challenged the universal applicability of van Gennep's theories in their work with the Bara people of Madagascar. The Bara believe that death is associated with order, with the father, and with ancestors. In contrast women are associated with vitality, flesh, and fecundity. The sex-related activities of the funeral nights are a way to keep a balance between the sterility and order of the male and the vitality of the female. The roles of women and men in the funeral preparations differ, with women weeping over the body while men see to the logistics of the ceremony. In Bara society, where death creates sterility and excessive order, only female vitality, represented by sexual intercourse and rebirth, can bring the dead safely to the world of the ancestors.

There has been a great change in the way people view death in modern European and North American societies. Researchers have pointed to hospitalization, medicalization, and secularization as contributing to a change in the rituals surrounding death. Strangely in an age where women have achieved greater freedom and prominence in many fields, their role in the rituals surrounding death has declined.

THE TRADITIONAL PROMINENCE OF WOMEN IN DEATH AND MOURNING RITUALS

Because they have commonly taken care of the dying and prepared the body for burial, engendered life, and are widely believed to have a superior ability to express the pain of grief, women have always played a prominent role in the rites of death. In the ancient world, men and women mourned differently; this is also common in the developing countries of the early twenty-first century. In the ancient Near East, preindustrial Europe, India, and parts of Africa, the archeological record is remarkably consistent. Depictions of funerary rituals on Neolithic pots from Anatolia, on Egyptian tombs, geometric Greek vases, or Etruscan sarcophagi show women standing beside the dead body, their hands raised to their heads, often tearing their loosened hair in what has been recognized as a classical gesture of mourning. Men may also be present in these scenes of mourning, which date back at least to the Bronze Age, but their gestures are more restrained, and they rarely stand beside the dead body.

The sounds that these ancient women mourners made are lost, but contemporary descriptions and anthropological evidence support the view that the women with raised arms were weeping and singing dirges for the dead. Indeed one of the few constants of anthropological observation across the world is that women sing laments. In some cultures men lament too, but women are the chief performers of these wept songs that seem an indispensable part of death rituals in premodern societies. In Europe evidence for the prominent role of women in funeral rites, from the classical Greek and Roman periods to the nineteenth century, can be found in the periodic attempts to restrict their behavior, especially their laments.

In sixth century BCE Athens and a number of other Greek city states, laws were passed banning certain behavior and expenditure at funerals. These laws which Plutarch tells us were passed by Solon in an attempt to avoid blood feuding regulated "women's appearance in public, as well as their festivals, and put an end to wild and disorderly behavior . . . and . . . abolished the practice of lacerating the flesh at funerals, of reciting set dirges, and of lamenting a person at the funeral of another." Solon's laws may have been especially directed towards the custom of employing professional women mourners to wail at funerals, but the association between women's behavior at funerals and at their own festivals links the issues of sexuality and death. Women both lamented and made bawdy jokes about the dead Adonis at an annual festival celebrated on the rooftops of Athens.

In ancient Rome similar laws were passed to those Solon had introduced at Athens. Professional women mourners had played a central role in Roman funerals, both praising and lamenting the dead. Laws introduced in the Twelve Tables reduced lavish spending on funerals and singled out the behavior of women, forbidding them to scratch their cheeks as they sang laments.

Hired female mourners were the targets of criticism by the early Christian fathers. John Chrysostom described their loud laments as a "disease of females" (Alexiou, 1974:29) and linked their behavior to that of Bacchus's followers. By the fourth century C.E., nuns had replaced professional lament-singers at Christian funerals, especially those of the clergy, but even the nuns could not be trusted to maintain their composure in the face of death, and were criticized for their wild behavior. From the Medieval period to the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church continued to frown on the role of women in funerals, especially their traditional practice of lamenting the dead. By the twentieth century the practice had been stamped out in all but the remotest parts of Europe.

Ireland was one place where laments and funeral games continued well into the twentieth century. Women mourners tore their hair, bared their breasts, and sang dirges, some even drinking the blood of the dead in frenzied displays of grief. It is possible that this crazed behavior and loud wailing may have been a form of subversion, allowing women to talk about taboo subjects like pregnancy and sex among themselves. This situation was not unique: Those who have studied laments in countries as far apart as Venezuela, Finland, and Greece have noted that women use the occasion of the funeral to speak publicly of subjects they would never otherwise raise. The Warao women of Venezuela often criticize members of the tribe in their laments. However harsh or sexually explicit their words are, the laments are believed to tell a truth that the community respects (Briggs 1992:341). In the Peloponnese, Greek women may use the occasion of the funeral to berate the dead and challenge social institutions, and on the Korean island of Cheju, female shamans revive the truth of their violent past by assuming the voice of the dead.

To assume the voice of the dead or to speak to the dead through the medium of lament gave women a potentially dangerous power. Finnish-speaking women from Karelia who used their laments to communicate with the dead were warned not to forget themselves in case they failed to return to the world of the living. As mediums communicating with the spirit world, lament-singers are often considered vulnerable and polluted. In some societies only unmarried and post-menopausal women lament the dead. Powerful for a brief period, women mourners generally resume their inferior status following the funeral.

MODERN MOURNING AND THE MALE FUNERAL

From pagan antiquity to twentieth-century Europe, attempts have been made to control the ways the rituals of mourning are conducted. The distinction between the traditional behavior of men and women at funerals, and the role of women as leading actors in the rites of mourning have undergone a series of changes as social attitudes toward death have changed. Without the framework of a small, unchanging society to order behavior, the larger institutions of state have assumed responsibility for most aspects of life, including the proper conduct of funerals and mourning rituals. With the increasing specialization and expertise of larger urban societies, funerals became an industry; priests became the main actors in the rituals of mourning; undertakers prepared the body for burial; and women were left with a minor part to play. Funerals of the rich and famous remained splendid affairs, with elaborate ceremonies, sumptuous coffins, and special clothing, but women no longer sang laments or used the occasion to make comments about their society. Not only did they have no special role in the rituals of mourning; one could argue that they had abdicated their once prominent position in funerals.

WOMEN'S SEXUALITY AND DEATH—LA PETITE MORT

In European and North American cultures, Aristotle's view of women as incomplete beings lacking a soul, and as mere vessels for the male seed, has had a pervasive influence on attitudes toward women, encouraging a view of the female as fleshly rather than spiritual. Similarly in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the biblical story of Eve's creation from Adam's rib and her responsibility for the expulsion of humankind from the Garden of Eden both reflected and perpetuated the identification of women with sin and sex.

Christianity contributed to the association of women with sexuality and death through its strong polarization of body and soul, sin and virtue. The early Christian theologians granted women a soul, but an inferior one. Women, being more carnal than men, had to make a greater effort be close to God, denying their sexuality and preferably remaining virgins. Women who failed to live up to the societal expectations of chastity were punished appropriately, by death.

In the Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque periods, fascination with death encouraged a fondness for the *momento mori*—a dancing skeleton, or a grinning death's head. Not unsurprisingly these reminders of mortality were often linked to beautiful young women. Sexual intercourse with women was believed, throughout the period, to rob men of their strength. The so-called *la petite mort* (little death)—a sensation of loss and depression that many men experience during coitus— was blamed on the sexual nature of women.

As the embodiment of the sin of lust, woman also contaminated and destroyed the purity of men. Before the discovery of penicillin, venereal disease provided a more concrete link between women, who were thought to be responsible for the disease, and death. There was even a widespread belief that the vagina was equipped with teeth—the *vagina dentata*—that could castrate the male.

In nineteenth-century European and North American literature the association of women and death was made explicit in the writings of such authors as Edgar Allen Poe, Thomas Hardy, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Leo Tolstoy and Gustav Flaubert. The adulterous women portrayed in their novels frequently died a grotesque and terrible death. While twentieth-century writers began to question the stereotype of the *fallen woman* as both death-dealing and death-bound, the association between women's sexuality and death has remained a constant.

Early feminists, particularly Betty Friedan, attacked the stereotypical role of women in European and North American society as a form of *death in life* (Friedan 1972, p. 16). Women were enjoined to come alive and reject the trap of marriage. In many societies, however, including those of Muslim Africa, the Middle East, and Hindu India, women are still associated with sin, impurity, and, by extension, with death. In the Middle East, women serve as professional mourners because of these socioreligious associations. In India child-brides may die as a result of forced intercourse, and despite laws prohibiting the practice, Hindu widows may cast themselves onto their husbands' funeral pyres in the belief that the sins they committed in a previous incarnation caused the deaths of their spouses. Genital mutilation and the cutting of the hymen with a knife are both still practiced in parts of Africa. Mary Daly reports that among the Bambaras, men fear death from the clitoris of the women who is not first cut.

Perhaps the ultimate association of death with women remains the prevalence of rape as a universal concomitant, often a deliberate weapon, of war. From Troy to Rome, Somalia to Bosnia, Nanking to Vietnam, women have been brutally raped in the context of war, often before being killed. When mass killing is legitimized, it seems the universal associations men make among sex, women, and death find their oldest and ugliest expression.

SEE ALSO *Cannibalism; Funerary Customs, Non-Western; Funerary Customs, Western.*

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Gail Holst-Warhaft

DEEP THROAT

SEE *Film, Gender and Eroticism: III. Cult and Marginal Cinema; Sexual Practices.*

DEMOGRAPHY

This entry contains the following:

I. AMERICA AND EUROPE

The countries of Europe and North America (the United States and Canada) are historically linked. Both the United States and Canada are populated largely by migrants from Europe. Political, cultural, and linguistic ties are also close. Nevertheless the countries of Europe and North America belong, demographically, to three different groups. On the one hand, the countries of western and much of central Europe are mature industrial democracies with the low birth and death rates characteristic of the third phase of the demographic transition. The same is true of Canada and the United States, with the difference that these two countries are lands of traditional immigration, whereas most western and central European countries have not traditionally been on the receiving end of large-scale immigration. Most eastern European countries and some central

European countries were part of the Soviet Bloc and possessed the economic and political institutions of the communist system until its collapse after 1989. This makes their demography, and their economics, distinct from that of western and central Europe. From the point of view of sex and gender, the most significant issue in the demography of all three zones is that of fertility levels, that is, the number of births per woman.

The dictatorial systems in communist countries made dramatic shifts in fertility policy possible. In Romania birthrates took a steep dip in the mid-1980s (lowering by 14.3 %) after having stabilized in previous years. In 1984 the leader, Nicolae Ceauşescu (1918–1989), tried to reverse this trend by suddenly and forcefully blocking access to abortion, up to that time (and as in most communist countries) the most common form of birth control. The heavy hand of the state came down on women and abortion providers. Gynecologist's offices were occupied, and factory physicians had their wages docked if their female workers did not meet a birth quota. In a move similar to policies in fascist Italy, unmarried individuals over twenty-five were assessed a 10 percent tax on wages. As the Romanian dictator put it: "The fetus is the socialist property of the whole society. Giving birth is a patriotic duty" (Teitelbaum and Winter 1998, pp. 118–119). Whereas the birthrate did go up, especially in the birth of third and fourth children, the resulting social stress contributed to political upheaval and eventually aided the fall of the regime in 1989. One of the first actions of the new government in 1990 was to relegalize abortion.

In the Soviet Union abortion remained the most popular form of birth control, but the government did institute a number of pronatal policies, adding support for large families being one example. These policies disproportionately benefited the already larger families in the non-European republics of the Caucasus and central Asia. Following the breakup of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of the communist system, however, birthrates plummeted in the Russian Federation, the principal successor state. They went from about 2.12 per woman between 1985 and 1990, to 1.55 between 1990 and 1995, 1.25 between the years 1995 and 2000, then slightly rebounding to 1.3 between 2000 and 2005. These figures are far below the rate for population replacement of approximately 2.1 births per woman. It is easiest to understand this plummeting fertility in terms of the collapse of the Russian economy and of general standards of welfare during the same period. After all, life expectancy also declined from age 68.8 between 1985 and 1990 to 64.8 between 2000 and 2005.

The example of another formerly communist nation, Poland, however, calls part of the conclusion into question. Poland, as with the other historically Catholic (as opposed to Orthodox) nations of eastern Europe (Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic), had a far smoother transition, both politically and economically, from communism to capitalism and integration into the European Union. Yet in Poland births per woman also declined from 2.15 between 1985 and 1990 to 1.25 between 2000 and 2005. But the general welfare actually improved as measured in life expectancy, which increased from age 70.9 (1985–1990) to 74.6 (2000–2005).

Further, this decline in European fertility is not limited to eastern Europe. French fertility declined gradually but steadily from a postwar (baby boom) high of 2.73 (1950–1955) to 1.71 (1990–1995) only to rebound slightly to 1.88 (2000–2005). In Germany fertility rose from 2.16 (1950–1955) to a high of 2.49 (1960–1965) only to decline continually (despite the absorption of the German Democratic Republic) to 1.35 (2000–2005). Italy, which had no change of borders, had a similar pattern, a postwar rise from 2.32 (1950–1955) to 2.5 (1960–1965), a decline to 1.21 (1995–2000), with a rebound to 1.29 between the years 2000 and 2005.

Hence, these prosperous, mature industrial nations experienced, *grosso modo*, the same fertility declines as the formerly communist states. Because all these figures are far below replacement levels, it could be argued that the historic European stock is dying out. The populations of Italy and France continued to rise between the years 1950 and 2005 due largely to immigration. German population declined briefly during the 1970s and 1980s only to increase with reunification and then continue to grow.

The combination of declining fertility with immigration means that the makeup of populations is changing. Those on the far right see this as the suicide of European civilization (or of the white race). On the left and moderate right, these changing populations are a challenge that must be met either by assimilation (for some) or by multiculturalism (for others). The debate has been sharpest in France despite the fact that French fertility rates have remained higher than those of many of its European neighbors. The apparent paradox is because the French elite are used to debating demographic issues.

The French birthrate began to moderate as early as the eighteenth century, and France gradually lost its demographic advantage, and also much of its political power, over its neighbors during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Partly as a result successive French governments of both the right and the left since 1939 have maintained pronatal policies of extra support for larger families. Some of the slightly stronger French birthrate is the result of these policies. Some is the result of earlier immigration into France than in many of its west European neighbors, meaning that some of the births come from the children and grandchildren of immigrants from North Africa. A few mayors of the French right-wing party, the National Front, have attempted to restrict or redirect government welfare to national, that is, non-North African, families. Such attempts have been systematically overturned by the authorities of the French

Republic. The assimilation of immigrant populations has been a problem in almost all west European nations. The relatively high rates of unemployment in France and Germany have been an exacerbating factor, as have cultural clashes between Muslim immigrants (and their children) and Christian or post-Christian nations. Terrorism, for which European states such as France have been targets long before the attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, increases the public unease.

In the United States fertility rates have also declined, in this case from a postwar high of 3.71 births per woman between 1955 and 1960 to 2.03 between 2000 and 2005, a figure that is almost replacement level. Why have U.S. rates done so much better? American homes are larger and population density is far lower than in Europe. Yet Canada, also with a low population density, has had a European pattern of fertility decline—from 3.88 between 1955 and 1960 to 1.52 between 2000 and 2005, well below replacement level. Canadian welfare policies are closer to European models than to U.S. models.

Both Canada and the United States are traditional recipients of immigration, with Canada being even more open than the United States to migrants (but many more Canadian immigrants subsequently leave for a third country, often the United States). Yet fertility has more political salience in Canada. Leaders of the French-speaking community of Quebec have been concerned that particularly low fertility rates among francophones threaten the submergence of French-speaking Quebec (and francophone minorities in other provinces) by a rising number of English speakers. The problem has been exacerbated by immigration because, when given the choice, immigrants who are neither English nor French speaking overwhelmingly choose English-based education for their children.

The United States, too, has its periodic concerns over immigration. But such political dustups concern competition for employment, cultural challenges, and, since September 2001, security fears. No one publicly worries about the birthrate of citizens. When conservatives wish to express their anxieties about the future, they are more likely to focus on what they see as threats to the institution of marriage (either through its expansion to same-sex couples or through increasing numbers of unmarried couples).

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Allen Douglas

II. AUSTRALIA

The population of Australia reached 20 million in 2004 and at that time was growing by just over 1 percent a year. Half of that growth consisted of natural increase (births minus deaths), and the remainder was accounted for by positive net migration. Ethnically, the population of Australia is largely of Anglo-Celtic origin, reflecting the British colonization of the country since the late eighteenth century, although it has become increasingly ethnically diverse through a strong immigration program. In the 2001 census Aborigines made up 2 percent of the population, and around one-quarter of Australians were born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006a).

Women have been giving birth at progressively older ages, and more recent cohorts have smaller average family sizes than did cohorts in the past. For example, Australian women born in 1940 had an average of 2.8 children each, with a median age at birth of 25.6 years. In contrast, women born in 1965 had 2.1 children each, with a median age at birth of 28.7 years. The national total fertility rate was fairly constant at 1.8 births per woman over the decade after the mid-1990s. In 2005 two-thirds of births occurred within a legal marriage. Among the remainder the father was acknowledged on the birth register in 90 percent of cases (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006b).

Most Australians eventually marry, although the age at which they do so has been increasing over time. The median age at marriage rose six years over the two decades after 1985, reaching 32.0 years for men and 29.7 years for women in 2005. Three-quarters of couples who married in 2005 lived together before marriage. Marriages performed by civil celebrants are more common than are those performed by ministers of religion (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006c). Around one-third of marriages end in divorce (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006d), and remarriage after divorce is common. In the first decade of the twenty-first century marriage between same-sex partners was not permitted in Australia, and such marriages legally contracted in other countries were not recognized.

Life expectancy in Australia continues to be one of the highest in the world. Death rates in the period 2003–2005 implied average life expectancies at birth of 78.5 years for males and 83.3 years for females. Males experience higher average mortality at every age than do females, with the differential at its greatest in the late teens and twenties (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006e). Infant and maternal mortality are both very low by international standards. Five in a thousand live-born babies die before the first birthday, and there are four maternal deaths for every hundred thousand live births (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006f). Estimates indicate that Aboriginal life expectancy is around 15 years lower than that of the general Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006e).

Schooling is compulsory between ages six and fifteen years, although most students stay in school until age seventeen or eighteen. Retention at older ages is higher for females than for males. Most Australians go on to receive further education; the levels are higher for females. In 2005 around 90 percent of men age twenty-five to fifty-four years were in the labor force. Participation rates were lower for women at around 75 percent over the same age range, reflecting women's status as primary caregivers for children. Participation rates have been declining for men and increasing for women (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006a).

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Rebecca Kippen

III. MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

For the purposes of this article, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) refers to the countries defined as MENA by the World Bank to include Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, West Bank and Gaza, and Yemen. An estimated 300 million people reside in the MENA region. The demography provides insight into a variety of important social, economic, and political factors in the region. Population growth rates, access to quality education, and the youth bulge, for instance, carry implications for economic development and political stability.

Social (human) development indicators have improved for the region since the 1970s. Only 1.6 percent of the population (or 5 million) survives below the international poverty line (living on less than U.S. $1 per day). This figure represents the lowest percentage for any region in the world. South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa rank highest with 31.2 percent and 44 percent of the population living on less than a dollar per day. Despite stagnant economic growth in most of the region, improvements in access to education and health are partly responsible for the steady reduction in poverty.

BASIC HEALTH:

Improved access to health in MENA has resulted in a reduction in fertility and mortality and a decline in the incidence of communicable diseases. Life expectancy at birth across the region is 69 years of age compared with 69 years in Europe and Central Asia and 70 years in East Asia and the Pacific. Eighty-eight percent of the population has reasonable access to water supplies, whereas 75 percent has access to improved sanitation or facilities that prevent human, animal, and insect contact with excreta. Maternal and child health care have improved since the 1980s. The infant mortality rate is 44 deaths per 1,000. The adolescent fertility rate—number of births given by women between their fifteenth and nineteenth birthdays—is 33, comparable to Europe and Central Asia (30) but significantly less than half that of Latin America and the Caribbean (78) and South Asia (80). Over the course of her lifetime, an average Egyptian girl is expected to bear 3.1 children, approximately half the birth rate for her counterpart during the 1970s. Ninety-three percent of children in the MENA region are immunized for measles, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus before their first birthday, which is among the highest regional rates of immunization in the world.

ACCESS TO EDUCATION:

Since 1970, significant inroads have been made toward improving access to education across MENA. Primary and secondary education enrollment rates are 104 percent and 67 percent, respectively. Completion rates for primary education are a respectable 89 percent for boys and 86 percent for girls. Despite these gains lack of quality and relevant education still haunts education systems in the region. Adult literacy rates, particularly female literacy, are still low. Only 59.4 percent of women in Egypt are literate compared with 39.6 percent of Moroccan women. Approximately 6.4 million primary-school-aged children are out of school. Parents often cite the lack of relevant education as the reason children abandon school. The tertiary (or higher education) enrollment rate is 23 percent, less than half that of Europe and Central Asia (47 percent). Graduates of education systems in the region are routinely ill-prepared to meet the challenges of the labor market, and unemployment is high.

MIGRATION:

Migration affects the MENA region in variety of ways. The lack of adequate economic opportunities sends many workers abroad seeking better paying jobs. Between 2000 and 2005 some 1.4 million residents of MENA left their homes and moved abroad. Workers living in foreign countries routinely send remittances to family members in their countries of origin. In 2004 the MENA region received an estimated $20.4 billion in officially recorded remittances. Real figures were almost certainly much higher.

Significant annual remittances notwithstanding, emigration from the MENA region also contributes to the *brain drain* as skilled and highly educated inhabitants migrate to developed nations in pursuit of more promising careers. Drafters of the 2003 Arab Human Development Report referred to the brain drain as "reverse development aid" (p. 145) as a result of the diminishing pool of Arab talent required for local development. An estimated 835,000 MENA refugees fled their countries of origin in 2004 and 1.4 million were awaiting asylum status in other countries, a significant decrease from figures a decade earlier (2.5 million). However, those figures are likely to increase as a result of violence in Iraq between 2004 and 2007 that sent a flood of refugees to Syria, Egypt, Jordan, and elsewhere.

Migration affects women and children in a variety of ways. Since the 1990s women have been migrating in increasing numbers—either as dependents or independently, particularly in the case of Moroccan women to the European Union. Because of Islamic traditions restricting women's movement without a male relative, spousal separation may make daily life more difficult for dependents left behind (Omelaniuk 2005). Women and children are the most vulnerable refugee populations. There is evidence to suggest that Iraqi women are trafficked to Syria, Jordan, and other Arab countries for commercial sexual exploitation.

YOUTH BULGE

Of the 300 million people living in the MENA region, more than one third is under the age of fifteen and roughly 62 percent are between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four. Only 4 percent of the population accounts for ages sixty-five and older. Although the population growth rate has declined from its peak of 3 percent in 1980 to 2 percent between 1990 and 2004, the MENA region still ranks second highest in world behind sub-Saharan Africa (2.5%). Most government infrastructures and systems in MENA are ill equipped to deal with such a substantial youth population, often referred to as the youth bulge. The youth bulge places significant strains on public education, health, and social services systems. Securing productive employment is also a problem for this demographic group. First-time job seekers often suffer the highest unemployment rates. The youth bulge also presents a huge political challenge for governments throughout the region because unemployed, undereducated, and frequently politically disenfranchised youth serve as a fertile field for recruitment by Islamic extremists.

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Craig Davis

IV. ASIA

The population of Asia was estimated in 2006 at 3.9 billion, which accounts for more than 60 percent of the world's population. Of the ten most populous countries in the world, six (China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Japan) are in Asia. The density of population per square mile in Asia, at 324, is 2.5 times the average for the world and is greater than the population density of any other continent. Between 2000 and 2005, the population grew at 1.2 percent per annum and virtually all of this growth was due to natural increase alone. Although trivial in terms of its effect on population change, the net migration rate for Asia is negative, with more persons leaving than entering each year (UN 2005 Population Reference Bureau 2006).

Most childbirth in Asia takes place within marriage. According to the Demographic and Health Surveys' data, although median age at first marriage for women has risen steadily, it remains below twenty years of age in large parts of South and Southeast Asia and is as low as fifteen in Bangladesh. On average, women in Asia have 2.4 children. and 49 of every 1,000 infants die in their first year. Fertility rates have been falling in Asia with women in several countries, including China and Japan, having less than two children each. However, in Afghanistan, East Timor, and Yemen, women have more than six children on average. Almost one in three persons in Asia is below the age of fifteen and only 6 percent are sixty-five or over. With a young population, a relatively low mortality rate, and a fertility rate that is above replacement, the population of Asia is expected to top 4.7 billion by 2025 (Population Reference Bureau 2006).

Life expectancy in Asia has risen sharply in the last half century, from forty-seven to sixty-seven years, with women living four years longer than men. Despite greater female longevity, the sex ratio, at 104 males per 100 females, makes Asia the only continent with significantly more males than females (UN 2005). This high sex ratio is a consequence of a preference for sons in a number of Asian countries including China, India, and Pakistan. Historically, female infanticide or neglect was used to eliminate unwanted girl babies; in 2006, higher child mortality rates of girls than boys were still seen in countries like India, but there was much less evidence of infanticide. Instead, sex ratios at birth are becoming more masculine because new technologies allow pre-selection of the sex of a child before conception or can identify the sex of a fetus early in the pregnancy, thereby enabling sex-selective abortions.

The Web site supported by UNESCO reports that literacy and access to education vary greatly across Asia. Whereas most countries of Central and East Asia have near-universal literacy, rates in South and West Asia are only 74 percent for men and 49 percent for women. Even among male and female youth (ages fifteen to twenty-four), literacy rates remain relatively low at 84 and 67 percent, respectively. School enrollment has risen sharply in the region, but 14 percent of girls and 7 percent of boys who should be in school are not.

Asia has long had a tradition of finding a role for transgender individuals. This is reflected in the fact that in several countries, the spoken language has a word for the "third sex," for example *hijra* in South Asia and *kathoey* in Thailand. While neither term equates to the English "gay," each usually refers to persons born with male or androgynous genitalia but who have a female or non-male gender identity. *Hijra*s in India typically form their own communities and run households in which they socialize younger members into their distinct ways. In Thailand, the *kathoey* are visible members of society and are often found in female occupations. No reliable estimates exist for the numbers of transgender individuals in Asia, because potential sources of estimates, such as national censuses, do not provide separate information for transgender individuals.

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Sunita Kishor

V. AFRICA

Africa is a vast and diverse continent more than three times the size of the continental United States, with more than a thousand ethnolinguistic groups; three major religions; diverse climates, vegetation, and wildlife; and a combined population of about 800 million. Africans are divided by boundaries of fifty-three nation-states, ethnic identities, class divisions, urban and rural locations, geographic barriers, and vast distances. The continent's demography is as diverse as its other features. For example the central African country of Gabon has just over 1 million people, the size of many American cities, whereas Nigeria has more than 115 million people. The Gambia is less than half the size of New Hampshire, whereas the Sudan is almost four times the size of Texas (Martin and O'Meara 1995). Contemporary diversity is deeply rooted in historical processes (e.g., the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, colonization, Cold War, globalization) that have intensified the continent's complexity (Falola 2003). Determining demographic trends in such a vast and diverse region of the world is understandably challenging.

African population densities vary depending on the geographic and climatic characteristics of a given area. Rain-forest regions are more densely populated than are those of the Savannah, whereas the vast desert of the Sahara is only marginally inhabited.

The United Nations *World Population Prospects 2006 Revision* confirms the diversity of demographic dynamics among various African regions. Overall, African populations continue to grow, yielding relatively youthful populations expected to age only moderately over the foreseeable future. The continent stands apart as the only major region of the world where population is still relatively abundant and largely young and where the number of elderly people, although increasing, is projected to be far below the number of children in 2050, that is, 1.2 billion.

Underlying these varied patterns of growth and changes in age structure are distinct trends in fertility and mortality. Even though African fertility rates have declined considerably since the late 1960s and are expected to reach their lowest levels by 2050, they still remain higher than in other parts of the world. Between 2005 and 2010, fertility is projected to remain above five children per woman in most African countries; however, most countries with such high fertility rates are poor and are classified as among the least developed. Fertility levels in most other countries are expected to drop from 2.75 children per woman between 2005 and 2010 to 2.05 children per woman in the projected period 2045 to 2050. The decrease forecast in the least developed countries is even sharper: from 4.63 children per woman to 2.50. To achieve such levels, access to family planning also needs to be expanded.

Child mortality rates are a significant indicator of the development and well-being of children; although it has fallen in all geographic areas of the world, sub-Saharan Africa has lagged behind. By 2010 mortality in children younger than five years of age will reach 155 per 1,000 in the region. These levels are due to deteriorating social and economic conditions exacerbated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which has taken a devastating toll in terms of population loss in sub-Saharan Africa.

Population aging is less pronounced in African societies: just 8 percent of the population is aged sixty or over in the early twenty-first century; however, by 2050, 20 percent of the population is projected to fall within that age range. The proportion of older people is expected to rise from 64 percent to nearly 80 percent in 2050. African populations will remain relatively young where fertility is still high. Between 2005 and 2050, the populations of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Niger, and Uganda are projected to at least triple.

Life expectancy remains low in African countries, at just fifty-five years, and is projected to reach sixty-six years between 2045 and 2050, a full 11 years below the next lowest major area, Asia. The projected levels can only be attained by controlling the expansion of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, resurgent infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria, economic stagnation, protracted armed conflict, poverty, and violence against women. These factors have hindered reduction of mortality by at least fifteen years. Females' life expectancy at birth is higher than that of males, 55.8 versus 53.4, and this gender gap is expected to widen between 2045 and 2050.

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Bertrade Ngo-Ngijol Banoum

DENTAL DAM

SEE *Contraception: IV. Relation to Sexual Practices and Gender Roles.*

DESIRE, AS HISTORICAL CATEGORY

Over the nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries, European and American intellectuals posited desire as a sign of the cultural modernity of those regions. Followers of the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), for instance, believe that the psychoanalytic subject—the modern subject extraordinaire—arrived with the European Enlightenment. The philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) argued that the modern subject of desire superseded a premodern one as the emerging disciplinary technologies of the prison, school, clinic, and army conflated desire with identity. These models of modern desire thus spatialized time and mapped desire onto an imaginary Western European and North American world. Spatial images of maps, topographies, territories, Möbius strips, and knots served as heuristic media for describing the circulation of such desire. Philosopher Elizabeth Grosz provides an excellent overview of these models in *Volatile Bodies* (1994).

Such supersessionary thinking (modern desire trumps premodern desire) at work in these models of desire anxiously defends against temporality and the gaps it generates in-between becoming past, becoming present, becoming future. They confuse contingency with the organization of cause and effect and thus produce timeless law, such as the Oedipus complex, to guarantee the perpetual circulation of desire. What follows is an outline of three common versions of desire as a sign of the modern and then a consideration of the early twenty-first century critique that attempts to problematize the very claim of desire to periodize history.

A conventional psychoanalytic model of desire imagines a vessel. A self inhabits its interior; the Other, a *not-self*, is located outside of the container. The contact of the inside with the outside, self and Other, generates a current or force. Not unlike the electrical current of the voltaic cell first proclaimed to the Royal Society of London in 1800, desire links the self to the Other in imaginary circuits. Desire is thus social. The energy supply is continuous and the subject can never exhaust it through speech. When these human *batteries* are joined in a series, desire surges through the group. The desiring group constructs social ways of being in the world. The charge of the battery, its positive or negative valence, is organized by the law conventionally understood as the law of Oedipus. This law posits the timeless prohibition of heterosexual kinship whereby the mother becomes sexually unavailable to her offspring under pain of their castration because she belongs to the father through exchange.

Alternatively Foucault's version of desire and disciplinarity used the projection of the sky in a planetarium (a scenic attraction that proliferated across Europe and North America in the 1930s) as the heuristic device to model desire based on the archive, or the law of what can be said. In the archive statements are "grouped together in distinct figures … but shine, as it were, like stars, some that seem close to us shining brightly from afar off, while others that are in fact close to us are already growing pale" (Foucault 1972, p. 129). The subject is produced as the effect of such statements. By folding these statements inward, the subject is able to produce itself as the subject of desire. Desire always realizes itself; it is an effect that retroactively is imagined as a cause. The set of statements is historically constructed and can change over time; thus Foucault's model of desire offers rich temporal potential. However, he spatialized time in *The History of Sexuality* (1980) by arguing that the homosexual as a historical category crafted in the late-nineteenth century superseded the notion of sodomitical acts, thus marking a temporal rupture between the premodern and the modern.

In an effort to clear the field of self and other, the philosophers Gilles Deleuze (1925–1995) and Félix Guattari (1930–1992), inspired by the work of Dutch philosopher Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677), rejected the binarism of self and Other, male and female, and, instead, imagined desire as a continuum of embodied subjectivities or *desiring machines*. Desire is not a lack, nor is it a pedagogy; rather desire is productive. Their model is based on a rigorous notion of immanence, a kind of non-organic vitalism, in which life exceeds the possibility of death and transcendence. What Deleuze and Guattari cannot explain is why "men fight for their servitude as stubbornly as though it were their salvation" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983, p. 29). They cannot see that repression itself is productive too and that desiring machines are inflected by the uneven durations of repression and its repetitions. Without that temporal insight, their desiring machines collapse into what Gayatri Spivak has called the *Subject of Europe* and into the instantaneous moments of a mechanical deterritorialization.

These conventional models of desire are incapable of imagining the normative Eurocentric violence that grounds them. Their critics have called for a problematization of temporality as a way of rethinking desire. Rather than use desire to periodize history, feminist, queer, and antirascist scholars are asking what structures such supersessionary thinking has forced and enforced by disavowing the temporal coexistence of different forms of desire. These critics of desire as a sign of the modern urge people to consider how desire is never contemporaneous with itself, it is thus always already spectral. Desire does not produce temporality; it is haunted by it. In other words, "the relations by which we are defined are not dyadic, but always refer to a historical legacy and futural horizon that is not contained by the Other, but which constitutes something like the Other of the Other, then it seems to follow that who we *are* fundamentally is a subject in a temporal chain of desire that only occasionally and provisionally assumes the form of a dyad." (Butler 2004, p. 151).

SEE ALSO *Castration; Foucault, Michel; Freud, Sigmund; Gender, Theories of; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Kathleen Biddick

DETUMESCENCE

SEE *Genitals, Male.*

DIAPHRAGM

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

DIETRICH, MARLENE
1901–1992

Born in Berlin on December 27, Marlene Dietrich was an actress and chanson singer whose public persona reached mythical proportions. Her highly unconventional sex life became notorious.

Dietrich, who made several silent films in the 1920s, was discovered in 1929 in Berlin by the Hollywood director Joseph von Sternberg, originally from Vienna. Von Sternberg was looking for a vamp type to star as the character Lola Lola in a film called *The Blue Angel* (1930). The film premiered in Berlin in April 1930 and turned Dietrich into one of the most sensational erotic icons in cinema history and popular entertainment culture.

In the film Dietrich plays a femme fatale in a shady night club who draws an uptight professor into her web and destroys him. Driving the eroticized atmosphere are several risqué songs that Lola Lola performs in a mixture of seductiveness and self-mockery, displaying black garters, silver top hat, and legs that would be fetishized throughout her career. Singing in a smoky lower register and lowering her eye lids suggestively, Dietrich embodied the decadent vamp figure envisioned by von Sternberg while accommodating his predilection for ambiguous sexuality. Dietrich became von Sternberg's creation, a creature of the director's complex, erotic imagination that informs the five films they made together in Hollywood between 1930 and 1935.

Marlene Dietrich. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.

The success of *The Blue Angel* enabled von Sternberg to obtain a contract for Dietrich from Paramount. Their first Hollywood movie, *Morocco* (1930), based on a story suggested by Dietrich, was a sensation. Dietrich plays a cafe singer, clad in a tuxedo, who kisses a young woman in the audience on the mouth, a classic film moment cherished in lesbian circles into the twenty-first century. The plot nevertheless goes on to show Dietrich's character, Amy Jolly, in love with a legionnaire (Gary Cooper) whom she follows into the desert, a captivating cinematic ending. Bisexuality by innuendo was possible although even partial nudity was not, anticipating the Production Code that set industry guidelines for United States Motion Pictures beginning in the mid-1930S. Mae West advised Dietrich on this point: "We have to do everything with the eyes" (Salber 2001, p. 90).

In the 1920s Berlin unconventional sexualities were the order of the day. Outfitted with monocle and silk pants, Dietrich frequented cross-dressing clubs such as the Eldorado. When she starred in a cabaret act with the daring drag queen Claire Waldorf, she became the latter's lover for the length of the run. When she teamed up with a gamin in a show about two girlfriends, she added bunches of violets to their outfits, a gesture understood to symbolize lesbian love. Berlin, with clubs for every erotic preoccupation, where transvestitism was more outrageous than nudity, likely molded Dietrich's nonchalant attitude in sexual matters. In 1924 she married Rudolf Sieber, a production assistant in film, and gave birth to a daughter Maria. Sieber complained about her lesbian affairs but realized that Dietrich could not be tied to a single gender identity. In her biography Maria Riva suggests that her mother was "neither man nor woman" (Riva 1992, p. 198). Sieber and Dietrich never divorced.

Von Sternberg, in his role as Pygmalion, engaged in a kind of gender-bending of his own, insisting: "I am Miss Dietrich—Miss Dietrich is me" (Spoto 1992, p. 54). The film *Blonde Venus* (1932) contains the first cross-dressing act in white tuxedo, a moment of sovereign glamour that became a staple for the star. "But … what stamped Dietrich on to filmgoers' imaginations was the way she was presented visually on the screen. Von Sternberg wrapped her in more metaphysical material than men's suiting"(Walker 1984, p. 80).

During the making of *Blonde Venus*, the young Cary Grant, like *Morocco*'s Gary Cooper, became amorously involved with Dietrich. Romantic entanglements on the set developed a pattern, exceptions not withstanding. In *Shanghai Express* (1932), for instance, Clive Brook was no more than her co-star. The film was very successful and is often considered von Sternberg's finest. The set decoration, visual improvisation of China, and atmosphere created by Les Garmes's camerawork, for which he received an Oscar, all added to Dietrich's mystique. Costume designer Travis Bantan wrapped Dietrich's Shanghai Lilly in black feathers and lace, fantasy costumes celebrated decades later as high camp.

Working with von Sternberg Marlene learned about lighting, specifically with regard to its chiseling effect on her facial features. Like the director, she aimed for a mystifying play of face and limbs, fully aware that this could lead viewers, whether heterosexual or homosexual, to identify with the image, the narcissistic aspect of cinema.

Dietrich's transgender screen appeal echoed in her off-screen romances. Among Dietrich's lesbian partners during her Hollywood years was Mercedes de Acosta who looked like "a young boy, jet-black hair cut like a toreador's close to the head, chalk-white face, deep-set black eyes" (Riva 1992, p. 154). De Acosta was a screenwriter and former lover of Greta Garbo who showered Dietrich with attention. During a stay at the Cote d'Azur in 1939, Dietrich enjoyed spending time onboard the yacht of the Canadian whisky-millionairess Jo Carstairs, amused at the latter's offer to build a palace in the Bahamas filled with young women.

Dietrich is better known as a woman with countless male lovers, both on-screen—James Stewart (*Destry Rides Again* [1939]), John Wayne (*Seven Sinners* [1940]), Jean Gabin (*Martin Roumagnac* [1946]), Michael Wilding (*Stage Fright* [1950]), Fritz Lang (*Rancho Notorious* [1952]) and off—French singer/actor Maurice Chevalier, Erich Maria Remarque (author of *All Quiet on the Western Front* [1929]), and actor John Gilbert. Maria Riva wrote in detail and with surprising frankness about the love-making techniques her mother employed, claiming that she was mostly after romance and less after sex. Biographers concur that Dietrich remained friends with former liaisons long after the romantic affairs ended.

Dietrich was a perfectionist not only with regard to controlling her screen image (which irritated directors of her later films such as Alfred Hitchcock). She also enhanced her stardom in unusual ways. For example, she cultivated platonic relationships with intellectual and literary figures such as Ernest Hemingway, Jean Cocteau, Charlie Chaplin, Noel Coward, and Orson Welles. To be sure, her glamorous persona continued to reign supreme; Dietrich defined it as something "indefinite, not accessible to normal women, an unreal paradise, desirable but basically unreachable" (Salber 2001, p. 118).

From April 1944 to July 1945, Dietrich, who had become a United States citizen in 1939 after years of voicing anti-Nazi sentiments, was engaged by the United Service Organizations (USO) to entertain American troops abroad. From Algiers (where she met Gabin again) to Berlin, she played the spirited comrade and, more memorably, appeared in the sequined dress that created an illusion of nudity. In this dress, complemented by a lavish white or black swan-down cape, the fifty-two year old Dietrich returned to the cabaret stage. Among the chansons on her program were some by Frederick Hollander, who had written for her in *The Blue Angel*. Dietrich's world tour lasted from 1953 to 1975 and included Las Vegas, New York, Rio de Janeiro, London, Paris, Berlin, cities in Scandinavia, The Soviet Union, Israel, and Sydney, where she gave her last public performance. Her husband, upon whom she relied throughout the years, died in 1976, after which Dietrich became a recluse in her Paris apartment until her death on May 6, 1992. According to her wishes, she was buried in Berlin.

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Ingeborg Hoesterey

DILDO

A dildo is a phallic object used for sexual gratification. Dildos can be erotic objects in their own right, but have historically been viewed as substitute or supplementary penises. Dildo-like objects have been around for at least 4,000 years, and have been found in archaeological sites around the world. They have been made of stone, jade, glass, pottery, rubber, silicone, horn, wax, and leather. They are usually shaped like penises, but can look like animals, which allows them to subvert obscenity laws and be sold as toys in countries, such as Japan and certain American states such as Texas, where the sale of dildos for sexual use is illegal. Dildos can also vibrate, though many people consider vibrators to be a separate class of sex toy.

Sources agree that while the origins of the word "dildo" are not precisely known, it may trace to the Italian *diletto*, which means delight. The dildo first appeared in English as an object that would satisfy a woman when her lover's stamina runs out in Thomas Nashe's *Choise of Valentines or the Merie Ballad of Nash his Dildo* (1593), a bawdy poem that circulated in unpublished form until 1899. As this poem illustrates, dildos in literature and song are usually comic in that they signify the sexual voraciousness of women and the virile insufficiency of men. Mainstream cultures have historically promoted lesbians as the stereotypical users of dildos. Rather than an actual representation of lesbian sexual practices, this belief reflects the inability of conventional societies to imagine sex without a penis or penis-substitute and the often associated tendency to label any kind of female sexual appetite as monstrous and deviant.

In gay male culture the dildo is most often used as a detachable object and an outsized representation of the penis. It can be used to penetrate repeatedly or can be inserted and left there, like a butt plug, another type of sex toy. Double-ended dildos can be used for mutual anal penetration. There appears to be little anxiety over whether or not dildos look like penises or are interchangeable with them in the gay community. Lesbian culture, however, has a historic anxiety over the relationship of dildos to penises, an anxiety that can be traced to feminist ambivalence about the relationship of lesbian gender roles and sexual practices to heterosexuality. Women who lived in established in urban United States lesbian communities in the middle part of the twentieth century report having seen dildos owned by others, but very few lesbians from this era admit to using them. Lesbian dildo use often involves the assistance of a harness to facilitate one partner's vaginal penetration by the other, and lesbians use double-ended dildos for mutual penetration.

In the 1980s feminist debates concerning the political correctness of penetration raged for months at a time in publications such as the magazine *Off Our Backs*, engendering a backlash movement of sexually radical lesbians, bisexuals, and queer-identified heterosexual women who allied themselves with gay male leather culture, sadomasochistic sexualities, and sexual practices where dildos and other sex toys figured prominently. By the 1990s dildo use lent a *sex-radical* aura of sexual autonomy and sexual empowerment to a wide range of lesbian, bisexual, and queer-identified straight women, facilitating a move to appropriate phallic penetration and phallic display for queer women's culture. For many women, dildos signified the transitivity of gender, and wearing them was seen as an act of *genderfuck*.

For other women, dildos signified something less playful and more serious. While many lesbians were seeking to disassociate dildos from their status as penis-substitutes and redefine them as lesbian-specific objects, a move analogous to the reclamation of butch-femme roles as lesbian-specific genders rather than heterosexual imitations, some butches began to signal their gender identity, sexual availability, and sexual prowess by wearing a dildo under their clothes in public, a practice known as *packing*. Transgender-identified butches wore dildos as an expression of their inner masculinity and male identification. The variety and uses of dildos multiplied; there were non-representational, multicolored *feminist dildos*; dildos that looked like circumcised, erect male penises, replete with veins and scrotal sacs; and flaccid, non-penetrative dildos for wearing in one's pants around town. Advertising shifted from the anxious feminist insistence on the incommensurability of dildos and penises to a new comfort with realistic-looking dildos.

The proliferation of sex boutiques and sex toys in the 1980s and 1990s led to unprecedented popularity for the dildo. Sex toys and videos became acceptable as vehicles for safe sex in the midst of the HIV-AIDS epidemic. Stores such as San Francisco's Good Vibrations targeted heterosexual couples and single women as well as lesbians. One of their bestselling videos, *Bend Over Boyfriend*, features women using strap-on dildos to anally penetrate male partners. The recent dildo craze of casting real penises to create silicone replicas further conflates real penises with their substitutes, confounding original and copy. Dildo use is no longer a subcultural practice, nor does it say much about a person's gender identity, beyond indicating an ability to participate in commodity acquisition. Not everyone has or wants a penis but, these days, almost anyone can have a dildo.

SEE ALSO *Sexual Practices.*

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Jaime Hovey

DISABILITY, FETISHIZATION OF

While disabled people have often been stigmatized, a certain fascination with various impairments can also be traced throughout the history of Western societies. Sometimes this fascination has taken the form of what disability scholar Harlan Hahn refers to as a subversive sensualism. For example, in the Middle Ages dwarfs and people with intellectual impairments played an important role in the royal courts as fools or jesters, where they were allowed much satirical freedom, and at least during the thirteenth century, would often perform naked for these royal bodies. Whether this sociosexual fascination with impaired bodies transposed into a psychosexual fetishization during the distant past is uncertain. More recently, with the advent of the Internet and Web sites devoted to the latter phenomenon, there is ample evidence that some people experience a heightened sexual desire for various bodies that fall outside the range of either functional and/or aesthetic normative standards. Those persons who experience a marked sexual attraction to the impairments of disabled people are currently referred to as devotees. While one explanation views this desire as a more pronounced version of the eroticization of unusual physical features, another view proposes that it is simply an example of sexual preference among the range of body types (that is, slender versus voluptuous, tall versus short, and so forth). A point worth noting is that sexual attraction to an impairment does not necessarily trump the desire for what are considered more conventionally attractive features. Rather, desire for non-normative bodies is often superimposed on attraction to these normative features.

There are devotees of people with many different kinds of impairment from blindness to quadriplegia. Generally devotees are sexually attracted to single impairments. Those persons with amputations are the most commonly desired. In terms of gender, men overwhelmingly outnumber women devotees. Sometimes it is a disabled person's crutches, prosthesis or other adaptive device that drives a particular devotee's desire. According to some sources, an extension of devotee desire is when non-disabled people desire to pass as disabled by using an assistive device such as crutches or a wheelchair; these persons are referred to as *pretenders*.

Further along on this continuum are those persons who actually want to acquire an impairment, feeling that they are in the wrong body. Referred to within the scientific literature as body integrity identity disorder (BIID), this is sometimes likened to the feelings of transgender people about their desire for an altered body. These people have been known to undergo surgical procedures for impairment or in extreme instances to impair themselves. It is interesting to ponder the similarities and differences between undergoing surgery to acquire what is considered in Western societies a functionally impaired and thus deviant body to the body resculpting and mutilation that occurs in some other cultures and which although impairing the individual in certain ways achieves what is considered a normative sexual desirability (for example, foot binding in the history of China, lip piercing by certain African tribes to accommodate the large decorative disks worn on the lower lip). In this short entry, the sexual desire for a person with an impairment will be elaborated and not these purported extensions.

Psychiatric understanding of fetishism views it as a sexual perversion that focuses on a non-genital body part or inanimate object in order to achieve sexual gratification. In this sense, devotees exhibit typical fetishistic tendencies—that is, being sexually attracted to non-genital body parts such as amputee stumps or items of assistive technology. While not considered to be a problem per se unless it is combined with other psychological disorders, the concept of fetishism is yet cast in negative terms in the literature because of its association with the processes of denial, regression, and narcissism. The fetishism for people with certain impairments expands on this negativity and as such is cast in an even more pathological light. Indeed, biomedical discourse generally views the fetishism for impaired bodies as a deviant desire, which requires therapeutic attention. In a cultural sense, this kind of understanding strives to bring devotee desire back within the normative range of relationships.

There are a number of concerns about the concept of fetishization of impaired bodies that emerge from scholars and concerned observers outside psychiatry and the biomedical sciences, only a few of which will be dealt with in this short entry. Some have seen devotee desire as a transgressive overturning of the biomedical hierarchical ordering of bodies. Yet as may be seen from the discussion above of the subversive sensualism of impaired bodies, biomedicine may be a latecomer to this process. If anything, biomedicine may simply have assisted in refining what was initially a much cruder and less functional ranking of bodies. A related perspective questions the easy assumption of an opposition between deviant and normative desire, that is, acceptable versus unacceptable desire, which pervades discussion of fetishism and especially the attraction to impaired bodies. Indeed, what does labeling disability fetishism as pathological say about the cultural perception of impaired bodies?

Another set of concerns surrounds the issue of whether devotees are exploiting disabled people. This concern has especially been voiced in the case of women amputees. Yet those using this argument have a difficult time explaining disabled women who knowingly embrace the devotee's sexual attraction to their impairment; and while there are some disabled women who are suspicious of desire based on fetishism and find it exploitative, there are others who exalt the opportunity and pleasure they access via the devotee community. Some of the latter have noted feeling a boost in sexual self-esteem. But this sense of sexual empowerment can be complicated by what amputee Kath Duncan notes from her own sexual adventures with devotees: that they remain primarily focused on her outline and not on how she views herself. Nevertheless, evidence exists that devotee desire can sometimes lead to genuinely intimate relationships.

While there are a number of personal narratives available written by disabled people who voice their own feelings of being the object of fetishistic desire and speculate on the motivations of devotees, this phenomenon remains virtually unstudied. What is especially needed is systematic qualitative research among devotees and the disabled people who choose to interact with them in order to begin to understand the either exceptional or normative, depending on the point of view, psychological, social, and cultural dynamics that are being articulated.

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Russell Shuttleworth

DISABILITY, SEX AND

Historically, in modern European and North American societies, disabled people's sexuality was generally avoided in cultural discourse, or if it was mentioned, disabled people were cursorily viewed as asexual. During the second half of the twentieth century, medical and rehabilitation professionals carved out a cultural space for disability and sexuality within the parameters of physiology, restoration of sexual function, and psychological adjustment. Whereas activists and scholars occasionally mentioned some of the cultural and sociopolitical implications of disability and sexuality, until the mid-1990s, a functional view of this subject held sway. However, around the turn of the twenty-first century, the convergence of disability activism, progressive social policy, and changing trends in human science research gradually provided impetus to raising disability and sexuality as both a conceptual and social justice issue. The political battles of the Disability Rights Movement and disability legislation have resulted in increased access for many disabled people to social contexts in which they were previously excluded. The philosophy of independent living has meant that people with significant impairments are increasingly moving out into the community—into their own homes/apartments or, at minimum, into group-home-living situations. This public exposure and greater societal access is also growing into a sense among disabled people of their right to a sexual life. At the same time, human science research is finally prioritizing disabled people's own sexual concerns and critically investigating this intersection within a sexual inequality and sexual access conceptual frame.

The result of this change in research perspective and the claiming of sexuality by disabled people is that a wide range of important issues are finally emerging from the shadows. These issues include access to quality reproductive health care for disabled women, sexual abuse, lack of positive media images of disability and sexuality, disability and gender issues, barriers to sexual expression and/or negotiating sexual intimacy with others, the high rate of poor sexual self-esteem and poor body image, use of sex workers and sexual surrogates, personal assistant services and facilitated sex, disability fetishism, and the multiple oppressions that ethnic and sexual minority disabled persons face. Only several of these issues can be dealt with in this short article.

One concern that is emerging as important is the issue of facilitated sex. Facilitated sex is sexual activity in which a disabled person is assisted by someone who provides personal care or personal assistant services (PAS). This assistance could include positioning disabled persons for masturbation, undressing them, helping them to stimulate themselves, helping them to stimulate their partner's body, positioning them for sex with a partner, transferring them to a bed, purchasing condoms, or soliciting the services of a sex worker. In the United States there is still no nationally based PAS program, and services vary from state to state.

While the pragmatic and ethical issues of facilitated sex abound in those situations where the disabled person resides in a familial, an institutional, or a quasi-institutional setting and/or has no input into the decision of who provides PAS for them—even for those disabled people living independently in the community who control this decision and directly pay their personal assistants—there are a myriad of concerns. The most obvious is that there are no public policy guidelines in place to govern practice around facilitated sex. Negotiating this service with a personal assistant is left entirely up to the disabled person and is fraught with ethical and legal dilemmas. For example, facilitated sex transgresses the normative view of sex as private and as an autonomous project. Therefore, even though they may be helping an individual with sexual activity, personal assistants risk being viewed as sexual participants, and because payment is involved, they may be legally liable.

A controversial issue among disabled people is the world of *devotees*, or amputee fetish. This issue challenges traditional notions of sexuality, desire, and appropriateness within the disability community. Devotees are people who are romantically interested or sexually aroused by people with certain impairments. Whereas there are devotees of people with many different kinds of impairments, amputees are those most commonly fetishized. In terms of gender, men overwhelmingly outnumber women devotees. The traditional medical understanding of this phenomenon labeled the desire for an impaired body as *pathological*. Discussion within the disability community has been heated. A question that is often raised is what does labeling disability fetishism as pathological say about the cultural perception of impaired bodies? Whereas there are some disabled women who are suspicious of desire based on fetishism and find it exploitative, there are others who exalt the opportunity, pleasure, and sometimes, intimate relationships they access via the devotee community.

A more general issue for many people with moderate to significant impairments is the multiple obstacles to sexual access that they often face; that is, access to sexual expression, sexual well-being, and negotiating sexual intimacy with others. Sexual well-being is reliant on psychological, social, and cultural supports that sustain a positive sense of one's sexual self. The availability of these supports for disabled people is often constrained. For instance, people with early onset impairments sometimes report that when they were growing up, family members did not expect them to experience a sex life or marriage. Disabled people's sexual expression and opportunity to negotiate sexual intimacy with others is also situated within a cultural and sociostructural framework of inclusion–exclusion. Depending on a disabled person's particular situation, other relevant aspects of this framework may include physical access to environments and social contexts in which sexually relevant interpersonal encounters may occur, monetary access, programmatic access to personal assistance services, access to transportation, communication access, and many others. Perhaps the most powerful influence on disabled people's interpersonal sexual negotiations, and which presents formidable difficulties, is the adverse context of cultural images and meanings of disability and sexual desirability.

Yet many disabled people resist hegemonic notions of sociality, bodily function, desirability, and the sexually oppressive practices that often ensue and manage to experience either normative sexual lives or carve out alternative and creative sexualities. For example, some persons with spinal-cord injuries who may have lost genital sensation and/or erogenous zone sensitivity learn to shift their erotic attention to areas of their body that are still sensitive. Another example is the incorporation of spasticity into lovemaking by a couple in which one person has significant cerebral palsy. By resisting sexual oppression and incorporating their own corporeal difference into their sexuality, some disabled people manage to expand the cultural sense of what constitutes sexual expression and sexual relationality.

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Russell Shuttleworth

DISCIPLINE

SEE *Bondage and Discipline.*

DIVINE
1945–1988

Harris Glenn Milstead, born on October 19, 1945, in Baltimore, Maryland, was best known as Divine, his adopted persona, in which he performed on stage and in film as a larger-than-life woman. Divine appeared in more than a dozen films, most notably in her collaborations with director and childhood friend John Waters. She debuted in *Roman Candles* in 1966, and first achieved cult celebrity status in *Pink Flamingos* (1972), in which her character fought to retain the title of the "world's filthiest person." In her most famous scene, Divine eats actual dog feces on screen, thus essentially securing her character's title for herself.

Her fame and significance stem largely from the fact that she did not play a man in drag, but rather played female characters as a female. This was reinforced when she was offered roles as a woman in projects beyond her work with Waters, such as her 1985 appearance in *Lust in the Dust* for the director Paul Bartel. She rarely appeared onscreen as a man, and the roles in which she did are largely forgettable, although at the time of her death she was about to begin shooting on the television series *Married . . . with Children*, in which she was to have a recurring role as a man.

Divine's acts of gender displacement were equaled only by her celebration of poor taste. In part because of the success of her films with gay audiences, the chic for lowbrow or trash taste became a permanent part of gay camp sensibility. Her collaborations with Waters also changed film culture. The films broke with Hollywood style by using handheld cameras and natural light sources, working with a company of actors over several films, and encouraging improvisation.

Divine was obese, yet usually played roles in which she was sexually active and an object of men's desire. As such, her sexual activity as well as her gender position were nonnormative. In 1981 she starred in *Polyester* with Tab Hunter, himself a former matinee idol whose career was nearly destroyed when his homosexuality was revealed. As a gay man playing a straight man in love with a man playing a woman, the pairing was unique and transgressive by almost all standards. It was often difficult to determine in Divine's films if her suitors were attracted to her obesity, or if her appeal was separate from her physicality. Her insistence upon being recognized and accepted as a sex object despite her distance from any conventional notion of beauty or femininity has rendered her an icon. She has many imitators, amateur and professional, most notably Chi Chi LaRue, a director of gay pornographic films.

Divine's most mainstream role came in 1988, when she starred as the mother in John Waters's *Hairspray*. It was also to be her last starring role, as she died of a heart attack in her sleep on March 7, at age forty-two, just as the film was gaining popularity. Divine is most remembered for flagrantly ignoring stereotypes of gender, taste, and body image.

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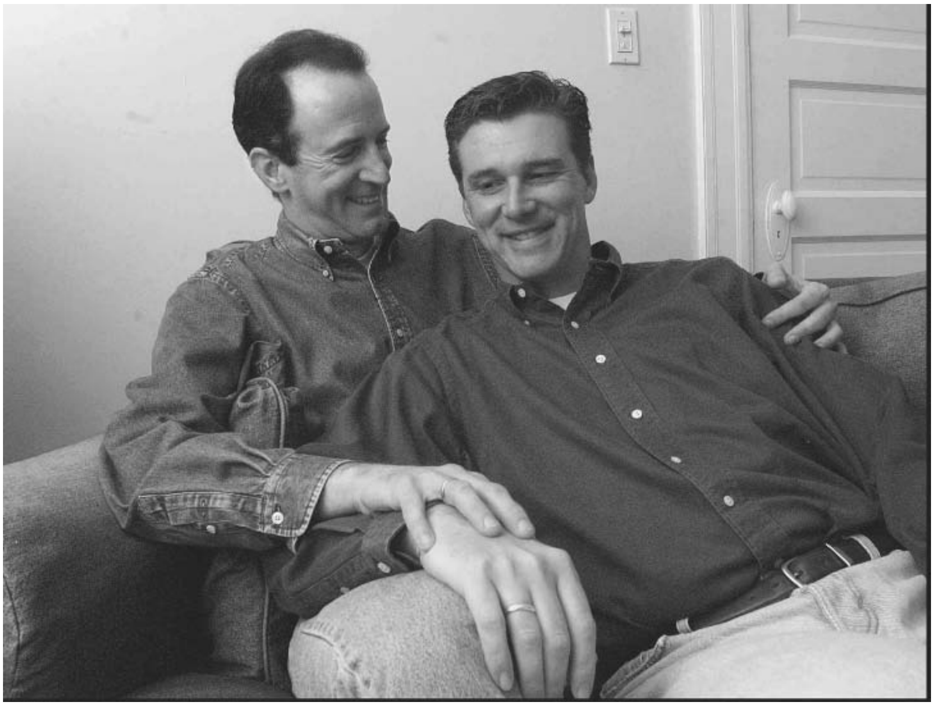
Brian D. Holcomb

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP

Domestic partnership is an "alternative family" based on cohabitation by two adults, with or without children, in a relationship marked by mutual emotional and financial commitment, which may be recognized for a variety of purposes by businesses or government. The term emerged during the late 1970s and early 1980s as part of the attempt by lesbians and gay men to attain recognition for their families. This came after a series of unsuccessful lawsuits had persuaded many that the right of same-sex couples to marry could not then be won in the courts.

Although some activists sought same-sex marriage as their ultimate priority, others rejected legal marriage as an appropriate model for same-sex families, believing that marriage reflected the state of opposite-sex, biologically procreative families under a patriarchal social order that discounted the status and value of women. These critics also tied the historical legal structure of marriage to transmission of ownership in land and material wealth. Further, the women's movement has generated a wide debate about



Domestic Partners Kent Bloom and Mike Ownbey. AP IMAGES.

the desirability of marriage, even in its more egalitarian forms. Although domestic partnership was first seen mostly as a gay rights issue, it has also been adopted in some places for opposite-sex couples, especially older couples concerned about loss of government benefits if they marry.

Domestic partnership came to be favored by those who rejected marriage because, as it has no fixed legal status, it remained open to being formulated as circumstances might dictate. A domestic partnership proposal could be a simple government registry carrying no tangible rights or benefits, or might approximate the rights and responsibilities of marriage. It could be a voluntary private-sector concept for extending rights or benefits in the workplace or the marketplace. Domestic partnership was also attractive for some opposite-sex couples who did not desire to marry but wanted recognition for their relationship that would include some of the rights that traditionally accompany marriage.

In its earliest incarnation, domestic partnership was presented to employers as a pay equity issue. Indeed, employee benefits such as health, dental, and vision insurance, survivor's benefits, and bereavement and family leave account for a significant proportion of total compensation, and employees with domestic partners could be seen as paid less than their married colleagues for the same work. Some consumers also argued that it was discriminatory for businesses to not recognize nonmarital families for family membership rates and discounts.

The earliest recognition of domestic partnerships came from private businesses, nonprofit organizations, and smaller municipalities. The *Village Voice*, a weekly New York City newspaper, was among the first employers to provide benefits to nonmarital partners of employees in 1982. The concept spread to private employers and nonprofit organizations, including educational institutions, during the early 1980s, and was adopted by some governmental employers, such as the California cities of West Hollywood and Berkeley.

The Task Force on Family Diversity, established in the mid-1980s by the Los Angeles City Council, gave the concept new impetus. The task force issued recommendations for government policy, some of which were adopted in a Los Angeles city law. It circulated its reports to other cities, where they provided a template for legislation. Proponents in New York City used the Los Angeles task force report to craft local legislation as a parallel strategy to a lawsuit by the Lesbian and Gay Teachers Association (LGTA). Mayor David Dinkins established a partnership registry by executive order, then settled the LGTA case by authorizing partnership benefits for employees in mayoral agencies. His successor, Rudolph Giuliani, won enactment of an expansive city ordinance that conferred on registered partners all spousal rights available under city laws.

Domestic partnership achieved its broadest state-law form in California, where legislation establishing a simple partnership registry for same-sex couples and elderly opposite-sex couples was expanded through a series of amendments to a status of quasi-marriage. Thus, effective January 1, 2005, California afforded registered domestic partners almost all the rights of spouses under state law.

SUBJECTS OF DEBATE

The most frequent objections to extending benefits relate to anticipated costs and difficulties of administration. The AIDS epidemic fueled such fears, because domestic partnership was identified mainly with same-sex couples, and gay men were seen as the group with the highest risk for an expensive disease. Private businesses were concerned about how to define eligibility and how to ensure that only those qualified could obtain benefits.

Both of these concerns were assuaged as benefits consultants studied such programs in operation, resulting in publications providing model policies, sample forms, and data on costs. Studies showed that including same-sex partners had minimal impact on an employer's benefits costs, in the range of about 1 percent of overall costs, twice that if opposite-sex partners were also included, but still far less than had been feared. These data relied on employers requiring employees to prove the qualifications of their household, or to insist on registration with the local government registries that began to proliferate during the 1990s.

A completely different range of concerns emanates from social and religious conservatives, who see domestic partnership as a threat to the traditional family. For those to whom homosexuality is anathema, official recognition of homosexual relationships is clearly anathema as well. Others fear that offering domestic partnership as an easy alternative to marriage would undermine the family as a central feature of traditional religious and moral philosophies. In some places consumer boycotts were threatened against employers who adopted partnership benefits plans, and repeal initiatives appeared on local ballots.

During the 1980s, domestic partnership became a significant goal of gay rights advocates, but the number of private and public entities recognizing domestic partners really began to increase during the 1990s. Domestic partnership grew considerably in the private sector, especially at colleges and universities, in professional workplaces such as law and accounting firms, and in the financial services, high technology, and entertainment industries. Later in the decade manufacturing, transportation, and health-care industries also adopted such policies, as did major cities and a few states.

Opposition gained renewed force in the first decade of the twenty-first century in reaction to some successes in the campaign for same-sex marriage, most notably in a 1993 Hawaii Supreme Court decision suggesting the possibility that same-sex couples could win the right to marry from the courts and a 2003 Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court decision that was the first in the United States to order a state to allow same-sex couples to marry. In the meantime, the U.S. Congress had responded to this trend in 1996 with the Defense of Marriage Act, which precluded federal agencies from recognizing registered domestic partners for federal rights or benefits.

The Internal Revenue Service interpreted the tax code unfavorably to domestic partners, requiring that the value of partnership benefits be treated as taxable income (unlike the value of benefits provided to legal spouses). Many states passed laws and constitutional amendments, aimed primarily at barring same-sex marriage, that could also prevent municipalities from recognizing domestic partners. During the summer of 2005, Congress considered a proposed Federal Marriage Amendment that might be construed to outlaw domestic partnership as well, but the measure did not receive enough support to be sent to the states for ratification at that time, and fared little better during the 2006 session.

Domestic partnership is normally limited to adult couples in an economically interdependent household. Both partners must be old enough to consent to contracting within the jurisdiction. From there, domestic partnership plans vary in how they handle such matters as waiting periods to qualify for benefits, methods of termination, waiting periods for starting new partnerships after terminating old ones, and, most significantly, whether the status is open to opposite-sex couples. Attempts by opposite-sex couples excluded from domestic partnership plans to challenge them as discriminatory have generally been rejected by the courts, on the ground that opposite-sex couples can marry to obtain benefits. Nevertheless, many advocates for domestic partnership have argued that it should be open to both kinds of couples.

LEGISLATIVE AND LITIGATION ISSUES

Litigation to secure domestic partnership benefits has enjoyed mixed success. Because of preemption by the federal Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), state courts may not order private-sector employers to provide partnership benefits, so litigation has focused on state and local government. Until 1998, most cases foundered on courts accepting the argument that there is no unlawful discrimination when same-sex couples are treated the same as unmarried opposite-sex couples. In that year, the Oregon Court of Appeals ruled that state constitutional and statutory principles were violated by denying benefits to same-sex partners of employees of a state college, which led to a state law extending the benefits to state employees generally. Since then, the Alaska Supreme Court and a New Hampshire superior court have refused to equate unmarried same-sex and opposite-sex couples for this purpose, finding that the state's denial of marriage rights placed same-sex in a different category and rendered the denial of benefits discriminatory.

Some municipal plans have been challenged on the ground that local governments lack authority to set policy in the field of domestic relations, normally subject to state legislation. Some courts have invalidated municipal domestic partnership plans on this basis, but most plans have survived the challenge, and in some cases further tinkering with the domestic partnership law, specifically by changing the definition or scope of coverage, made it possible to survive subsequent challenges. In Atlanta, Georgia, for example, the state supreme court first invalidated a domestic partnership ordinance as contradictory to a state law governing eligibility for employee benefits, but the city council's second attempt was sustained when it introduced a requirement of financial interdependency for domestic partners.

Although state and local governments may not require private employers to establish domestic partnership benefit programs, some municipal governments have sought to influence private companies by restricting contracting with companies that do not provide such benefits. The New York City Council's attempt to enact such a law over the mayor's veto was rejected by the state courts, which found a state law requiring the award of public contracts to the lowest responsible bidder to take priority. San Francisco's ordinance partially survived judicial review, although portions were found to be unenforceable because of federal preemption.

In some states, constitutional amendments prohibiting same-sex marriage also forbade the bestowal of "incidents" or "benefits" of marriage on unmarried or same-sex couples. Questions arose about the continued validity of state or municipal domestic partnership programs in these states. The California courts found that a voter-initiated ban on same-sex marriage did not preclude the legislature from adopting its domestic partnership law. In one of the first cases addressing the state constitutional issue, a Utah judge ruled in 2006 that employment-related insurance is not a "benefit" of marriage, but rather a benefit of employment; this enabled the implementation of Salt Lake City's ordinance allowing city employees to sign up an "adult designee" to be covered by their health plan.

Some have seen domestic partnership, or its near relation, civil unions, as preferable to same-sex marriage in dealing with the inequities suffered by same-sex couples. The first jurisdiction to embrace "civil unions" was Vermont, where the legislature, under orders from the state supreme court to extend equal rights of marriage to same-sex couples, invented civil unions to bestow virtually all the state law rights of marriage on same-sex couples. The court's opinion was in December 1999 and the legislature passed the Civil Union Act in 2000. In its effect, the Vermont law is similar to the final version of California's Domestic Partnership law. Connecticut has enacted a similar civil union law, and New Jersey responded to a state supreme court mandate to provide equal rights for same-sex couples by enacting a civil union law in 2006. Polling shows that many members of the public who are opposed to same-sex marriage recognize the inequities of depriving same-sex couples of any legal status, and are willing to support alternative forms of recognition. Thus, it seems likely that domestic partnership will continue to flourish alongside the efforts by activists to secure the right to marry for same-sex couples. In some cases it may prove a legislative stepping-stone toward something approximating marriage. It is difficult to predict whether marriage will ultimately sweep the field, or whether the increasing popularity of domestic partnership among unmarried heterosexual couples might give the latter more permanent life.

SEE ALSO *Family; Family, Alternative.*

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence can be defined as any domestic partner or interfamilial altercation that involves emotional, psychological, verbal, or physical abuse. The abuse may be sufficient to warrant the involvement of law enforcement officials, but this definition includes acts that are not illegal, such as verbal abuse. There is no crime labeled domestic violence; rather, the crimes committed defined legally as domestic violence include assault, assault and battery, rape, stalking, aggravated assault, and assault with a dangerous/deadly weapon.

Domestic violence affects all socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic categories. The majority of victims are women, but the scope of domestic violence is not limited to women. Adult children and spouses victimize the elderly; children can be physically, psychologically, or sexually abused by parents, relatives, or siblings; gay men and lesbians can perpetrate or be victims of abuse within same-sex relationships; and intimate dating partners can commit assault or rape. The act committed determines the crime, not the relationship between the offender and victim, but the relationship determines if the crime is classified as domestic. The relationship is recognized as domestic if partners are married, unmarried but live together, cohabiting same-sex partners, roommates, and family members. Yet there is no broadly accepted conception of what constitutes a domestic relationship. Because domestic violence generally falls under the jurisdiction of state legislation, the definitions of domestic relationships vary in each state.

PREVALENCE

Law enforcement reports indicate that the most frequent act of domestic violence is the battery of women. Domestic violence is the leading cause of injury and death for women in the United States, and close to two in five women have reported being victims of physical or sexual assault in their lifetimes. In 1999 domestic violence caused 32 percent of the homicides in women (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence [NCADV]). Women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four experience the highest rate of domestic violence—sixteen of every 1,000 women (NCADV). Seventy percent of the teenage and college age women who report being raped say the assault occurred during the course of a date (NCADV). Child abuse accounts for the leading cause of death in children, usually at the hands of one or both parents. In 2002 approximately 1,400 children died as a result of abuse or neglect, and nearly 900,000 children were found to be victims of abuse or neglect across the United States (National Center for Victims of Crime [NCVC]). Abuse of the elderly is a prevalent form of domestic violence. Neglect is the most common type of this abuse with physical and/or financial exploitation being the goal(s). Women are the majority of the victims; however offenders are equally likely to be male or female.

The national prevalence of elder abuse is difficult to ascertain because there are no nationwide tracking systems for this type of abuse. However data is collected from state agencies to estimate the pervasiveness of elder abuse. Approximately one to two million men and women over the age of sixty-five have been injured or mistreated (National Center on Elder Abuse [NCEA]). And at least one in five incidents of elder abuse occur through financial exploitation, which suggests that there are as many as five million financial exploitation cases annually (NCEA). While abuse within gay and lesbian relationships is still under-researched, researchers are paying more attention to this type of domestic violence. In 2003, for example, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered individuals reported 6,523 incidents of domestic violence, with men constituting 44 percent of the victims (NCVC).

MODELS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE THEORIES

There are a number of approaches to understanding how domestic violence occurs. Because a single answer does not exist, scholars and professionals have created categories, such as psychiatric, social-psychological, and sociocultural, to organize various models of domestic violence theories. The psychiatric model identifies substance abuse, personality disorders, and mental illness as the causes of domestic violence and included in this model are the psychopathology and substance abuse theories. The psychopathological theory stipulates that individuals can suffer from a variety of mental illnesses, which trigger aggressive behavior towards family members and intimate partners. Yet medical professionals have not elaborated on the personality traits that are affiliated specifically with domestic violence acts. The substance abuse theory suggests that drug and/or alcohol use contributes to domestic violence. While these substances do not directly cause violence, they do prompt impaired judgment and lowered inhibitions that can facilitate aggressive and violent behavior.

The social-psychological model looks at external factors that affect family members and intimate partners and includes theories defined as social learning, exchange, frustration-aggression, ecological, and sociobiology/evolutionary. The social learning theory identifies modeling and reinforcement as the two tactics used to learn behavior. An individual models behaviors from those around him or her and these behaviors are then reinforced by the same people. Behaviors can be both violent and nonviolent. This theory does not explain, however, the occurrence of spontaneous aggressive acts.

The exchange theory argues that interactions within the family or between intimate partners are based on a system of rewards and punishments. Violence perpetrated by one individual against another in a domestic setting is done so to realize particular goals as long as it does not offset the aggression. Next the frustration-aggression theory is based on the notion that individuals will exhibit aggressive behavior towards impediments of their goals. If a family member or intimate partner encounters difficulty in achieving a goal because another family member or partner functions as an obstacle, then violence could result. This theory does not take into account the range of cultures and what behaviors are acceptable within these cultures. The ecological theory includes examinations of the domestic environment and the systems in which the family develops. It also specifies that domestic violence occurs when the family is disparate from the community. To prevent violence, services and assistance must be readily available in the immediate community. Finally the sociobiology/evolutionary theory is based on the idea that parents will more often exhibit violence towards children who are not their own. The risk of abuse increases when there is an absence of an emotional bond between parent and child.

The sociocultural model of domestic violence includes theories called, variously, the culture of violence, patriarchy, general systems, social conflict, and resource. The theories consider the societal roles of men and women as well as cultural attitudes towards gender and violence. The culture of violence theory contends that violence is not distributed evenly, but is more prevalent within lower socioeconomic categories. This theory does not account for the various sources by which people learn violent and aggressive behaviors that permeate all subcultures and socioeconomic categories (e.g., the media). The patriarchy theory attempts to explain domestic violence via the patriarchal structure of our culture, namely males dominating society with females in subordinated positions. This structure explains the historical pattern of violence perpetrated by men against women. The general systems theory of domestic violence posits that violence results from the social systems in which the family and intimate partners live. The levels of violence are also sustained by the family system. The social conflict theory examines communications, marriages/partnerships, and large conflicts and suggests that isolation/alienation can create domestic violence. Finally the resource theory contends that the individual who controls resources, like money and property, will assume the dominant position within the domestic setting, and that violence depends on these resources. Possessing a large amount of resources increases the power one has in the family; however, access to those resources also lessens the potential for the actual deployment of violence. Violence is more often perpetrated by an individual with fewer resources and a lower socioeconomic status.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

The majority of victims of intimate partner abuse are women, and they are assaulted by someone who is a former or current spouse, cohabiting partner (opposite or same-sex), date, or boyfriend or girlfriend. When the victim is female, 93.4 percent of the time the offender is male, and when the victim is male, 85.9 percent of the time the perpetrator is male (Gosselin 2000). Studies focusing on the adult male batterer have identified characteristics and personality risk-factors that characterize this type of abuser, but these factors can also be applied to female perpetrators, abusers in gay and lesbian relationships, and elder and child abuse situations. These characteristics, behaviors, and tactics of the offender of intimate partner domestic violence can include controlling behaviors (i.e., attempts to control the victim's time, dress, and behavior), fear and intimidation, manipulation, excessive rule-making, and isolation.

The average male abuser, as revealed through statistics on court appearances and encounters with law enforcement officials, is thirty-two years old (with two-thirds in their mid-twenties), possesses low self-esteem, is frequently jealous and possessive, and is overly dependent on the victim. He often denies responsibility for his actions, blaming others for his behavior, and minimizes the effects of his actions on the victim. Some personality risk-factors in male abusers include an aggressive personality, insecurity, emotional dependence, low empathy, and low impulse control. Also substantial evidence exists linking alcohol and/or drug abuse and the frequency of domestic violence occurrences. Furthermore studies have indicated there is not one single type of male abuser. Three categories of offenders have been identified: family-only, dysphoric or borderline, and antisocial or generally violent (Gosselin 2000). The last type is the most aggressive and is likely to have had a past that includes abuse as a child or a violent family history.

Within heterosexual intimate partner relationships, 6 to 10 percent of the abusers are women (Gosselin 2000, p. 105). In the majority of these cases, women are engaged in self-defending acts, or, in other words, aggressive physical acts to prevent further abuse. Battery in lesbian relationships can occur as often as in heterosexual relationships, and 22 to 46 percent of all lesbians have indicated being in an abusive (physical, emotional, and/or sexual) relationship (Gosselin 2000). Women also have a high rate of being both victims and perpetrators in teen dating relationships. This type of abuse is an epidemic problem, and women often cite their aggression as self-defense.

Finally perpetrators of abuse in gay male relationships share many of the same characteristics identified earlier but also exhibit an unclear understanding of the concept of masculinity. This stems from the systemic homophobia and imposed expectations of masculinity on males. This type of abuse, like abuse within lesbian relationships, has been underreported and under-researched in the past but is currently receiving more attention from the sociological and legal fields.

CHILD ABUSE

The majority of child abuse is perpetrated by the parents (77%) or other relatives (11%) whereas only 2 percent of offenders were from outside of the home (i.e., childcare providers) (Gosselin 2000). Women accounted for 75 percent of the abusers in neglect and medical child abuse cases (Gosselin 2000). Fathers and mothers are equally likely to physically abuse children, and when a parent substitute is involved, the offender is usually the male or the father substitute. This form of domestic abuse is not constituted by a single act of physical violence, deprivation, or molestation. Emotional abuse is included in a broad definition of child abuse but may not be legally prohibited. Emotional abuse can include demanding unrealistic expectations from a child, aggressive or excessive parental behavior, or insisting a child perform beyond his or her abilities. Also child abuse can include sexual abuse, usually perpetrated by a parent, relative, or caretaker, and girls are the most frequent victims of sexual abuse, which often goes unreported.

Research has identified characteristics within the family that can generally contribute to abuse. These factors include family size (the larger the family, the greater risk for abuse), income level, single-parent households, and alcohol and drug abuse. Additionally violence among siblings occurs more often than spousal abuse and parent-child abuse; yet it is also underreported. The child offender is often male and larger than his siblings, and this type of abuse can often manifest similarly to intimate partner abuse (Gosselin 2000).

ELDER ABUSE

In the realm of domestic violence, less information exists on elder abuse than child abuse, for example. Adult children are the most frequent offenders of elder abuse, and men and women are equally likely to be the perpetrators. Sociological and psychological research has identified three categories of elder abuse: stress-precipitated, greed, and intentional harm (Gosselin 2000). The final category is the most dangerous because the offender's intention is to harm whereas the stress-precipitated and greed abusers generally do not intend physical harm. Within legal parameters, seven types of elder abuse have been identified including: financial exploitation; misuse of restraints; neglect and abandonment; physical abuse; emotional abuse; self-endangerment and sexual abuse. While every state does not include each form or uniformly define elder abuse, many laws overlap to cover elder abuse. The National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA) identifies similar categories but does not include the misuse of restraints and distinguishes neglect and abandonment as separate incidents. The most prevalent form of elder abuse is neglect, which accounts for 55 percent of elder abuse cases (NCEA).

EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

There are generally four categories of the types of physical injuries sustained as a result of domestic violence: those that heal and leave no trace; those that leave visible scars; unknown long-term injuries; and long-term catastrophic injuries (Wallace 2002). Some traumatic injuries that can result from domestic violence include gun shot wounds, stab wounds, burns, and head trauma as well as the variety of physical injuries resulting from sexual assault, including the possible transmission of sexually transmitted diseases and/or HIV.

Emotional and psychological responses to domestic violence vary for each individual. A number of factors determine how a victim will respond including the frequency and severity of the abuse and personality of the victim. Mental health professionals have identified three stages in the reaction process to traumatic events: impact; recoil; and reorganization (Wallace 2002). The impact stage occurs directly following the violent event, when victims can feel a sense of shock, vulnerability, and helplessness. The temporal duration of this stage varies but can last a number of days. The recoil stage involves victims beginning to accept the violence they have endured, but they can also experience denial, fear, and anger. The reorganization stage finds victims beginning to release feelings of fear and anger and starting to normalize their lives.

Much attention has been paid to the psychological effects of domestic violence. Some of the psychological responses include borderline personality disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder (of which battered women syndrome is a subcategory), Stockholm Syndrome, and self-inflicted violence (Gosselin 2000). These psychological effects are in addition to the range of physical injuries, both temporary and permanent, that victims endure. Additionally teenage girls who are victims of assault (physical or sexual) are more likely to engage in substance abuse and attempt suicide (NCADV "dating violence"). Women who suffer from violence at the hand of an intimate partner can experience feelings of helplessness, fear, and personal failure as well as the need to consider her financial situation, the pursuit of legal action, and personal security. Victims of assault may confront feelings of anger and fear and may face medical bills, lost work time, and physical injury.

According to scholar Harvey Wallace, the cost of domestic violence for society includes medical and mental health care, victim services, lost workdays, lost school days, lost housework, pain and suffering, loss of enjoyment, death, legal costs, and second-generation costs. He also notes the cost of society's responses to crime, which include fear of crime, funding the criminal justice system, creation of victim service organizations and non-criminal programs, imprisoned offender costs, and justice costs. Moreover tangible losses, such as property damage, medical care, mental health care, and victim services, often surpass the intangible losses, like fatal and non-fatal injuries. It is estimated that intimate partner violence costs $5.8 billion annually, which includes healthcare expenses, lost productivity, and lost earnings.

LEGAL RESPONSES

Domestic violence has traditionally fallen under the jurisdiction of the states. Changes in statutes to address domestic violence crimes have come in the areas of police response, how cases are handled by the judiciary and prosecutors, increasing the availability and deployment of civil orders of protection, and the development of additional educational resources. Every state has adopted reforms to address these concerns, including enacting domestic violence codes, removing barriers to obtaining arrest warrants, and expanding grounds for arrest. Reforms on the state level began by the passage of criminal statutes on domestic violence. Laws also started to include enhanced punishments for domestic violence-related crimes, such as aggravated assault and battery. Police departments nationwide worked to standardize and institute practices for responding specifically to domestic violence crimes and victims, and practices that went beyond the actual arrest. Some of these new practices include arranging social services for victims, providing transportation for victims if necessary, removing dangerous weapons from the crime scene, and ensuring that violators of protective orders are not released prematurely by law enforcement officials. Laws that address how prosecutors and the judiciary handle domestic violence cases frequently offer more prosecutorial options and some mandated judicial action, such as limits on plea bargaining and creating written policies on working up domestic violence cases.

A significant tool in the defense against domestic violence has been the civil order of protection, better known as a restraining order. Protection orders are intended to create distance between offender and victim and provide relief from abuse for the victim. For an order of protection to be granted, an abusive offense must have occurred and the victim must be in imminent physical harm. In all states but Texas and Washington, where it is a felony, the violation of a protection order is a misdemeanor offense. Additionally as part of the reformation process, many states expanded the duration and scope of protection orders as well as increased the punishment for violation of those orders.

While states oversee much of the domestic violence legislation, some federal laws are applicable. Some federal statutes prohibit crossing state lines to commit domestic violence crimes or to violate protection orders. In 1984 the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act was passed to provide funds for victim assistance in the form of local community programs such as shelters and counseling services as well as research projects. Also the Federal Crimes Bill of 1994 included Title IV of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (VAWA), which allocated additional resources for the local prosecutions of domestic violence crimes. The VAWA provides for federal penalties for sex crimes and mandatory restitution to victims Additionally the VAWA increased training for law enforcement and judicial personnel and improved the criminal justice response to domestic violence crimes. In 2000 Congress reauthorized the VAWA, and in 2005 the bill was up for reauthorization again and was signed into law in January 2006. The most recent version of the bill requests funds for legal assistance in the amount of $65 million annually as well as the continuation of financial support for the privacy protection of victims. The VAWA also includes cyberstalking in the broad definition of stalking, which facilitates the prosecution of those who stalk using telecommunication tools.

In 1996 Congress enacted anti-stalking legislation that makes it illegal for individuals to cross state lines with the intention of causing the physical harm or harassment of another person; the latest version of the VAWA expands the classification of stalking. Prior to 1990 no state had anti-stalking legislation and all harassment offenses were misdemeanors. In 1993 the National Institute of Justice proposed a model anti-stalking code, and the suggested components included the condition that a specific threat is not necessary if fear is present regardless of intent, and that violation of the statute be considered a felony. Many states adopted some or all of these propositions, but some states did require a finding that an explicit threat be present and that the offender have the means to commit the act. Penalties for stalking offenses vary greatly among the states, ranging from misdemeanor to felony punishments. More recently however states have reevaluated their anti-stalking statutes to take into account a variety of factors, including the use of cyber threats as a means of stalking and the need for psychological evaluations of defendants. Some laws provide for the creation of address confidentiality programs for alleged victims of stalking, and prohibit anyone subject to an order of protection from purchasing firearms or explosive devices.

GETTING HELP

More recently social services for victims of domestic violence have increased dramatically; yet the rate of incidents remains unchanged. According to the NCADV, support comes from a variety of sources, including crisis intervention, emotional support, legal assistance and advocacy, and other services. Crisis intervention can include crisis intervention services, crisis hot lines, shelters or other emergency residential facilities, medical services, transportation networks, and laws that allow either victims or perpetrators to be removed from the home. Emotional support can be found in self-help support groups, assertiveness training, self-esteem and confidence-building sessions, and parenting skills courses. Legal assistance and advocacy can include representation in child custody and property matters, financial support proceedings, applications for protection orders and public assistance benefits, and help with immigration status. Housing and safe accommodations, child care, and access to community services constitute other available support services for victims of domestic violence. The NCADV also suggests victims of domestic violence develop a safety plan that takes into consideration whether the victim is still in the abusive relationship. The organization also offers suggestions for workplace safety, proposes legal guidelines, and proffers tips on internet safety and identity theft protection.

SEE ALSO *Incest; Sex Crimes; Violence.*

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DOMINATION

In the context of a subculture commonly known as the BDSM (bondage and discipline, domination and submission, sadomasochism) community, the term *domination* refers to the mental, physical, and/or emotional manipulation by one person (the dominant or top) of another person (the submissive or bottom) to create sexual or erotic pleasure in both parties.

Although domination often is linked to sex, it does not necessarily include sexual activity. The most important aspect of the dominant-submissive relationship is the exchange of power that takes place. Domination is thus a mechanism by which the top focuses on eliciting forbidden or shameful emotions or behaviors from the bottom in a manner that brings pleasure to both parties. The role of the submissive is to express his or her will or desire and then give control to the dominant; the dominant then takes responsibility for the surrender of control by the submissive. In particular, a responsible top will remain constantly aware of and responsive to the bottom's physical and emotional state and ensure the safety of the submissive. In exchange for the surrender of control by the submissive, the dominant is entrusted with the power of eliciting certain reactions from the submissive. Much of the power and pleasure derived by tops stems from the control they wield over the bottoms' physical and emotional state of being.

SAFETY AND CONSENT

Because the thrill of domination for both parties is reliant on the stimulation of particular erotic, painful, or shameful emotions, sensations, and associations, domination can be psychologically as well as physically dangerous. BDSM practitioners thus advocate a variety of safety measures to ensure the physical and mental well-being of both parties. A dominant is expected to be constantly aware of the physical and emotional state of the submissive because the endorphins released by a combination of pain and sexual stimulation can cause a bottom to be so unaware of the outside world that he or she is incapable of recognizing significant physical danger. The dominant is thus responsible for ensuring that any physical stimulation of pain falls within limits that are acceptable to both parties.

The pleasure derived from domination and submission is very much dependent on the emotional and mental interchange between the partners. Thus, clear communication, negotiation, and planning beforehand are practiced widely. The participants in a domination scene generally discuss in advance the activities in which they are interested and establish limits on those activities. BDSM advocates recommend that submissives be given a "safety word" that can be invoked to stop the proceedings, and responsible dominants often set up verbal and nonverbal methods for checking on the well-being of the submissive. Dominants also should ensure that all the equipment used is safe and take precautions that will enable the quick release of any restraints in an emergency.

In contrast to the role domination plays in the popular imagination, domination is not about cruelty and most dominants are not particularly cruel or sadistic people. Domination is about the giving of pain in a way that is ultimately acceptable and pleasurable to both parties. Dominants thus are entrusted with the task of working their submissives up to the level of pain (whether physical or mental) that they wish to inflict and doing it in a manner that allows the submissives to revel in and enjoy that pain. The informed consent of both parties involved is perhaps the most important element in the success of a domination scene.

FORMS OF DOMINATION

Most relationships include one partner who is more or less dominant than the other. Even in conventional sexual relationships this power differential may be expressed in ways that could be considered domination, such as bondage, role-playing, and rough sex. For members of the BDSM community, however, domination is defined more specifically as an erotic power exchange that is consensual and knowingly undertaken by both parties. The BDSM community places a great deal of emphasis on the need for clear communication and negotiation between partners to establish beforehand the activities and limits that are acceptable to both persons.

The forms of domination vary widely. In some cases the power exchange has little, if anything, to do with sex: A submissive may be ordered to perform household chores or run errands or may choose to do so to please his or her master. In other cases the power exchange centers on sexual activity: Submissives may be ordered to perform fellatio or cunnilingus or otherwise please their dominants; may be tied and gagged, bound to a bed, or suspended from a ceiling; or may be sexually teased or enticed. Some power exchanges center on pain or humiliation: The submissive may be beaten, whipped, tortured, subjected to verbal abuse, or urinated on. This pain and humiliation may or may not involve sexual activities or contact with the genitalia, depending on the preferences of the parties. Domination sometimes also involves the punishment of the submissive for errors in carrying out the dominant's orders or for failing to anticipate his or her needs and desires. Many domination scenes involve fairly extensive props: equipment for binding limbs and genitals, suits designed for sensory deprivation, nipple and genital clamps, hot wax, electrical stimulation, whips, chains, handcuffs, leather, dog collars, cages, costumes, and the like. Some participants set aside a special room, referred to as a dungeon, for BDSM activities and equipment.

Domination is practiced by both men and women, whether gay, straight, or transgendered. Whether someone is sexually dominant appears to have little relation to that person's relative dominance or submission in the rest of his or her day-to-day activities. Anecdotal evidence suggests that more submissives than dominants participate in BDSM activities. Some people, known as "switches," enjoy taking on both the dominant and submissive roles, but generally even those who identify as dominant occasionally take on the submissive role.

SITES AND CONTEXTS OF DOMINATION

The importance and centrality of domination in people's lives vary considerably. For some people domination is only an occasional recreational activity, whereas others may identify primarily as dominants, considering other categories of identity (such as sexual orientation) to be less central to their identities.

Some dominants are open about their sexual preferences, and others are closeted. Some engage in domination purely within the confines of a monogamous relationship, whereas for others participation in domination activities may occur with multiple partners or relative strangers. Some dominants have only a single submissive, and others have ongoing relationships with several. For some couples domination and submission are simply one of many ways of relating to one another; other couples (a fairly small minority) live full-time in a dominant-submissive or master-slave relationship.

Certain dominants earn a living through professional domination; their clients pay them to enact particular scenes or fantasies. Although those scenes may be sexual in nature, most professional dominants do not have sex with their clients and do not regard themselves as prostitutes. Because the clientele for such services tends to consist of heterosexual males, professional female dominants, who are known as dominatrices or pro dommes, are much more common than male dominants.

In many cities informal BDSM communities have arisen, establishing a loose network of people interested in BDSM activities and involved in BDSM education, events, clubs, businesses, or activism. There is also a significant BDSM community on the Internet that provides opportunities for education, matchmaking, information sharing, and even cyberdomination. The degree of participation in these communities varies considerably. Some people who engage in domination do not consider themselves part of the BDSM community, whereas others are involved in the community full-time or in multiple capacities.

Cities with active BDSM communities often have BDSM clubs. Those clubs may offer little more than a venue for like-minded people to meet and converse, but many also provide an opportunity for people to join an assortment of domination and submission "scenes." Those scenes may range from fantasy enactment and role-playing to slave auctions to sexual encounters.

DOMINATION AND PSYCHOLOGY

Like much sexual behavior, domination has tended to be pathologized in scientific studies. The earliest scientific work in this area was undertaken by the psychologists Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Sigmund Freud, both of whom believed that sadomasochism is based in a love of cruelty and asserted the abnormality of sadomasochism while acknowledging its roots in so-called normal sexual behavior. Havelock Ellis, a contemporary of Freud and Krafft-Ebing, was the first scientist to treat sadomasochism as a normal aspect of human sexuality; he was also the first to distinguish between pain and cruelty, arguing that pain is both inflicted and felt as a manifestation of love.

Although the BDSM community often argues strenuously for the normality and the fundamentally caring nature of the activities in which it engages, popular perception and popular depictions of domination tend to view it as a freakish activity that is founded in cruelty and lack of respect for the submissive participant. Until the American Psychiatric Association's 1994 publication of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV) sexual domination and submission were considered sexual disorders. New diagnostic guidelines require that to be considered sexually deviant, the subject must have an ongoing obsession with sexual sadomasochism that causes interference with his or her daily life and/or other relationships.

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Maureen Lauder

DON JUAN

Don Juan has spawned a sizable cultural, political, and social production in Europe for at least six centuries. His fictional, allegorical, and philosophical figure has educed key questions about the sexes and their relations, about domination, resistance, identities, and stereotypes; through the ages he has forced readers to rethink correspondences between lust, trust, love, and relations. He has performed, and been performed, within and without the frame of literary fiction, engaging sex and gender with a looking glass in a variety of literatures and societies. Because he has exercised such influence, his figure has oftentimes been read as an allegory of masculinity (and, in broader terms, of gender) and as an arresting *imago* significantly indebted to myth and legend, especially those pertaining to regulatory fictions of sexuality. As Leo Weinstein put it in a 1959 work, "Strange as it may seem, Don Juan is at his best in a society that keeps its women behind barred windows and permits them to go out only in the company of chaperones" (p. 37).

TRICKING AUTHORITY

It makes sense, in fact, that Don Juan's beginnings have been identified with seventeenth-century Spain, where the allegorical power of Don Juan's dominant, unrepressed masculinity was a formidable competitor for the paternalistic, heteronormative sexual politics that characterized Counter-Reformation Spain. In 1564 marriage was squarely positioned center-stage in a monumental show of imperial politics, as the law of the land was dictated throughout the peninsula: Every Catholic man was to emulate Christ's union with the church by marrying a Catholic woman for strict purposes of procreation; their union would be legally and spiritually binding only if officially sanctioned by an ecclesiastical officer and two witnesses representing the Universal Catholic Monarchy, or ruling church-state in Spain. In that context the dramatic character of Don Juan Tenorio played with the institution of marriage to no end, reacting with strong defensive swerves in a text from the early 1600s titled *The Trickster of Seville and the Stone Guest*. There, he openly resisted the principles and doctrines of marriage and, in "The End," when audiences knew to expect a multiple wedding scene, the same Don Juan who had broken his promise to marry four times and left as many women to live in dishonor hell, agreed to give his hand in virtual matrimony to the Stone Guest, with whom he was united forever after in the symbolic realm of catharsis. This is one of the most poignantly ironic scenes of simultaneous recognition and interrogation of the Spanish church-state's power ever staged by a single subject. The more the Monarchy reached out to police sex and gender, the more tricks Don Juan turned, questioning such closure of life forces.

In artistic terms, Don Juan spoiled the show of Spain's early modern church-state by stealing another one: that of the first professional European theaters. Uncannily, his behavior toward literature and the arts was as restless as his earlier incarnations in myth, legend, and history; he resisted the constraining frame of one text/one author, and made a grand entrance onto the vast stage of European literatures and cultures to play the archetypical swindler forever after. Centuries before Luigi Pirandello (1867–1936) sent out his characters in search of an author, neither playwrights nor textual boundaries were safe from Don Juan's guile. The result is puzzling, for as James Mandrell (1992) notes, "whereas it is customary to speak of Sophocles' Oedipus, Ovid's Narcissus, Shakespeare's Hamlet, Cervantes's Don Quijote, and Goethe's Faust, with respect to Don Juan, there are simply too many equally important works to single out one version as more significant than any other" (p. 1). Even the first irruption of Don Juan into literary textuality cannot be wedded to a single pen or text.

Two authorial figures have been associated with *The Trickster:* Tirso de Molina, the pseudonym for the monk-playwright Gabriel Téllez (c. 1580–1648), who for centuries stood as its single author, and Andrés de Claramonte (c. 1580–1626), a playwright and director of an incorporated theatrical company, to whom Adolfo Rodríguez López-Vázquez attributed the text in 1983. A second play, titled *Tan largo me lo fiáis* (I still have a lot of time, or, You trust me too much), was wrongly attributed to Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681). *Tan largo* bore an uncanny resemblance to *The Trickster*, and is said to have been published and staged at the same time. Their *Coloratura* representation of Don Juan, appearing simultaneously in different theaters, as well as the spectacular nature of the masculine voice shown in the title, follow the tradition of dissemination of the myth of Don Juan by means of popular sayings performed by troubadours in late-medieval Iberia. As the braggart title announces, *Tan Largo* voices Don Juan's defiant modus operandi, which he reiterates every time he faces his *hubris*—the prospect of a repressed, controlled, monogamous masculinity. These two dramatic texts overlap as much as they differ from each other, a literary gesture that stamped the seductive, teasing, and deceiving manner of Don Juan on the collective memory for audiences, readers, and critics to ponder.

The irruption of the mythical persona of Don Juan on the Spanish stages showed a man without a name, a seducer, a libertine, a sexual predator, a madman, a trickster, a demon—in sum, the basics of an archetype of dominant, free-roaming masculinity. Stages and narrative fiction in seventeenth-century Spain often came to depend on Don Juan for survival, as evidenced by the ubiquitous appearance of his figure under the robe of arrogant, deceiving men, manly women, pathetic fools, dandies, and fallen noblemen literally named "Don Juan" or figuratively evoking his figure by mimicking him. Therefore, one could argue with David Whitton (1995) that *The Trickster* does not represent a mere literary debut, for "in addition to its sensational story, the play broaches two major themes which, at the emergence of the modern world, were starting to take a grip on Western consciousness: the clash between the rationalist mind and phenomena which transcend the material world, and the tension between the individual ego and the moral restraints of society" (p. 1). This clash, the competing encounter of the opposing forces of *physis*, or nature, and *nomos*, the spirit of the law, triangulate in Don Juan with another mythical force, *philía*, which signifies the friendship, kinship, and unconditional affection that he violates every time he performs his *burla*, or trick.

ON BECOMING PHILOSOPHY

As the context for the legislation of gender relations unfolded in Europe, Don Juan continued to challenge key assumptions of marriage, virtue, and honor. Across the northern border of the peninsula and less than half a century after the publication of *The Trickster*, Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (Molière) wrote *Dom Juan; or, The Feast of Pierre*, first performed at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal in 1665. Rather than focusing on the negotiations of the physical aspects of the seduction that preoccupied Tenorio—women, cities, court protocols, presence-absence of bodies, (in)visibility on and off the stage—Dom Juan rambled frequently about philosophical and metaphysical questions, presenting audiences with a cynical, brainy version of a libertine. Although he broke free from the constricting frame of classical theater units (time, place, unity of action), Dom Juan switched from the physical prowess of the Sevillian hunk and zoned in the inner territories of his character. The subtitle of the play reveals his great capacity to see within, for the word *pierre* denotes both the proper name of the commander (Peter) and the material with which the funerary statue is made (stone). His hypocritical gestures of rebellion against his social context offered a high-resolution psychological picture of a terribly complex masculinity.

The libertine's cynicism and capacity to reflect socio-psychological traits continued to grow in the eighteenth century. As women gained relatively more solvency in public spheres, the figure of Don Juan channeled many anxieties that such apertures elicited; as Weinstein (1959) reasons, the struggle of Don Juan in the eighteenth century "takes place in the open field of the drawing room, the weapons are wit, skill, and ingenuity, and if he does not watch his step, the seducer may find that the woman has turned the tables on him" (p. 39). Several authors experimented with aspects of this tectonic-plate change in gender relations. In England, as reflected in the title of his 1747–1748 novel *Clarissa Harlowe*, Samuel Richardson underscored the centrality of the woman in the tale of Lovelace, considered by some as the ultimate seducer—despite his loss of protagonistic capital. In France, Pierre Choderlos de Laclos, in his 1782 novel *Dangerous Liaisons*, tested the power of man versus woman, as the Vicomte de Valmont and Madame de Merteuil, both award-winning sexual predators, raced each other for the prize of most seductive character. In Spain, the nostalgia with which Antonio de Zamora returned to Tirso's text heavily distorted the once spectacular tricks of the seducer, as it is revealed in the title of his 1744 play, *No hay plazo que no se cumplia ni deuda que no se pague y convidado de piedr*a—translated by Joan Ramon Resina (2000) as "For every term there is a due date and every debt must be paid, and the stone guest" (p. 54).

Audiences had to wait for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Lorenzo Da Ponte to collaborate on an artistic experiment that would most radically redefine Don Juan's audiovisual language of representation. In the fall of 1787 in Prague, Don Juan crossed another historic threshold and entered the plateau of musical recollection in a capital operatic text, *The Reprobate Punished; or, Don Giovanni*. Originally characterized as an opera buffa or *drama giocoso* (humorous drama), this text engaged the words, actions, and physical presence of all characters to transcend the limits of logic and rhetoric in representing the story of Don Giovanni. The death of Donna Anna's father—a moment of climax and dramatic representation in Don Juan's previous textual lives—reaches a peak with a lyrical trio of voices in *Don Giovanni* that reveal at once glimpses of wrath, bravado, annoyance, and cowardice. The brief trio in F minor is only eighteen measures long and flows with a solemn rhythm that profoundly engages the questions eternally posed by Don Juan (*physis*, *nomos*, *philía*). The text unfolds in poetic, comic, ironic, sentimental, and melodic turns, stimulating the senses and paving the way for the gripping conclusion, in which demons seize the unrepentant Don Giovanni and drag him to the underworld.

WOMEN, HONOR, COMPETITION

After this, it seems that Don Juan had exhausted all possible tricks. He had tried a number of variations and, despite the dubious nature of his character, he had reached the heights of sublime expression. Thus argued Søren Kierkegaard for whom *Don Giovanni* "deserves the highest place among all the classic works of art" (Kierkegaard 1944, vol. 1, p. 52). According to Weinstein (1959), Kierkegaard held *Don Giovanni* in such high regard because it rendered the most abstract idea (the sensuous and erotic genius of Don Juan, expressed in all its immediacy) in the most abstract of media (music). But there was one more trick left for Don Juan to turn, as he was to repent from his transgressions and let the woman be his savior—a trick that he performed during the nineteenth century. The

1813 tale *Don Juan* by E. T. A. Hoffmann, the 1830 dramatic poem *The Stone Guest* by Alexander Pushkin, and the 1844 play *Don Juan Tenorio* by José Zorrilla y Moral underscored this component of what has been understood as the modern Don Juan, the one who can understand the contradictions of transgressing the laws of nature and society, and still be able to move to repentance by virtue of his connection with a woman.

Regardless of the outcome, the period, or the setting, the political economy of Don Juan's tricks left women time and again in positions of powerlessness, silence, or even death. This has locked Don Juan in a gendered perception of the sexual predatory role, even in the case of the Romantic ladies who came to rescue Don Juan from the hell in which his pathetic self had become by the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, as argued elsewhere, the violations of the laws of marriage, trust, and honor performed by Don Juan in literature are not aimed directly at the sexed aspect of the female bodies and figures (Carrión 1995). His most significant targets were fathers, brothers, husbands, noblemen, and kings in the families and nations in which he seduced women. For the women around him he feigns words of intimate, lyric love; but he addresses his most meaningful speech, actions, and madness to the men. As a result, the female literary partners of Don Juan ended up signifying as strict currency for a series of transactions of power between men, especially in the earlier stages of his development in Europe.

Be that as it may, despite the fact that Don Juan became a singular authority in the brethren of European arts and letters, only by virtue of the power of this currency, the women, did he acquire more complex meaning in public spaces. In *The Trickster*, for instance, Isabel, Tisbea, Arminta, and Ana occupy a secondary place; only the voice of the latter is projected onstage from the depths of the backstage, screaming for the restitution of her honor. But each one of them made his tricks possible, even if that meant cultural, social, or even physical annihilation. In Molière's text Elvire overcomes her rage against him and prays for his soul, a juggling act that Dom Juan never matches. With Mozart and Da Ponte, *Don Giovanni* (the character turning text, the ultimate trick) absorbs the lyricism of Elvire's arie to reach the highest levels of artistic accomplishments. And with Hoffmann, Pushkin, and Zorrilla, the carnavalesque libertine joins the pantheon of stoned folks by virtue of the redemptory nature of the Romantic heroines—Anna in *Don Juan* and *The Stone Guest*, and Doña Inés in *Don Juan Tenorio*.

Two women, however, have complicated to no end Don Juan's role of predatory sex and dominant gender alignment: Tisbea in *The Trickster*, who declares herself the keeper of her own sexuality and honor ("en las pajas," which can be read either as in the haystack or as by masturbating herself), and Merteuil, who, unlike any other woman on Earth competed with Valmont for the prize of most dangerous sexual predator. Thinking of these women as meaningful in their own right can yield new meanings for Don Juan's tricks, through which readers can perceive the radical critique of a control of sex and gender that his otherwise predatory, dominant, and masculinist role is designed to articulate.

PSYCHOANALYSIS, A LAST TURN OF THE SCREW

Within the confines of the artistic looking glass, the more immoral the tricks, the more plasticity there is in the aesthetic effect. The poetry, the philosophical ramblings, the light, the music, and the physical, intellectual, and vital stimulation that these texts offer have all been—and will continue to be—great contributions to the realms of the senses, the intellect, the body, and fantasies. Outside of the artistic confines, performing Don Juan as a senseless exercise of literal, dominant masculinity for the sake of merely abusing women has yielded rather infelicitous and, unfortunately, too frequent readings of this figure, both in their lack of aesthetic results and twisted political economies. This abusive reading of both women and Don Juan is related to what has been termed the "Don Juan complex," which the Austrian psychoanalyst Otto Rank, pupil of Sigmund Freud, associated with the exercise and discourses of the *ius primae noctis*, or first night law, the despotic right of the feudal lord to deflower the bride of his peasants. Igor M. Kadyrov (2000) called these psychosocial dynamics "neurotic and more primitive aspects of personality . . . [a] core-psychopathology indebted to earliest preoedipal (in classical terms) trauma" (p. 43), and, at best, related to poor readings of Don Juan's artistic experiences.

By recklessly and endlessly enacting a loudly proclaimed infringement of a promise he has uttered for every woman he tricks, Don Juan presents readers with an untenable, yet greatly desired fantasy: a glimpse of the possibility that a single subject can actually adhere to the promise of control and civilization, while at the very same time holding the power to lead a life of great, uncontrolled sexual prowess. To resolve the dramatic conflict, these artistic texts bring the father back from the dead in a fashion more splendid than what he knew when he was alive. The apparition of the ghost who, like Don Juan, comes from—as he heads to—time immemorial no doubt incites another unsustainable fantasy for readers of these texts to visually and collectively apprehend: Audiences can see Don Juan repeatedly killing the father, who comes back from the dead as a fabulous, cryptic presence onstage that both haunts and escorts

Don Juan in his voyage across the centuries and European borders.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Domination; Gender Identity; Gender Stereotype; Literature: I. Overview.*

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María M. Carrión

DRAG KINGS

Drag kings are artists, activists, queer people, and others that dress in constantly-evolving styles of *drag* for theatrical performances (and occasionally other artistic mediums, such as photography) which aim for a masculine realness, a parodied presentation of masculinity, and/or a political intervention or critique.

DRAG KING STYLE AND MASCULINE EMBODIMENT

For their performances, most drag kings dress in male attire and bind their breasts with bandages or tight-fitting sports bras. Drag kings have also made an art of the crafting of facial hair. It can be drawn on with eyeliner, and accentuated with dark eye shadow for an unshaven look. The most common method of applying facial hair is to affix clippings of real hair to the face with spirit gum or other liquid adhesives. Some drag kings also *pack*, or put socks, dildos, or home-made packages in their underwear to give the appearance of a penis. Drag kings usually prefer the use of male pronouns when they are performing or dressed in drag. Performances can be solo or ensemble acts and usually are comprised of lip-syncing and dancing. Other acts consist of the impersonation of celebrities or stock character types and may contain brief skits. Well-wrought performances have a variety of different effects: they incite the crowd with a seductive drag king earnestly displaying his own masculinity; they entertain with a choreographed song-and-dance number; or they provide a playful or unswerving critique of, for example, the binary (male/female) gender system or hetero-normativity.

Some drag kings explain that their performances allow for the expression of an inner part of themselves—their own embodied, expressive masculinity—or describe their involvement with drag king culture as a starting point for a transgendered identity. Others view their drag king personas as direct political and activist action, while still others find their way to drag king culture through performance art or involvement in a local queer community. Accordingly drag kings may identify as women, as butch, as transsexuals, as transgendered, as genderqueer, or they may regard their performances as quite removed from their gendered or sexual identities. Some drag kings dress and perform in female drag to participate in ensemble acts or even to emcee events. Such activity illustrates one way in which drag king culture often interrogates notions of what constitutes drag, thus, pushing the boundaries of performance, theater, and gender.

HISTORY OF KINGING

Female male impersonators date back to the 1800s and share a history that includes such performers as Vesta Tilley, British music hall's most famous male impersonator. However, these music hall performances catered to straight audiences and bear little resemblance to drag king acts. In this sense, drag kings have more in common with their queer counterpart, the *drag queen*. By literally performing genders, the drag king and queen expose the construction and fluidity, rather than the nature or truth, of gender. However many critics call attention to the disparate implications of performing masculinity as opposed to femininity in a patriarchal culture and cite the different cultural origins and histories of drag kings and queens.

Although the term drag queen dates back to an earlier century, the term drag king arose in the mid-1990s in conjunction with these distinctly lesbian subcultural practices and with the proliferation of queer genders that stand in opposition to the normative gender dichotomy. In their many manifestations, drag kings occupy a significant and sometimes activist role in gay, lesbian, and queer cultural spaces, organizing and participating in drag king contests and shows, creating drag king troupes, and hosting gender workshops. While large cities and college towns have produced most of the more sizeable drag king scenes, drag kings also perform on stages and at bars in rural settings, making it clear that the phenomenon has infiltrated queer culture at large and has produced encompassing and supportive networks for kings, lesbian performance artists, and gender-benders. The International Drag King Extravaganza (IDKE), founded in 1999 in Columbus, Ohio, is the premiere annual (and now traveling) conference for drag kings, although the immense and immediate popularity of drag kings and *kinging* (the gerund with which many kings refer to their art) has spurred many other weekend-long events into existence. Judith Halberstam, an academic who has charted and championed the rise of drag king culture in such books as *Female Masculinity* (1998) and *The Drag King Book* (1999), did much to theorize drag king performances in particular and, more broadly, to outline their significance to queer culture and the unsettling of traditional masculinity. Well-known drag kings include Mildred "Dréd" Gerestant, Carlos Las Vegas, Pat Riarch, Elvis Herselvis, and Murray Hill, who ran a campy mayoral campaign in New York City in 1997 that proposed "Gay rights for all!"

DRAG KING CULTURE AND SCENES

While kinging began as contests based on individual appearance that developed into theatrical performance, it has evolved into a concentrated group and community-based scene. Drag king culture bears a strong allegiance and commitment to the creation and maintenance of queer spaces, and drag kings are likely to be staples at gay bars, pride parades, and festivals. Wherever drag kings perform, audience members regularly attend the event in some degree of drag.

Drag king culture is organized in terms of the founding and preservation of performance troupes, which sometimes function as families, and the clubs where these troupes perform. Many troupes, such as the renowned D.C. Kings and Chicago Kings, employ names that refer to their geographical location. H.I.S. Kings, founders of IDKE, was one of the first drag troupes, and the Disposable Boy Toys (Santa Barbara, California) referred to itself as a *political feminist collective.* Famous drag king clubs include New York City's Club Casanova and London's Club Wotever. International drag king scenes are organized along similar lines and exist in countries such as Japan, Australia, Germany, and Spain. Drag king culture has at times been critiqued for being butch exclusive or misogynist and for controversial racial appropriation, yet many of the more political troupes pointedly confront these issues in their performances.

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Emma Crandall

DRAG QUEENS

Drag queens is a slang term that is used to describe one variation of male-to-female cross-dressing; drag queens are men who dress as women. They are typified by exaggeration and excess, often resulting in a clownish or cartoonlike presentation. Wigs, makeup, and fashion often are overdone or out of proportion, creating an exaggerated femininity that is instantly recognizable as false or appropriated. That recognition is central to the drag queen aesthetic; drag queens attempt to make the constructed nature of their gender obvious, intentionally borrowing both masculine and feminine qualities simultaneously to create a gender position outside of either. The term is believed to have developed in the homosexual community of Great Britain in the nineteenth century and derives from the slang words *drag* (clothing) and *queen* (an effeminate man).

The term often is used interchangeably with related but significantly different forms of cross-dressing: transvestitism and female impersonation. Transvestitism can be a fetishistic practice in which erotic pleasure is derived from an individual wearing clothes typically associated with the opposite sex. It more commonly applies to people who wear clothes inappropriate to their recognized sex, regardless of motive. It need not, and often is not, tied to sexuality in any way. While drag queens are a form of transvestitism in this general sense, they are almost always identified by their sexuality (gay men) and often have an intentionally transgressive function. Therefore, while related, the two terms are not synonymous.

In female impersonation the goal is to *pass* as a woman: to persuade observers that the impersonator is biologically a woman. This differs from the central goal of drag, which is to violate normative gender categories by refusing to occupy fully either masculine or feminine styles. Also related but not identical are various types of female-to-male cross-dressing. *Drag kings* are linked most closely to drag queens, but they have a different set of goals and expectations and should not be considered as a female version of drag queens.

The term drag queen has evolved over time, and this makes it difficult to discuss drag queens in a historical sense. At the beginning of the twentieth century, for example, a drag queen almost exclusively meant a male sex worker who dressed as a woman. In the later twentieth century, however, the term became more closely associated with theatrical performance, usually in a cabaret or nightclub. Drag queens were particularly visible participants in the Stonewall riots of 1969. This brought both the gay rights movement and drag queens into the public eye, and the popular understanding of drag queens (excessive in appearance and behavior, obviously nonnormative) generally has remained constant since that time.

DRAG QUEENS IN GAY CULTURE

Drag shows in gay clubs are a mainstay of gay culture. Some clubs specialize in drag, and many others have shows on regular nights. Those clubs generally have a drag queen hostess who is a local drag favorite and who introduces the drag artists and functions as a mother figure to the drag community. Outside the club setting drag queens are regular fixtures and favorites in gay pride parades and other events staged for the larger community. They can be a target of criticism within and without the gay community because they are the most visible manifestation of homosexuality. Many straight people find drag queens offensive and frightening and base their entire understanding of homosexuals on that relatively small group. By contrast, the leather community is equally visible in gay pride events, but its members are less reviled, possibly because they are seen as hypermasculine or closer to a normative understanding of gender.

DEFINING DRAG QUEENS

Marjorie Garber (1992) differentiates the *passing drag queen* (who emphasizes femininity if not the actual ability to pass as a woman) from the *radical drag queen*, "who *wants* the discontinuity of hairy chest or moustache to clash with a revealingly cut dress" (p. 49). A passing drag queen appropriates and deploys feminine traits and appearance and may be considered to defy normative expectations of gender and reinforce them simultaneously. Drag of this type does not question femininity but does question the body on which femininity may be superimposed. A radical drag queen, in contrast, mocks gender categories in a broader way by combining the masculine and the feminine in a jarring fashion.

Some drag queens specialize in impersonation, although only in a narrow sense. A drag queen will not attempt to impersonate femaleness in a general way but will attempt to impersonate a specific woman, usually a celebrity. The impersonation is intentionally inexact, however. As with other forms of drag, it tends to overemphasize specific characteristics, generally the celebrity's mannerisms and fashion. The impersonation also may be dislocated in time if the drag queen chooses to wear a costume associated with a specific moment in the celebrity's past. In either case there is little chance that the drag queen will be mistaken for the celebrity; instead the queen will be recognized as gesturing toward her in a stylized fashion.

Drag queens generally are thought of as part of a camp gay aesthetic. Drag usually falls into the category of *low camp*, which Christopher Isherwood explains as "a swishy little boy with peroxided hair, dressed in a picture hat and a feather boa, pretending to be Marlene Dietrich" (1956, p. 106). This would fit Garber's formulation of passing drag because it emphasizes the feminine, although it clearly denotes a drag queen who does not intend to pass successfully either as a woman or as Marlene Dietrich. This impersonation often is thought of as a kind of homage to women who are gay icons, women who would be recognized and admired by a gay audience. Celebrities who are emulated frequently by drag queens include Judy Garland, Barbra Streisand, Liza Minnelli, Cher, Bette Midler, and Tina Turner. It is notable that all these women are singers, for musical performance is often part of drag shows.

Drag queens are often most visible in a kind of mock performance in which they lip-synch to prerecorded songs before an audience. In this way their performance is doubly removed from any sense of an original: The performer is a man dressed as a woman, and the performance depends on a preexisting performance by another person. These performances usually are characterized by exaggeration as well. Songs often are selected because of the opportunities they give the drag queen to engage in stylized theatrics such as complicated hand gestures, contortions of the body, and overemphasized vibrato on sustained notes. In drag shows of this sort it is common for audience members to show their appreciation for a good performance by giving the drag queen money; this aligns drag queens with strippers, who also play upon gender expectations and receive cash tips.

THEORIZING DRAG QUEENS

All formulations of drag are complicated by the general perception that drag queens are humorous. For many people this removes them automatically from the realm of the political, as humor generally is not seen as a serious mode of political or critical discussion. This reading of drag would reduce it to entertainment or comic fun, a position that most theorists of drag find unacceptable. The humor inherent in drag does not deny its seriousness for them. Instead, it is thought of as part of its method of critique; it is a part of the drag aesthetic just as it is a part of satire.

Drag Queens. *Two drag queens pose for a photo during a gay parade in Bangkok, Thailand.* © NARONG SANGNAK/EPA/CORBIS.

One of the primary theorists of drag, Judith Butler (1990), has examined drag as a performance of gender. Her idea of performance differs from the theatrical performance mode in which drag queens often operate: Butler is more interested in the general state of being of the drag queen than in the drag queen's specific activity at a moment in time. She has written that "in imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself—as well as its contingency" (p. 175). She imagines drag as a parody of gender: not of a specific gender category but of the idea of normative gender.

DRAG NAMES

Drag queens almost always create names for their characters and while in character expect to be addressed in the feminine as *she*. Those names are most often stylized and cartoonish, much like drag itself. They are often jokes or plays on words and fall into several general categories. Some drag queens play with the sound of language and choose names that are homonyms for other things or concepts that often are completely unrelated to drag (Hedda Lettuce, Flotilla DeBarge, Miss Understood). Some drag queens refer to celebrities by adopting part of a celebrity name or through some permutation of multiple names (Harlow, named after Jean Harlow, and Varla Jean Merman, who combines Marilyn Monroe's birth name, Norma Jean, with Ethel Merman). Still others choose names that are intentionally overfeminized, seem to call attention to the artificiality of the feminine, and are often overtly sexual (The Lady Chablis, Lady Bunny, Clover Honey). Others appropriate the names of products, usually products associated with illicit activity or high fashion (Coco Peru, Virginia Slim, Shirley Q Liquor). Another category of drag name is the single moniker, which signals a kind of celebrity status in drag as it does in the rest of popular culture. Many of the single-named drag queens are the most famous and have a degree of celebrity even in mainstream popular culture (Divine, RuPaul).

FAMOUS DRAG QUEENS

Although cross-dressing has been a popular part of mainstream culture for millennia, drag queens are a more recent development. The rise of music hall variety shows and vaudeville in the nineteenth century gave a certain amount of visibility to work in drag, although no real celebrities emerged in that period. Conversely, some female performers did become celebrities for their work in men's attire and appearance in British music halls. Vesta Tilley, for example, was one of the biggest music hall stars in England and the United States from the 1880s until her retirement in 1920. She appeared on stage dressed as a rich young fop and sang songs that criticized the leisurely life of the upper classes. The tradition of male celebrities who appeared in drag without actually being drag queens continued with the development of television. Two of the most famous actors who regularly appeared in drag were Milton Berle and Flip Wilson, although their drag sketches were only a small part of their overall repertory.

The first true celebrity drag queens emerged in the 1970s. Divine, who appeared in films from the late 1960s into the 1980s, was one of the first whose life and career seemed inseparable. She maintained her drag persona consistently for decades and is remembered almost entirely as Divine rather than for her life as a male out of drag. She appeared in a number of films by the director John Waters, as did her fellow drag queen Holly Woodlawn. Although these performers were known to the general public as celebrities, their films remained popular mostly with fringe communities.

Dame Edna Everage, by contrast, is a mainstream drag queen whose performances have been seen by a wide variety of audiences. In the 1980s she rose to fame in Australia and then later in the United Kingdom and the United States. Her celebrity was increased because she maintained a single character rather than (as Divine did) performing multiple characters in different films or appearances. Also, the man who appears as Dame Everage is married and ostensibly heterosexual. Some claim that this adds to Dame Edna's appeal with mainstream audiences, as her appearances can be seen as pure camp fun because her underlying heterosexuality implies a reaffirmation of gender positions rather than a critique of them.

The early 1980s saw a small explosion of drag queens on stage. Harvery Fierstein won two Tony Awards in 1983 for *Torch Song Trilogy*, in which he played a drag queen at a New York cabaret. The next year he helped write the musical *La Cage Aux Folles*, which is set in a French drag club. Charles Busch, a playwright and performer, began to appear on the New York stage in his own plays, beginning with *Vampire Lesbians of Sodom* (1984), in which he played a female role. Since that time he has performed in many plays and films as a woman. Other drag-based shows, such as the San Francisco *Beach Blanket Babylon* (which opened in 1974), have brought drag queens to the public eye, but few have produced celebrity performers.

In the late 1990s the first true drag queen superstar rose to fame. RuPaul is a toweringly tall hyperfeminized drag queen who bills herself as Supermodel of the World. Her recording career, although quite brief, resulted in two songs that were played in gay dance clubs and then broke into general play. Although drag queens had been performing openly for decades, the public treated RuPaul as a complete novelty and embraced her warmly. She eventually hosted a talk show on cable television, appeared in small roles in several films, and maintained a high profile on the dance club circuit. Although the substance of her career was similar to that of other previous drag queens, RuPaul managed to captivate the imagination of a large, general audience, breaking out of the confines of an exclusively gay following.

SEE ALSO *Divine.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

DREAMS AND EROTICISM, DREAM BOOKS

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, dreams have been closely linked with eroticism, in large part because of Sigmund Freud's groundbreaking and influential

Interpretation of Dreams (1900). Arguing that dreams express, in coded form, the fulfillment of unconscious wishes, Freud connected dreams to primary drives, especially the libido, and thus turned dreams and their interpretation definitively toward the erotic. As Freud suggests, "The more one is concerned with the solution of dreams, the more one is driven to recognize that the majority of the dreams of adults deal with sexual material and give expression to erotic wishes." Although the later twentieth century saw a shift, especially among brain scientists like J. Allan Hobson, toward understanding dreams as physiological events without latent meaning, the idea that dreams bring us close to our secret, sexual selves remains firmly in place in Western culture.

Earlier in the history of dream interpretation, the linkage between dreams and the erotic was weaker. From antiquity through the Middle Ages and early modernity, dreams were understood as complex phenomena, linked to the individual psyche and body but also to cosmic, even divine, forces. Some dreams might reliably predict future events; others were understood to be essentially meaningless, or even positively deceptive. In all of this, eroticism had a part, but it was not an essential quality of the dream or dream interpretation.

As early as the Hebrew Bible, dreams and their interpretation are approached in a double manner. The dreams interpreted by Joseph in Genesis or by the prophet Daniel are understood to be reliable revelations of the historical future; the same is true in the New Testament, when God's angel appears to Joseph in his dreams. But the Bible also expresses a strong distrust of dream divination, associating it, in Deuteronomy 18:9–12, with "abhorrent" magical practices like wizardry. In ancient Greece and Rome, we encounter a similar complexity. In treatises on sleep and waking, dreams, and dream divination, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) expresses a deep skepticism about the possibility of dreams predicting the future; he reads dreams primarily as physiological, arguing that, when dreams do seem accurately to foretell the future, this is by "mere coincidence."

Nevertheless, dream divination played an important role in classical culture. Dream incubation—the performance of rituals in a sacred place in order to stimulate predictive or curative dreams—was part of common religious practice. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) wrote a treatise *De Divinatione*, aware and supportive of the Aristotelian skepticism about dream divination, but also presenting arguments in support of predictive dreams. When Cicero's treatise was taken up by later writers, it was often, despite his own intentions, to buttress belief in divination. Late-antique writers like Macrobius and Calcidius (fourth and fifth centuries), and early Christian writers like Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and Gregory the Great (540–604), thus inherited complex ideas about dreaming, which they reemphasized. Macrobius, for instance, recognized five kinds of dream, two meaningless, three predictive. Calcidius, Augustine, and Gregory developed similar schemas, with the Christian writers adding a moral dimension to the understanding of dreams by arguing that they may be sent by either angels or demons. Such late-antique and early Christian systems of dream classification were reproduced and elaborated throughout the Middle Ages and into modernity.

The belief in dream divination was reflected in literary works from Homer (c. 750 BCE), the Bible, and Virgil (70–19 BCE) on; it also spawned a distinct literary genre, that of the dream book, a key to dream interpretation based on the dream's manifest content. Thus, to dream of falling down a hill might signify future riches. (Freud recognized a certain distant kinship between his own method for interpreting dreams and the "decoding" method represented in the dream books.) It is known that such books existed in the ancient Middle East; for instance, A. Leo Oppenheim has translated an Assyrian dream book. Biblical dream interpretations—that seven lean cows eating seven fat ones predicts seven years of prosperity followed by seven of famine (Genesis 41)—seem linked to such traditions.

Artemidorus of Daldis (second century CE) compiled an influential version of the genre in Greek, the *Oneirocritica* (later translated into Arabic, and influential in medieval Islam); this work contains a remarkable richness of dream contents, including four chapters devoted to erotic dreams, as experienced primarily by men. Artemidorus divides such dreams into three types based on the sexual acts they represent: (1) acts in conformity with the law, including sex with wives, mistresses, prostitutes, women encountered unexpectedly, servants and slaves (male or female), friends and acquaintances (male or female), as well as masturbation; (2) acts contrary to law, including especially incest, understood largely to mean sex between parents and children; and (3) acts contrary to nature, including deviations like oral sex from "natural" sexual positions, as well as sex with gods, animals, or corpses; self-penetration or oral contact with one's own penis; and female-female sex involving penetration. Michel Foucault begins the third volume of his *History of Sexuality* with a discussion of this material, emphasizing especially the ways in which Artemidorus understands erotic dreams as relating to the dreamer's *social* status.

Dream books proliferated in the European Middle Ages despite their being prohibited by canon law. In order to counteract such Christian prohibitions, dream books often tried to associate themselves with biblical dream interpretation. Dream books in the tradition of

Artemidorus took the title *Somniale Danielis* (The Dream Book of Daniel) and incorporated a prologue tracing their dream code back to the Bible. We also find other kinds of medieval dream book—for instance, the dream-lunar, which associates the dream's meaning with the phase of the moon; and the dream alphabet, which keys dream significations to the letters of the alphabet found when, upon awakening, the dreamer opens a book at random. Dream books remained popular after the Middle Ages, and are in fact still published, under such titles as *The Mystic Dream Book: 2500 Dreams Explained*. The erotic content of the medieval dream books is much reduced compared to what we find in Artemidorus, most likely because of an expanding Christian reprobation of sexual material. Sometimes the dreams interpreted are specifically erotic—for instance, from the *Somniale Danielis*, "To sleep with one's sister in a dream signifies loss; with one's mother, security" —but there is nothing essentially erotic about the medieval genre.

It is not, however, only with Freud that dreams again become significantly linked to eroticism. The experience of wet dreams emphasized to ancient and medieval writers that dreams might have a connection to the physiology of sexual arousal, and many Christian thinkers wrote about what this might imply for the moral state of the dreamer. On the one hand, the intemperate or uncontrolled emission of semen was understood to be polluting and the sexual ideas accompanying the wet dream dangerous. On the other, given that wet dreams occur during sleep, when the individual is unable to make rational decisions or moral choices, they were understood to be generally blameless. Still, early (pre-Christian) traditions connected the "proper" mastery of one's passions to the disappearance of disturbed, passionate dreams, and some Christian writers argued that wet dreams occurred more frequently in individuals predisposed to sexual sin, or even that they might be sent as demonic temptations. Wet dreams were never wholly cleansed of the taint of pollution and moral culpability.

Other dream experiences were also closely connected to the body and sex. The incubus, a nightmare in which the dreamer feels a heavy weight pressing upon him or her, was understood to be caused by a demon attempting to engage in sexual intercourse. The male incubus was complemented by a female equivalent, the succubus, a demon taking female shape in order to tempt men—often religious men like monks—into sexual sin.

Aristotle's skeptical treatises on dreaming were first made available to the European Middle Ages in Latin translation in the twelfth century, and their emphasis on the non-predictive status of dreams, and on the dream's somatic and psychological status, significantly shaped later medieval thinking. The idea that dreams might predict the future by no means disappeared, but the sense that the dream reflected psychosomatic process was highlighted. This shift in later medieval dream theory might in part explain the most striking medieval eroticizing of dreams, the development of a tradition of romantic poetry intimately linked to dreaming.

In the twelfth century, dream poems in Latin like Alain de Lille's *Plaint of Nature* appear, taking up questions about human sexual behavior; at roughly the same moment, vernacular romances like Chrétien de Troyes's arise, considering the trials and joys of "courtly love." These two traditions—courtly romance and dream poetry—are brought together in the thirteenth century in Guillaume de Lorris's and Jean de Meun's *Romance of the Rose*, an immensely popular poem. The *Romance* depicts the dream of a lover pursuing his beloved, the (allegorical) rose. Romantic love and erotic experience are absolutely central to this dream, and we can see the linkage established here between dreaming and eroticism picked up in many later medieval writers—Dante (1256–1321), Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), Jean Froissart (c. 1333–c. 1405), Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–1377), Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340–1400). An early modern text like William Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1596) belongs to this same tradition, as do many later works exploring the lover's psychology through the representation of dreams.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome; Freud, Sigmund; Middle Ages; Psychoanalysis.*

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Steven F. Kruger

DRUGS, RECREATIONAL

There has been a long association between drugs and sex. In Greek mythology *aphrodisiacs* were festivals held in the honor of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. Since that time the term has come to signify foods, drinks, drugs, and other agents that arouse sexual desire.

MIND-SET AND SOCIAL SETTING

Despite the ability of a drug to provoke physiological arousal, its aphrodisiacal effects are often contextual and depend on what users call the set and setting: or mind-set and social setting. Thus, it is important to distinguish between the psychopharmacological and physiological effects of drugs. Each user brings to each drug a set of expectations that, though often socially determined and situated, strongly influences the user's experiences. Moreover, each drug has a "social pharmacology" that often determines a user's experience by providing a social or cultural context for that experience.

For example, the drug ecstasy, or MDMA, functions uniquely in three ways: First, physiologically MDMA simulates an increased level of serotonin, a mood-enhancing, naturally occurring neurochemical, while also raising the brain's level of dopamine, another mood-enhancing chemical, promoting feelings of elation and euphoria. Second, the general social pharmacology of MDMA suggests that ecstasy is a "love drug" and often depicts its use in the context of sensual and sexual activity. Third, an individual's unique psychopharmacology combines the physiological effects with the social pharmacology while integrating the user's expectations, state of mind, experience, and so on. Thus, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact effects of MDMA, or any drug, on one causal factor. However, the combination of causal factors is such that MDMA often is considered a sexually enhancing recreational drug and is used as such (Rhodes 1996).

THE EFFECTS OF SPECIFIC RECREATIONAL DRUGS

The following descriptions of recreational drugs consider both their physiological effects and social pharmacologies.

Alcohol Typically considered a sedative, alcohol long has been associated with promiscuous and compulsive sexual behavior. Its legality and prevalence make alcohol the most widely used recreational drug other than caffeine. The social pharmacology of alcohol is not linked to or limited by a specific subculture or socioeconomic group; however, research suggests that heavy drinkers are more likely to engage in risky sexual behavior (Temple and Leigh 1992).

Marijuana Marijuana typically is placed in a class of drugs by itself, but THC (tetrahydrocannabinol), the active ingredient, is considered a psychotropic substance, that is, a chemical that alters brain functioning (Kuo and associates 2004). A large range of often contradictory physiological effects are attributed to marijuana use, ranging from feelings of euphoria and relaxation to paranoia and intense stimulation. Marijuana has been used as an aphrodisiac for at least three thousand years in Indian Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi medicines and has been used predominantly as a libido stimulant among many ethnic groups worldwide. Evidence suggests that the effects of marijuana are determined largely by the social framework and individual expectations that surround its use. For this reason, the social context in which marijuana is used sets the stage for the user's experience. Among many subculture groups marijuana highs are regarded as intensifying the sexual charge of the social context; thus, it is perceived as heightening sexual tension and arousal for its users.

Hallucinogens and Psychedelics Although many hallucinogenic drugs, such as LSD (D-lysergic acid diethylamide), typically are not regarded as aphrodisiacs, some, such as MDMA and psilocybin, are used for their sexual enhancement effects. Psychedelics often provoke synesthesia, heightened feelings of intimacy, and enhanced spiritual awareness, and in some settings these effects may function as sexual enhancers.

Ecstasy Ecstasy has a reputation as being a sex drug or, as it often is called, a "love drug." MDMA functions as a serotonin agonist and dopamine booster and produces physiological feelings of elation and euphoria (Parrot and associates 2001). These feelings typically are linked to sensations of increased intimacy and heightened sexual arousal. Ecstasy most often is associated with the underground "rave" and dance culture, but its use is not limited to that group.

Stimulants Stimulants, or amphetamines such as speed and "crank," reportedly delay orgasm and are popular sex drugs. However, the sexual effects of stimulants may be psychological interpretations of physiological effects (Rhodes 1996). That is, stimulants cause increased heartbeat, increased levels of adrenaline, and sensations of euphoria, which are translated into feelings of sexual arousal. Long-term stimulant use, however, may have the opposite effect. Extended periods of stimulant use may decrease a user's libido and ability to perform sexually. Amphetamines in general are considered "club drugs" and often are ingested in situations and settings that are already sexually charged.

Cocaine Cocaine, another stimulant, typically is used as a sexual enhancer because of its numbing and sedative effects. Users report an extended duration of sexual activity linked to the numbing effects of cocaine and thus view the drug as a method of prolonging sexual pleasure (Rhodes 1996). Some men allegedly put cocaine on their penises before sex for its numbing effects and as a more direct method of forestalling orgasm. Cocaine is regarded widely as the paragon of recreation sex drugs, and its use is not necessarily limited to specific subculture or socioeconomic groups.

Opiates Opiates and other depressants generally dampen or inhibit sexual arousal, making them less attractive as sexual enhancers. Opiates such as heroin, morphine, and opium are not necessarily linked causally to promiscuous sexual behavior, although opiate users tend to engage in risky behaviors in general; thus, the link between opiate use and promiscuous sexual behavior is one of lifestyle choices rather than physiological or socially determined effects.

Alkyl Nitrates (Poppers) Alkyl nitrates, or "poppers," such as amyl nitrate and butyl nitrate, historically have been used for their sex-enhancing properties. Amyl nitrate, the most popular of the poppers, was created and prescribed as a treatment for angina (Newell, Spitz, and Wilson 1988). Poppers relax and open blood vessels around the sex organs, promoting erection and increased sensitivity in and around the user's genitals. Poppers are also popular among gay men because of their effect of relaxing sphincter muscles, making anal sex less painful and thus more pleasurable. In the rave culture poppers are used in conjunction with either MDMA or cocaine to heighten feelings of euphoria and physical sensitivity.

Prescription Drugs Prescription drugs such as Viagra, Cialis, and Uprima are becoming increasingly popular as recreational drugs. Although they typically are prescribed as aids for sufferers of erectile dysfunction (ED), these drugs often are purchased and used illegally as sexual enhancers. Drugs such as Viagra frequently are used in conjunction with other recreational drugs to combat the negative sexual side effects of drugs that decrease sexual arousal. For example, ED drugs are used to combat the numbing and erection-reducing effects of poppers, stimulants, MDMA, and opiates. This method of use may reduce the user's blood pressure drastically and dangerously.

Date Rape Drugs Although not used for recreational purposes, date rape drugs are associated with risky sexual behavior. Drugs such as ketamine (commonly known as special K, vitamin K, ket, or kit kat), Rohypnol (or roofies, roach, R-2, or shays), and gamma-hydroxybutyerate (GHB) (or liquid ecstasy, liquid X, cherry meth, or Georgia home boy) are put into the drinks of unsuspecting users. The physiological effect is to render the user either unconscious or otherwise incapacitated so that the administrator of the drug can assault the user sexually. Date rape drugs generally do not have a positive social pharmacology. However, they typically are seen as being administered by men to women in social settings where alcohol is being used; because the administrator and the user are already familiar with each other, they are viewed as facilitators of date rape.

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Jeremy C. Justus

DUGHDOVA

SEE *Zoroastrianism.*

DULCINEA

Dulcinea is the name given by the self-proclaimed knight-errant Don Quixote to his imaginary beloved in Miguel de Cervantes's novel *Don Quixote* (Part One, 1605; Part Two, 1615).

Having read countless novels of chivalry, a middle-aged man with a propensity for extravagant fantasy renames himself Don Quixote and decides to become a knight-errant. He then provides himself with the necessities for that profession: horse, armor, and new name, though all are comically inadequate. Since all knights have an object of adoration in the form of a lady, Don Quixote next tends to that item on his list. Vaguely remembering a girl from the village of El Toboso named Aldonza Lorenzo with whom he once had been in love (unknown to her), Don Quixote reconfigures the woman in his mind, names her Dulcinea del Toboso, and proceeds to evoke her in adulation before every new adventure. On several occasions, at the risk of his life, he demands recklessly that she be declared the most beautiful and virtuous of all women. On at least three occasions he comes close to glimpsing a figure whom he takes to be Dulcinea, though in each case the sighting is compromised by delusion or uncertainty.

Cervantes's construction of Dulcinea as a woman invented by the imagination of a man, with only the most remote connection to real life, raises issues about the nature of objectification and the relationship between desire and fantasy. As a fantasy, Dulcinea propels Don Quixote forward and commands many of his moods and acts throughout the novel. His ideas on love and loyalty center on Dulcinea, and he speaks at length about his devotion to her.

Dulcinea can represent a number of phenomena, depending on the reader: A psychoanalytic reading might stress Don Quixote's misguided attribution of power to a fantasy; a feminist reading would consider a male's objectification of a female as a way to gain control over his erotic drive as well as the object of that desire; other approaches would point to the critique of chivalry inherent in Quixote's hilarious projection or Dulcinea's role as a foil to the real female characters in the novel. The rich tradition of *Don Quixote* criticism does not allow a single interpretation.

Regardless of one's critical perspective, Dulcinea's impact on the representation of sexual desirability cannot be underestimated. The influence of *Don Quixote* on modern literature has been immense, and Dulcinea has played a significant role in the interpretation of almost all the major themes explored by subsequent novelists, such as the relationship between reality and appearance, control and loss, and desire and inhibition. Her portrayal also raises questions about the nature of the ideal woman as conceived by a male mentality driven by fantasy and projection and her role in simultaneously stabilizing and threatening a man's drives. Dulcinea is one of the most compelling and rich portrayals of male fantasy in literature.

SEE ALSO *Gender Stereotype; Literature: I. Overview.*

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Leyla Rouhi

DWARVES AND GIANTS

Dwarves and giants are part of a sexual fetish based on a substantial difference in size, so that one individual is a giant compared to another who is tiny. These size fetishes are called macrophilia, or the attraction to large people, and microphilia, or the attraction to small people. Some people fantasize about giants, thus seeing themselves as small and sometimes weak and endangered. Others fantasize about being the giant. Still others have a particular fetish for dwarves, which are not necessarily the opposite of giants, because they have a distinct set of cultural associations all their own. Because both dwarves and giants can exist as real people and as cultural fantasies and myths, sexual fetishes differ based on whether one is aroused by extraordinarily tall or short people or by the mythological ideas of godlike giants or fairy-tale dwarves.

GIANTS, MACROPHILIA, AND MICROPHILIA

Cultural references to giants are found in the Bible, Greek and Roman mythology, Norse mythology, and in tales of medieval Europe. Giants are a race of creatures distinct from humanity; in the Bible, they are the hybrid progeny of angels who mated with human women and so are tainted by sin. In medieval English literature, ancient ruins, such as Stonehenge, were attributed to giants who were believed to have roamed the earth before humanity's rise to power. Linked to many European creation myths, giants are thus both humanity's progenitors and the enemy of all humanity. As villains, their enormous and grotesque bodies are complemented by exorbitant desires, appetites, and vices. They are also very strong and usually not very intelligent, as in Cyclops of Homer's *Odyssey* (c. 700 BCE), and like Cyclops they often devour humans. The voracious destruction wrought by giants is thus often caused by a giant mouth, and it is not uncommon for this mouth to be compared to a large and destructive vagina. Most mythological and medieval depictions of giants are masculine and not seen as sexual fantasies, although in their rampant destruction, these giants sometimes rape women.

While male giants have dominated cultural representations for most of history, giantesses have emerged as a particular sexual fetish (macrophilia) following the feminism of the twentieth century. Thus, many movies, comic books, films, and music videos feature large women who are often destructive of cities, cars, and sometimes smaller men. The 1958 movie *Attack of the 50-Foot Woman* is one of many examples of a large yet well-proportioned and scantily clad woman causing destruction and mayhem. An active online community exists for those who share this fantasy, and they use the abbreviation *GTS* (giantess) to label their web sites. In both pornography and fantasy enactment, giantesses are dominant and/or sadistic, trampling, sitting on, or crushing smaller people. Most theorists connect the trampling fantasy to foot fetishism, because these images focus on a giant foot crushing a little man. Some fantasies involve being eaten by the giantess, another fetish in which the small person is typically devoured whole. A variation on this is the insertion of the small person into the giantess's vagina. Rarely, these fantasies depict the giantess as a nurturing, motherly figure tending to her infant.

Macrophilia also includes the desire for male giants, and the 1957 movie *The Amazing Colossal Man* corresponds to the *50-Foot Woman*. Other male giants in cultural history include the title character in Jonathan Swift's 1726 satire *Gulliver's Travels*, in which Gulliver repeatedly exposes himself in order to defecate and urinate in public before the tiny population of Lilliput. Some macrophiles thus use the term Gulliver as a code name. Male giants are currently less popular in the sexual imagination perhaps because the extraordinary size of a giant or giantess renders that figure extremely powerful. Because women are generally less physically powerful than men, this fantasy reverses the norm of physical and cultural male superiority. The gay community also participates in macrophilia, although these depictions are less common.

Both macrophilia and microphilia typically involve a process of growing or shrinking, so that macrophilia may involve one person shrinking or the other growing. These actions may become fantasies in themselves related to the fetish of body transformation. Similar to seeing an entire body enlarge (or shrink) before one's eyes, it is also arousing to see various parts of the body expand, such as breasts, bellies, and buttocks (although not genitals).

DWARVES

In ancient Greek and Roman culture, dwarves and other abnormal individuals were especially valuable as slaves, entertainment, and charms against evil. In addition, they were granted special privileges in the wealthy or imperial households they often inhabited. Although Greek and Roman sculpture celebrated the ideal human form, other less prestigious arts such as vase painting and miniatures often depicted dwarves, hunchbacks, and other imperfect bodies as *grotesques*. Such depictions in both these arts and the literature of the Hellenic period (c. 500 BCE) depict dwarves as tiny satyrs, dancers celebrating the god Dionysus, and boxers. Most images of male dwarves feature extremely large penises, and Aristotle reported in *The History of Animals* (350 BCE) that this trait was a typical feature of dwarves.

The extra large penis is also found in many modern depictions of dwarves. In midget porn, a type of pornography that features midgets having sex with full-size people or other midgets, many of the male midgets are notable for having penises that appear disproportionately large in comparison with the rest of their bodies. Female midgets are often depicted having sex with full-size men, and one appeal is to see a large penis in a small vagina. The attraction to midgets seems to be largely voyeuristic; such pornographic material is appealing as a sexual oddity.

Those who desire to have sex with dwarves or midgets may feel like giants in comparison, or they may feel that they are part of a fairy tale, myth, or other fantasy. For women, fantasies about sex with male dwarves easily lets the woman feel like Snow White, a beautiful woman in the company of exotic, possibly dark-skinned, little men. Because of their diminutive stature, dwarves are also often imagined to be childlike creatures whose innocence is especially appealing. Within the genre of slash fiction, in which fictional characters are written into (often homoerotic) sexual encounters, many fans of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy by J. R. R. Tolkien (books published, 1954–1955; films released, 2001–2003) imagined such narratives for the midget-like male hobbits. Here, then, the appeal comes from both the perverse homosexual pairing of familiar fictional characters and the vision of these exotic figures of fantasy in sexual scenarios.

SEE ALSO *Cannibalism.*

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Michelle Veenstra

DYKE

The word *dyke* most often refers to a wall built to keep out the sea, a ditch, or a lesbian. Many people consider dyke a slang term or epithet when used as a synonym for lesbian. The origins of the word are unclear; the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines dyke as both a mannish woman, and a lesbian, as if these are equivalent terms. A related term *bull dyke* entered the language in Carl Van Vechten's 1926 Harlem Renaissance novel *Nigger Heaven* as *bulldiker*. Van Vechten borrowed the word from African-American slang, where it eventually was abbreviated to *BD* or *BD woman* as in blues singer Bessie Jackson's *B. D. Women's Blues* (1935). Poet Judy Grahn has suggested that the origins of bull dyke might lie in the similarly pronounced name of the ancient Celtic warrior queen Boadicea. Some sources note that the word French word *dike*, meaning men's clothing, was used to describe female cross-dressing pirates, such as Anne Bonny and Mary Read, as early as 1710. Claude McKay's novel *Home to Harlem* (1928) embellishes the references to lesbianism and homosexuality in blues great Bessie Smith's *Foolish Man Blues* (1927) with Harlem slang terms that include bull dyke. Smith had written "There's two things got me puzzled, there's two things I can't understand … That's a mannish actin' woman and a skippin', twistin', woman actin' man," while McKay's Jake declares "And there is two things in Harlem I don't understan'/It is a bulldyking woman and a faggoty man."

Dyke and related terms such as bull dyke, *bulldagger*, and *diesel dyke* are controversial, despite lesbian reclamation of the word in the 1980s and 1990s. These terms traditionally connote masculinity in women, and equate this masculinity with physical ugliness and overt hostility to men. Even in the early twenty-first century, the word dyke is sometimes considered a powerful insult to a woman's femininity. In the 1960s and 1970s, feminists were often called dykes as a way of discrediting their politics by equating feminism with lesbianism. It was and still is, many feminists concede, one of the best ways to discredit women.

In addition to disapproval in the heterosexual community, some mid-twentieth-century feminists considered butch-femme gender style an embarrassment to the feminist and gay rights movements. Some activist groups, such as the Daughters of Bilitis, strongly discouraged lesbians from masculine behavior and dress in the interests of middle-class respectability. Some feminists saw the butch lifestyle as an attempt by lesbians to mimic men rather than as a uniquely lesbian sexual and gender style in its own right, and dykey women were often considered pathetic wannabes. Butch-femme was more acceptable among working-class women, whereas middle-class women often preferred more traditional feminine self-presentation.

In the 1980s, many lesbians began to refer to themselves as dykes. At the same time, society showed renewed interest in butch-femme gender styles and in performative gender more generally. Lesbian motorcycle contingents in gay pride parades labeled themselves Dykes on Bikes in the 1980s, and in the early 1990s lesbian marches on gay pride weekends called their parades Dyke Marches. American cartoonist Alison Bechdel's popular comic strip *Dykes to Watch Out For* helped give the term respectability in the 1990s, and a cable access show started in New York around the same time called itself Dyke TV. It is not unusual to come across the term *dyke movement* to refer to this moment of appropriation and activism.

The term has remained popular in queer communities because it more easily encompasses butch women and transgender female-to-male people than does the term lesbian, which suggests a degree of female identification some dykes are uncomfortable with. One measure of acceptability of the term among lesbians is the presence of legitimate internet lesbian dating sites often referred to as dyke links. No equivalent sites exist for gay men using the term *fag*, which is still considered derogatory by most people.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview.*

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Jaime Hovey

E

EATING DISORDERS

Eating disorders, particularly anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa, are highly gendered phenomena: Approximately 90 percent of known cases occur among girls and young women. In addition, gendered conceptions of the body and personhood shape both people's experiences of these conditions and treatments for them. Research in the social sciences and humanities emphasizes the importance of gender in understanding these complex and perplexing problems.

The cultural and historical specificity of eating disorders underscores the need to analyze the relationship of social categories, including gender, race and ethnicity, and class, to these problems. Anorexia and bulimia appear far more frequently in industrialized societies (American Psychiatric Association 2000). Although some scholars have raised important questions about the assumption of cultural and/or historical particularity for anorexia (Bell 1985, Banks 1992, Lee et al. 2001), most agree that the meanings and manifestations of eating disorders since the 1970s in industrialized settings constitute a uniquely salient focus for attention and research. The role of race and class as well as gender in shaping these disorders is an ever-present and frequently debated concern.

CATEGORIES OF EATING DISORDERS

Anorexia is a form of self-starvation that often is coupled with rigorous exercise, especially since the rise of the fitness movement in the 1970s. It first was identified as a medical disorder in the late nineteenth century (Gull 1874, Lasègue 1873) but occurred extremely rarely until it more than doubled in incidence in the 1970s and 1980s. This increase in incidence represents an actual increase in the number of cases; it is not due simply to greater sensitivity or awareness in identifying the problem (Gordon 2000). Anorexia was recognized officially as a psychiatric disorder in 1980. The typical age of onset is middle to late adolescence. Anorexia is often chronic and lethal; it has the highest mortality rate of any psychiatric illness (approximately 10 percent), and most patients never recover fully.

Bulimia is a binge-purge disorder: Episodes of binge eating are followed by vomiting, the abuse of laxatives or diuretics, fasting, or excessive exercise. First identified in 1979 (Russell 1979), bulimia was recognized as a psychiatric disorder in 1980, and its incidence increased threefold in the 1980s and 1990s. The typical age of onset is late adolescence or early adulthood. Compared with anorexia, little is known about the course or mortality rate of bulimia. Although bulimia can be chronic (most patients have it for at least several years) and also fatal, psychiatrists appear to be more hopeful about the prospects for long-term recovery from bulimia compared with anorexia. However, death caused by electrolyte imbalance from vomiting can occur suddenly among bulimic patients, who can seem healthy on the surface because they are typically within a normal weight range.

Binge eating disorder entails regular episodes of binge eating that ordinarily are not followed by purging or compensatory acts. This disorder was identified in 1994 but is not considered an official eating disorder category in its own right. Individuals with this problem receive a diagnosis of "Eating Disorder Not Otherwise

Specified" (American Psychiatric Association 2000). It usually appears in late adolescence or in a person's early twenties and is the most prevalent but least studied eating disorder. It occurs relatively frequently among males, but females are approximately one and one-half times more likely to experience it (American Psychiatric Association 2000).

Officially diagnosed eating disorders are relatively rare; among females, the prevalence of anorexia is about 0.5 percent and that of bulimia is approximately 1 to 3 percent (American Psychiatric Association 2000). However, estimates of significant eating disorder symptoms range from 5 to 10 percent of girls and young women and can run even higher on some college campuses (Boskind-White 2000). Obesity, although common, is not considered an eating disorder "because it has not been established that it is consistently associated with a psychological or behavioral syndrome" (American Psychiatric Association 2000, p. 583).

EATING DISORDERS AS CULTURAL PHENOMENA

Most researchers agree that eating disorders are culturally situated phenomena. It is difficult to explain their rise in incidence in the 1970s and 1980s in industrialized and industrializing social locations without referencing cultural changes during that period. Even so, most psychologists and psychiatrists downplay so-called sociocultural factors such as shifting social ideals of gender in the etiology and treatment of eating disorders. At the same time some proponents of a feminist cultural model "rely on a generic notion of cultural influence and simultaneously medicalize and pathologize all chronic dieting" (Gremillion 2003, p. 27). Simplified representations of nature and nurture are at work in this debate. This problem can be addressed by questioning the status of eating disorders as "pre-given medico-psychological" entities (Malson 1991, p. 31) and by locating eating problems at the intersection of multiple and often contradictory understandings of feminine identity and embodiment (Bordo 1993, Malson 1998). This approach differs from efforts, such as Joan Brumberg's (1989), to integrate biological, psychological, and cultural factors as they currently are understood.

The sociologist Bryan Turner (1984) and the philosopher Susan Bordo (1993) examine developments in Western social contexts that have led to understandings and experiences of the female body as a battleground of gendered conflicts that are specific to consumer culture. Efforts after World War II to promote consumption and the satisfaction of desires coexist with long-standing efforts to control and contain the female body. In this context anorexia is a triumph of control that is wedded to increasingly widespread ideals of slender femininity. Bulimia expresses more directly contradictory cultural imperatives for women and girls in particular to both consume and control the effects of consumption (Bordo 1993).

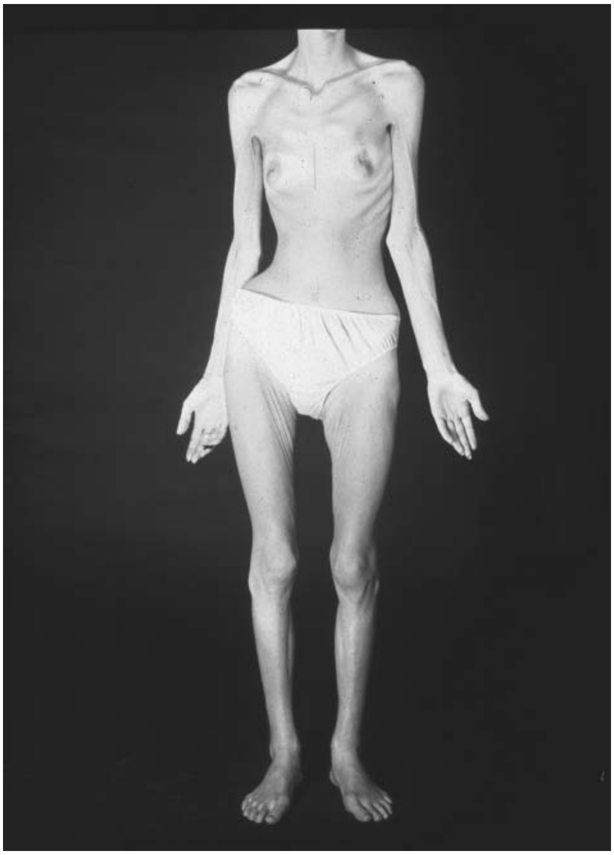
Bordo's work suggests that a widespread insistence on distinguishing anorexia and bulimia as discrete psychiatric entities conceals the gendered politics of consumer culture that links the two and connects both with a continuum of phenomena that range from chronic dieting to obesity. Significantly, it is not uncommon for patients with anorexia to develop bulimia; also, the prevalence of binge eating disorder is as high as 50 percent (the mean is 30 percent) when samples are drawn from weight-control programs (the prevalence rate is 0.7 to 4 percent in community samples) (American Psychiatric Association 2000).

Mark Nichter and Mimi Nichter (1991) and Robert Crawford (1985) emphasize the importance of class relations in analyzing eating problems. Pressure to manage the contradictions of control and release as well as constraint and freedom at the level of the individual body may influence those who are upwardly mobile most acutely. In this light assessments of obese or seemingly unfit individuals as "lazy" valorize the cultural norms that are implicated in eating disorders. Similarly, representations of bulimia as a "bad" or failed other to anorexia (Burns 2004) arguably scapegoat individual sufferers for problems that are shaped socially and economically.

GENDER AND PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT

Although treatments for anorexia and bulimia have improved over time, mortality and relapse rates remain high. Difficulties in treatment often are attributed to patients' pathology and tenacity, but a growing number of scholars argue that therapies often unknowingly reproduce problematic sociocultural and gender norms that contribute to patients' struggles. Ideologies of individualism and self-control in the therapeutic management of eating can reinforce the hard-earned sense of self-reliance that is part and parcel of eating problems (Eckerman 1997, Gremillion 2003, MacSween 1993). These ideologies pose irreconcilable dilemmas for women and girls who are taught to sacrifice their own needs for those of others (Boskind-Lodhal 1976, Steiner-Adair 1986, Orbach 1986). In addition, many treatment programs unwittingly perpetuate beliefs about motherhood and feminine "nature" that imply the need for heroic measures to achieve health. A sense of defeat and relapse often follows (Gremillion 2003).

Therapies that do not acknowledge the fact that eating disorders are shaped culturally and historically are likely to perpetuate taken-for-granted understandings of gender that allow these disorders to flourish. The need for a contextual reading of illness and health applies not only to doctor-patient relationships but also to the formulation



Anorexic Female. *The effects of anorexia on a female human body.* BIOPHOTO ASSOCIATES/SCIENCE SOURCE. PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

of treatment protocols and the constitution of gendered relationships within professional treatment teams that often attempt to model health (Sesan 1994, Wooley and Wooley 1985). Formal studies of alternative treatments that acknowledge a politics of gender (White and Epston 1990, Steiner-Adair 1994) are lacking, but anecdotal evidence and pilot study results (Madigan and Goldner 1999) suggest a significant improvement in treatment outcomes.

THE POLITICS OF INCLUSION: GENDER, RACE, CLASS, AND SEXUALITY

Disordered eating affects males as well as females. The effects of consumer culture, particularly as they relate to concerns about body size, shape, and image, are increasingly present in the male body (Nemeroff and associates 1994). Significantly, eating disorders are most prevalent among men and boys who engage in activities that involve weight restrictions, such as bodybuilding, wrestling, dancing, gymnastics, and jockeying (Andersen and colleagues 1995). There is a broad consensus that eating problems are clinically similar between males and females.

However, no clinical or cultural analyst disputes the fact that eating disorders are much more widespread among females. Any attempt to represent eating problems as "equal opportunity" along the axis of gender fails to acknowledge significant gender inequalities that affect the politics of body size and self-control. However, males with eating disorders may be stigmatized as insufficiently "masculine" (Kearney-Cooke and Steichen-Asch 1990) and therefore may be less likely than women and girls to identify these problems openly. It is possible that eating disorders are more prevalent among males than is realized (Hepworth and Griffin 1995). Associations in the literature between eating disorders and homosexuality in males should be evaluated in light of stereotypical views about appropriate masculine behavior.

Scholars who critically analyze representations of eating disorders as white and middle-class phenomena have raised similar questions about whether these disorders are overlooked in particular groups. Eating disorder patient populations are likely to be socioeconomically privileged disproportionately in part because of preconceived ideas about typical patient profiles (Dolan 1991, Gard and Freeman 1996, Gremillion 2003, Thompson 1994a). Evidence is mounting that eating disorders cut across ethnic and class boundaries (Striegel-Moore and Smolak 2000). However, rather than simply attempting to identify eating disorders as they are known among various populations, it is important to ask how these disorders are defined in the first place because official definitions may preclude recognition of significant eating problems.

The sociologist Becky Thompson (1994b) shows that pressures for girls and women to be slim, which can lead to a range of eating problems, are associated with several narratives of privilege, such as whitening, moving up the social ladder, and becoming appropriately heterosexual. At the same time she argues that these powerful narratives do not capture all the meanings of eating difficulties in people's lives. For instance, "dissatisfaction with appearance often serves as a stand-in for topics that are still invisible" (Thompson 1994b, p. 11) such as racism, sexism, poverty, and sexual abuse. According to Thompson, "Doing justice to the social context in which difficulties with food arise requires an integrated analysis—one that accounts for the intersecting influence of gender, race, sexuality, nationality, and class" (Thompson 1994b, p. 360).

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Helen Gremillion

ECOFEMINISM

Ecofeminism is a cultural, political, and scholarly movement that synthesizes the principles of environmentalism and feminism. Although the term *ecofeminism* suggests an alliance with feminist scholarship, the relationship of ecofeminism with feminism is problematic and complex. Feminists often have been wary of associating women with nonhuman nature. That reluctance stems from a set of traditional, culturally constructed binary oppositions: culture/nature and male/female. In this pair of binaries, men generally are allied with culture and women usually are associated with nature. The connection between women and nature historically has been used as a justification for excluding women from the realms of reason and culture. Feminists have objected to these hierarchies and often critique the idea that women are inherently closer to nature than to culture. Feminists have disassociated women from nonhuman nature entirely in order to critique these hierarchies.

THE NATURE AND GOALS OF ECOFEMINISM

Ecofeminism, in contrast, focuses on the relationship between women and nature and integrates environmentalism and feminism. Although the views of ecofeminists vary, the central premise of ecofeminism is that the domination of women and that of nonhuman nature are inextricably linked. Ecofeminists argue that nonhuman nature frequently is coded as feminine (the term *Mother Earth* for example) and that the patriarchal culture that sanctions the subjection of women also supports the domination and destruction of the "feminine" natural world. Ecofeminists are united by similar environmental philosophies as well. Most are at least somewhat critical of anthropocentrism (the belief that humans are of central importance in the universe), and many emphasize the importance of biological and cultural diversity and favor symbiotic relationships over hierarchical ones.

The goals of ecofeminism inside and outside academia are influenced strongly by the desire for concrete change. Ecofeminists work toward a more balanced relationship between human and nonhuman nature, between male and female. Whether activists, scholars, or both, ecofeminists question and critique traditional hierarchies and propose new ways to envision the world without dependence on the domination of women or nonhuman nature. Some ecofeminists approach this task by investigating the historical and cultural roots of the association between women and nonhuman nature, and others explore the implications and potentialities of an intimate relationship between women and nonhuman nature. Still others dispute the alleged link between gender and nonhuman nature altogether. On a more practical level, ecofeminist activists attempt to influence environmental policies and laws nationally and locally.

Ecofeminism should not be thought of as a single, fully coherent movement. Rather, it is diverse and polyvalent. Carolyn Merchant (1990) provides a useful breakdown of three main branches of ecofeminism: liberal, radical, and socialist. Liberal ecofeminists work for change within existing systems of power. Radical ecofeminists believe that the connection between women and nature is empowering and that the existing system must be overturned for genuine change to occur. Socialist ecofeminists add a critique of the capitalist system to the critique of patriarchy (Merchant 1990). These categorizations are broad, but they provide a helpful tool for thinking about the variety of approaches within ecofeminism.

Ecofeminism began as and remains an interdisciplinary movement that is tied to radical or cultural feminism, earth-based religions, and the ecological movement known as deep ecology. Ecofeminism uses the insights of radical feminism to suggest ways in which gender hierarchies can be overthrown. The study of earth-based religion in turn provides inspiration for ecofeminists who want to explore the potentially empowering relationship between women and nonhuman nature. Much of the environmental philosophy of ecofeminists stems from the work of deep ecologists, particularly the critique of Western culture and anthropocentrism. The French writer Françoise d'Eaubonne first used the term *ecofeminisme* in 1974; in the same year the first academic conference that specifically addressed the topic of women and nonhuman nature was held at University of California-Berkeley. By the end of the twentieth century ecofeminism had entered mainstream academia and spread from women's studies and philosophy departments to disciplines such as literature, social sciences, geography, and biology. In the 1990s feminist and environmental journals such as *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, *Frontiers*, and *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* published special issues dedicated to the exploration of ecofeminism.

DISPUTES WITHIN AND CRITIQUES OF ECOFEMINISM

Disputes between ecofeminists arise from different interpretations of the central premise of ecofeminism that gender and the environment are related to each other. Some accept the idea that women have a "closer" relationship with nature than men do and try to valorize that connection. These ecofeminists assert that the alignment of women with nature enables women to respond to environmental crises more thoughtfully and productively than men who are invested in dominating nature. According to this group of ecofeminists, women provide a much-needed alternative vision of nonhuman nature that moves away from environmental destruction. Furthermore, they claim that the connection between women and nature can be empowering because it aligns women with the primordial strength of "Mother Nature." Others reject that hypothesis and argue that ecofeminists should focus their attention on critiquing the idea that women are intimately connected to nonhuman nature. They argue that ecofeminists who accept and celebrate the relationship between women and nonhuman nature are inadvertently reinforcing the traditional gender hierarchies that ecofeminists should be dismantling. These ecofeminists point out that focusing only on the positive relationship between women and nonhuman nature does not consider the idea that women also can be involved in the destruction of the nonhuman natural world or take into account the significant differences between women and nonhuman nature.

Critics of ecofeminism often focus on ecofeminists of the first variety. As a result, ecofeminism has been dismissed as a philosophy of essentialism because it seems to propose that women are inherently and biologically more closely linked to nonhuman nature than are men. Furthermore, critics note that ecofeminists neglect the importance of race and class, favoring the perspectives of white middle-class women. Although these critiques are necessary for the growth and development of ecofeminism, they ignore the multiple perspectives within ecofeminism that address these concerns. The strength of ecofeminism derives from its diversity of origins, practitioners, and philosophical approaches. Ecofeminists come to the movement from various perspectives, but they are united by a dedication to the investigation of the interconnections between gender and the environment and a commitment to providing concrete, positive change.

SEE ALSO *Feminism: IV. Western.*

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Christine Wilson

ECONOMICS

For a long time, economists for the most part considered issues of sex and gender to be irrelevant to their discipline. Economics was considered to be centrally concerned with markets, a realm from which women had historically been largely excluded. Male activity was treated as universal human economic behavior, whereas women's activities in homes and families were considered "noneconomic." This division of realms, it was long assumed, was dictated by the nature of biological sex differences. Beginning in the 1970s, some economists began to question this assumption, looking at the roles played by gender beliefs—social beliefs *culturally constructed* on top of a perception of biological sex differences—in creating observed outcomes, particularly regarding the division of home and market labor. By the 1990s, a second layer of critique had evolved, focusing on how the definition, models, and methods of the discipline itself bear a strong imprint of masculinist gender bias. The field of studies of sex and gender in economics has continued to develop and diversify, although it remains marginalized within the academic mainstream.

ECONOMICS OF LABOR MARKETS

The role of sex and gender in economics must be considered in relation to the core models of the discipline, as traditionally envisioned. In the *neoclassical model* of economics that dominates Anglo-American teaching and research, an individual is assumed to make rational decisions about participating in markets. When considering participating in a labor market, an individual is assumed to determine the number of hours he (as the theory was formulated) wants to work by making trade-offs between hours of *labor* and *leisure*. Labor is assumed to yield income but no direct *utility* (satisfaction), whereas leisure yields utility but no income. The individual chooses what sort of occupation to enter based on his preferences, abilities, and the amount of investment in *human capital* (education and training) that an occupation requires. The wage received while working is assumed to be determined by market conditions of supply and demand and to reflect the amount that his last increment of work contributes to the value of production (*the marginal product of labor*).

Some of the earliest work on sex and gender in economics took this model and extended or modified it to encompass what were perceived as uniquely women's issues. In 1962 the economist Jacob Mincer proposed that married women face three, rather than two, options for the use of their time: labor, leisure, and work in the home. A substantial and highly statistically sophisticated literature subsequently developed on the topic of women's *labor force participation*. Mincer and Solomon

Polachek in 1974 proposed that women tended to be employed in different occupations than men because of choices made concerning investment in human capital. Assuming women would be out of the labor force for some periods because of child rearing, it made sense, they argued, that women would choose occupations that had lower education and training requirements. Men, meanwhile, would choose to make deeper investments in order to gain the benefits over a more protracted span of years.

By the early 1970s a number of studies of the gap between average male and average female wages had been accomplished. At that time, female, year-round, full-time workers in the United States earned approximately 60 percent of men's wages, on average, leaving a *raw wage gap* of approximately 40 percentage points or 40 cents on the dollar. Using survey data on large numbers of male and female workers, empirical studies sought to explain the source of wage gaps in the United States and other countries by breaking them down into components. Using statistical methods, portions of the gap were explained by differences in choice of occupation, and additional portions were attributed to differences in average levels of education, experience, unionization, or other observable worker characteristics that might lead to differences in productivity and earnings. Generally, about half of the gender wage gap remained unexplained by variations in these observable characteristics.

A number of the economists conjectured that this *unexplained gap* could be attributed to characteristics that affect productivity but are not observable in survey data. Women might have preferences, they suggested, that lead to lower levels of ambition, energy, or dedication to their jobs. The idea that there could be a significant problem of sex discrimination was generally dismissed because it goes against core assumptions of neoclassical theory, which posits that wages are based on marginal productivity, not on social factors such as gender. In addition, it was argued that in a competitive market economy, discriminators would not be able to stay in business. That is, a firm that failed to make its hiring decisions based on productivity factors alone would make lower-than-normal profits, and lose out to its competitors. This argument was, in turn, based on a theory of discrimination advanced by the economist Gary S. Becker during the 1960s that portrayed discrimination as simply an individual preference (a *taste for discrimination*).

In the 1970s and 1980s the feminist economists Barbara R. Bergmann, Marianne A. Ferber, Francine D. Blau, Heidi Hartmann, and others challenged the notions of sex and gender implicit in many mainstream economists' studies. While the economics literature assumed that women "naturally" preferred to stay at home or be maids, teachers, or nurses, social change was quickly calling this assumption into question. With the advent of the women's movement and antidiscrimination laws in a number of countries, many women were by that time "voting with their feet" and moving into the paid labor force in unprecedented numbers, as well as breaking into formerly male-dominated professions such as business and law. Feminist scholars challenged the orthodox view that labor market outcomes were a matter of biologically given sex differences in preferences and abilities. The term *occupational segregation* was introduced to refer to the socially constructed division between "men's jobs" and "women's jobs," and wage studies were reexamined.

Using corroborating evidence of discrimination from ethnographies, court cases, and studies of individual occupations or employers, feminist scholars argued that the unexplained gap largely reflected discrimination. The persistence of beliefs such as that "men need higher wages because they have families to support," or that women are less able, or should not be in positions to direct men, came through strongly in such alternative forms of data (Bergmann 1989). In addition, feminist scholars called into question the idea that women freely choose their occupations, educational levels and tracks, seniority, and union status in a world in which sex stereotyping and male-dominated power structures are endemic. Occupational segregation and discrimination by educational institutions, employers, and unions could cause women's observable characteristics to differ from men's, these scholars argued, even when women's innate abilities were the same. They thus called into question the view that discrimination is an individual preference, pointing instead to its existence as a deep and widespread social and institutional phenomenon. These scholars also initiated new studies, such as those by the economist Andrea H. Beller and the sociologist Paula England, both published in 1982, that showed that Mincer and Polachek's human capital theory could not explain women's distribution across occupations.

Economic research into gendered labor market outcomes continues, both along traditional and more feminist lines. Some economists have sought to assess the effectiveness of anti-discrimination law (particularly, in the United States, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964), affirmative action policies (put into law for U.S. federal contractors by Executive Order 11246 of 1965), and comparable worth policies (also called *pay equity*, mandating "equal pay for work of equal value," and enacted by some localities). Studies over time tend to show a narrowing of the wage gap in the United States from about 40 cents on the dollar in 1970 to about 28 cents by 1990, and about 25 cents in the early 2000s (Blau, Ferber, and Winkler 2006). International studies of wage gaps show the importance of a nation's overall wage structure in influencing the gender gap, with countries with centralized wage bargaining and relatively low overall inequality generally having smaller gender wage gaps (Blau and Kahn 2003).

Many studies have looked at how marital status and the presence of children affect earnings, often finding that being married and having children increases, on average, the wages of men, holding factors such as education and experience on constant, while decreasing the earnings of women. Interpretations continue to vary as to how much such effects can be attributed to choice (i.e., to women having a biologically based preference for focusing on children at the expense of their paid work); how much is due to employer prejudices regarding the abilities, interests, and responsibilities of mothers versus fathers; and how much reflects a lack of attention by men and support from society at large for the work of child care (i.e., to power-based gender roles assigning the responsibility to individual women, regardless of their talents and interests).

The issue of gender within the labor market for economists has also been the subject of study. The Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession (CSWEP), formed within the American Economic Association in 1971, is charged with monitoring the advancement of women within the profession and acting to increase that advancement. CSWEP annual reports indicate that women comprised less than 5 percent of economics faculty in the United States in 1972, but by 2004 comprised 27 percent of assistant professors and 21 percent of associate professors. Less than 9 percent of full professors, however, were female in 2004. A 2004 study by the economists Donna K. Ginther and Shulamit Kahn found that women's lack of representation in the higher echelons of academic economics cannot be explained by *pipeline* issues (that is, by a lack of women in lower ranks ready to move up into higher ranks), and is more marked in economics than in a number of related disciplines. The progress of women economists has been studied in other countries as well (Jacobsen 2006).

ECONOMICS OF HOUSEHOLDS

In core neoclassical economic theory, households are treated as though they are individuals, who supply labor and buy products according to a *unitary* set of preferences. It was not until the 1970s that mainstream economists started to treat the internal workings of households as something of potential interest. The so-called new home economics pioneered by the economists Becker, Mincer, and Theodore W. Schultz brought standard theories of individual utility-maximization to bear on issues of marriage, divorce, and fertility. In Becker's theory of (heterosexual) marriage, for example, traditional gender roles are explained as the outcome of mutually beneficial comparative advantage. Women, being relatively more efficient in home production, rationally specialize in nonmarket work, while men, according to this theory, rationally specialize in market work. The relative efficiencies were explained as being either due to biological sex differences or women having lower market earnings. Becker also advanced the theory that a household's unitary set of preferences could be taken to be that of the household *altruist*, the one individual in the household who cares about everyone's welfare (and—it was assumed but not made clear—also had control over the household income).

Critical economists, including Ferber, Jane Humphries, Alice H. Amsden, and others, soon raised objections to these theories that, by the nature of their assumptions, served to justify the status quo. They pointed out the circular reasoning in the argument that women specialize in home production because they make less on the market, and make less on the market because they specialize in home production. They noted that unitary and altruist models of households glossed over issues of divergent interests and power differentials within families, which could in turn be influenced by factors outside families such as cultural norms and public policy.

"Bargaining" models of household behavior, advanced by the economists Marilyn E. Manser, Murray Brown, and Marjorie McElroy in the early 1980s, improved on unitary models by positing households consisting of two people, each with their own preferences, who must divide the benefit from a marriage. Should they divorce, each of their utilities would be reduced to *threat point* levels. These models mathematically formalized the idea that the spouse with better opportunities outside of marriage (because of, for example, higher earnings or favorable divorce policies) may wield more power over intrahousehold decision-making. Some feminist economists, while accepting the value of looking at marriages as situations of *cooperative conflict* (as described by the economist Amartya Sen), found formal modeling to be too restrictive and urged a broader examination of the determinants of power and decision-making within families (Agarwal 1997). Bargaining models, for example, are limited to consideration of two parties, meaning that full consideration of the interests and influence of non-spousal parties (such as children or other household members) is precluded.

Empirical work on household spending behavior has overwhelmingly tended to disprove the unitary model. In the unitary model, it should make no difference who in the family has wealth or brings in income, because spending is always carried out according to "household" preferences. A now extensive literature on *intrahousehold allocation* in several countries has shown that, in general, spending varies depending on the share of income or wealth contributed by the mother in a family with children, as compared to the father. A number of studies have found that expenditures on children's items, such as children's food and clothing, are higher when the mother controls a larger share of household spending.

Another debate in economics concerns whether housekeeping and child-care work in the home, traditionally done by women, is productive and a crucial part of the economy. Traditionally, the value of this work has been omitted in calculations of gross domestic product (GDP). In 1988 the economist Marilyn Waring pointed out how the omission of women's traditional work from the United Nations "system of national accounts" can bias policymaking. While still not officially part of accounts, beginning in the 1990s some countries started to develop *satellite accounts* that seek to measure the value of such work, based in part on data from national surveys of how people use their time. Other economists have looked at how measures of economic growth might be biased by the omission of household production, or how the treatment of unpaid labor as unproductive has affected tax policy.

A substantial literature on the economics of fertility has also developed. Some of this literature emphasizes that increasing women's education, earnings, and power within the household in poor countries has been found to bring down birthrates. The effects of coercive population policies on women's human rights may also be discussed. In other economics discussions of population issues, however, the fact that women are involved may be hardly mentioned.

FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF THE DISCIPLINE

In the early 1990s feminist economists began publishing more thoroughgoing critiques of the mainstream discipline, pointing out that the failures in labor market and household theories were not just isolated instances but rather signs of deep-seated masculinist bias in the discipline. Formal choice-theoretic modeling; a central image of rational, autonomous, and self-interested *economic man*; and a narrow focus on mathematical and econometric methods were (and still are) hallmarks of mainstream economics. Feminists argued that these are a Procrustean bed when it comes to analyzing phenomena fraught with issues of tradition, connection to others, and relations of power and domination. Feminists began to raise questions about the mainstream definition of economics, its central models, and the high regard given to a particular set of methodological tools.

Essays on this theme were brought together in a 1993 volume, *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*, edited by Ferber and Julie A. Nelson. In this volume it was suggested that economics be defined by a concern with the provisioning of life in all spheres in which this occurs, rather than only in markets. Investigations were made into how a particular set of professional values, emphasizing culturally masculine-associated factors such as autonomy, separation, and abstraction, had come to take precedence over culturally feminine-associated factors such as interdependence, connection, and concreteness. The contributors argued that rather than taking the former as a sign of "rigor" in the discipline, the truncation of methods created by masculinist bias has weakened the discipline's ability to explain real-world phenomena. Questions were raised about mainstream economics not because it is too objective, but because it is not objective enough.

While many feminist economists continue to make use of traditional mainstream tools, on the whole the field of feminist economics has come to be characterized by inclusion of a broader range of concepts and methods. These encompass theories of human behavior that include a balance between individuality and relationship, autonomy and dependence, and reason and emotion, and the use of additional methods including historical studies, case studies, interviews, and other qualitative data. Feminist economists tend to find that such serious efforts to create and promote more adequate forms of economic practice lead to new insights across the board, whether or not the topic being studied is explicitly gender-related.

With the publication of a number of books and articles, and gatherings at early conferences, feminist economics coalesced into an organized field in the early 1990s. The International Association for Feminist Economics was formed in 1992, and its journal, *Feminist Economics*, commenced publication a few years later. An encyclopedia of feminist economics, edited by Janice Peterson and Margaret Lewis, was published in 1999, and a review of developments during the first ten years of feminist economics was published in 2003 and edited by Ferber and Nelson.

ADDITIONAL AREAS OF RESEARCH

In addition to work on labor markets, households, and the philosophy and methodology of economics, economists have addressed issues of sex and gender in a number of other areas, from both traditional and feminist perspectives.

Work on public policy issues affecting women's economic status has been extensive, not only on matters of labor market discrimination but also on issues such as access to credit or pensions, welfare and poverty, child-care availability, family leaves, health care, and taxation. Beginning in the 1990s, a number of countries developed "gender budgets" that analyze government budgets for their gender impacts.

Scholars of the history of economic thought have researched the lives and writings of early women economists and examined how male economists treated issues of sex and gender in historical texts. In the process, they have brought renewed appreciation (at least among feminists) to the economic writings of Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935), Margaret G. Reid (1896–1991), and others. The historical writings of male economists on questions regarding women show, with only a few notable exceptions, a pronounced tendency to substitute cultural biases for analysis (Pujol 1992). Gendered analysis has been applied not only to the history of neoclassical economics but also to the history of Marxist, institutionalist, and other schools of economics.

While the economic history of various countries and regions traditionally focused on men's activities, feminist scholars have investigated the roles played by women. Women's historical roles as household workers, as agricultural or industrial workers, as colonists or subjects of colonization, and as activists in combating discrimination or changing public policies have been investigated.

The economic status of girls and women in the global South has increasingly become a topic of economic study. The economist (and Nobel laureate) Amartya Sen played a crucial role in increasing attention paid to this area with his 1990 report on the *missing women* of China, India, and other countries. In these parts of the world, the number of adult women is substantially below the number that would be expected from a normal ratio of births. Inferior access to food and health care (and, increasingly, the use of sex-selective abortion) has caused millions of women to go "missing." Feminist scholars such as Diane Elson (1995) and Lourdes Benería (2003) have also investigated the gender impact of international policies related to trade, investment, and credit, carried out by individual nations and multilateral organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Shifts in the trading patterns for goods produced by women versus by men, for example, or macroeconomic policies that lead to cuts in support to health, education, or child care, can differentially affect men and women.

In many fields in which empirical data can be disaggregated by sex, literatures have grown up examining sex differences in male and female economic behavior. These include studies, for example, of whether women or men are more cooperative in experimental game situations (laboratory studies in which economists study choice behavior), or whether sex makes a difference in the willingness to take risks in investment decisions. In some of these studies, attempts are made to adequately explain and explore any differences found, whereas in others the analysis remains at a superficial level.

The intersections of sex and gender with issues of race, class, caste, sexual preference and gender identity have also been researched. The economist M. V. Lee Badgett (2001) and others, for example, have studied labor market discrimination and household structures among gays and lesbians. The economist Deirdre McCloskey (1999) has written about her transsexual transition.

Sexuality has also entered economics discussions under the topics of commercial sex, rape, and sexual harassment. A few labor market studies have focused on the working conditions and pay of sex workers. Some economists, and many in the area of law and economics, have studied the use of rape and sexual harassment to intimidate women in the workforce. In 1992 Richard A. Posner, a neoclassical economist, libertarian, and leading figure in the law and economics movement, published a controversial book titled *Sex and Reason*, in which he addressed topics including prostitution, abortion, and rape. Critics claim that his arguments (such as his characterization of female infanticide as simply a rational method of family planning) tend to epitomize a blindly *economistic* view of the world.

Beginning in the 1990s, feminist economists including Nancy Folbre (1994) and Susan Himmelweit (1999) initiated research on the topic of *caring labor*. Work such as nursing or child care, which is done for pay, but also often out of a sense of concern for or emotional closeness with the person receiving the service, transgresses the usual boundaries between concepts of love and work. Empirical studies about the conditions of such work, as well as studies of the sorts of belief systems that often make such work ill-paid or disrespected, have taken place within economics as well as in related fields such as sociology and political theory. Communication among scholars on this issue often breaks down around the question of whether economies are inherently cold and impersonal, or whether this belief is itself a social construction (Nelson 2006).

THE STATE OF THE FIELD

Among economists who associate themselves most closely with the mainstream, sex and gender research remains mostly a matter of applying conventional, individualistic, and highly formalized forms of theoretical analysis to this subject matter, or simply disaggregating empirical research by sex categories. Whether such research sheds useful light on sex and gender issues in economic life, or instead says more about the biases of its creators, may be debated. Meanwhile, economists and other scholars who are less loyal to the methodological strictures of mainstream economics have sought to investigate more deeply how sex and gender shape, and are shaped by, the economic activities that provide for the sustaining and flourishing of life.

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Julie A. Nelson

EDUCATION

This entry contains the following:

I. GENDER IN AMERICA

By the mid-1660s education was compulsory for children in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and by the eighteenth century most towns in Massachusetts had public elementary schools, called common schools. Yet girls' formal schooling during these early years of the republic was largely nonexistent, as the prevailing view of girls and femininity dictated that little had to be done for girls to prepare them for adult life. Puritan belief in the subservience of girls and women to men determined girls' and women's limited literacy throughout the early colonial period. Even with the institution of the compulsory attendance act of 1852 enacted by the state of Massachusetts, girls' education was more often than not designed to prepare them for domesticity.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Girls' formal primary and secondary education in the United States dates back to the early eighteenth century when Moravian immigrants established boarding and day schools for girls in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Unlike other immigrant populations on the North American continent in this period, these early Moravian settlers held the view that girls should be educated comparably with boys. This was a unique and unpopular view in early America, where girls' education was primarily informal, conducted in the home by mothers and other women relatives and designed to train girls in the feminine domestic arts in preparation for marriage. Thus, in the early republic girls' education across class was chiefly preparation for marriage and motherhood. A girl born in a family with economic means (landed gentry) would receive training in cooking, sewing, household management, reading, writing, and some arithmetic and French. Additionally, these girls were given training in music, drawing, needlework, and etiquette. Families of lesser means trained their daughters to carry on the skills of their labor—farming, mercantile activities, and so on. Slave girls were rarely educated in anything other than those skills necessary to serve plantation owners and were often severely punished for learning to read and write.

The growth of the common school in the mid-1800s gave white girls, more so those in the Northeast, added opportunities for formal schooling. Begun in Massachusetts in the 1830s by Horace Mann (1796–1859), Henry Barnard (1811–1900), and others, common schools gave rise to the structured and standardized public schooling that enabled girls to attend school with greater frequency. By the time of the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865), the education of white girls was buttressed by a national conviction that girls should be educated to be good mothers and wives of the sons and husbands of the growing republic. The aim of *republican motherhood* was the standard of femininity for white girls of the period attending these local schools. Thus, the public school curriculum for a nineteenth-century white girl did not differ all that greatly from her grandmother's or mother's, as she was to be educated in domestic and maternal obligations. Now couched in the gendered rationale of national and civic virtue, girls' schooling in this period provided the moral and literacy training necessary to prepare girls for womanhood dedicated to serving the nation through Christian motherhood and wifehood. Though prior to the Civil War formal schooling was offered to African girls brought to the United States as slaves, it was largely separate from whites and very regional. In the southern states, African slave girls who did learn to read and write were most often taught to read the Bible by their white owners or by missionaries, but most often these girls were not formally schooled.

The central theme in the early colonial education of girls, a theme that continued through the twentieth century in American education, is the gendered nature of education, that is, that education or schooling should have as its main purpose the proper feminization of girls. Girls' literacy reflected a standard of Christian femininity that insisted that girls and women strive for moral and bodily purity and submissiveness to husbands, fathers, and eventually sons, yet gave females authority in the domestic sphere. Schooling for American girls was historically cast as preparation for pious womanhood, an adulthood that conformed to the class, racial and ethnic, and religious standards deemed appropriate for women. Schooling has traditionally served to inculcate a gendered ideal or standards of femininity for girls that though varied by era, place, race, economic position, and religious attitude, maintained that girls' education should reflect what was believed to be the nature or essence of girls' being. Consequently, girls' education in the United States is a history of gender, a record of how social, political, and religious views determined girls' and women's innate cognitive aptitude and their roles in society.

The central tenet of the ideal of femininity found in primary and secondary education throughout seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century America, then, was one of domestic training. This principle was galvanized by the rise of industrialization and the market economy after the Civil War and into the early years of the twentieth century, so much so that an ideology of *separate spheres* for boys and girls, women and men, began to develop. Throughout the nineteenth century a range of sex-segregated education existed. In the northern states girls often attended school with boys but were taught in different classrooms or buildings, or actually attended class with boys. In southern states, where public education was rare and private education was the custom, girls and boys attended separate schools with unmistakably gendered curricula. Across economic strata and racial and ethnic groups, beliefs about sex segregation in education also differed. But by the end of the nineteenth century, especially in newly urban, industrialized areas, *coeducation*—the schooling of boys and girls together—became the norm in primary and secondary education. Despite this, the ideology of separate spheres stirred concern about the appropriateness of coeducation, posing a cultural problem. Concerns about coeducation were anchored to beliefs about innate sex differences between boys and girls but particularly between men and women. For girls the *problem* of coeducation had largely to do with concerns about girls' contact with boys being harmful to their natural growth, especially their sexual development.

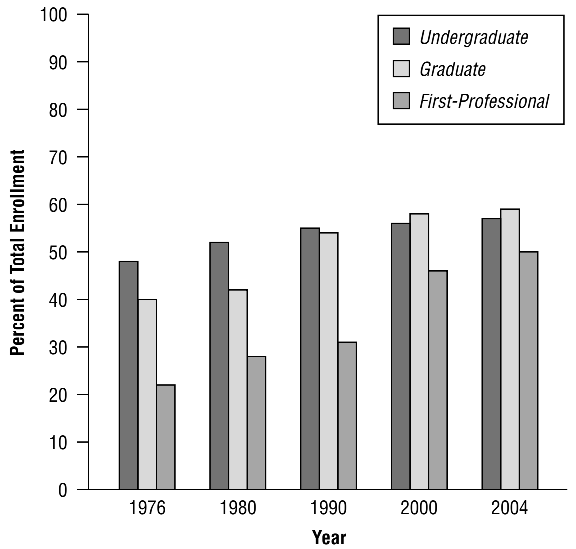
The ideology of sex separation intensified the domestic focus of girls' education and strengthened the foundation for girls' limited role in the public sphere. Girls were to be educated certainly for motherhood and wifehood, but public professions such as teaching and nursing—because of their *feminine* character and moral bearing—could be acceptable for young women. Girls usually left formal schooling around the age of fifteen (an age at which marriage was acceptable), but those who did not marry could extend their education to the newly formed female seminaries and normal schools where they could prepare to become teachers. Thus, a girl's domestic *sphere* was one characterized by Christian moral authority, reading and writing, arithmetic, and household management. Yet despite this, by the beginning of the twentieth century girls were graduating high school in higher rates than boys, a response in part to the growing need for teachers and the exodus of boys to the industrial, market economy.

Throughout the twentieth century girls continued to excel academically in primary and secondary schooling. Though primarily enrolled in coeducational schools, girls did not receive an education equal to that of boys. In 1918 the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education called for a new type of secondary school reflecting the growing vocational needs of the American working classes. Previously seen as schools that prepared students for college, high schools would now prepare students for work. But because work in the early and mid-twentieth century was extremely sex segregated, secondary school curricula necessarily tracked girls into feminine subjects. Girls in the early and mid-twentieth century studied home economics and business courses, whereas boys studied the industrial trades. To prepare them for lives as domestic workers, African-American and other nonwhite girls also studied home economics. With the expansion of the curriculum from the 1940s through the 1960s, girls were directed away from subjects or extracurricular activities that were deemed more culturally suitable for boys. If girls took *masculine* subjects, such as a science course, they were likely courses on domestic science.

Through the late 1960s girls in the United States still experienced unequal, sex-specific education that carried a legacy of separate spheres despite advances in science and cultural change. School for girls in the 1960s was a place where they were likely to be told that they could not participate in certain activities (e.g., running for student body president, enrolling in physics courses, receiving certain awards), to be viewed as intellectually inferior to boys, and to be expected to prepare themselves for a few, very restricted, postgraduation opportunities, such as teacher, secretary, nurse, librarian, and soon thereafter, wife and mother. Though as in centuries before these curricular ideals and their goals differed across social and economic lines and across and within racial and immigrant communities, girls, regardless of class, race, or religion, were educated according to the sociocultural beliefs about sex as destiny. Despite advances by women in the 1940s and 1950s, American schooling was fundamentally a conduit for the transference and reinforcement of gender ideology that privileged boys and men and viewed girls and women as intellectually inferior and thus not wholly suitable for certain roles outside the home.

By the end of the 1960s, however, cultural shifts in the United States around civil rights energized educators to consider the state of girls' education. With the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, girls' educational equity came under greater and greater scrutiny. Under Title IX a school discriminating against girls in athletics, in career guidance, or in access to curricular offerings would lose federal subsidies. In 1974 Congress passed the Women's Educational Equity Act, which enabled the funding of projects aimed at identifying and eliminating sex bias in schooling. Yet, though legislated, educational equity for girls through the 1990s was rarely litigated, and no U.S. schools lost federal funds because of noncompliance. In the 1980s and early 1990s the rise of conservative politics, the feminist backlash, and the presidencies and educational policies of Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush diluted much of the work accomplished by gender equity programs and research. The publication of two landmark studies, *The AAUW Report: How Schools Shortchange Girls* (1992) and *Hostile Hallways: The AAUW Survey on Sexual Harassment in America's Schools* (1993), reinvigorated the national and public concern about gender bias in schooling. Research on sexism in America's classrooms, not just in the curriculum and extracurricular programs, became the subject of investigation in the 1990s propelled by the publication of *Failing at Fairness: How America's Schools Cheat Girls* (1994). In *Failing at Fairness*, researchers Myra Sadker and David Sadker identify girls' inequality in schooling, specifically through sexist pedagogy and curricula, sexist assumptions of and expectation for girls, and in the performance lag at the completion of high school.

Female Post-Secondary Enrollment



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education. Institute of Educational Sciences. National Center for Education Statistics. *Digest of Education Statistics 2005.* Available online at http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d05/.

Female Post-Secondary Enrollement 1976-2004. THOMSON GALE.

Much of the research on educational disparity between boys and girls has focused on achievement. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and the National Educational Longitudinal Survey present data on sex differences. The NAEP, for example, reported that since 1971 girls have higher scores in reading and writing but that boys have made gains relative to girls since that time. The achievement gap between boys and girls has continued to be closely monitored and has been shrinking over time. The 2004 accounting of girls' and boys' educational performances compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics, *Trends in Educational Equity of Girls and Women, 2004* (Freeman 2004), affirms that the significant academic achievement gaps that once existed between boys and girls have been reduced or eradicated. According to this report, in elementary and secondary schools girls perform as well or outperform boys on many of the achievement indicators. In indicators of mathematics performance, girls and boys perform similarly with the exception of third-grade assessment; and they perform similarly on the overall reading assessment. Assessing whether or not there is genuine gender equity in American schools is a difficult matter, but data on academic performance, persistence to high school graduation, and participation in extracurricular activities suggest that some level of equity had been reached by the early twenty-first century.

According to this same report girls are less likely than boys to drop out of school, a change from the trend of the 1970s when boys and girls dropped out at similar rates. Girls report fewer instances of bullying than do boys, and girls appear less likely to engage in drug use and violence. Girls, however, continue to outperform boys in reading and writing, the gap in their mathematics achievement has been small since the mid-1990s, and overall the gender gaps in mathematics and science are narrowing. In the twelfth-grade NAEP assessment of science and mathematics, there was no significant gender difference in scores. Nevertheless, girls report not liking math and science as much as boys do but overall take the same or more challenging coursework in these subjects as their male peers. Except for athletics, where only a third of senior girls report participation, girls are more likely than boys to participate in extracurricular activities. Girls tend to have higher educational aspirations than do boys and are more likely to enroll in college following high school graduation. Despite all their success girls' attitudes toward school have grown progressively more pessimistic since 1980. By the year 2001 only 29 percent of high school senior girls reported liking school compared with 50 percent in 1980 (Freeman 2004).

Whether or not true gender equity has been achieved in American education is difficult to determine. Though girls and women have by the early twenty-first century successfully challenged the earlier gender ideology of separate spheres and have proven the defectiveness of gender ideology premised on biological determinism, girls in America's schools still struggle with norms of femininity that restrict their growth and development.

HIGHER EDUCATION

To properly understand the role of sex and gender in higher education in the United States, it is important to note that women's participation in higher education was not commonplace until the mid-1900s. The first colleges for women, also known as women's seminaries, were founded in the 1830s and focused on preparing women for traditional roles as wives and mothers, albeit in a more learned manner. Harvard University, the first university established in the United States (in 1636), was founded originally for the education and ordination of young men into religious life and did not formally admit women as students until it merged with Radcliffe College in 1970.

American white women first participated in *higher* education in the early 1800s when Emma Willard founded the Troy Female Seminary in 1821. Seminaries such as Willard's, Catharine Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary (1823), and Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837) were established as institutions to prepare young women for teaching. These early *colleges* for women, which granted no baccalaureate degrees, were designed to give young white women instruction in the domestic arts and sciences and other vocationally appropriate instruction. They were really preparatory schools for domesticity and did not advance women in the liberal education found in men's colleges of the era. In fact the larger cultural belief in the dangers of higher learning for women—that such intellectual training would be deleterious to their health in general and reproductive well-being in particular—limited the curricular expansion of women's seminaries.

It was not until the establishment of the seven women's colleges founded on the East Coast (the *Seven Sisters*) that the curricular emphasis in women's higher learning changed to follow the classical curriculum of men's colleges. The Seven Sisters—Barnard (1889), Bryn Mawr (1885), Mount Holyoke (1888), Radcliffe (1894), Smith (1875), Vassar (1865), and Wellesley (1875)—offered white women a traditional liberal education that included proficiency in Latin and Greek, history, mathematics, literature, the sciences, and Romance languages. Barnard and Radcliffe were each founded as *coordinate colleges*, institutions in articulation with their respective men's colleges, Columbia University and Harvard. African-American women entered higher education in 1873 when Bennett College was established in North Carolina as a coeducational institution for emancipated slaves. In 1881 the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary was founded to educate newly emancipated black women in much the same manner as earlier white women's seminaries educated white women in the domestic arts and sciences. It was not until 1901 that the seminary, by then renamed Spelman Seminary (and later Spelman College), began awarding college degrees to African-American women.

Throughout much of its history, then, higher education in the United States was single-sex education.

Coeducation as a general rule did not become part of women's higher educational experience until the close of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the public land-grant colleges and universities through the first Morrill Act of 1862. Though Oberlin College began formal coeducation as early as 1833 and the University of Iowa enrolled women at its founding in 1855, it was not until the post-Civil War period that formal coeducation truly developed. Fueled by the rapid expansion in public schooling and the need for teachers, the rise of feminist ideas and feminists' critique of the denigrated status of white women in light of abolitionist principles, and the institutional need for tuition dollars, coeducation in the public and white tertiary sectors took hold. For historically black colleges and universities, which were continuously challenged by a lack of funding, coeducation was the pragmatic norm. Catholic colleges and universities resisted coeducation throughout the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century. Despite such resistance, by the mid-twentieth century, coeducation was largely accepted in the United States, in part because of the increasing competition for students and their tuition dollars, the influence of feminist critiques of educational equity for girls and women, and the passage of Title IX (1972) and other legislation that prohibited sex discrimination.

The prevalence of women and men in higher education has shifted significantly since the 1970s because of the convergence of several factors, including increasingly effective legal advocacy for women's equity in education, such as through Title IX, shifts in social mores and norms regarding women's education, and increased opportunities for coeducation at formerly all-male institutions. Between 1970 and 2001 women became the majority of students enrolled in postsecondary education in the United States, increasing from 42 percent to 56 percent of all undergraduates. Graduate school enrollment for women also increased during this period. In 1970, 39 percent of all graduate students were female, but in 2004 women for the first time earned more doctorates in the professions than did men (the former comprising 55 percent of the total).

The National Center for Education Statistics provides data that suggests that overall, females are more likely than males to enroll in college immediately following graduation and to enroll in graduate school following college. Among white, black, and Hispanic men and women, participation in college education uniformly increased from 1970 to 2001, with the exception of Hispanic men, whose total participation declined. Among some racial groups data indicates that women surpass their male counterparts in both college enrollment and degree attainment: Black women earned two-thirds of both associate's degrees and bachelor's degrees awarded to all black students. Hispanic and American-Indian women were awarded 60 percent or more of associate's and bachelor's degrees conferred to undergraduates from these racial groups, whereas Asian women earned 57 percent of associate's degrees and 55 percent of bachelor's degrees awarded to all Asian students. Women graduate at slightly higher rates than men attending four-year institutions (56.8% compared with 51.3% in 2005).

Gender-role socialization has been a persistent factor in the fields open to individuals of different sexes. Traditionally, men have far outnumbered women in educational disciplines related to science, math, engineering, computer science, and business, whereas women have tended to more highly populate fields such as education, nursing and other health professions, and the social sciences. In 2003–2004 men continued to outpace women five to one in computer science and engineering, whereas women were three times as likely as men to study education and the health professions. In 2004, 64 percent of all earned doctorates in business were conferred to men, along with 82 percent of doctorates in engineering and three-quarters of Ph.D.s in the physical sciences. Women earned more doctorates than men in only one field of study: education.

Women have not been proportionally represented in college and university faculty roles, again largely because of gender-role socialization, which discourages women from seeking leadership roles in the college classroom, and cultural resistance to the idea that women are effective scholars and teachers. In the fall of 2003, 60 percent of the total faculty in the United States were male, but differences by rank elucidate this further. Men outnumbered women at the full professor rank 75 percent to 25 percent, at the associate professor rank 60 percent to 40 percent, and at the assistant professor rank 55 percent to 45 percent. Women are more likely than men to be part-time faculty, with lower rank and status as well as compensation (two-thirds of part-time faculty in 2003 were women, while one-third of full-time faculty were women). In terms of field of study, the traditional areas most open to males are also reflected in the composition of the faculty. Business, engineering, the natural sciences, and agriculture are fields in which male faculty outnumber women more than three to one; women approach parity with men as teachers of education and exceed men in faculty roles in only one baccalaureate-level health profession: nursing. Whereas data indicate that women continue to be underrepresented as faculty in American colleges and universities, they are making gradual gains in attainment of both part- and full-time faculty positions throughout all types of institutions (two-year, four-year, public, and private).

Whereas data point to encouraging trends in increased participation for women in colleges and universities, several issues of concern have emerged since the 1980s linking women's differential achievements in higher education to systemic forms of bias and harassment. One such systemic obstacle is the *chilly classroom climate*, first identified in 1982 by the educational researchers Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler. Hall and Sandler studied classroom practices and pedagogical styles of faculty, along with perceptions of male and female students, and found faculty behaviors, including communication styles, classroom structure, and text selection, that subtly exclude women students and create an environment hostile to women's learning and achievement. While Hall's and Sandler's research has been highly influential in the creation of improved pedagogical methods and attention to classroom participation equity, some scholars have argued that the data are not sufficient to work toward widespread sexist practices in the college classroom (Constantinople, Cornelius, and Gray 1988).

An additional factor that has greatly influenced women's equal participation in postsecondary education has been the adoption and enforcement of Title IX. The main purpose of Title IX is to require schools receiving federal funding to abolish sexually discriminatory practices in education programs, such as sexual harassment and employment discrimination, and to provide individual students with legal protection to remedy violations of these practices. Implementation of Title IX is guaranteed by the federal government and applies to a wide array of institutional practices such as access and admission to higher education; vocational training and career development; gender equity in math, science, and technology education; prevention of and effective response to sexual harassment; and proportional opportunity to engage in intercollegiate athletics.

The advancement of women in higher education in the United States has raised subsequent questions about the position and prospects of men. A 2006 report issued by the Department of Education noted that traditional-aged male students are not only enrolled in lower numbers than women but that—across race and socioeconomic group—they are also less likely to earn a bachelor's degree, and they earn lower grades than women overall. Social scientists speculate that the dominance exhibited by boys in high school, where they continue to earn higher grades and SAT scores than do girls, fades as they enter college and lose focus and discipline, spending less time studying and more time socializing than girls do. Others contend that the *crisis for boys* is an exaggerated fear that reflects cultural anxiety about girls' achievement. An additional criticism of the movement for preserving boys' educational opportunity is that it is steeped in racial and class bias, because the male drop in engagement in higher education was not a concern until it began to impact white, middle-class boys.

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II. GLBT ISSUES

Schools and colleges in the United States have become more inclusive and sensitive to the needs of individuals of differing identities in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, including those students who do not identify as heterosexual or as conforming to their biologically assigned genders, in other words, students who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender (GLBT). While interest in these students was virtually nonexistent before the 1980s, a rash of instances of bullying and severe harassment toward them—and toward students simply perceived to be GLBT—brought the issue to the policy forefront. In addition U.S. Supreme Court decisions began to interpret the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as requiring schools and colleges to provide due process and necessary protections for students being harassed due to real or perceived sexual orientation. A nationally conducted survey in 2005 indicated that 76 percent of students report hearing terms and phrases such as *faggot*, *dyke*, and *that's so gay* used pejoratively on a daily basis in their school environments (Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network [GLSEN] 2005). Additionally 37.8 percent of students in the survey reported experiencing physical harassment due to sexual orientation, and more than one-quarter experienced harassment due to gender expression. Grade point averages and college attainment expectations were significantly lower than average for GLBT students who experienced harassment in the context of their school, and they were much more likely to skip school due to harassment or fear of it. The Harvey Milk School in New York City, founded in 1985 and granted full accreditation in 2002, is the first charter high school created for the explicit protection and support of GLBT-identified high school students.

Peer harassment at school, fear of being discovered or outed as GLBT, and family/peer nonacceptance are factors that significantly increase the likelihood that GLBT youth will experience feelings of isolation, despondency, and hopelessness. Studies consistently indicate that students who identify as GLBT are two to four times more likely than their straight peers to attempt suicide, and are also more likely to suffer prolonged periods of depression and anxiety, and to resort to alcohol or other drug abuse (GLSEN study).

In terms of appropriate remedies, some grammar and high schools have developed creative and resourceful means for offering support to their GLBT students, and studies show that the existence of such support mechanisms does make a difference. The first school-based project to address the needs and concerns of GLBT teens was founded in Los Angeles County's Fairfax High School. The name of the group, Project 10, is an allusion to the commonly believed (though never actually measured) statistic that 10 percent of the population is gay or lesbian.

The first school-based groups to call themselves gay-straight alliances (GSAs) were formed in 1989 at two private schools in Massachusetts, the Phillips Academy in Andover and the Concord Academy in Concord. These groups were founded to provide peer-based support and advocacy for GLBT students and to engage straight-identified students in the work of transforming the school climate regarding GLBT issues. By the year 2002, there were 1,200 GSAs across the country in public, private, and even some parochial schools. The GLSEN is a national organization formed in 1989 to coordinate the efforts of GSAs and to strengthen national-level research and advocacy for the safety of GLBT youth. As of 2006, only nine states have comprehensive laws that require school officials to respond to harassment based on sexual orientation, while most other states have blanket laws that do not specify sexual orientation as a protected category.

GLBT STUDENTS IN COLLEGE: THE ISSUES

College campuses have often been on the forefront of social change in U.S. culture, and the emergence of GLBT student identity and awareness of GLBT issues is no exception. Due to complexities in measurement and the fact that many GLBT students remain private about their sexual orientation, it is not possible to determine the size or prevalence of this student population on college campuses. However, for many GLBT youth, college is a time when students begin to explore issues of identity and belonging related to their sexual orientation and gender identity as a result of being away from home for the first time and in an environment that foments self-exploration and understanding.

With respect to sexual orientation, researchers have found that gay, lesbian and bisexual (GLB) youth experience relatively predictable stages of growth and identity formation as a result of *coming out* as such. Initially resistant to or in denial of their feelings and identity, GLB young adults gradually move toward acknowledgment and acceptance of these feelings as they begin experimenting with same-sex relationship building, eventually integrating their understanding of themselves as GLB in early adulthood. While these stage models do not completely explain the experience of all GLB youth, and do not often adequately account for the complex interplay of other identities (such as racial, ethnic, and class identities embedded in the experience of being GLB), they do provide a helpful roadmap for understanding the process of growth and development.

Transgender students, defined as those who do not conform to their assigned, biologically based gender identity, face an additional set of challenges in their college communities as they struggle to be recognized appropriately and to gain access to appropriate facilities such as residence hall room arrangements and bathrooms. The known trajectory of transgender college student identity is proving to be more complex, since researchers have thus far failed to develop models of transgender identity development that are nonstigmatizing and that validate transgender identity as a normative, rather than deviant, identity.

The late twentieth century emergence of GLBT student organizations on most college campuses, along with the establishment of college-funded support services for GLBT students, indicates that the numbers of such students are growing. Interest in the specific concerns of GLBT students intensified after the murder of Matthew Shepard in 1998. Shepard, a University of Wyoming college student, was kidnapped, tortured, and killed by two local men because he was gay. Following Shepard's death, a national dialogue about tolerance and inclusion of GLBT students on college campuses ensued, leading to creation of new programs, services, and legislative efforts to stem anti-GLBT bias incidents on campus.

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III. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Gender issues in international education vary greatly by region and also vary within regions by level of schooling and, at the tertiary (higher education) level, subject of study. Some broad trends can be analyzed by examining data from the first decade of the twenty-first century. Those trends shed light on areas in which the experiences of boys and girls and men and women have remained dramatically different.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

To gauge the porousness of the academic pipeline through higher education, it is helpful to refer to both the Education for All initiative developed at the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (UNESCO 1990) and the Millennium Development Goals established in 2000 by the United Nations and their significance in promoting primary education. At Jomtien "delegates from 155 countries, as well as representatives from some 150 organizations agreed … to universalize primary education and massively reduce illiteracy before the end of the decade" (UNESCO 1990). As something of a follow-up to Jomtien, the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG) emerged from a similar convening of UN member states and had as one of eight main goals the achievement of universal primary education by 2005. As illustrated by these two international initiatives, the urgency of access to primary education has been established firmly in the global education arena.

Globally, primary education has had the strongest gender parity and overall levels of student enrollment per age cohort of any sector of education. Between 1998 and 2004 most major regions of the world had male-female gross enrollment gender parity indices between 87 (Africa) and 99 (North America and Europe). The focused levels of international commitment apparent in Jomtien and the MDG appear to have achieved the goals of universal primary education. Unfortunately, this almost universal gender parity diminishes as students move to higher levels of education.

In secondary school enrollments, however, the gender parity indices of gross enrollment rates for lower secondary education show more dramatic variance among regions, ranging from 81 (Africa) to 102 (North America) and ranging in upper secondary education from 89 (Africa) to 107 (Europe). More notable, however, are the greater variations within regions: "Gender disparities against girls are highest in Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Guinea, Mali and Togo, with fewer than 60 girls per 100 boys entering secondary education" (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2005, p. 26).

Significant disparities are not limited to those involving girls: In countries where boys are disadvantaged it is mostly because the boys do not make the transition to the secondary level. "The greatest disadvantages for boys are reported in Bangladesh, Cape Verde, Mauritius, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Uruguay, with more than 110 girls entering lower secondary per 100 boys" (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2005, p. 27). In many countries in which boys do not progress to higher levels of education, expectations about supporting their families by working instead of pursuing further education are often the cultural norm.

TERTIARY EDUCATION

In higher (tertiary) education there are marked differences in the overall access of women and men in developed and developing countries. In Western Europe and North

Select Country Examples: Gross Enrollment Ratios—Tertiary Education (represented as %)

	1965		1995		2004	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Australia	22	10	70	74	65	80
Bangladesh	01	00	10	02	09	04
Chile	07	05	30	26	44	42
Czech Republic	n/a	n/a	23	21	36	38
Ethiopia	n/a	n/a	01	00	04	01
Finland	11	11	65	76	79	95
Guatemala	04	01	12	04	11	08
Iran	02	01	21	13	21	24
Korea, Rep. of	09	03	66	38	109	67
Morocco	n/a	n/a	13	09	11	10
Philippines	17	21	25	34	26	33
United States	49	31	71	92	69	96

SOURCE: Task Force, 2000; UIS, 2006.

Gross Enrollment Ratios—Tertiary Education. THOMSON GALE.

America women are not simply the majority of enrollees in higher education, they also are represented disproportionately at all levels of higher education from the most selective elite universities to noncompetitive, non-degree-granting programs. In many cases, such as the United States, the gross enrollment ratio of women (the ratio of women enrolled in tertiary education divided by the total number of women in the tertiary education age cohort, expressed as a percentage) has grown dramatically, reaching proportions that exceed overall enrollment growth. In 1965, only 31 percent of women in the tertiary education cohort were enrolled, whereas in 2004, 96 percent were enrolled. The male enrollment pattern, however, grew less dramatically, increasing from 49 percent in 1965 to 69 percent in 2004. The figure for 2004 actually represented something of a decline in male gross enrollments from a high of 71 percent in 1995 (World Bank 2002). Overall enrollments during that period increased from 40 percent to 82 percent.

In terms of subject of study, however, women have not made strides as dramatic as those they have made in overall enrollments. The enrollment progress of women has not been distributed equally among fields of study. In most countries female enrollments have been in increasingly "feminized" fields such as education and the social sciences, whereas much smaller increases in female enrollments have occurred in science and technology. Such "gender tracking" (Licuanan 2004) or "gender streaming" (World Bank 2002) contradicts the statistical illusion that women have been gaining broad access to the full marketplace of employment opportunities as they increase their enrollment numbers in higher education. Instead, women often are enrolled in programs that prepare their graduates for low-income professions, perpetuating access challenges out of the education arena and into the workforce. Specific examples of countries that have been bucking this trend include Bahrain (50 percent), Mongolia (51 percent), Honduras (48 percent), and Swaziland (43 percent), where women have near parity enrollment percentages in science and technology (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2006).

Two issues that are somewhat peripheral to specific educational attainment but are important in understanding access to higher education are access to lodging during education and access to technology before and throughout education. Lodging can be particularly difficult for women in countries with strong cultural norms that are opposed to single women living alone in unknown environments. As many countries' universities are situated in the largest urban environments, this often means that rural students (male and female) and all female students are denied access because of strong familial and/or cultural opposition (World Bank 2002).

THE DIGITAL GENDER GAP

With regard to technology, women are at a disadvantage in much of the world. For women to participate fully in the "knowledge societies" of the global economy of the twenty-first century, familiarity with and sophisticated skills in using technology are a requirement. According to a 2001 International Labor Organization report, there is a "digital gender gap" in much of the world, including many developed countries. Many of the countries listed in that report have relative parity among men and women regarding Internet usage, with China, Korea, and Taiwan all at over 40 percent, but many more have broad gaps. Regional ratios include the following: 38 percent of Internet users are women in Latin America, 28 percent in the European Union, and 4 percent in the Middle East (International Labor Organization 2001). As higher education increasingly relies on and in many respects is conducted through information and communications technology, this gap in female access to and use of information and communications technologies may reinforce or even regenerate existing barriers to access for women throughout the world.

Although large and undeniable strides have been made worldwide in improving access to all students—male and female—at all levels, equity of access and opportunity differs greatly by economic status, country of origin, and gender. As girls and women increasingly dominate the enrollment ratios at most levels of education, the focus must shift from numerical representation to proportionately distributed representation so that access to all areas of educational opportunities and the socioeconomic status and benefits that often accompany such opportunities are distributed appropriately among males and females in the workplace and in all areas of society.

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Roberta Bassett

EFFEMINACY

Effeminacy refers specifically to males who are not sufficiently *masculine* according to the expectations of their culture and/or context. These masculine traits generally involve strength, virility, emotional control, and lack of demonstrativeness. Men who fail to exhibit an appropriate degree of these qualities may be seen as more feminine than masculine—thus the term *effeminacy*. The term carries negative connotations, and as such reinforces normative patriarchy. To be closer to the feminine is an undesirable position for a male; conversely, for a female to be masculine (often called *butch*) is similarly negatively connoted. In this way, neither the female sex nor any feminine gender positions are valued as highly in most cultures as the masculine male position.

The difference (actual or perceived) between sex and gender in an individual becomes particularly important with the onset of puberty. Prior to this developmental stage, males are frequently associated with the feminine, partly because of the typical pattern in which children are raised, and thus most influenced, by women, and also because the prepubescent boy's lack of physical development is somewhat in line with expectations of femininity. As puberty progresses, the male is expected to develop toward a more masculine position: The body enlarges and strengthens, body hair develops, and the voice deepens. Any failure to meet these expectations of masculinity renders the individual suspect. The fact that the process of puberty is beyond the control of the individual is usually irrelevant; the proper alignment of gender and sex is expected, regardless of the body's ability to meet this expectation. The way in which the male comports himself, his demeanor and attitude, are expected to develop in tandem. Masculine males are expected to be somewhat dominant, to use their strength and virility in sanctioned ways (bravery, sexual aggressiveness, and the like), to express themselves physically more than intellectually, and, most importantly, to be attracted to the opposite sex. Boys who do not manifest masculine traits as expected, or whose development is delayed, are often ridiculed and subjected to a variety of treatment whose purpose is to both reinstate the normative expectations as well as define the individual's distance from them. Name-calling is a common form of torment; effeminate young men are often mockingly referred to by their peers as *sissy*, *pussy*, *queer*, *faggot*, *pansy*, *pouf* (British), *nancy*, *poncey* (British), *cream puff*, *fairy*, *pantywaist*, or *mama's boy*.

CONNECTION WITH HOMOSEXUALITY

Effeminacy is suspicious because, as R. W. Connell (2005) states, "our culture believes [that] effeminacy [is produced by] homosexual relationships" (p. 32). The fear or suspicion of effeminacy, therefore, is actually a symptom of underlying homophobia. Because an individual's sexual practice can be difficult to ascertain, characteristics or traits of persons known to engage in specific sexual practices are read as signs of that practice. As with any stereotype, however, the fit is imperfect: Many effeminate men are not homosexuals, and many men who appear normatively (or even excessively) masculine are homosexuals. In the absence of definite knowledge of sexual practice, however, effeminacy has become a major marker that invites suspicion. This problem is discussed by Richard Dyer in *The Culture of Queers* (2002):

> Queer has something to do with not being properly masculine or feminine. That "properly" is grounded in heterosexuality, but is held together with the assumption that if a person does not have the sexual responses appropriate to his or her sex (to wit, heterosexual ones), then he or she will not have fully the other attributes of his or her sex. This is how signs of effeminacy and mannishness, that have nothing directly to do with sexual preference but with gender, nonetheless come to indicate homosexuality. Moreover,

> they are a visible indicator of homosexuality, something which, short of showing acts, can't otherwise be seen.
>
> *(p. 97)*

Dyer makes clear that the connection between effeminacy and sexual practice or sexuality is not only artificial but oddly necessary. An individual's sexual practices cannot be concretely known (there is no "visible indicator") short of actual sexual contact with that person. Effeminacy, which is visible in nonsexual situations, becomes the sign of what cannot be known, regardless of its accuracy as an indicator. In modern Western culture, the connection between effeminacy and homosexuality became most solidified in the infamous trials of the Irish author and wit Oscar Wilde (1854–1900). Wilde had long been famed for his eccentricity of dress and mannerism; his effeminacy, or *foppishness*, was seen as a marker of class, education, and refinement rather than of sexuality, and was thus a source of envy rather than derision. His prosecution and conviction for obscenity, including sodomy, made public his sexual practice, and his effeminacy became quickly read as a sign of his homosexuality. While this connection had long existed, the Wilde trials to some degree made it more absolute in the public imagination.

Because effeminacy is linked in the popular imagination with homosexuality, it has often been taken advantage of as a kind of code. For instance, in mainstream films of the mid-twentieth century, when overtly depicting homosexuality was difficult, effeminate characters were sometimes used to create a kind of queerness. Often, though, these effeminate characters were married or in heterosexual relationships, which made their sexual location harder to read. By combining a character quality (effeminate) with a social position (heterosexual marriage), the queerness was simultaneously deflected and magnified. The characters clearly were *not* gay, because they were married. Yet their obvious gayness was made even stranger *because* they were married.

Some actors, such as Paul Lynde (1926–1982), made their entire careers out of this queer-yet-normative character position. His performances include films such as *Send Me No Flowers* (1964), in which he played a funeral plot salesman who claims to be married (his wife does not appear in the film), and who seems to be morbidly fascinated with burials as well as oddly attracted to Rock Hudson, who is one of Lynde's clients. Hudson's own macho queerness only magnifies the strange quality of their interaction. Lynde also played a husband and father of two children in the musical *Bye Bye Birdie* (1963), which found him infatuated with celebrity. He not only was thrilled at the prospect of appearing on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, but was also excessively interested in Conrad Birdie, the Elvis-like superstar who lives with his family (and romances his daughter) as a publicity stunt. What might be understood as parental concern becomes translated into a kind of queer desire because of Lynde's effeminacy. His recurring role as Uncle Arthur on the television series *Bewitched* is also a famous example of mainstream queerness, again understood not through representation of actual homosexuality, but through an effeminate male character.

DAVID'S RELATIONSHIP WITH JONATHAN

Effeminacy has been valued differently across cultures, but is most often seen as nonnormative. One of the earliest descriptions and judgments of effeminacy is the story of David's relationship with Jonathan in the Old Testament of the Bible. 2 Samuel 1:26 states "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan: very pleasant hast thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women." This verse seems to indicate a degree of nonspecific, yet intense affection between David and Jonathan, which is compared to that between men and women. According to 1 Samuel 20:30–31,

> Then Saul's anger was kindled against Jonathan, and he said unto him, Thou son of the perverse rebellious woman, do not I know that thou hast chosen the son of Jesse to thine own confusion, and unto the confusion of thy mother's nakedness? For as long as the son of Jesse liveth upon the ground, thou shalt not be established, nor thy kingdom.

Here, Jonathan's father curses him for his relationship with David, one that causes "confusion" and seems to prohibit either man from fathering subsequent generations. As with most readings of sexuality in the Bible, there is vast disagreement about the meaning underlying these verses, but the possibility of homosexuality seems to prevail because of David's effeminacy. In fact, David is famous almost *because* he is effeminate: In spite of his diminutive size and stature, he defeats the excessively masculine Goliath in battle. His relationship with Jonathan, however, is clearly not valued by Saul, and is a source of shame. The nature of the relationship is not specific, but has been claimed to be sexual by some scholars.

THE BERDACHE

Effeminacy has not always been negatively connoted, however. There are numerous stories of the *berdache*, a kind of middle gender position recognized among Amerindian cultures. This formulation stands in stark contrast to Western notions of transsexuality, which assume two normative gender and sex positions with limited mobility between them; the *berdache* embodied a difference between normative gender and sex without attributing sexual desire or preference to this difference. Essentially, effeminacy (in males) and butchness (in females) could be incorporated into the gender spectrum without associating them with homosexuality in any way. It must be noted, however, that because knowledge of the *berdache* is mostly anecdotal and often conveyed in journals or writings of Western explorers rather than coming from the *berdache* themselves, there is a great deal of debate over the existence or status of such individuals.

In some pagan religions of the ancient Near East, there was also a tradition of male priests serving female deities. It was felt that the males needed to more fully embrace the feminine in order to serve their goddesses. To do so, a kind of gender transformation sometimes took place, including cross-dressing and even castration. Similar traditions of transgendering in order to spiritually bridge the masculine and feminine exist in Jewish Cabala. The Bible mentions pagan transgendered priests in 1 Kings; the word *kadeshim* has traditionally been translated as *sodomites*, thus contributing the notion that Jewish and Christian scripture prohibits homosexuality. The Latin translation of the Bible in 405 CE substituted the word *effeminati* for *kadeshim*, leading to a frequent English translation of the word as *effeminate*.

SEE ALSO *Wilde, Oscar.*

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Brian Holcomb

EGYPT, PHARAONIC

The Egyptian pharaonic or dynastic age stretched from the unification of the country in approximately 3100 BCE to the death of Cleopatra VII in 30 BCE. This lengthy period is conventionally broken down into times of strong rule (the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, the Late Period, and the Ptolemaic Period) interrupted by times of fragmented and foreign rule (the First, Second, and Third Intermediate Periods). These Kingdoms and Periods are further subdivided into dynasties of connected, but not necessarily blood-related, rulers. Pharaonic Egypt retained a remarkable cultural consistency with little expectation of social mobility. For more than three thousand years, Egyptian women were raised to follow in their mothers' footsteps while Egyptian men were trained to work alongside their fathers.

THE FAMILY

All Egyptians, even the deities, were expected to marry and produce children. Yet there are few textual references to weddings, and no evidence at all for a formal religious or civil ceremony. It seems that a marriage was effectively sealed when the couple, the bride probably thirteen or fourteen years old and the groom slightly older, started to live together. At this time the woman assumed the wife's title "Mistress of the House." Most couples married within their own social class, with cousin-cousin or uncle-niece marriages being common. Only Egypt's kings were polygynous, marrying one principal wife (the queen consort) plus many secondary wives who lived with their children in harem palaces away from the court. In ancient Egypt, all royal titles expressed a relationship to the semi-divine king. A princess was therefore a "King's Daughter" and a dowager queen a "King's Mother," while a queen was simply a "King's Wife"; a woman who was, or who had been, married to a king. The latter title encompassed the queen consort—the wife who played an important role in state ritual and whose son would succeed to the throne—plus all the secondary harem wives. As the pharaonic age progressed, in order to distinguish her from the growing number of lesser queens, the queen consort acquired an increasing number of titles and regalia.

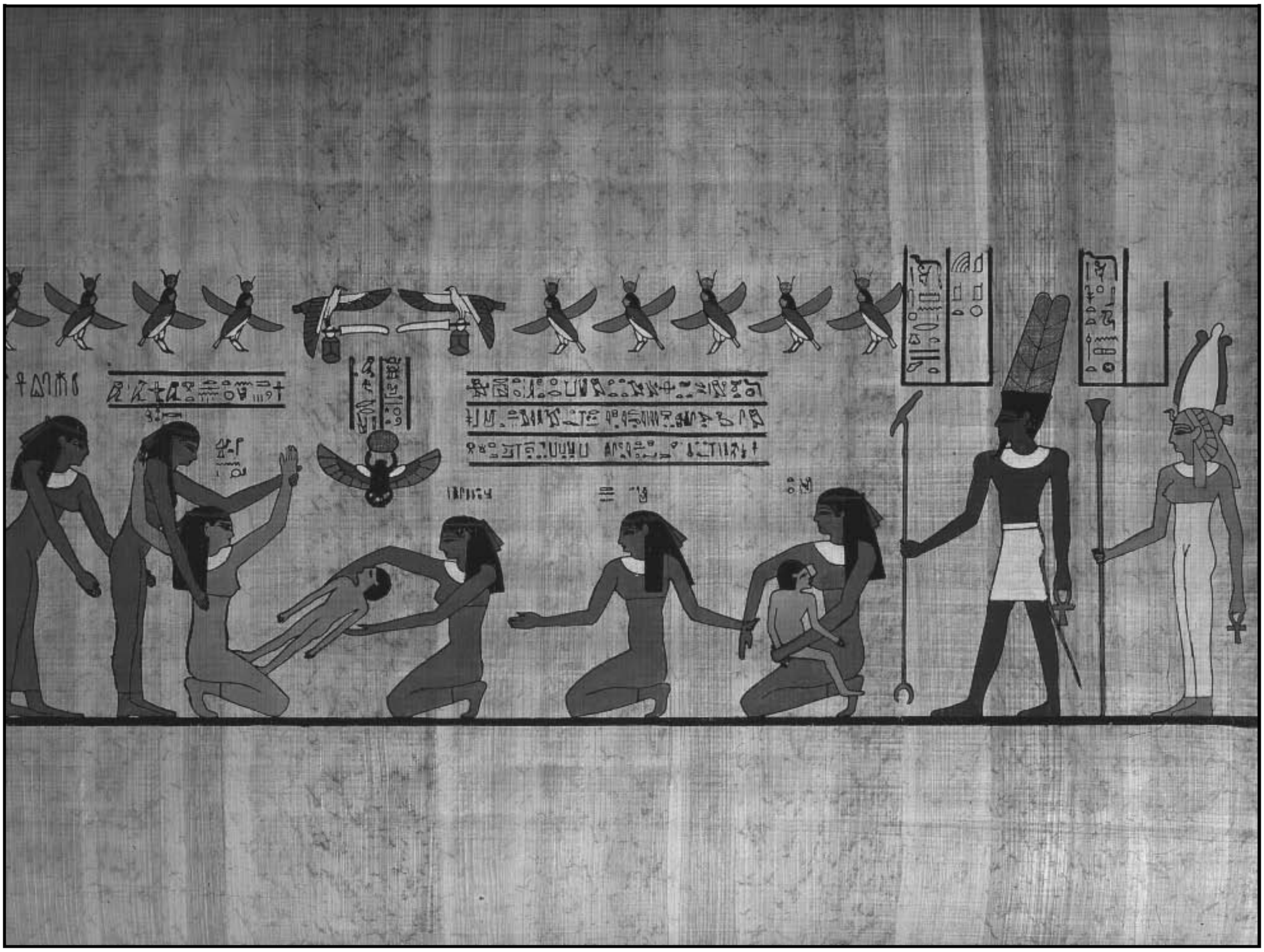
Egypt's kings frequently made incestuous marriages, although these were not obligatory. Egyptologists no longer accept the "heiress theory" that Egyptian kingship was inherited through the female line. Many kings married their sisters or half-sisters, but only two kings (the long-lived New Kingdom monarchs Amenhotep III [r. c. 1391–1353 BCE] and Ramesses II [r. c. 1290–1224 BCE) are known to have married their daughters.

Legally, women shared the same rights as men. They were allowed to own and inherit property and could bear witness in a court of law. They could live alone and, if widowed or divorced, could raise their children without the need for a male guardian. They could deputize for an absent husband in business matters, and many women ran their own small businesses, offering services and food surpluses to their neighbors. But within the marriage there was always a traditional division of labor. The man was regarded as the head of the household, and he was expected to interface with the outside world by working outside the home. To symbolize this responsibility, men were traditionally depicted in art as red or brown skinned while women, who took responsibility for all internal, domestic matters, were shown with paler, untanned skins. Women could work outside the home, either in a paid or a voluntary capacity, but their domestic duties always took precedence. This concentration of the domestic sphere means that women are not particularly well represented in either the textual or the archaeological sources that tend to reflect the lives and official activities of elite and educated men.

CHILDBIRTH AND CHILDREN

Children of either sex were very much welcomed, although sons conveyed greater status. Not only would children care for their parents in old age, they would ensure that they received the correct funerary rituals and the offerings that would guarantee continued life beyond death. Childlessness was considered a tragedy, and the medical papyri included prescriptions intended to detect whether a woman was capable of bearing a child alongside advice on contraception and breastfeeding. Male infertility was an unknown concept. Those who could not have children of their own could consider adoption; some of Egypt's most successful kings, including the New Kingdom monarchs Tuthmosis I (r. c. 1504–1492 BCE) Horemheb (r. c. 1319–1307 BCE) and Ramesses I (r. c. 1307–1306 BCE) were adopted into the royal family.

There are few references to the private, female dominated rite of childbirth in the written and artistic records. Mothers prepared to give birth by removing their clothing and untying their hair, with loose hair symbolizing a loss of control. The few surviving childbirth scenes show mothers in specially constructed tents or birthing bowers. If all went well the mother squatted on a set of birthing



Childbirth in Egypt. *Egyptian illustration of a woman giving birth.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/RAGAB PAPYRUS INSTITUTE CAIRO/DAGLI ORTI.**

bricks (indeed, this was the hieroglyph for giving birth), and a healthy child was delivered into the arms of the local midwife who crouched before her and who cut the umbilical cord with a sharp obsidian knife. If things went badly, there was very little that the midwife could do to help, and several female mummies show evidence of death during childbirth. Spells, charms, and amulets of the pregnant hippopotamus goddess Taweret and the dwarf demi-god Bes might be used to protect both mother and unborn child. During the Middle Kingdom, midwives carried curved batons carved out of hippopotamus teeth. These have no obvious practical purpose, but Egyptologists have speculated that they may have been used to draw a magic circle around the vulnerable mother.

Most mothers breastfed for up to three years, but royal women used wet-nurses, employing high ranking wives for this most important of positions. The children of the royal wet-nurses were educated in the schools attached to the royal harem, and were considered to have a particularly close bond with the royal family. Less than ten percent of Egypt's population could read and write, almost all of them elite males. The vast majority of girls were educated at home where they learned domestic skills from their female relations. But the New Kingdom Theban workmen's village of Deir el-Medina has yielded an eclectic collection of informal written documents—personal scribbles, letters, and laundry lists—that suggest that some non-elite women could read basic signs.

DIVINITIES

Polytheistic Egypt respected many goddesses, with Hathor and Isis being the most prominent. Hathor, the cow-headed daughter of the sun god, was the patron of music, motherhood, and drunkenness, and was worshipped from prehistoric times until the end of the pharaonic age. But as the dynasties progressed the cult of the goddess Isis started to displace that of Hathor. Isis would outlive the last of the pharaohs to become a prominent deity in the Roman Empire. There were many myths associated with Isis, who was revered as a wise woman, healer, and magician. The story of Isis and her husband-brother Osiris allows modern readers an insight into contemporary Egyptian attitudes to women. It tells how, when Osiris had been murdered and dismembered by his brother Seth, Isis was able to use her magic to restore his body and bring him back to a semblance of life. Nine months later Isis gave birth to a son, Horus. As Osiris retreated to rule the land of the dead, Isis protected Horus until he was old enough to claim his birthright. Isis's actions show her to be an ideal wife. Not only is she capable of bearing a son, she is able to use her wits to deputize for her husband and protect her child.

FEMALE KINGS

The ideal succession saw the Egyptian crown pass from father to a son born to the queen consort. If the queen consort had been unable to supply an heir, a successor was sought in the royal harem. Occasionally it was necessary for a queen to rule as temporary regent for a young son. By the Ptolemaic Period (304–30 BCE) ideas of kingship had undergone a subtle change, and several of the Ptolemaic queens, including Egypt's last queen, Cleopatra VII, experienced periods of independent rule.

On at least three occasions a woman took the throne as queen regnant. These women classified themselves as kings, underwent the full coronation ritual, and used the full king's titulary. Sobeknofru (r. c. 1767–1783 BCE) ruled Egypt briefly at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty at time when there was no eligible male successor. Tawosret (r. c. 1198–1196 BCE) enjoyed an undistinguished two-year reign at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Best known of all the female pharaohs is the Eighteenth Dynasty King Hatshepsut (r. c. 1473–1458 BCE). Her reign was a time of peace and prosperity, with significant international trade and a major building program that included work on the Karnak temple of Amen and Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahari mortuary temple. Hatshepsut's artists struggled with the artistic convention which decreed that kings should be depicted as young, strong men; after a brief period where she was depicted with a female body in men's clothing and regalia, Hatshepsut was officially depicted as a male king.

SEE ALSO *Cleopatra.*

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Joyce A. Tyldesley

EGYPTIAN FEMINIST UNION

A group of Egyptian feminist women who were pioneers in public intellectual pursuits and social service as well as activists in the nationalist movement formed the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU) (*al-Ittihad al-Nisa'i al-Misri* is the official name in Arabic, and *l'Union féministe égyptienne* is the official name in French) on March 16, 1923. That was the fourth anniversary of the first women's nationalist demonstration during the 1919 revolution.

The women, acting as nationalist feminists, created the EFU when they realized that male nationalists had relegated the liberation of women to second place after Egypt, with women's help, had won quasi-independence from British colonial rule in 1922. The Egyptian feminists insisted that the full liberation and rights of women and those of the nation were inextricably linked. The EFU-led movement was secular and feminist, indicating the collaboration of Muslims and Christians in a national or Egyptian feminist movement expressed in the intertwined discourse of secular nationalism, religious reform, and humanitarianism. The EFU created two official organs: *l'Egyptienne* in 1925 with Saiza Nabarawi as editor in chief and *al-Misriyya* in 1937 with Fatma Ni'mat Rashid and then Eva Habib al-Masri as editor in chief.

The EFU led a multigoal feminist movement that included demands for education for women at all levels, access to work and new professional opportunities, and basic health care for women and children; reform of the Personal Status Law regulating marriage, divorce, alimony, child custody, and so on; suffrage rights for women; and the ending of state-licensed prostitution. The EFU had the greatest success in the areas of education and work and in the ending of officially sanctioned prostitution. It experienced the biggest disappointments in the failure to control the practice of polygamy and unilateral male divorce through legal reform of the Muslim Personal Status Code.

In 1923 the EFU joined the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (which changed its name that year to the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship [IAW]), sending a delegation that included Huda Sha'rawi, Nabawiyya Musa, and Saiza Nabarawi to its congress in Rome. Huda Sha'arawi became a vice president of the IAW. Through this and other international associations and networks the EFU conducted its feminist work both at home and abroad, actively participating in the elaboration and implementation of a national and international feminism and thus demonstrating that feminism was not exclusively a Western movement.

The EFU was prominent in regional feminist organizing. In 1938 it hosted the Eastern Women's Conference for the Defense of Palestine in Cairo, arguing for the connection of the fate of the nation and that of women. Arab women from the Fertile Crescent countries reconvened in Cairo in 1944 for the first All Arab Feminist Conference, which endorsed a broad platform of nationalist feminist demands. They also agreed on the framework for the All Arab Feminist Union that was established the next year with headquarters in Cairo and presided over by Huda Sha'arawi and a board of vice presidents from each of the member Arab states.

Three decades after the EFU first demanded women's suffrage, EFU feminists and others at the forefront, including in the final round Duriyya Shafiq, the founder and president of *al-Ittihad Bint al-Nil* (The Daughter of the Nile Union), Egyptian women won political rights when the state granted women the right to vote in 1956. The state, as part of a shutdown of all independent organizations and voices, closed the EFU in that year. It was allowed to reopen as the Huda Sha'arawi Association, devoted solely to social work.

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Margot Badran

EIGHT-PAGERS

SEE *Comics/Comic Strips.*

EJACULATION

Ejaculation refers to the discharge of bodily fluids as the direct result of sexual stimulation. Males ejaculate semen. Females may ejaculate fluids produced by an area called the Skene's glands, located immediately above or in front of the vagina. Because male ejaculation is a more common and visible result of sexual stimulation, the term *ejaculation* almost always refers to the emission of semen from the penis. There are a number of slang terms for male ejaculate, including *jism*, *cum*, *splooge*, and *love juice*. There is no slang term for female ejaculate, since culturally it is barely recognized that such a phenomenon occurs, and indeed many women do not ejaculate regularly if at all.

MALE EJACULATION

Male ejaculation is a process that occurs in several stages as a part of male sexual arousal and orgasm. In the first stage of male sexual arousal, the penis is stimulated and hardens. In the second stage, the male reaches a plateau during which the penis is completely hardened and the male fully aroused. Ejaculation occurs during the third phase in two stages. During the first stage, *emission*, sperm that has been stored in the epididymus is propelled through two ducts known as the vas deferens, by means of the ducts' contractions. The point where the sperm begin to collect in the vas deferens is known as the "point of no return." Once this process begins, it is difficult to stop male ejaculation.

As the sperm reach the ampullas at the top of the vas deferens, they enter into the ejaculatory ducts where they are mixed with several fluids contributed by the prostate, the seminal vesicles, and the bulbourethral (or Cowper's) glands. This mix of fluid and sperm constitutes semen. The fluid includes sperm ranging from 60 to 500 million depending on a man's age, the amount of ejaculate, and other factors, as well as a list of component substances ranging from urea, uric acid, and creatine, to calcium, zinc, aboutonia, cholesterol, citric acid, spermadine, spermine, and chlorine, and contains about twenty calories. A single ejaculation consists of approximately 3/4 teaspoon to a tablespoon of fluid, depending on how recently an individual previously ejaculated, how old he is, and how long he was sexually stimulated before ejaculation. The amount of ejaculate decreases if a man has recently ejaculated. Older men tend to have smaller quantities of ejaculate. The number of sperm in an ejaculation varies, depending on a number of factors, including age and the temperature of the testicles.

The second stage of ejaculation, *ejaculation*, is associated with orgasm and occurs at the height of sexual stimulation. A spinal reflex, which is part of the sympathetic nervous system, initiates a series of contractions of muscles in the urethra, the prostate, and the penis. These contractions force the mix of semen and fluids out through the urethra in a series of spurts, although the first contraction may contain no semen at all. These contractions begin at intervals of approximately 0.6 seconds, becoming slower as they continue. Emissions begin with a small amount of ejaculate, build toward larger amounts, then taper off. Contractions may last for an average of 17 seconds or ten to fifteen contractions. After ejaculation, males generally need to wait for a period of time before they can ejaculate again.

EJACULATORY ISSUES

Ejaculation is complex mechanism involving multiple systems of the body—the urethrogenital system, the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous systems, as well as sexual stimuli and emotions. The sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous systems are both part of the autonomic nervous system, which is in charge of such involuntary processes as breathing, digestion, and heartbeat. The sympathetic nervous system prepares individuals to cope with stress or emergency. It controls orgasm and ejaculation. The parasympathetic nervous system prepares individuals to cope with rest and peace. It regulates sexual arousal.

Control of the mechanisms of ejaculation does not always come naturally, especially in younger males who tend to ejaculate more quickly. Many males ejaculate prematurely—that is, before either they or their partners are ready—resulting in ejaculation outside of the vagina before entry or immediately after entry. The inability to delay ejaculation until the moment when both partners are ready can result in anxiety, female dissatisfaction, and loss of fertility, and may produce longer-lasting anxieties about sex in general. Males can learn to control ejaculations through experience or by learning to identify the sensations that define each stage before orgasm. According to Virginia Masters and William Johnson, if a male understands and can identify the processes of ejaculation, he can often learn to stall or prolong pre-ejaculatory stages by slowing down or relaxing. Masters and Johnson suggest becoming familiar with these stages, using masturbation as a means through which to learn to prolong and control the "point of no return."

Other methods for preventing premature ejaculation include the use of condoms, which can de-sensitize the penis; using de-sensitizing creams; deploying a position other than the missionary position that gives the partner more control; or squeezing the base of the penis to reduce the erection by blocking blood flow to the organ. Some males believe that masturbating immediately before sexual intercourse will increase their control of ejaculation by decreasing the immediacy of their desire, but that practice is less successful because the entire phenomenon of arousal and ejaculation is more complex than a matter of satiety.

Another ejaculatory issue is a failure to ejaculate during orgasm, called *anejaculation* or a "dry orgasm." Some males have problems with their prostate glands that prevent or delay ejaculation. Some males have a very low sperm count, called *oligospermia*, or have no sperm at all (as, for example, after a vasectomy), called *azoospermia*. Males also often ejaculate involuntarily during their sleep, called a "nocturnal emission."

FEMALE EJACULATION

A far less recognized phenomenon than male ejaculation, female ejaculation is the expulsion of fluid from the urethra during sexual stimulation. Because its source and causes are less obvious than those accompanying male ejaculation, female ejaculation is seen as unusual. Many cultures have taboos surrounding women's body fluids. Women, unlike men, are not supposed to sweat copiously, be seen urinating, or have public evidence of menstrual periods. Because of these cultural attitudes towards female bodily fluids, female ejaculation is often construed as abnormal—as either an aberration or as a lack of bladder control. The occurrence of female ejaculation is not abnormal, but is instead a sign of sexual satisfaction and female orgasm. Not all females ejaculate, nor do women ejaculate during every sexual encounter. Female ejaculation, however, is a phenomenon that has been recognized since the ancient Greeks, though the nature of the ejaculate and its purpose have only recently been explored.

Skene's glands, an area of tissue located between the urethra and the vagina, produce the milky, liquid substance that is expelled from the female's urethra during periods of high sexual excitement. The glands are believed to have developed from the same embryonic tissue that develops into the prostate gland in males. The glands produce both small quantities of seratonin, which they release into the bloodstream, and prostate hormones. They are erectile in character, which means that when stimulated they enlarge, and when stimulated, they also produce fluids that empty into the urethra and are expelled during orgasm. The fluid that is ejaculated contains PSA (prostate-specific antigen), PAP (prostate-specific acid phosphatase), sugars, urea, creatinine, and water. It may vary in consistency and in concentrations of its elements, depending on the quantities expelled. It is not urine, nor does it represent a failure to control the bladder.

Because there seems to be little relation between female ejaculation and other reproductive functions (that we know of), very little research has been conducted on the phenomenon, the Skene's gland, and the relation between the gland, female ejaculation, female orgasm, and the Gräfenburg Spot or G-Spot, which is the place on the anterior vagina wall just behind the Skene's glands that, when stimulated, produces intense sexual pleasure. Ernst Gräfenberg himself suggested that the ejaculate, which he noted has no function in lubrication, was produced when the Skene's glands were stimulated through the G-Spot.

There is still much ignorance and confusion about the nature and purpose of female ejaculation. Often it is a source of embarrassment and even humiliation. Seeing elements of female sexual response as aberrant or even as diseases or problems is evidence of the lingering masculinist character of medicine and gynecology. Because female ejaculation seems to play no discernable role in reproduction nor in a concept of sexual intercourse as completely complementary in that female organs and responses mirror those of the male, female ejaculation appears to be in excess. When one thinks of intercourse as the joinder of opposites, the female is the repository for male ejaculation, not a partner who contributes her own ejaculate. Nonetheless, female ejaculation is a completely normal sexual response. Knowing about this response would make many women's sexual lives easier.

SEE ALSO *Orgasm.*

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Judith Roof

ELDERLY, SEX AMONG

As people age, a number of biological, psychological, and social changes occur, some of which may have an impact on sexuality and sexual expression. However, there is a paucity of information about sex among the elderly. Traditionally, sexuality has been considered the purview of the young and thought of as antithetical to aging persons. Research and textbooks on sexuality, marriage, and the family and even those on aging often do not devote much, if any, space to discussions of sex among the elderly.

The assumption has been that sexuality is something that occurs in youth and declines with age to the point where the elderly are seen as asexual beings for whom the expression of sexual interest is considered inappropriate or even deviant. Few research studies include elderly respondents, and those which do often use such small samples that it is difficult to generalize to the larger elderly population. As a result of the paucity of research on this topic and the small samples used in the few available studies, it is important to be cautious in generalizing research findings in this area of study.

The landmark research of William Masters and Virginia Johnson (1966) represented a breakthrough in sexuality research, especially as in relation to sexual behavior and the life course (those authors studied subjects of varying ages, including older subjects). Their findings suggested that interest in sex and the practice of sexual behaviors are not limited to the young but are lifelong. However, even after their study was published, most sexuality research continued to concentrate on the young. With increases in life expectancy and the growing number of elderly persons there is a need for more research in this important area of study. The baby boom generation, which had a significant impact on American sexual attitudes and behaviors when its members were young, is expected to have a significant impact on societal views of sex among the elderly. It is anticipated that researchers will pay more attention to sex among the elderly in the future.

INFLUENCES ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE ELDERLY

Sexual interest and activities among the elderly tend to follow patterns set in middle age that are likely to continue into old age (Cox 2001). This suggests that a life course approach to sex among the elderly can be helpful in proving insights into cohort variability (Quadagno 2007). Sexual behavior patterns also are culturally influenced by ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, and religion (Kingsberg 2002).

Studies of sexual attitudes suggest that the importance the elderly attribute to sex in their lives tends to vary with their health and the availability of a partner (Gott and Hinchcliff 2003). Those in good health who have partners attribute some importance to sex in their lives, whereas those who experience barriers such as poor health and the lack of a partner appear to assign less importance to sex. Thus, it is not aging per se but age-associated changes in health or relationship status that appear to result in changing attitudes toward sex. Research suggests that for a variety of reasons women are more likely than men to experience those health and relationship barriers.

A number of biological changes occur in the reproductive systems of both men and women as part of the aging process. For women those changes include menopause: the cessation of menstruation and the traditional cessation of natural fertility. Some women experience hot flashes, night sweats, and other unpleasant symptoms during menopause, whereas others indicate that they experience hardly any noticeable effects. Research has suggested that the previous use of hormonal replacement therapies to overcome some of those negative experiences may have some risky side effects; those therapies no longer are used as widely and are employed with more caution. However, there continues to be interest in the use of hormone replacement therapy as a way of coping with a limited number of age-related changes or pathological conditions associated with aging, such as osteoporosis (Lemme 1999).

Changes in the reproductive system of men include declines in the level of testosterone among most men; also, some men may experience erectile dysfunction as they age. Prescription medications for some of those biological changes have been effective for many men. However, a number of men who have health problems such as diabetes and hypertension continue to report problems in that area. Testosterone replacement therapy is not in widespread use, and its long-term efficacy and side effects require further study (Lemme 1999).

LATE-LIFE DATING AND REMARRIAGE

Late-life dating and mate selection have increased greatly. Widows, widowers, and elderly divorcees no longer are expected to avoid the dating scene and forgo opportunities for developing new intimate relationships or remarriage. The rise of online Internet dating has led to not only an explosion of adult dating sites in general but the development of a number of sites devoted specifically to middle-aged and older daters.

Research on remarriage suggests that elderly males remarry at higher rates than do elderly females, especially among the widowed (Cox 2001). Two factors usually are said to account for this differential, one demographic and one cultural (Davidson 2002). Demographically there are more elderly women than elderly men, and culturally there is the expectation that in dating and marriage relationships the male partner will be the older person, thus giving heterosexual women an even smaller pool of candidates from which to make a selection. Elderly lesbians do not face the shortage of same-age eligible partners that affects elderly heterosexual women (Crooks and Baur 1993).

Additional research suggests that another factor that may account for fewer women remarrying is the desire among a significant number of women not to place themselves in a caretaking role. Those women indicate that they would like the companionship aspect of dating but not the caretaking responsibilities associated with the role of a wife (Davidson 2002). Despite the heightened level of Internet dating and new relationship formation, aging often is accompanied by a decline in new relationship formation among elderly men and especially among elderly heterosexual women (Davidson 2002).

The May–December relationship, in which the male partner is significantly older than the female partner, which always has been controversial but is a longtime staple of elderly male dating and sometimes marriage, has begun to occur among greater numbers of elderly women. Though it is more controversial than the male version, more elderly women have become receptive to dating younger partners, in some cases significantly younger. Though this pattern of older woman–younger man is increasing, it continues to be viewed more negatively socially than its counterpart, the older male–younger female relationship (Cox 2001).

Another area of controversy is late-life parenthood. Some men have fathered children well into their sixties, seventies, or even eighties. However, in those cases the woman usually is significantly younger, and it is she who is expected to raise the child. Thus, although concerns are expressed about whether late-life fatherhood may have a detrimental impact, such concerns usually are minimized. Increasingly, older, postmenopausal women (women in their fifties and even sixties) have chosen to become pregnant and achieve motherhood with the assistance of modern medicine. This practice, which has physical risks for both the mother and the baby, has been more controversial than late-life fatherhood, leading to more discussion of the issue of when is a person too old to become a parent.

PRIVACY ISSUES

Issues of privacy and sexual relationships among nursing home residents continue to be problematic. Research suggests that the rigid, Victorian negative attitudes of the nursing home staff and relatives toward intimate relationships among nursing home residents has moderated or disappeared. Some nursing homes have undergone significant changes in this area and reflect a more progressive view. However, there continues to be considerable variation from one nursing home to another. Even among nursing homes with a more progressive view, administrators face difficulties in deciding how to balance the desires of some residents for intimate relationships with issues of consent (especially as it may relate to cognitively impaired elderly residents), the sensitivities of family members about the sexual activities of their parents and/or grandparents, and, in the case of some religious institutions, religious precepts regarding the appropriateness of nonmarital or extramarital sexual relationships. In addition to all these issues, conjugal visits in nursing homes are even more difficult for homosexual couples than for their heterosexual counterparts.

Interest in sex and sexual expression continues throughout life for most people, yet age-related changes have a number of impacts on sexual behavior among the elderly. Further research is needed to provide insight into the biological, psychological, and social factors that have an impact on sex among the elderly.

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ELENO
1546–?

Elena de Céspedes was born female and *mulata* (mixed race) in Alhama de Granada, Spain. She inherited her slave status from her mother, who was captured into chattel slavery in sub-Saharan Africa and taken to Andalusia where she was in domestic bondage in the Medina-Céspedes household. Elena's father was a so-called Old Christian, a high-caste Spaniard with bloodlines untainted by Jewish or Muslim ancestry. Elena shared with her mother the life of a household slave until her early adolescent years, when the mistress of the house died and the child won manumission.

THE TRIAL

At age 16 Elena's body was transformed into that of a hermaphrodite, as she would declare more than 20 years later before the tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Toledo, where in July 1587 she faced several charges: impersonating a man, female sodomy, witchcraft, and, most serious, scorn for (*sentir mal*) the sacrament of marriage. An old acquaintance from the time of Elena's army service—when she was living as a man—denounced the *mulata* cross-dresser on learning of her recent marriage to another woman, María del Caño.

Two decades earlier she had married a man, a stonemason from Jaén, with whom she lived for only three months, long enough to conceive a child. As she recounted in the hearing room of the Toledo Inquisition, it was during the birth of her son that she first exhibited male sexual characteristics. Her body was under so much strain that as she was pushing out her baby son, Christóval, a penis and testicles also emerged. The evidence of gender dissidence adduced by her accusers was, she argued, traceable to a perfectly natural genital mutation that female bodies were known to undergo.

It was only after the *birth* of her penis that she altered her dress and social persona and began to feel erotic desire for other women. She also rewrote her female name, discarding the feminine ending of *Elena* and replacing it with the final *o* of masculine nouns, thereby crafting *Eleno*, an unfamiliar name in Castilian but one appropriate to the persona of a hermaphrodite who privileged masculine styles.

Eleno's social position improved after that time. In her female life she had worked in lower positions associated with cloth and clothing manufacturing (hose maker, weaver). However, after the metamorphosis, Eleno rose to a series of male-identified professions: tailor, soldier, and eventually licensed surgeon.

The extensive dossier of Eleno's Inquisition case demonstrates his familiarity with the literature of sex change associated with Galenic medicine, the Plinian concept of races, and early modern physiology. Those discourses enabled an informed, if unpersuasive, defense in which a transgender body expressed not heretical beliefs or female political disorder but the wonders of *natura artifex*, the variety and playfulness of nature authorized by classical texts of natural history.

THE SENTENCE

After several tribunal-appointed physicians concluded that Eleno's body bore no physical evidence of hermaphroditism, Eleno was sentenced for bigamy and received the typical punishment accorded to male bigamists: two hundred lashes and 10 years of confinement. That sentence was to be carried out while Eleno was serving as a surgeon curing indigent sick and injured patients in a Toledo hospital.

The actual punishment went beyond the narrow ruling (Eleno gave a false oath in representing himself as an unmarried male) by referencing the crime of sodomy. Originally the charge was leveled against Eleno by the secular court in Castile, before the Inquisition's intervention in the prosecution. Although in Castile the Holy Office never acquired formal jurisdiction over sodomy offenses, Eleno's inquisitors pursued their investigations as if that were their *mulata* prisoner's principal offense. They interrogated Eleno's wife and a former mistress about the specifics of their positions during sexual intercourse and the nature of Eleno's penis; they wanted to know whether Eleno had ever used *a stiff and smooth instrument* or other *machinations and inventions* that might have facilitated *penetration* and *pollution* as a man does with his penis.

At the end of the trial they concluded that "*como hombre ha tratado y comunicado carnalmente con muchas mugeres*" [as a man she sexually dealt with many women]. In other words Eleno was a female sodomite. The sentence, nevertheless, hewed closely to the inquisitors' legal competence in matters involving the marriage sacrament. Although sodomy cases were not for the Castile Inquisition to decide upon—only for tribunals in Aragon, Barcelona, and Valencia—inquisitorial interest in sodomy, usually in the context of racial or ethnic differences, spread through other tribunals. Thus, the Toledo inquisitors buttressed the case against Eleno by documenting again and again, in prurient detail, the techniques of seduction and penetration employed by the accused, who was deemed by the tribunal's medical experts to be unambiguously female in her sex and, despite her early manumission and subsequent medical training, little more than a slave.

The tribunal's investigations also revealed an underlying anxiety that erotic relations between women might have occurred openly in forms other than the parody of heterosexuality that furnished the legal definition of female sodomy endorsed by the Supreme Council of Inquisition (*la Suprema*). Eleno's lashing was accompanied by a public reading of a summary of the sentence (*pregón*). That text, which was prepared by the Inquisition to be recited along the streets of Toledo, included a stern warning to a specifically female audience: Women should guard against other *burladoras* (female tricksters) who might prey on them sexually and emotionally and even walk them down the aisle in same-sex marriage ceremonies.

SEE ALSO *Body, Theories of; Gender Identity; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender, Theories of; Hermaphrodites; Inquisition, Spanish.*

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Israel Burshatin

ELIZABETH I
1533–1603

Elizabeth I, who became queen of England in 1558 at the age of twenty-five, was the first English queen since the Norman Conquest who not only ruled but ruled alone, unmarried. Her older half-sister Mary was queen before her, but Mary married her cousin Philip II of Spain, and she faced great hostility to the foreign marriage and to her insistence on England becoming Catholic once again. Elizabeth's reign, while it had its problems, also was remarkable for its successes in establishing a religious settlement, in defeating the Spanish Armada, and in encouraging a cultural renaissance. Many of the English people adored their queen, but her unmarried state and her assertion of living her life as she wished, including flirtations and a refusal to deal with the succession, led to much cultural anxiety during her reign that expressed itself in gossip, rumors, and slander concerning her gender and sexuality.

From her very early childhood, Elizabeth had to learn to navigate the dangers of sexuality and power. She was not even three years old when her mother, Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry VIII, was executed for adultery—on highly doubtful evidence—with five different men. Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, and less than two weeks later her father married Jane Seymour, who gave him the son, Edward, he so craved. Jane died soon after the birth. Henry divorced his next wife, Anne of Cleves, in part because he did not find her attractive. His fifth wife, Catherine Howard, was also executed for adultery when Elizabeth was eight. Perhaps it is little wonder that that year she said to Robert Dudley, her childhood friend who was to be her romantic favorite at court for much of her reign, "I will never marry."

Henry VIII died in 1547. Elizabeth was in danger in the reign of her younger brother Edward, particularly when she was accused of planning to marry Thomas Seymour, brother of Henry's third wife, Jane, and widower of Henry's sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr, without the Privy Council's consent. While Seymour was executed for other conspiracies, the fifteen-year-old Elizabeth protected herself and her servants. Told there were rumors she was pregnant by Seymour, instead of falling apart she insisted the council send out a proclamation that cleared her name.

But the rumors about Elizabeth's supposed pregnancies and lovers, which began circulating when she was in her early teens, continued to be discussed throughout the rest of her life, particularly once she became queen. Some English were arrested for publicly claiming Elizabeth had lovers and illegitimate children. The most frequently mentioned supposed lover was Dudley, whom she eventually created Earl of Leicester, but others included Sir Christopher Hatton and, toward the end of her life, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Especially the Queen's Catholic enemies on the Continent described Elizabeth as a "whore" because of her many lovers. At the same time other rumors circulated that "she was not like other women," that her monthly periods were not only irregular but came from a wound in the thigh, or that she was unable to actually have intercourse.

Elizabeth I. *Elizabeth I became queen of England at the age of twenty-five.* COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Some argued that Elizabeth did not listen to her male councilors as a woman ought to do, while others were concerned that the men at court who were thought to be her lovers, or a foreign husband should she marry, would overly dominate Elizabeth, even while many were begging Elizabeth to marry. But Elizabeth in the end made her own decisions. Elizabeth's refusal to marry, though she flirted with the idea for more than twenty years, and her equal refusal to name an heir, added to the cultural anxiety and to the rumors that spread. But Elizabeth was also a greatly loved monarch who kept England at peace for many years; her country was not torn apart by religious civil wars as happened to neighboring Scotland and France. At her death in 1603 there was a smooth transition to her cousin James VI of Scotland and I of England, and many sighed with relief that England again had a king. Yet within a few years there was a great nostalgia for "Good Queen Bess," and such distress about the Stuart dynasty that by the mid-seventeenth century some wished wistfully that Elizabeth had had a child—legitimate or no, it did not matter.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Royalty.*

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Carole Levin

ELLIS, HENRY HAVELOCK
1859–1939

Born on February 2, 1859, in the small town of Croydon, south of London, Henry Havelock Ellis was one of the most significant early sexologists. These medical doctors turned sexual scientists (others included Sigmund Freud [1856–1939], Albert Moll [1862–1939], Magnus Hirschfeld [1868–1935], and Iwan Bloch [1872–1922]) revised Victorian notions about sexuality and contributed to a new sexual modernism that viewed sex as a primary and legitimate human occupation. Even in this atmosphere, Ellis's outlook on sex was markedly optimistic, tolerant, and celebratory. In fact, scholars cite this enthusiasm and openness as among Ellis's greatest bequests to sexual science, as reflected, for instance, in the upbeat tolerance of later sex researcher Alfred C. Kinsey (1894–1956).

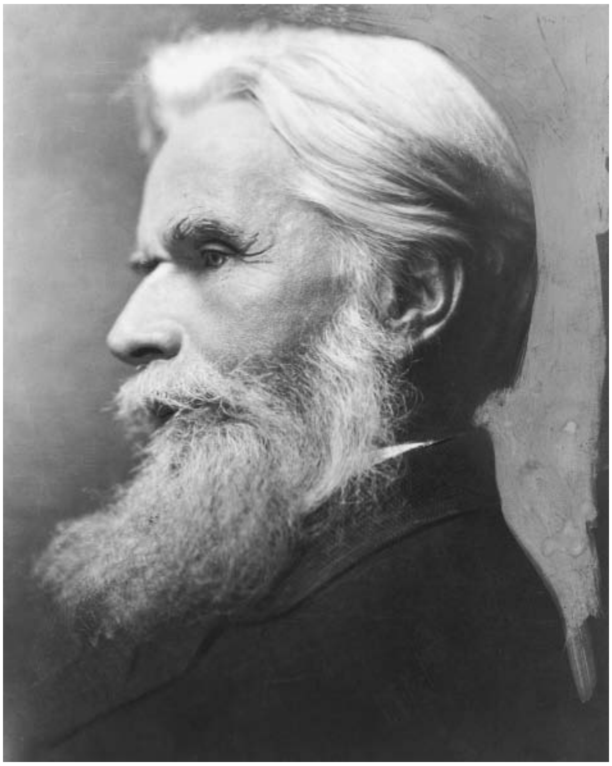
Ellis was educated in respectable boarding schools, but his schooldays were not without problems. He was a passive boy often bullied by older schoolmates. The descendant of generations of English seafarers, Ellis sailed around the world twice with his father. After graduating, Ellis took his father's ship to Australia, where he spent happy years from 1877 to 1879 working successfully as a tutor but ineffectively as a schoolmaster. Ellis's literary interests flourished in his solitude on the Australian range, and during this time he gained the confidence that would assist him in his demythologizing and destigmatizing of human sexuality and sexual practice.

As Ellis wrote in the general preface to the first volume of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897–1928), "I regard sex as the central problem of life" (Ellis 1900). In 1889 Ellis secured a licentiate in medicine, surgery, and midwifery from the Society of Apothecaries, which, to his embarrassment, was the highest degree he received. He never practiced clinical medicine. The bulk of material for his studies derived from case histories that his numerous correspondents provided. Famous among these was John Addington Symonds (1840–1893), a homosexual literary critic and writer who cowrote Ellis's book on male homosexuality.

Ellis's interest in the study of sex manifested early in his career, perhaps because of his complicated erotic life. Most of his relationships with women were friendly rather than romantic. He formed lifelong friendships with numerous intellectual women, including the American birth-control activist Margaret Sanger (1879–1966). Ellis remained a virgin until his marriage at thirty-two to Edith Lees, a writer and advocate for women's rights. Lees was openly lesbian, and their sexual relations came to an end within the first year of their marriage. The two maintained a compassionate "open marriage" that allowed both affairs with women. Ellis hesitantly admitted to a proclivity for urolagnia—sexual interest in urine and urination. Although Ellis does not foreground what he calls this "slight strain . . . of urolagnia" in his autobiography, *My Life* (1967 [1939], p. 67), this inclination represents one of many sexual taboos that Ellis normalized in his work by relating anomalous behavior to "ordinary" sexual practice.

Within his rubric of "erotic symbolism," Ellis identified sexual deviations and fetishes as mere variations on common heterosexual practice—a theory wherein which, for example, a same-sex partner symbolizes a member of the opposite sex, or an animal in bestiality symbolizes a human. In his 1906 work, *Erotic Symbolism*, Ellis praised the power and force of human imagination in sexual activity, writing that these erotic symbolisms "bring before us the individual man creating his own paradise. They constitute the supreme triumph of human idealism" (pp. 113–114).

Characterizing sex, in *The New Spirit* (1890), as "ever wonderful, ever lovely" (p. 129), Ellis approached sexuality from a romantic perspective even as his prolific and systematized work relied on empirical thought. In a similar friction, Ellis's personal and wide-ranging feminism was, like that of most male sexual modernists,



Henry Havelock Ellis. *Henry Havelock Ellis revised Victorian notions about sexuality.* EVENING STANDARD/GETTY IMAGES.

undercut by reactionary positions that on the whole upheld the status quo. He insisted on women's roles as nurturing mothers, regarded female sexuality as naturally passive, and was particularly critical of lesbians. In fact, whereas his work on male homosexuality detached effeminacy from male homosexuality, he defined lesbians in terms of a gendered mannishness. From a more feminist perspective, Ellis argued that masturbation was especially common in women and that women's sexual needs must be attended to by their male partners. Indeed, modern concepts of foreplay are attributed to Ellis's urging that men cater to the slower arousal of women with pre-intercourse stimulation. Despite his forthright recognition of female sexual desire and the legitimizing bent of his work, Ellis nonetheless advocated restraint, self-denial, and monogamy in sexual relations.

Ellis's magnum opus, the seven-volume *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* is a synthesis of case studies, sexual theories, and a comprehensive précis of early sexology. The most influential volume, *Sexual Inversion* (1897), was the first book in English that confronted the topic of homosexuality with tolerance and sympathy. Ellis rejected the term *homosexuality* as merely provisional and instead preferred to use the expression *sexual inversion* to categorize and explain same-sex relations. He defined sexual inversion as a congenital condition that directed sexual instinct at persons of the same sex. Ellis argued that inversion could not be cured and analogized it to color hearing—thus radically rendering homosexuality an ability rather than a vice, crime, defect, or disease. He furthermore presented a list of cultured historical inverts (Sappho, Erasmus, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo) to argue against inversion as degeneracy.

Incidentally, Ellis was the first to outline (in *Sexual Inversion*'s third edition) the homosexuality of the American poet Walt Whitman (1819–1892), and the book provided the theoretical crux for Radclyffe Hall's notorious novel about female inversion, *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). Hall's novel, which was tried and banned for obscenity in England, featured a short preface written by Ellis. *Sexual Inversion* had likewise incited conflict and suspicion in England. A progressive bookseller, George Bedborough, went to trial in 1898 for selling the book to an undercover detective. Ellis was never charged, but he and his wife were traumatized by the stress surrounding the case.

Ellis's straightforward theorizing facilitated a shift in public opinion surrounding sex and sexuality. His work incorporated the research of continental scholars, and thus exposed the theories of sexologists such as Freud and Hirschfeld to a wider audience, though one still composed of educated elites. His alliance with social reformers of his day, in addition to his own radical recommendations for public tolerance and understanding, make Ellis a central figure in dawn of sexual enlightenment in Europe and North America.

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Emma Crandall

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

At the beginning of the second wave of feminism in the 1960s many women saw their treatment in the workplace as upsetting, marked by prejudice, or morally wrong, but in most cases they viewed their situations as individual experiences. With the passage of federal civil rights laws in the 1960s and their enforcement in the 1970s women gave a name to that experience: discrimination. Employment discrimination and the accompanying judicial decisions have been an important arena in which to work out a national conception of women's equality.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the most important federal civil rights statute dealing with employment discrimination. The act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and national origin in order to open access to public accommodations (hotels, restaurants, retail businesses), enforce voting rights, and desegregate public education. Only the employment provision (Title VII), however, also prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. An opponent of the Civil Rights Act offered the proposal to add sexual discrimination to Title VII; as a result many observers concluded that Congress was not serious about prohibiting sex discrimination in employment despite its many congressional supporters.

Originally Title VII applied only to private employers; educational institutions were exempt. An earlier statute, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, provided equal pay for equal work on the basis of sex, but that statute originally exempted professional, executive, and administrative positions. In 1972 Congress amended both statutes to eliminate those exemptions and strengthened their enforcement. In 1991 Congress again amended Title VII, adding the right to jury trials and providing for monetary awards for victims of intentional discrimination.

Title VII sets up a federal administrative agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). This agency, with five Commissioners appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, is charged with the development of equal employment opportunity policy. It also authorizes the general counsel of the EEOC to bring cases alleging discrimination against employers. The agency also provides a nonjudicial administrative process for individuals filing complaints. Many complaints are dismissed routinely, but the agency investigates some complaints, determines if there is reasonable cause to believe that the charge is true, and attempts to eliminate the unlawful employment practice through informal methods of conciliation. The federal civil rights statutes use the term *sex* in defining the basis on which discrimination is prohibited. Nonetheless, litigants, courts, and commentators often use the term *gender* interchangeably with *sex* or refer to Title VII as prohibiting discrimination on the basis of gender.

Categories of Sex Discrimination Sex or gender discrimination cases under Title VII fall into several categories. The most obvious cases are those in which an employer has a specific employment policy that makes an overt distinction or reference to gender: Women cannot be bartenders unless they own the bar, cannot work after midnight in certain jobs, or may not work in a job that might be hazardous to their reproductive capacity. Unequal or inferior treatment is implicit in these policies; discriminatory motivation seldom is disputed because the act of classifying implies the intention to discriminate. These employment policies are unlawful under Title VII unless they are justified by a defense provided for in the statute: the bona fide occupational qualification (bfoq) exception.

The bfoq exception provides that it is not unlawful under Title VII to hire and employ on the basis of sex in instances in which sex "is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise" (Civil Rights Act of 1964 sec. 2000e-2 (e)(1)). The issue here is how broadly or specifically to interpret that exception. Although the Supreme Court has given conflicting signals on the scope of the exception, in the early twenty-first century the courts were fairly uniform in regarding the exception narrowly and allowing the overt use of gender only in very limited situations, such as cases in which the biological differences between men and women or legitimate privacy concerns justify a specific gender employment policy.

Whether an overt gender classification signals inferior treatment and is motivated by unlawful discrimination often is contested. For example, retirement plans once routinely mandated that women and men make equal contributions but then gave women lower monthly benefits upon retirement. Employers justified this as necessary to ensure "equal treatment" because women live longer than men and thus had to make the same amount of money last longer or accumulate more money to cover their longer life span. The Supreme Court rejected the use of sex as the sole or best determinant of longevity even though women do live longer than men.

Framework for Litigation Proving that an employer acted with a discriminatory motive can be difficult in cases in which the difference in treatment on the basis of sex is not obvious. The Supreme Court has established two analytical frameworks to deal with this issue. First, in claims of individual discrimination a harmed employee may be able to eliminate legitimate explanations for the challenged employment decision, for example, that she was not qualified for the job or that her termination resulted from a general "reduction-in-force." The employer then responds by stating the legitimate, nondiscriminatory reason for its action. The plaintiff must show that discrimination is the more likely explanation for what happened; typically she does this by asking the court to draw a series of inferences based on other evidence about the employer and additional facts established at trial.

The second analytical framework is based on statistical probability theory. In many cases the only proof is provided by the use of statistics to uncover covert discrimination by the employer. Harmed individuals rely on statistical evidence to infer a causal relationship between sex and the employment decision, that is, evidence that women are underrepresented in the employer's workforce in comparison to their availability.

There is also the question of whether acting on the basis of stereotypes counts as an unlawful discriminatory motive under Title VII. Employers cannot base employment decisions solely on assumptions about an individual that flow from a stereotype. This is the essence of formal equality: People should be treated as individuals, not as undifferentiated members of a group. However, an employer may want an individual to conform to certain stereotypes about women. Clearly, an employer cannot require a certain kind of behavior and then reject a woman because her compliance with that behavior is inconsistent with the employer's general notion of womanhood. Less certain is whether it counts as discrimination under Title VII to use gender expectations that are stereotypical or sex-specific, such as those involving behavior, demeanor, or appearance. For example, most federal courts have allowed the use of dress codes that include different standards for men and women.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

In 1986 the Supreme Court ruled that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination under Title VII because it imposes different working conditions on women that are based on their gender. Because sexual harassment frequently occurs despite formal employer rules against such behavior, an important legal issue has been the limits of employer liability for harassment by supervisors and coworkers in violation of company policy.

Quid Pro Quo and Hostile Work Environment Under Title VII sexual harassment includes unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Courts have recognized two distinct forms of sexual harassment: *quid pro quo* and *hostile work environment*. With quid pro quo harassment a supervisor demands sexual favors in exchange for a job benefit or for withholding a job detriment. To prevail legally the employee does not have to suffer the threatened economic loss. These cases often turn on issues of credibility. More common are claims of a hostile work environment, which involves conduct that has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment. The main issue in these claims is the level of behavior; the sexually harassing conduct must be sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter conditions of work or create an abusive work environment. An action that is "merely offensive" is not sufficient, but Title VII does not require tangible psychological injury. Whether an environment is hostile or abusive is determined by looking at all the circumstances: the frequency of the conduct, its severity, whether it is physically threatening or humiliating, and whether it unreasonably interferes with an employee's work performance.

Employers are liable for the sexual harassment of their employees. If harassment by a supervisor resulted in the loss of a "tangible job benefit" (e.g., discharge or demotion), the employer is directly liable and has no defense. If the harassment does not result in such a loss, the employer avoids liability by proving that it exercised reasonable care to prevent and correct sexually harassing behavior and that the employee failed to take advantage of those preventive and corrective measures. Typically, the issue here is whether the employer had an effective sexual harassment policy, had a workable internal grievance procedure, and took corrective measures in the past. In the case of harassment by coworkers the employer is liable if it knew or should have known about the harassing conduct and did not take adequate corrective action.

Title VII also prohibits workplace harassment when the harasser and the harassed employee are of the same sex. To the extent that same-sex sexual harassment cases involve the same kinds of facts or behaviors that opposite-sex sexual harassment cases do, the issues are the same. However, to the extent that same-sex sexual harassment claims rest on the failure of the employee to conform to gender expectations, these cases involve the issue of whether it counts as discrimination for others to rely on gender expectations about behavior or demeanor. It is clear from these cases that sexual harassment does not need to be about sexual activity and is rarely about misplaced sexual desire.

Disparate Treatment and Disparate Impact These claims of intentional discrimination often are called *disparate treatment* cases. Discriminatory motive is crucial. In contrast, Title VII also allows claims of *disparate impact*. Those claims involve employment practices that are facially neutral in their treatment of men and women but in fact fall more harshly on one group than another and cannot be justified by business necessity. Proof of discriminatory motive is not required.

The key issues here are (1) identifying the employment practices that have an adverse effect on the basis of sex; (2) producing statistical evidence of the impact; (3) deciding the kinds of business justifications; and (4) determining the quality of evidence necessary to support the employer's justification. This analytical framework provides a way to test an employment practice that is based on stereotypes about women and therefore has an adverse effect. For example, an employer may require employees to be "strong," have the "appearance of strength," or be a "good institutional fit." The challenger can show that the requirement of strength will affect women adversely and argue that requirements for strength are not important to the employer; if strength is important, the employer can identify the strength-related tasks easily and then develop a specific test to measure individual performance. In contrast, the challenger may have difficulty showing that the application of a "good institutional fit" has an adverse effect on women. Even if she does, the employer probably will establish that selecting women who are good institutional fits is important and reasonable. Still, the challenger can argue that the employer's determinations about such fitness are based on stereotypes about women in general.

The Supreme Court decided a number of pregnancy discrimination cases in the 1970s and concluded that pregnancy discrimination is not "sex discrimination." Congress amended Title VII by enacting the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1977 to clarify that discrimination because of sex under Title VII includes discrimination because of pregnancy. That amendment also adopted an "equal treatment" or "analogy" approach to dealing with pregnancy in employment situations: Employers and courts should make employment decisions involving pregnancy in the same way that they deal with other temporary disabilities. For example, if an employer offers paid leave for most temporary disabilities, women are entitled to pay for leave related to pregnancy. Because pregnancy is, however, one of the "real differences" between men and women, employment situations arise that do not have analogies or for which analogies are not helpful. So far the courts have been committed to an "equal treatment" model of discrimination, and so they rely on analogies even if they ignore the relevance of the "real differences" of pregnancy.

Courts have ruled that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is outside the scope of Title VII. Title VII does not include sexual orientation as a prohibited basis of discrimination, and courts have been unwilling to conclude that discrimination on that basis is a form of sex or gender discrimination under the statute. There have been proposals to amend Title VII or pass a separate statute to prohibit this form of discrimination in employment, but none has received much support. In the one area where courts have considered same-sex discrimination, harassment by a homosexual usually guarantees a finding of liability whereas complaints by an employee that he was harassed because of his sexual orientation usually fail.

Several states have specific statutes that prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. State laws typically parallel the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 and rely on judicial and agency policy interpretations of Title VII. Some states have amended their antidiscrimination laws to include sexual orientation as a prohibited basis of discrimination. Others have prohibited sexual orientation discrimination by public employers only. Executive Order 13087 (1998) prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in employment by the federal government.

Definitions of Discrimination The overriding issue for sex discrimination in employment law is what counts as discrimination. Title VII adopts as its core understanding the principle of formal equality: Similarly situated individuals should receive equal treatment by employers, and for the most part men and women are "similarly situated." Thus, claims of discrimination that are based on the denial of equal treatment fit under current laws. Equally clearly, claims of sex discrimination can fit within the disparate impact analytical framework. Much of the litigation and discussion since the passage of Title VII has involved testing the limits of these definitions of equality and arguing for or against additional ones.

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ENLIGHTENMENT

The eighteenth-century philosophical movement known as the Enlightenment emphasized equality as an essential element of natural law. The rise of egalitarian democratic ideals associated with this philosophy did not, however, correspond to a call for improved rights for women. Under the complementary conception of relations between the sexes held by the majority of men and women in the eighteenth century, the feminine was associated with feeling or sentiment rather than with mind. Women were not believed to possess any significant reasoning ability, and the use of reason to overturn structures previously accepted on faith was at the heart of the Enlightenment project. Admittance into the exciting new Republic of Letters that was changing cultural attitudes was therefore denied to the vast majority of women on the basis of their sex, and when Enlightenment values began to effect change in political and social practice, women remained, for the most part, relegated to the domestic, private sphere.

The degree to which the Enlightenment was marked as male owes a great deal to the political situation in which its proponents developed their radical new philosophy. The decadent effeminacy associated with aristocratic rule was often blamed on women, who were viewed as having been accorded too much power under the old, aristocratic regime. It is true that some women enjoyed unusual freedom under this system of government, in which the division between nobles and non-nobles was a more fundamentally important societal distinction than that between men and women. Noble women could, to a great degree, ignore the restrictions placed on their sex and pursue such unusual interests as geometry and physics. Marquise Gabrielle-Emilie du Châtelet (1706–1749), Voltaire's companion and intellectual partner, is a particularly important example of this phenomenon in France. Those few women who had received a superior education, again primarily nobles, might also become known by establishing a salon, in which the latest intellectual ideas were dissected by a carefully chosen circle of luminaries.

Frances Burney. *Popular Enlightenment-period author Frances Burney.* **RISCHGITZ/GETTY IMAGES.**

Such women were the exceptions, for even among noble women there was pressure to avoid appearing too intellectual, too "male." Literary pursuits offered an appealingly indirect manner in which to make a name for oneself, and many of the bestselling novelists of the day were women, including Françoise de Graffigny (1695–1758), Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni (1714–1792), Sophie von La Roche (1730–1807), Frances Burney (1752–1840), and the great Jane Austen (1775–1817). Other genres, such as poetry, were open to women as well; any work that could be attributed to a spontaneous outpouring of emotion, rather than to carefully reasoned cogitation, was more easily acceptable from the pen of a woman. As always, the exceptions are significant. Catherine Macaulay's eight-volume *History of England* (1763–1783) was a major contribution to the field, and Elizabeth Montagu (1720–1800) made the definitive critical argument for the enduring genius of William Shakespeare.

It was in attempting to participate openly in the political realm that women, predictably, faced the greatest opposition during the eighteenth century. The arguments against allowing women a role in serious public debate included the physiological claim that because they possessed extremely delicate nerve fibers, women reacted with inappropriately heightened emotion to sensory and intellectual stimuli. Examples of the supposedly nefarious influence exercised by the mistresses of kings were often cited as well; Madame de Pompadour (1721–1764), official favorite of Louis XV of France, was cast as one of the worst eighteenth-century offenders, although she is now more often viewed as an important patron of the arts.

It was also in the political realm that some few individual women played the greatest role in challenging the preconceived notions of their day. Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796) of Russia was one of the most powerful rulers of the period. She was also a generous protector of such major Enlightenment figures as the French philosopher Denis Diderot (1713–1784), although she was far less benevolent toward her own subjects' efforts to challenge the status quo. The greatest champion of women's political rights during the Enlightenment was the British author Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), who took the side of change over conservatism when her countryman Edmund Burke (1729–1797) attacked the utopian ideals of the French Revolution (Shapiro 1992). Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Man* (1790) was followed by the influential *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), in which she argued that the impoverished education given to most girls made it difficult for them to grow into reasoning beings.

Burke's negative predictions concerning the French Revolution appeared to be borne out by the bloody period known as the Terror, during which men and women, nobles and non-nobles, were equally subject to execution. The Revolution was a particularly repressive moment in women's history. Leading revolutionaries, inspired by the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), worked to limit women to what was considered their natural function: producing new, preferably male citizens and caring for them during their infancy, after which the Republic would take over through the newly established school system. This view of woman's role in the new society was challenged by, among others, Olympe de Gouges (1748–1793). In her *Déclaration des droits de la femme* [Declaration of the rights of woman, 1791], Gouges points out that a woman is considered a creature of reason responsible for her actions when she is accused of a crime; if she has the right to mount the scaffold for execution, does she not also deserve the right to vote?

Any appraisal of gender politics during the Enlightenment must be placed in the context of the many negative reassessments of this movement's cultural and political legacy. The scientific classification of some human beings as inferior based on race and/or sex is now seen to have been as much a part of the period's agenda as was the promotion of "universal" human rights. But while the condition of women did not greatly improve over the course of the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment shift in the discourse of natural rights did in time lead to a radical feminism of equality that would fundamentally change the conception of woman's role in society.

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Mary McAlpin

ENTERTAINERS

SEE *Courtesans.*

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT

SEE *Employment Discrimination.*

ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION

SEE *Impotency.*

ERECTILE TISSUE

Erectile tissue is any tissue that is capable of stiffening or engorging with blood. During sexual arousal, sexual erectile tissue experiences increased blood flow and becomes engorged with blood, enlargening and/or stiffening.

Erectile tissue is found in the male penis, the female vagina and clitoris, and the nipples of both men and women.

The male penis is composed of three compartments: one along each side (the corpus cavernosum; plural, cavernosa) and the central compartment (the corpus spongiosum). The corpus spongiosum, which surrounds the urethra, does not experience significant engorgement. When sexual arousal occurs, a nerve reflex initiates increased blood flow to the corpora cavernosa, causing increased local blood flow. This process floods the cavernosa with blood, causing the penis to enlarge, stiffen, and become erect.

In women tissues in the vagina and clitoris contain corpora cavernosa that are responsive to nerve reflexes during sexual arousal. During such arousal, blood flow to the labia majora and labia minora is increased, the tissues become engorged with blood, and the labia flatten and open. The clitoris becomes enlarged and stiff in a manner identical to erection of the penis. The upper portion of the vagina expands and retracts the uterus and cervix, forming an enlarged space.

The nipples of both women and men are capable of erection. As muscles surrounding the nipple contract during sexual arousal, local blood vessels become engorged and the nipples become erect. Nipples also may become erect during breast-feeding, as a result of fear or excitement, or in response to cold temperatures.

SEE ALSO *Clitoris; Penis.*

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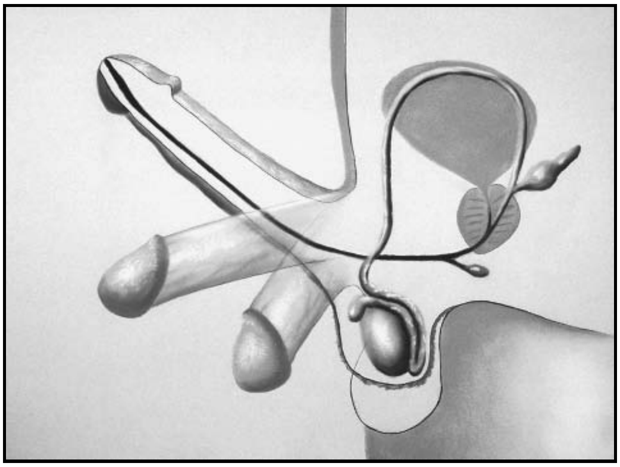
ERECTION

During erection, erectile tissue stiffens by engorging with blood. Although the term *erection* typically is used to describe sexual arousal of the penis, other tissues, such as the female vagina and clitoris and the nipples of both men and women, are capable of erection.

The male penis is composed of three compartments: one along each side (the corpus cavernosum; plural, cavernosa) and the central compartment (the corpus spongiosum). The corpus spongiosum, which surrounds the urethra, does not experience significant engorgement. The corpora cavernosa are surrounded by the tunica albuginea, a fibrous membrane that resists expansion, causing the penis to engorge and stiffen in as little as ten to fifteen seconds. The corpus spongiosum lacks the tunica and does not stiffen during arousal. The penile glans assumes a dark purplish hue as it becomes engorged but, like the corpus spongiosum, does not stiffen.

Although a range of stimuli may initiate arousal, a spinal reflex is the physical basis of erection. Response to direct tactile stimulation is mediated through the spinal column in the sacral region. Response to non-tactile stimulation (fantasy, memory, visual images, etc.) is triggered by a signal from the brain to a region higher in the spinal cord (the lumbar region), which then transmits impulses to the penis. When those nerve impulses are sent to the penis—regardless of the source of stimulation—arteries carrying blood to the corpora cavernosa dilate, and the penis then becomes erect. Erection normally is preceded by sexual desire, which is regulated partly by androgen-sensitive emotional factors. Although men with androgen deficiency experience fewer and/or less vigorous spontaneous erections, they can continue to have erections in response to erotic stimuli. It generally is recognized that androgen levels within normal limits are necessary for normal sexual desire but not for erection itself.



Erection. *An illustration of a penis as it grows in size and stands out from the body in an erection.* JOHN R. FOSTER/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

Erections do not occur solely during waking hours; they are common during rapid eye movement (REM) sleep cycles (typically every ninety minutes during sleep). These are known as nocturnal erections. Although the exact mechanism is unknown, it appears that nocturnal erections are physiologically based, assuming that the male is not experiencing erotic dreams during this regular cycle. Erections can occur in unconscious or comatose men, presumably by the same mechanism. In some males, notably adolescents, the erectile response is tripped readily; relatively benign stimuli such as accidental contact and brief visualization can trigger an erection.

Erection is reversed when the nerve impulses lessen or cease and more blood flows out of the corpora cavernosa than flows into it. Penile circulatory balance is restored, and the penis returns to its normal resting state. Higher brain functions and impulses can interfere and cause a loss of erection; examples include performance anxiety, fear, preoccupation, and lack of desire.

Spinal injuries to the higher lumbar region result in inability to achieve an erection in response to mental processes but do not impair erection from direct stimulation. Injuries in the sacral region often block all erectile responses.

Erectile dysfunction (ED) can be caused by physical or nonphysical (psychological) factors.

Nonphysical causes include psychological issues such as stress, anxiety depression, and fatigue. Negative feelings between partners, including fear, resentment, hostility, and lack of interest, can affect the ability to generate or maintain an erection.

A myriad of physical issues and disorders, such as hypertension, coronary artery disease and other vascular disorders, chronic disease of the lungs and liver, multiple sclerosis, chronic arthritis, diabetes, chronic renal impairment, chronic alcoholism, and drug abuse, can cause ED.

Many prescription and nonprescription medications, such as antidepressants, antihypertensives, antihistamines, tranquilizers, sleeping aids, and pain medications, can cause or contribute to ED. Chronic alcohol or marijuana use can cause both ED and a decrease in sexual drive; by shrinking the small blood vessels in all parts of the body, excessive tobacco smoking can cause decreased blood flow to the penis.

Prescription medications for the treatment of ED act primarily by relaxing the smooth muscles of the penis, allowing greater blood flow for erection. However, those medications cannot be used in combination with any form of nitrate, such as nitroglycerin or illegal nitrate "poppers"; the combination may be fatal.

In women tissues of the vagina and clitoris respond to nerve reflexes during sexual arousal. When a woman is aroused, blood flow to the labia majora and labia minora is increased, the tissues engorge with blood, and the labia flatten and spread open. The clitoris becomes enlarged and stiffens. The upper portion of the vagina expands and retracts the uterus and cervix, forming an enlarged space.

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SEE ALSO *Erectile Tissue; Penis.*

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EROGENOUS ZONES

An erogenous zone is an area on the body that responds sexually to stimulation. Most erogenous zones consist of sensitive areas of skin or surfaces accessible from the outside, such as the inside of the mouth, vagina, and rectum. The stimulating quality of some erogenous zones, such as the inside of the ear, areas behind the knees and thighs, the wrists, the feet, the palms of the hands, and the neck, is more dependent on individual physiology, conditioning, and psychology than on a specialized physiological mechanism.

Erogenous zones vary slightly between males and females. Male erogenous zones include the penis glans and penis, scrotum, prostate, anus, and nipples in addition to the other possible zones listed above. Female erogenous zones include the vulva, labia, clitoris, vagina, G-spot inside the vagina, anus, and nipples in addition to the other zones. Although there are many possible erogenous zones, individuals may respond more readily to stimulation in some zones than in others.

Physiologically, there are two kinds of erogenous zones located in the skin. *Nonspecific* erogenous zones such as the neck, ears, thighs, palms, wrists, lower back, inside of the elbows, and feet have hairy skin as with most other skin on the body. There is no special concentration of nerve endings or structures in these regions, but the areas seem especially conducive to a tickle reflex. How these nonspecific erogenous areas respond to stimulation is often a matter of conditioning and the areas' association with pleasurable sensations.

Specific erogenous zones exist in areas of the body with mucocutaneous skin. This skin is a combination of hairless skin and mucous membrane that cover such regions as the penis glans and prepuce or foreskin, clitoris, vulva, perianal skin, and lips. Nipples are covered with hairless skin without mucous membrane. Mucocutaneous skin contains a dense population of nerve networks typical of most skin, nerve structures that are especially sensitive to pressure, and encapsulated nerve endings called *end organs*. In mucocutaneous skin nerve receptors exist closer to the surface than in haired skin and are often denser than in other haired skin. Mucocutaneous skin is also thinner. These areas are capable of intense sensation.

Both the clitoris and penis are populated by dense nerve supplies, the clitoris having "the most dense nerve supply of any region of the skin," according to the dermatologist R. K. Winkelmann (1959). Both the clitoris and the penis have Vater-Pacini corpuscles, nerve structures that sense deep pressure. Other areas such as the lips and anus also contain these structures as well as nerves that become particularly dense in the border regions where haired skin gives way to mucocutaneous skin. On the lips and anus, the area of densest nerves is near the site where the skin becomes deep red. Nerves become less dense both further inside and outside toward areas of hairy skin.

The aureoles and nipples of both males and females consist of special erogenous sensitivity as well, containing nerve structures that sense pressure, but they are less richly sensitive than other areas because gland and muscle structures compete for space with the nerves.

Individuals respond differently to the stimulation of these erogenous areas. Individual response depends on individual physiology but also on psychological and cultural factors. For some people intense stimulation of erogenous areas is painful, such as overly direct or rough pressure on the clitoris or penis glans. Some people resist pleasure in erogenous areas they perceive as forbidden or dirty, such as the anus or kissing with open mouths. Some cultures emphasize kissing, whereas in others kissing is less important than other kinds of stimulation. In the United States oral sex, or the stimulation of one erogenous zone by another, is still illegal in seventeen states and the District of Columbia.

The role of the erogenous zones is to prepare partners for sexual intercourse by exciting the genitals. In the male this means the erection of the penis. In the female it means the swelling of the vulva and the lubrication of the vagina. Stimulation of erogenous zones is also pleasurable in itself. Some individuals are capable of coming to orgasm merely through kissing or having nipples caressed.

There is much folklore about the ways and order in which erogenous zones should be approached. The time-honored *baseball* model suggests approaching erogenous zones from the top down, beginning with the mouth as *first base*, the breasts as *second base*, genital petting as *third base*, and sexual intercourse as a *home run*. Nonspecific erogenous zones such as the ears and neck constitute seduction zones that knowing or experienced partners might use to show special affection or as a means to acquire access to more specific erogenous areas. There is a long tradition of instruction manuals in how to approach erogenous zones—from the *Kama Sutra* to such contemporary tomes as John Gray's *Mars and Venus in the Bedroom: A Guide to Lasting Romance and Passion* (1995).

SEE ALSO *Arousal.*

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Judith Roof

EROS, CUPID

Cupid, the Roman god of love (Amor), was said to be the child of Venus (Aphrodite) and Mars, but his paternity also was attributed to Jupiter, Mercury, and Vulcan. He usually was represented as a winged, dart-bearing chubby naked infant and frequently was represented in Renaissance art as a little angel (*putto*). From the name *Cupid* came the Latin words *cupere* (to desire) and *cupido* (lust, greedy desire), along with English words such as *cupidity* (excessive desire for wealth, avarice) and *concupiscence* (lust).

Cupid was the Latin name for the Greek Eros, who, according to another tradition, was born from Chaos and the Dark Night or the Luminous Day. From *Eros* came the terms *erotic*, *eroticism* (lustful desire), and *erotica* (nonscientific literature and art dealing with sex). Whereas Eros personifies lust, his brother Anteros is the god of unrequited love and the love between men and young men. All these forms express physical love or earthly desires and attachments, whereas altruistic Christian love is referred to as *agape* and tender love or tendency toward loving is called *philia* (De Rougemont 1983). Eros has been a major force in psychoanalysis, for example, in the work of Freud and in Jung's archetypes.

EROS IN GREEK AND ROMAN LITERATURE

Plato, who in the *Symposium* discussed the many meanings of love, affirmed that Love, a mighty god, is the oldest of the gods because he has no parents. Plato thus quotes Hesiod's *Theogony*: "First Chaos came and the broad bosomed Earth,/ The everlasting seat of all that is,/And Love." Plato also quotes Parmenides, who says that Generation: "First in the train of gods, fashioned Love" (Plato, *Symposium* 1996, pp. 19–20). Thus Plato acknowledges Eros not only as a procreative force but also as a psychological one (Grant 1995).

The Latin poet Ovid (43–17 BCE), who was best known for *Metamorphoses*, *The Art of Love* (*Ars Amatoria*), and the *Remedia amoris* (*The Cures of Love*), was a major contributor to the propagation of the myth of Cupid and erotic love and the personification of Cupid (Grant 1995). In the first few verses of the *Art of Love* (1993) Ovid states that Venus appointed him as a guide to "tender love" and describes Cupid as "a boy, tender his age and easily controlled ... born of a goddess" (Ovid 1993, Book I, part 1, p. 13). In Book II Love is characterized as "fickle and he has two wings" (Ovid 1993, p. 67). Ovid wrote Elegy IX upon the death of the Latin poet Tibullus (c. 54–19 BCE), whose first muse was Delia, saying: "See how Venus' son goes with his quiver reversed, with broken bow" (Ovid 1993, p. 84). The Latin poet Catullus (c. 84–54 BCE) mentions the figure of Cupid in his love lyrics, labeling him "Holy," a "divine boy, who minglest joys of men with cares" (Cornish 1995, p.105). The powerful effect of love is shown in Virgil's *Aeneid* as Dido is wounded by Cupid and falls desperately in love with Aeneas, the son of Venus (Mandelbaum 1971). Virgil also speaks of Cupid in the *Eclogues*.

EROS IN APULEIUS

The power of Cupid appears frequently in the Latin tradition and in poets such as Lucretius, Propertius, and Horace, but it was Apuleius who had the greatest impact on the popularity of the myth of Cupid and Psyche in the *Golden Ass*, or *Metamorphoses* (1962). Apuleius, who was born in Algeria in the mid-120s CE, describes Cupid as a young man, no longer a child, unseen by humans and reputed to be a monster to whom Psyche is given up in sacrifice. Psyche has to endure long and harsh travails and the opposition of Venus to regain her lost love and find happiness; their offspring is Pleasure.

Allegorically, this is the story of the soul (*psyche* in Greek), which must endure enormous difficulties before finding love. The allegory is derived from Plato's conception of love in the *Symposium*. The tale of Cupid and Psyche is placed in the middle of the novel by Apuleius, and it represents the mythical transformation through trials and redemption of Lucius, the protagonist.

Apuleius was indebted to Plato; he translated Plato's *Phaedo* and wrote at least five philosophical treatises, one of them titled *De Platone et eius dogmate* [Of Plato and his dogma]. In discussing the nature of humans and of love, Plato evoked the myth of Zeus, who, because of the rebellion of humans who were created as round creatures with two faces on a single neck, four legs, and four arms, split them into two. As a result humans have the constant desire to reach perfection by being reunited with the other half: "Each of us when separated, having one side only, like a flat fish, is but the indenture of a man, and he is always looking for the other half" (Plato 1996, pp. 32–33). Love is therefore people's benefactor because he pushes them toward their original nature, toward happiness. The *Golden Ass* thus was not written solely for entertainment but is an allegory of the human condition of Eros, who wounds people by means of the arrows of love and passion, and Psyche (the soul) attempting to contend with their difficulties (Grant 1995).

EROS IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

Plotinus (c. 205–269 CE) and the Neoplatonists stressed the allegorical notion of the soul's search for love and deeply influenced the Latin Middle Ages, humanism, and the Renaissance. This allegorical perspective was maintained by the earliest commentators and translators, from Fulgentius, to Boccaccio, to Beroaldus and W. Adlington (who translated Apuleius into English in 1566), and is still influential. From the tale of Cupid and Psyche derived a number of fairy tale versions of *Beauty and the Beast*. Marie Catherine D'Alunoy (c.1650–1705) wrote *The Green Serpent*, which became the basis for subsequent versions of *Beauty and the Beast*. According to Stith Thomson (1977), there are sixty-one Italian oral variants of this type, along with one in Missouri and one in Jamaica. There are three versions of the tale in Basile's *Pentameron*. Sir James Frazier (1854–1941) in *Psyche's Task* (1910) reinforced the importance of this myth in primitive psychology, and the tale later became significant in artistic creativity in all genres, such as Jean Cocteau's (1889–1963) cinematic rendition.

The presence and myth of Cupid in poetry is a well-established tradition in the Middle Ages and especially in the Renaissance. Both Alain de Lille (1128?–1203) in *Liber de Planctu Naturae* and Bernard Silvestris (c. 1150) in *De Universitate Mundi* saw Eros as a mystery of procreation and a cosmological force. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (c. 1091–1153) spiritualized sensuous love in his allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs, which influenced Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), Mathilde of Magdeburg (c. 1207–1294), and other female mystics.

Medieval vernacular poets such as the troubadours, the Minnesingers with their Frau Minne, the authors of the *Roman de la Rose* (1250–1305) Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, the writers of medieval romances, and the various authors of the love story of Tristan and Iseult all reinforced the power of love and the cult of courtly love. The Italian *stilnovistic* poets (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), such as Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoia, and Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), transformed woman and love into a noble and spiritual symbol without ignoring its physical traits. Those poets empowered the image of love—as a woman or the loved one—in form, content, and style and influenced generations of poets in the Western world, whether Cupid was seen as human or divine.

The Italian poet Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) in *Canzoniere* blames Cupid's arrows for making him prey to love and laments the illusory nature of his earthly love for Laura; he celebrates the *trionfo dell'Amore* [the triumph of love] in his *Trionfi*. Troilus is stricken with Cupid's arrow in Geoffrey Chaucer's (1340–1400) *Troilus and Cressida*. Cupid-Love is the subject of John Gower in *Confessio amantis* (c. 1390) and a subject of interest for Christine de Pizan (1364–1431), John Lydgate (1370–1449), Clement Marot (1494–1556), and many other writers. William Shakespeare (1564–1616) made many references to love in his sonnets and plays, including *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *Love's Labour Lost*. John Milton (1608–1674) wrote in *Comus* of "Celestial Cupid" and his dear Psyche. Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695) wrote the fable "Love and Folly." William Blake (1757–1827) wrote a poem titled "Why Was Cupid a Boy" and illustrated *Vala* with a crouching Cupid.

LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF EROS

Lyric poets and writers from ancient times to the present have dealt with Cupid, from the German and other European romantics to Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), Edgar Allan Poe in *Annabel Lee*, Antonio Machado, Pablo Neruda, Cesare Pavese, and James Joyce. Often Cupid leads to desperation, self-destruction, and suicide. "Love, as always I want to cover you with flowers and insults," wrote Vincenzo Cardarelli. Gerard Manley Hopkins said, "Eros is a little more than a winged Masher, but Psyche is a success, a sweet little 'body,' rather than a 'soul.'" Later poets such as Edna St. Vincent Millay (1892–1950), Adrienne Rich, Sylvia Plath, and Muriel Rukeyser placed a greater emphasis on the image of changing woman and love.

EROS/CUPID IN ART

In art Eros commonly is portrayed as a mischievous child-god unconcerned with the effects his darts have on his targets. One of the oldest representations of Eros as a winged figure is on a bronze lamina from the seventh century BCE that was found near Siena, Italy. In the Acropolis in Athens there are ceramic fragments from the sixth century BCE that represent the winged god together with Aphrodite, Imenus, and Photos. The figure of Eros appears on sixth-century vases crafted by Midias. In the fourth century the god is depicted with bow and arrows on reliefs, mirrors, and incisions. Praxiteles and Lysippus represented Eros in statuettes. There are representations of Eros in Etruscan art

In Roman art Cupid becomes more human and sensuous (de Caro 1996, p. 327). Mural representations of *amorini* (infant Cupids) from Stabia and Pompeii indicate that those statuettes were sold to the public. In Pompeii there is an *Eros Being Punished* and an *Eros on a Crab*. Pompeii has many amatory inscriptions as well as representations of the trio Venus, Cupid, and Hermaphrodite. In art Cupid often is represented without wings, especially when he is embracing Psyche. There are also representations of Eros and the bee derived from the idyll once attributed to the Greek poet Theocritus (c. 270 BCE).

The representation of Love (Cupid) in the arts remained powerful and multifaceted over the centuries. Sandro Botticelli's *Primavera* (1482–1483) shows the transformation of Zephyrus's arrows and winds of passion into spiritual love. Michelangelo (1475–1564) sculptured a sleeping Cupid. Correggio's *The Education of Cupid* (c. 1525) features a winged Cupid being tutored by Venus. Caravaggio presented the image of an unremarkable chubby *Sleeping Cupid* (1608–1609) but also the symbolically rich *Cupid as Victorious Love* (1602–1603), in which Cupid seems to conquer earthly passions signified by musical instruments. That theme may be derived from a verse in Virgil's *Bucolics* stating that love conquers all.

Other interesting representations of love as earthly passion appear in Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly and*

Cupid. *The figure of Cupid is commonly represented as a naked, winged child carrying a bow and arrow.* RISCHGITX/GETTY IMAGES.

Time and Sebastiano Ricci's *The Punishment of Cupid* (1706–1707). Bartolommeo Manfredi's *The Chastisement of Love* (1605–1610) shows a blindfolded Cupid as a symbol of passionate love being punished by Mars for making him fall in love with Venus. The eighteenth-century Italian sculptor Antonio Canova (1757–1822) produced many sculptural renditions of Cupid and Psyche and interprets their story in *Eros and Psyche* as that of the soul enduring suffering before reaching love.

The story of Cupid and Psyche has caught the imagination of artists throughout the centuries, including Titian (1488–1576), Francesco Albani (1578–1660), Francis Wheatley, Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), Nicholas Poussin (1594–1665), Diego Velasquez (1599–1660), Francois Boucher (1703–1770), Bertel Thorwaldsen (1770–1849), Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807), Jean Louis David (1748–1825), Jean Leon Gerome (1824–1904), William Bouguerau (1825–1905), Edward Burne Jones (1833–1898), Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), Dante Gabriele Rossetti (1828–1882), Guillaume Segnac (1870–1924), Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), John William Watrehouse (1849–1917), Paul Cezanne (1839–1906), Oskar Kokoschka (1886–1980), Paul Klee (1879–1940), and Salvador Dali (1904–1989).

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome; Greco-Roman Art; Literature: I. Overview; Love Poetry.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

EROTIC/ADULT COMICS

The lifeline of erotic comic art has been long relative to its history; it has also been far-reaching. Risque cartoons appeared in men's magazines (*Esquire*, *Calgary Eye-Opener*, and so on) pre–World War II, and American newspapers featured sexy, young women in the flapper comic strips of the 1920s and others a decade later, examples being *Terry and the Pirates* and *Li'l Abner*, the latter with a character none-too-subtly named Appasionata Climax. In England, the star of Norman Pett's (1891–1960) newspaper comic *Jane's Journal, the Diary of a Bright Young Thing* (1932) regularly shed her clothes, increasingly more often during World War II (1939–1945) when the strip was the favorite of soldiers. Almost from their beginnings in the early 1940s, American superheroine comic books portrayed namesake characters such as Wonder Woman and Sheena, Queen of the Jungle, in scanty apparel, often posed in bondage or with phallic-shaped objects.

Pornographic comic books, like stag films, circulated illegally in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s, providing inexpensive, titillating entertainment during the Depression (1929–1939). Called Tijuana bibles, they were eight pages, 4 by 6 inches, and showed either public figures or, more commonly, comic strip characters engaged in all manner of sexual activity. Clandestinely published and circulated comics appeared elsewhere as well; in Brazil, Carlos Zéfiro (1921–1992) secretly drew pornographic comics called *catecismos*, from 1950 until the 1990s. Others followed his example in Brazil. A touch of pornography was apparent in comic books sold in the open market in Mexico during the 1950s. Starting with Adolfo Mariño Ruíz's *Yolanda*, a number of comics featured bold women of sadomasochistic fame.

The 1960s ushered in a period of virtually unrestrained adult comics, attributable to the underground comix and the sexual revolution. In some newspaper strips, such as *Modesty Blaise* in England and *Brigette* in Australia, sex was strongly implied, but no more than that, because of their family audiences. At the same time, an unfiltered view of sex as fun began to be seen in the French strips *Barbarella* by Jean-Claude Forest (1930–1998), *Les Aventures de Jodelle* and *Pravda* by Guy Peellaert (b. 1934), and the American *The Adventures of Phoebe Zeit-Geist* by Michael O'Donoghue (1940–1994) and Frank Springer (b. 1929). The French strips were published in girlie magazines; Phoebe Zeit-Geist was published in *Evergreen Review*. As an indication of how sexual subject matter had expanded, the erotic dreams of Phoebe included rape, flagellation, fellatio, bestiality, and branding.

France contributed a number of sexy and sex-obsessed girl strips in the 1960s, including Pierre Dupuis's (1929–2004) *Jartyrella*, Daniel Henrotin's (b. 1943) *Aurelia*, and Georges Wolinski (b. 1934) and Georges Pichard's (1920–2003) *Paulette*, but the strip that made the biggest impact on European comics was *Valentina* by the Italian Guido Crepax (1933–2003), called the poet of sex comics. *Valentina* was known for its stylized design with mood-setting panel shapes, its sometimes erudite subject matter (Valentina has sex fantasies with famous literary and film personages), and its always explicit portrayals of the featured character's very active and varied sex life.

After Crepax and *Valentina*, the floodgates were opened wide for eroticism in many genres and most parts of the world. In the 1960s and 1970s, Argentina had *Barbara*, Spain had *Vampirella*, and Italy had the master criminal *Diabolik* by sisters Angela (1922–1987) and Luciana Giussani (1928–2001). The sexually violent formula of *Diabolik* was quickly imitated by other Italian creators. Outlandish science fiction and fantasy incorporated strong sexual themes in France's *Major Fatal* by Jean Giraud (b. 1938) as well as in *The Horny Goof* and *Bloodstar* by Richard Corben (b. 1940), both published in the United States; heroic fantasy mixed with sex was prominent in Spanish works such as *Inanna* and *Dax el Guerrero* by Esteban Maroto (b. 1942), *Haxtur* by Victor de la Fuente (b. 1927), and Italy's *The Ape*, drawn by another master of erotic comics, Milo Manara (b. 1945). Sexual satire was prominent in the United States during this period, with Wally Wood's (1927–1981) *Sally Forth*, done for a servicemen's magazine; Harvey Kurtzman's (1924–1993) widely-known comic page parody *Little Annie Fanny* for *Playboy*; British artist Ron Embleton's (1930–1988) well-endowed blonde in *Oh, Wicked Wanda* for *Penthouse*; and a number of strips for underground periodicals.

The underground movement in the United States contributed its share to the development and acceptance of erotic comix through social spoofs by Gilbert Shelton (b. 1940), Richard Corben, Bill Griffith (b. 1944), Jay Lynch (b. 1945), Denis Kitchen (b. 1946), Jay Kinney (b. 1950), and others. The unintended leader of underground erotic comix was Robert Crumb (b. 1943), who had a host of sexually oriented characters, including Fritz the Cat, Angelfood McSpade, and Whiteman. With Crumb, everything ended up with sex. At various speeds, underground comics caught on elsewhere: 1968 and 1971 in the Netherlands, with *Real Free Press Illustratie* and *Tante Leny Presenteert*; between 1960 and 1990 in Mexico, evidenced in *sensacionales*, small one-episode stories that were openly masturbatory; beginning in the 1970s in Brazil, with *udigrudi*, one of the most successful being *Chiclete com Banana*, self-described as immoral and filthy; between the 1970s and 1980s in New Zealand with *Strips* and *Razor* magazines; and the 1990s onward in South Africa, most notably, *Bitterkomix* by Anton Kannemeyer (b. 1967) and Conrad Botes (b. 1969).

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, eroticism in comics had become almost commonplace. Europe was dotted with adult magazines serving erotic comics, a few of which were *Pilote*, *Charlie Mensuel*, *À Suivre*, *Circus*, *Metál Hurlant*, *Fluide Glacial*, *Bédé Adult*, and *El Vigora*; Latin America was rich with creators such as Nicaragua's Róger Sánchez, who drew *Humor Erótico* in *Semana Cómica*, and Argentine writer Carlos Trillo (b. 1943), who often teamed with famous artists Alberto Brecchia (1919–1993) and Horacio Altuna (b. 1941); and Japan was ensconced in a lead position in the comics world. Eroticism has played a major role in Japanese manga; nearly all titles carry sex-oriented stories, and specific sex genres exist, such as *rori-kon* (little girls as sex partners) and *yaoi* (male gay comics). The popularity of manga has spread comics eroticism worldwide. In the United States, male gay comics started in the mid-1970s, with *Gay Heart Throbs*, followed shortly after by a series of lesbian books, first of which was Roberta Gregory's (b. 1953) *Dynamite Damsels*. Women had already begun to explore sexual themes in the 1972 comix *Tits and Clits* and *Wimmen's Comix*.

Eroticism has planted itself firmly in the global comics industry, and, as a significant part of the mammoth pornography business, has ensured itself a financially secure and legally protected position.

SEE ALSO *Comics Code; Comics/Comic Strips.*

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John A. Lent

EROTIC ART

Erotic art consists of any genre of art that renders or suggests sexual love or excites feelings of sexual pleasure and desire. Some works of art produce sexual feelings as an effect of their rendition of facial expressions, gestures, the color and relations of objects, or the arrangement of clothing, without necessarily depicting overtly sexual subject matter or nudity. In these works, erotic feelings may be produced as an effect of the aesthetic operations of the work itself. In this way paintings or sculptures of religious subjects (Michelangelo's *David* [1504], for example), still lifes, or landscapes may evoke erotic feelings in their viewers. Other works of art depict sexual activities or nudity directly, suggesting their intention to stimulate an erotic response, although not all nudity or depiction of sexual activity might actually provoke erotic feelings in viewers. Whether or not a work is erotic may depend as much on the context in which the work is perceived as on the subject matter or what the artist meant to say.

The term erotic derives from the name of the Greek god of love, Eros. Art refers to painting, drawing, sculpture, ceramics, glass, prints, etchings, or other forms of artistry whose construction, effect, and/or purpose are primarily aesthetic. Although the erotic, the obscene, and the pornographic may all portray sexual behaviors, and although all may be erotic in that they excite sexual feelings, the term erotic art refers generally to works that, when taken as a whole, constitute an aesthetic contribution to the tradition of fine art. Erotic art is considered a part of a culture's artistic tradition; both obscenity and pornography exist as either outlawed or merely tolerated manifestations of a lower form of culture. These categories are changeable: what might have been considered obscene or pornographic at one point in time or in one culture might at another point in history or in another culture be considered fine art.

Erotic art has been a part of human expression from the most ancient times. Art linked to fertility rites, such as statues of erect phalluses and fecund women and images of sexual activity, celebrated reproduction. Artifacts from very ancient cultures throughout the world are examples of the centrality of sexuality in primitive rites and cultures. Because these artifacts were a part of ritual they may not have been considered art in the modern sense of the word, nor would they seem erotic in so far as the term has come to represent pleasure as opposed to reproductive necessity. The discovery and collection of these artifacts by museums and collectors may, however, alter the way they are enjoyed.

EROTIC ART OF THE ANCIENTS

Pottery, sculpture, and paintings from such ancient cultures as Egypt, Greece, Rome, India, and the Far East feature images of copulation and nudity both in the lives of deities and the everyday practices of rulers and nobles or anyone deemed sufficiently important to portray. In Egypt papyrus scrolls and murals represented the sexual practices of various gods, including explicit renditions of genitalia, a variety of heterosexual sexual positions, fellatio, and cunnilingus. Greece took the erotic as an everyday activity, painting

Roman Erotic Mosiac. *Romans commonly painted erotic scenes on walls of their homes.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI.**

images of various forms of overtly heterosexual and homosexual behaviors on walls and pottery, including items used in the home on a daily basis such as terra cotta lamps, vases, bowls, and dishes used by children. Greek statues depicted male and female nudity; and statues bearing large erect phalluses were situated by the sides of roads and at intersections. Rome followed the erotic aesthetics of the Greeks, painting wall murals of a variety of modes of sexual activity. When the art of Pompeii was rediscovered in 1748, it was considered so obscene that it was sequestered in private museums, where much of it remains. Roman statues and everyday items featured nudity and oversized erections. Everyday items, including the seal used by Roman Emperor Claudius and his consort Messalina and early Christian crosses, depicted multiple phalluses arranged in designs. In India and the Far East, erotic art appeared in manuscripts as well as on temple walls, with versions of a similar range of the same overtly sexual practices and nudity seen in Europe.

Even through the Middle Ages, architecture featured apotropaic versions of genitalia in church and town architecture, situated to ward off evil. Medieval manuscripts, particularly those containing saint's lives, depicted the gruesome sexual tribulations of St. Agatha, St. Anthony, and other saints whose sufferings included sadomasochistic behaviors or sexual sins. Manuscripts of bawdy secular literature such as the tales of Renard the Fox, the folk tale trickster, provided illustrations of sexual situations and acts. The idea of sexual behavior as a normal part of daily life, however, had disappeared as the ascetism and denial of Christianity took over in Europe. As fine art became increasingly devoted to religious subjects, its eroticism became more veiled.

EROTIC ART OF MODERN EUROPE

As skill and technique in painting improved during the Renaissance, greater attention to the rendition of the human figure permitted the expression of physical details and arrangements that might be considered overtly erotic—a seminude breast, for example, or a nearly nude soldier. Pagan subjects afforded the opportunity to depict more openly sexual scenes and renewed interest in the classics revivified the lives of Greek and Roman deities, whose sexual peccadilloes became legitimate subjects for erotic art. Rape, seduction, and nudity associated with pagan figures could be legitimate features of paintings produced mainly for the wealthy. Although overt nudity and images of sexual activity had typified the erotic productions of classical times, in the Renaissance the eroticism of painting became more subtle, more a matter of discerning desire in a smile, or a gap in clothing, or in the suggestion of a seduction to come.

The Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shifted interest in erotic art from pleasure to a quest for information about sexual behaviors. Erotic subject matter in art after the Renaissance was divided into two large genres: fine art paintings produced for the wealthy and satirical prints and etchings designed for common folk. Private art, which primarily took the form of painting, often depicted images of the boudoir, presented as *keyhole* spyings on the unfettered activities of women—women cleaning themselves on a bidet, women half undressed, women displaying signs of recent sexual activity. French rococo painter François Boucher (1703—1770) executed erotic paintings for Louis XV, while his student, Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) fashioned voluptuous boudoir figure studies. French satirical etchings portrayed everything from sadomasochism to group sex, though there was very little rendition of homosexual subject matter and most of the cavorting figures were clothed. English artists Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) and William Hogarth (1697–1764) produced paintings and engravings depicting sexual activity, such as Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* (1735). Flagellation also became a regular subject of English erotic drawings. Many of Rowlandson's drawings were made expressly for royalty, while Hogarth's more didactic works enjoyed widespread distribution.

In the nineteenth century, a rising middle-class market for paintings encouraged artists, who, often as a part of forward-looking or avant-garde thinking, gradually shifted the depiction of eroticism from the actions of pagan gods to more natural and realistic portrayals of sex among modern people. Gradually abandoning the symbolic depictions of sexuality codified symbolically in everything from the state of flowers to the disposition of clothing, the significance of postures, and the ways gestures might indicate sexual gratification, artists moved towards a greater realism. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, figures in paintings (except pagan gods) were still mostly clothed, but by mid century more of the body was revealed. Some French artists such as the neoclassical Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867), in his painting *Le Bain Turc* (1862), and Achille Devérias (1805–1857), deployed the notion of the harem as a pretext for images of naked women engaged in sexual activity among themselves. The introduction of the cancan, a dance in which high kicking legs revealed the dancer's underwear, helped initiate the gradual denuding of the female figure. Caricaturist Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) used renditions of overt sexual behavior as a mode of satirical social protest. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), in his famous *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863), depicted a luncheon in a park with one completely naked woman sitting with two fully clothed men while another woman bathes in an adjoining stream.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, painters also began focusing on prostitutes and entertainers as serious subjects of their art. Gustave Courbert's (1819–1877) naturalistic renderings of female genitalia and lesbian sex (as for example in *The Sleepers* [1866]), Edgar Degas' (1834–1917) frank paintings and drawings of bordellos and the activities of their inhabitants, and Henri Toulouse-Lautrec's (1864–1901) often satirical renditions of prostitutes and their clients made overt sexuality a far more common subject for artistic rendition, though many of their drawings did not circulate widely. Clothed figures gave way to increasingly naked figures, particularly the prostitutes who were the subject of the painters' sympathetic portrayals.

With the end of the nineteenth century, the impressionism of Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919) introduced a different kind of eroticism in paintings—that of a visual joy of women's flesh. Renoir's work contrasted with the hedonistic and decorative pen and ink drawings produced by Englishman Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898) and German Michael von Zichy (1827–1885). As scholars in the late nineteenth century became interested in sexuality as an object of academic study, social mores around sexuality began to relax, slowly at first. Artists began to understand artistic production as more than decorative, seeing it, as the surrealists did, as more an expression of unconscious thoughts and desires. Precensorship, the practice that permitted agents of the government to remove an art work from public display, also began to disappear. Notions of painting began to escape the conventional forms of portraiture, historical scene, landscape, and still life to explore impressions of light (impressionism), impressions of space (cubism), impressions of color and shape (abstract art), and to expand the subject of art to the entire field of the visible. Avant-garde movements such as Dada, surrealism, and expressionism moved art from the representational into more abstract forms that, despite the absence of discernable or realistically rendered figures, could still evoke erotic feeling.

Work like that of Renoir led the way to Pablo Picasso's (1881–1973) erotic drawings of female nudes. Picasso executed erotic drawings throughout his career, but he produced his most overtly erotic series of drawings during the last five years of his life. The French avant-gardist Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) produced several famous erotic paintings, including the cubist *Nude Descending a Staircase, #2* (1912) and the multimedia work *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (1915–1923). Surrealism, which exploited automatic or unconscious thoughts of the artist, introduced a style of hyperrealistic, fantasy painting that combined disjointed or disconnected objects from many different contexts, often merging them in unlikely forms. Body parts, fantastical beings, and everyday objects expressed the unconscious erotics of many painters, including the French painter André Masson (1896–1987); the Spanish painters Salvador Dalí (1904–1989), Juan Gris (1887–1927), and Joan Miró (1893–1983); the Belgian René Magritte (1898–1967), whose painting *Le Viol* (1934) superimposed the features of a nude female torso on a blank face; the Swiss painter Paul Klee (1879–1940); the Russian-born French painter Marc Chagall (1887–1985); and the German Hans Bellmer (1902–1975).

Surrealist style and philosophy, with its emphasis on the unconscious, led to the development of styles of fantasy painting. Still hyperrealistic in their rendition of bodies and objects, artists such as the Belgian Paul Delvaux (1897–1994), the German artist Ernst Fuchs (1940–), and American Paul Wunderlich (1927–) produced paintings of fantastic or imaginary scenes that included highly developed, dream-like images of nude women and overt sexual activity.

By the mid twentieth century, early century avant-gardism had culminated in the Pop art of Andy Warhol (1928–1987), whose silk screen images of cultural icons and whose films often featured overt eroticism. The hyperrealism of the surrealists developed into a new realism in painting in which sexual activities were rendered in stark, clean detail by such sculptors as American John De Andrea (1941–), famous for making life-size plastic nude statues embellished with real human hair; the French painter Jean-Marie Poumeyrol (1946–); British painters Sir Stanley Spencer (1891–1959) and Graham Ovenden (1943–), famous for his paintings of Lolita-like nymphettes; and Americans Dan Douke (1943–), Tom Wesselmann (1931–2004), with his series of paintings *Great American Nude*, and Larry Rivers (1923–2002). Realism merged easily into styles that looked more like commercial art, and painters began to take on the glossy style of advertising images as a way of satirizing the commercialization of sex and beauty, while at the same time producing commercially viable art. The British artist Allen Jones (1937–) produced images of women in lingerie, garter belts, and other sexualized undergarments as a way of satirizing the fetishizing of women. American Mel Ramos (1935–) used the conventions of commercial calendar art in his realistic paintings of nudes. Tom of Finland, the pseudonym of Finnish artist Touko Laaksonen (1920–1991), is famous for his drawings of gay male life, which combined elements of realism and fantasy.

While realism became one mode of erotic art, decorative art in the style of Austrian Gustav Klimt (1862–1918) became another, often less overtly sexual but sinuous and suggestively erotic art. Klimt, Englishman Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898), and French artist Didier Moreau (1934–) used line and decoration to convey attitude and desire. Klimt's friend Egon Schiele (1890–1918) painted angular nudes.

Few female artists have produced erotic art in the tradition of male erotica. Americans Sherana Harriette Frances (dates unknown) and Clara Tice (1888–1973) created overtly erotic imagery. Several lesbian artists, including Tee A. Corinne (1943–2006), are noted for erotic depictions of women.

EROTIC ART IN THE EAST

Asian cultures have produced erotic art throughout history. India has a long tradition of a serious study of sex, stemming from the Kama sutra as well as tantric sex practices, depicted in conventionalized drawings and paintings of stoic copulating couples. China and Japan each have a history of erotic art, like India, going back to ancient times. In the eighteenth century, while European artists began to depict erotic behavior among everyday people, artists in China instead treated erotic subjects in a formal manner. In large portraits of multiple daily activities, copulating couples were often imaged off to the side, a minor part of the whole picture. At the same time, Japan had continued to develop a robust set of formats for erotic expression. *Shunga*, paintings styled upon springtime fertility rituals, often featured the enlarged genitals of both males and females. *Ukiyo-e* was a more decorative and less visually dynamic erotic art aimed at common people. *Netsuke* were miniature carvings of sexual scenes.

In the nineteenth century, an emphasis on the value of the group and the discouragement of individual expression in China cultivated mainly the repetition of previous erotic conventions in art, in which sexual activities were marginalized and participants were rarely unclothed, although there were some nude paintings involving group sex and voyeurism. The same artistic stagnation also occurred in nineteenth century India. Japan, however, had begun exploring the larger world and had nurtured such erotic masters as the *shunga* painter Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806) and *ukiyo-e* painter Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849). Japanese erotic art was dynamic, open, and naked, featuring hyperbolically-sized genitalia and figures that exceeded the frames of the paintings, which depicted everything from heterosexual coitus to women using dildos.

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EROTIC PHOTOGRAPHY

Erotic photography consists of images produced with a photographic camera that inspire sexual feelings. The subjects of erotic photography include females, males, children, and groups of people. These subjects are often nude or seminude and they appeal both to heterosexuals (at first primarily men) and homosexuals. The history of erotic photography parallels the history of photography itself. Erotic photography has been a thriving industry, a target for censorship, the basis for advertising practices, and the foundation for the contemporary porn industry.

Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre's (1789–1851) 1839 invention of the daguerreotype, a photographic process that used metal plates, enabled the practice of photographing nude models painters used as the basis for paintings. Daguerreotypes were much sharper, more detailed, and more permanent than any previous photographic process. Nude models were photographed in the multitude of conventional poses that constituted the vocabulary of the classical painting that still dominated artistic production of the time. Such academic posing was artificial and formal, offering gestures that often represented allegory and tropes from classical mythology. This nude photography, which was mainly practiced in Paris, was also used for anatomical studies, so that models' poses were also arranged to demonstrate particular portions of anatomies.

From the beginning these nude photographs were also purchased by wealthy collectors who were not practicing artists but who, instead, desired the photographs as erotic objects. Photographers who participated in nude photography were willing to participate in this lucrative sideline. Daguerreotypes were not, however, an ideal technology for the business of producing photographs for sale because they could only be reproduced by being rephotographed. British inventor William Fox Talbot (1800–1877) improved the possibility of mass reproduction by inventing the calotype process, which used negative images as the basis for the production of multiple copies. Parisian photographers of academic nudes quickly adopted this process and began the more full-fledged business of producing nude photographs, still ostensibly for artistic use but growing rapidly as a business in illicit erotica. The number of photographic studios increased from about thirteen to more than four hundred in Paris between the years 1841 and 1860. In 1853, the *Société Photographique*, for example, opened a studio that photographed, printed, and distributed nude photographs on a large scale, providing the model for pornographic photography that still exists in the early twenty-first century.

From 1840 until 1860 nude photographs circulated in Paris without much interference from the government. The alibi of artist's aide had been joined by several other ostensible purposes for nude photographs, such as ethnographic studies, which included photographs of nude natives of French colonies taken in context, or in lingerie advertisements. In ethnographic studies, nudity and display, which were often shy, were seen as qualities typical of less advanced cultures, and the pictures were sold as a kind of social study. Photographs of nude models posing for artists or modeling underwear were sold in what were essentially pornography stores linked to the producing studios, bookstores, and were exported to Britain and the United States in sets.

Many of the photographers who produced nude photographs circulated them under the name of the studios where they worked, though some photographers were renowned. Auguste Belloc (1800–1867), Bruno Braquehais (1823–1875), Felix Moulin (1802–1875), and the anonymous Monsieur X took pictures in Paris, whereas the German photographers Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856–1931) and his nephew Wilhelm von Plüschow (1852–1930) and the Italian Gaudenzio Marconi (1841–1885) specialized in homoerotic photography in Italy. Most photographs from 1841 until 1860 that still exist come from the preserved collections of connoisseurs of eroticism who collected photographs and postcards in the thousands.

The models who posed for the academic nude portraits were often professional artists' models and prostitutes. Those who posed for ethnographic portraits often were not generally thought of as respectable women. Males who posed for the more pictorial studies often made in Italy were also often young acquaintances of the photographers. By the end of the 1850s, nude photography began to break away from the academic model generally to become more openly erotic. Academic poses began to disappear in favor of more realistic, natural, and openly erotic poses. The bare background and pedestal of the academic studio shots was replaced by furniture, draperies, sculpture, and strategic draping, as well as with fetishistic articles of clothing such as shoes, stockings, and lingerie. Interest in male nudes had developed as a market in homoerotica with its own set of photographers.

At the same time governments began to prosecute the producers of pornography, driving the business underground. France instituted laws prohibiting the sale of nude photographs in 1850 and promulgated laws preventing their circulation in the mail during 1862. In 1874 England, where erotic photographs had been prominently displayed in shop windows, the infamous Henry Hayler was prosecuted after 130,248 erotic photos were found on his premises. In the United States Anthony Comstock (1844–1915) zealously cleansed any pocket of obscene material that he could show had gone through the mail. More severe censorship continued until the First World War (1914–1918), when standards were relaxed and nude postcards reappeared more publicly.

Continued innovation in photographic technology made it increasingly easier to duplicate copies of photographs, which had become more consciously artistic like paintings themselves instead of merely being background figure studies. Printed on paper cards, these photographs were circulated as postcards and calling cards. In these images both male and female models used overtly erotic codes of gesture, including slightly opened thighs, coy looks directly at the camera, the arranged veiling and revelation of body parts, and poses more calculated to stimulate various narratives or melodramas. Images of male or female youths together, for example, would catalyze a narrative of friendship and innocent sexual exploration. Images of women together suggested lesbian attachments. Models posed as pietas would evoke suffering. Sleeping models would permit a nonconspiratorial voyeurism, whereas models who viewed themselves in mirrors asked to be admired.

In some images models looked directly at the camera, presenting themselves and addressing the viewer. Images of nude groups, often arranged so as to repeat particular poses or gestures, conveyed a carefree erotic society. Single models imitated the poses of the sculpture with which they were photographed. Settings ranged from interiors to Arcadia. Contrasts in texture and context produced erotic stimulation as women were arranged in leather chairs or across automobile fenders. Male and female models, for example, were imaged next to animals or animal skins, a nude holding a kitten in a strategic spot producing erotic humor, and leopard skins evoking the exotic.

Erotic photographs also mixed races and ages, though nude photography tended to remain more single-sexed than mixed. Images of females might include both black and white females, females located in exotic contexts, or women dressed and made to look as if they were Middle Eastern. If males were included in pictures of nude females, they tended either to be clothed or function as support for various acrobatic dalliances. Males were imaged singly in presentation mode—displaying naked genitals or muscles—or in groups pursuing athletic activities. These images of nude males often reflected the beginning interest in physical culture, another rationale for nude photography that pretended superficially not to be erotic. Images of muscled men, of boys and men together in natural settings, and of men in various combat poses provided the first examples of beefcake.

Immediately before World War I, mores in Paris loosened enough that performers began to appear partially nude in Parisian nightclubs. Erotic photographers took advantage of the freer exhibits of performers such as Josephine Baker (1906–1975) and the increased freedom enjoyed by women after the war. Lingerie advertisements from Yva Richard (a married couple of photographers who also ran the lingerie company) depended on the suggestive nudity of their poses, whereas photographers such as the French photographer Germaine Krull (1897–1985) and the English Albert Wyndham (lifespan unknown) produced erotic photographs of women arrayed with such fetish objects as stockings, shoes, animals, and cars flagellating one another or in scenarios suggesting domination. Bookshop photographic publishers survived earlier censorship and competed with one another in Paris, multiplying the artistic journals, ethnographic magazines, and other means of publishing collections of nude photographs.

Improvements in camera technology, such as the invention of more portable equipment with more flexible formats, enabled the production of erotic photographs in urban contexts. Hungarian art photographer Brassaï, originally known as Gyula Halasz (1899–1984), produced photographs of prostitutes and nightclub performers, turning the pleasures of illicit photography into the subject matter for photography practiced as a more painterly art. Another Hungarian, André Kertész (1894–1985) turned candid photographs of Parisian street life into photojournalism. In the United States photographer E. J. Bellocq (1873–1949) used the newer portable cameras in New Orleans around 1912, taking candid photos of prostitutes on the street in Storyville. The German Julian Mandel (lifespan unknown) produced numerous photos of nude women in natural settings.

By the 1930s the cinema had begun to display the spectacle of stage nudity, but it generated another, more culturally accepted, site for erotic photography in the glamour and fashion magazines of Paris, London, and New York. Whereas Francois Bertin (lifespan unknown), Biederer (neither his first name nor his lifespan are known), Mr. Grundworth (identity unknown), and Yva Richard continued to produce magazines full of nude photographs, mainstream fashion magazines, such as *Vogue*, began to adopt some of the erotic tropes developed through nearly a century of nude photography, such as the coy look at the camera, the arrangement of models with fetish objects such as automobiles and animals, and the continued trope of mirror reflections. Many photographers made their reputations as portraitists by working for glamour magazines, including the British Cecil Beaton (1904–1980) and George Platt Lynes (1907–1955) who worked for British *Vogue*, the German Horst P. Horst (1906–1999), and the Russian George Hoyningen-Huene (1900–1968) who shot for Paris *Vogue*.

Glamour photography focused on the seductions of beautiful unapproachable figures. Although nude photographic models were often posed looking directly into the camera, glamour models looked dreamily at a faraway point. Often framed more closely than was the practice in conventional nude photography (which featured the full body), glamour photography mastered portraits of the head and shoulders. Fashion photography continued to image the whole body in order to sell clothes. The two modes joined in the *pin-up* picture, usually a full bodied, seductively posed, scantily clad glamour girl such as Betty Grable (1916–1973) or Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962) whose pictures were pinned up by soldiers in barracks.

World War II (1939–1945) shut down most of the photography bookstores in Paris, but new centers of erotica opened after the war. The pin-up pictures of the war transformed into the centerfolds of a new genre of men's magazine. In the United States Hugh Hefner (b. 1926) began *Playboy* in 1953 with Marilyn Monroe as the centerfold. *Playboy* followed photographic magazines aimed at gay male consumers, such as *Physique Pictorial*, which began in 1951 as a way to market male models. The men's magazine, whether gay or straight, still followed the conventions of nude photography deployed since its beginnings in the 1840s, although the nudes in men's magazines were actually not as graphically portrayed as the nineteenth-century female nudes in France, because both genitals and pubic hair, which had featured prominently in the earlier pictures, did not appear in men's magazines until the 1965 publication of *Penthouse*. In Europe Scandinavian photographers recommenced the erotic photography business in the late 1960s, although the line between erotic photography and art photography became even more indistinct as attitudes about nudity and obscenity became more open.

More contemporary erotic photography is divided between the erotic photography of men's (and a few women's) magazines and the practice of portrait photography by American art photographers such as Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989), Annie Leibovitz (b. 1949), Joel-Peter Witkin (b. 1939), and Herb Ritts (1952–2002), and the French Gilles Berquet (b. 1956) and Czechoslovakian Jan Saudek (b. 1935). Mapplethorpe, who came into the public eye primarily because of the furor produced by conservatives who objected to his explicitly gay work being funded by the National Endowment for the Arts, specialized in portrait photography that was erotically suggestive. His photographs of nude African and African-American men were studies in light, texture, and contrast in addition to the homoerotic presentation of their subjects.

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EROTIC TRANSFERENCE

The term *transference* was first used by psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and his mentor Josef Breuer (1842–1925) in 1895 to describe a shift of feelings, desires, and modes of relating that were experienced in important past relationships, typically with one's mother and father, to another person. In psychoanalysis, the other person would be the psychoanalyst; in everyday life the shift could be to anyone with whom the subject has a significant relationship, including a colleague, supervisor, or spouse. *Erotic transference* is a shift to another person of erotic feelings, desires, and modes of relating, heterosexual or homosexual, that have some connection to past erotic attachments. In psychoanalysis, an erotic attachment occurs when, for example, a male patient wants to be loved by his female analyst and these feelings extend to a desire for a sexual relationship with the analyst. Or a male patient may want to be loved by his male analyst and by extension develop a desire for a sexual relationship with the analyst. If the feelings are prominent and sustained, they may constitute an obstacle to treatment. In everyday life erotic transference occurs when, for example, an employee, rather than simply having feelings of respect for a superior, falls in love with the superior and believes that a sexual relationship is the only possible mode of relating to that person.

Countertransference, a concept first described by Freud in 1915 as highly explosive forces, occurs when an analyst's feelings, desires, and modes of relating to a patient are derived from earlier experiences in the analyst's life and are transferred to the patient. The term countertransference arose in the context of misbehavior by early analysts that others in the profession thought should be controlled and suppressed. Rather than feeling temporary identification and empathy with the patient, the analyst identifies too strongly and loses neutrality and objectivity. In *erotic countertransference*, the analyst believes that some form of sexualized relationship, ranging from touching to sexual intercourse, is what the patient needs to be helped or cured. For example, a patient may arouse feelings in the analyst reflecting unresolved emotions over a previous love relationship, possibly with the analyst's mother, or some other significant love relationship. If these feelings are not understood through self-analysis and supervision, effective treatment is seriously jeopardized.

Erotic transference does not affect men and women in treatment in the same proportions. Women in treatment with men analysts exhibit the condition more often than men in treatment with women (Lester 1982). In the latter situation, patients often direct erotic feelings outside the treatment, because males are less likely to admit their erotic feelings to a female analyst.

In the early twenty-first century, much research focuses on erotic transference and erotic countertransference, but there remains considerable resistance to frank discussion of these topics. For example, there are few papers on homosexual erotic transference and fewer on homosexual erotic transference. Psychoanalysts Phylis Tyson and Helene Russ observed that female analysts may be so psychologically and culturally inhibited that they do not experience the full development of erotic transference with their male patients. Psychoanalyst Jodie Messler Davies suggests that European and North American child-rearing practices do not provide early interpersonal experiences in which sensual erotic contact is contained and given meaning. The result is that such encounters are dissociated and unformulated, and easily disowned as an adult.

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EROTICISM, URETHRAL

The term *urethral eroticism* refers to sexual pleasure taken in the act of urination or from the insertion of a foreign object into the urethra. The urethra is a duct through which urine passes out of the body from the bladder. In males it is also the conduit through which semen is ejaculated. In the female body the urethra runs roughly parallel to the vagina, separated from it by a wall of muscular tissue. The upper portions of the vagina have comparatively few nerve endings; thus, the urethra is in a region of moderate insensitivity. The urethral opening, however, is situated in the sensitive region between the vaginal opening and the clitoris. In the male body the urethra travels through the prostate gland and throughout the length of the penile shaft, making it particularly sensitive for its entire length.

During a state of penile erection, the male urethra lengthens along with the shaft and significantly increases in diameter. The urethral opening at the penile tip becomes particularly enlarged. The female urethra does not change in length during sexual arousal but may increase in diameter. The German gynecologist Ernst Gräfenberg discovered that the swollen female urethra can press against tissue behind the anterior wall of the vagina, creating a sensitive area that later came to be called the G-spot. Enlargement of this area may cause an urge to urinate during or immediately after orgasm in females. The urethra functions in male ejaculation by contracting rhythmically, forcing semen along the length of the penis to the urethral opening. The feeling of semen traveling through the urethra usually is cited as one of the more pleasurable parts of the sexual act, making the urethra part of the sensation of an orgasm.

In psychoanalysis the urethra plays an important role in the differentiation between male and female sexual models. The urinary, ejaculatory, and orgasmic functions are linked in the male urethra, whereas in females the urinary and orgasmic functions are divided between the urethra and the clitoris. This has led to many models that imagine the clitoris as a female penis, allowing phallocentric models of sexuality and desire to be grafted onto females. Sigmund Freud did that in *The Interpretation of Dreams* and *Fragments of an Account of a Case of Hysteria*. Melanie Klein later developed a model of female sexuality and desire distinct from that used for males. Both phallocentric and gynocentric models emphasize the importance of urination as an erotic act.

Urethral sadism occurs when pleasure is taken in the pain and discomfort of another person as that person is urinated on or when damage is done to that person's urethra (almost always in males). The act of being urinated on is a somewhat common source of sexual gratification, but it becomes an act of urethral sadism when the receptive partner does not take pleasure in the experience. The desire to damage the urethra (or, by extension, the penis) is part of Klein's model of infantile sexuality, in which children wish to bite the lactating breast of the mother or the penis of the father.

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ESPIONAGE

Gender and sex play a very large role in fantasies about espionage, but the reality is not quite so turgid. Open-source intelligence about spies indicates that most espionage is done primarily by heterosexual men for money. There is evidence that this is the result of discrimination against women. When permitted to take on such duties, most women have performed with distinction. In addition, there is some evidence that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and possibly MI6, have homophobic attitudes, though that history awaits writing.

A spy is a person who gathers information on his or her own country and gives it to a case officer who is from another country. Espionage does not usually include covert operations; it is mainly the gathering of information. In time of war, however, the two may be difficult to distinguish. The information gathered may be intelligence gathered from humans (HUMINT), from images such as cameras (IMINT), or from radio or other signals (SIGINT). A mole is a person within the intelligence services who performs espionage for the enemy. Open source intelligence is any information that can be gathered through reading, nonclandestine observation, or open conversation. The impressions of the public, newspaper editorials, news reports, and conversations overheard in restaurants and cafés all fall into this category. The vast majority of intelligence is open source and so involves no espionage.

FANTASY VERSUS REALITY

Although most espionage is not necessarily clandestine, the clandestine aspect of espionage—the secret meetings, special tradecraft knowledge, copying of sensitive documents, altered identities, living in romantic or dangerous places—is fertile ground for human fantasies. The depiction of female spies in Western fiction has undergone dramatic change from their introduction in the late nineteenth century through two world wars. At first there were not very many female spies in fiction because spying was not regarded as a feminine activity. Thus while early fictional descriptions made women spies seductive, it also portrayed them as ruthless. Literature has influenced the depiction of actualities. The real examples of women spying in World War I demonstrate that a woman could be patriotic and feminine, if not independent and sexual. Female spies from other countries, however, were depicted as despicable and sexually corrupt. After the Spanish civil war (1936–1939), even with the move in literature generally to realism, female spies became a venue for fantasies of bravura and seductiveness.

The press reflects these fictional depictions of female spies in depictions of women spies who were caught. The women fall into a few stereotypical categories: the overbearing communist woman, the evil German traitor, or the femme fatale. Indeed, the press compares real women spies with the stereotype, as they did with Elizabeth Bender, the case officer running American citizens as spies for the Soviet Union, and with Ethel Rosenberg (1916–1953). Bender, portrayed as the "spy queen" in the press, was simply not sexy enough for either the press or the American public. Rosenberg was caught in the press's conflicting stereotypes of fiction's seductive female spy and U.S. anticommunist propaganda that depicted the communist wife as overbearing.

Kim Philby (1912–1988), the noted British mole, was also homosexual, as were the four other moles from his Cambridge University graduating class. It is unclear whether the homosexuality of all five was the result of a college rite of passage, youthful sexual experimentation, or a sexual preference, but much has been made of that preference as a sign of the sexual debauchery involved in espionage. Again, however, illusion and reality conflict because more than 95 percent of spies who have been caught in the United States are actually heterosexual.

WOMEN IN ESPIONAGE

Mata Hari (1876–1917), the Dutch music hall dancer, may be the most famous female spy, but she is far from the most typical either in reality or fantasy. The women chosen to serve in intelligence agencies by the U.S. and British governments are usually highly educated with a talent for languages. Most of these women serve in important back office roles, as file clerks, code breakers, and even wardrobe mistresses for covert operations and surveillance. The role of file clerk may seem unimportant, but an intelligence service's ability to recall information using the tiniest detail, such as a large black mole on the right cheek versus a large hairy brown mole on the right cheek, can be the key to completing a particular mission.

Women fulfilled these roles more often than they fulfilled others. Julia McWilliams, better known now as Julia Child (1912–2004), the "French Chef," was posted first to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and later to China where her sole job was to keep track of the massive amounts of information flowing through those arenas, primarily using three-by-five-inch index cards. The first American code breaker assigned to the Soviet Union's "Venona" code was a woman with very high math aptitude. Venona was the code used by Soviet spies in the United States to pass messages to Moscow. The code used "one-time" pads where the code is known only to the sender and receiver and is never repeated. This female code breaker was put in a room with tens of thousands of coded messages and told to break the code by finding patterns. Later she became part of a team that eventually began to

Mata Hari. *The famous female spy Mata Hari.* AP IMAGES.

break the codes because the Soviets used the one-time pads more than once in order to economize.

Particularly during World War II, women were assigned to gather appropriate clothing and to train covert agents to behave like the characters they were playing. The care for detail with which this was undertaken is remarkable. The wardrobe mistresses, such as Evangeline Bell and Marjorie Levenson, worked very hard to ensure buttons were sewn on, cigarettes were smoked, and ID cards stamped in a way that would permit the agent to fit smoothly into the society in which spying was being performed.

Women involved in espionage have also worked as translators and refugee interviewers, but only rarely have they been given work rising to their levels of competence. Women during World War II were not assigned the task of decision-making or running a station. In the early twenty-first century, women rise to become station or even region chief, but the upper levels of intelligence agencies are still primarily male. The exception was Stella Rimington (b. 1935), a single mother who worked her way up to the top of the British intelligence service, MI5, serving as director from 1992 to 1996.

Sex plays diverse roles within espionage. The "swallows" were Soviet women who were instructed to create romantic and sexual relations with male foreign nationals for the purposes of blackmail. Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, has used "swallows" to gather information on neighboring Arab states, most notably just prior to the 1967 war. Sexual liaisons have also been used as a ruse by partners in espionage as an excuse for being locked behind embassy doors in order to hide yet more illicit behavior such as safecracking. The British and U.S. intelligence services appear to have shrunk from the use of sex and of blackmail generally. Sex and gender play large roles within espionage, but primarily through discrimination, fantasy, and homophobia.

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ESQUIRE

Esquire is a men's magazine founded in 1933 by David Smart and William Weintraub in an effort to create a profitable vehicle for advertising men's fashion. *Esquire* was originally known for combining vulgar and sexually-suggestive cartoons and paintings of semi-nude pin-up girls with high-quality literature, cutting-edge journalism, and advice on how to attain urban sophistication. The production of *Esquire* was a conscious effort on the parts of its publishers and editor to recreate the middle-class urban male as a consumer in need of fashion advice. Even in the midst of the Depression and with a rather high cover price, *Esquire* was immediately successful—both in the cultivation of its readership and in its ability to attract advertisers. The *Esquire* formula—with its combination of sophistication and raciness—is the progenitor of Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* magazine, which is known for its literature and reporting as well as for its nude photographs.

Esquire's first editor, Arnold Gingrich, was primarily responsible for the magazine's original, profitable formula. In the affluence and commercialism of the 1920s, men were considered to be producers, while both consumption and fashion were the province of women. Gingrich's task at the new magazine, then, was to recast consumerism (as well as fashion-consciousness) as an appropriately masculine role. His method of doing so was to equate urban sophistication with success: *Esquire* provided a wealth of information about the "correct" behavior and tastes of a gentleman. These tastes—which included knowledge and appreciation of wine, liquor, fashionable dress, and fine dining—were legitimated as appropriately masculine by the rest of the magazine's content, which provided a survey of other interests appropriate to the gentleman—in particular bawdy jokes, the famous pin-ups of the Petty and Varga girls (painted by George Petty and Alberto Vargas), and writing by established authors, including Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald, who placed in *Esquire* work that other magazines deemed too risqué to publish.

After World War II, *Esquire* suffered a downturn in advertising revenue. The magazine had lost its gloss of sophistication, and its subscribers were older war veterans who remembered *Esquire* with nostalgia as the girlie magazine that had accompanied them to war rather than as a guide to urban success. In the mid-fifties, in an effort to reinvigorate the magazine and distinguish it from its nearest competitor, *Playboy*, Gingrich hired Harold Hayes to succeed him as editor. Under Hayes, *Esquire* helped popularize Tom Wolfe's New Journalism—factual stories constructed and told novelistically—and ushered in new era of reportage. Writers such as Norman Mailer, Jean Genet, and John Sack covered some of the major events of the 1960s for the magazine, and *Esquire* additionally boasted contributors like James Baldwin, Saul Bellow, and Gore Vidal.

Esquire's historical reputation as a cutting-edge periodical rests largely on these two periods—the 1930s–1940s and the 1960s—in which it routinely published smart, innovative writing and regularly printed pieces by some of the biggest names in American literature. In the late 1970s, after the retirement and death of Gingrich and the departure of Hayes, *Esquire* lost its way. The magazine changed owners a number of times and successive editors revamped its format. In 1986, *Esquire* was acquired by the Hearst Corporation, which began including heavy coverage of young celebrities, fashion, and fiction, but faced stiff competition from similarly-themed magazines *GQ* and *Details*. Since David Granger became editor-in-chief in 1997, *Esquire* has reasserted itself as a profitable, high-quality magazine and has won numerous awards for its features, fiction, and profiles.

SEE ALSO *Playboy; Vargas, Alberto.*

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Maureen Lauder

ESSENTIALISM

Essentialism is a concept that suggests that a thing or a class of people has an inherent quality that comes from nature rather than from culture or history. Essentialism is studied and debated often in philosophy and also plays an important role in studies of race, gender, and sexuality. In philosophy the notion of essence can be found in Platonic idealism, in which all forms in their ideal state have eternal and unchanging characteristics. Essence is related to being and concerns the special nature of a thing that makes it different from everything else.

NATURE AND DIFFERENCE: RATIONALES FOR RACISM AND SLAVERY

Essence thus is concerned especially with both nature and difference. Humanists are said to be essentialists insofar as they see something basic in human nature that remains stable over time and is not affected by culture or geographic location. Human nature is natural in that it is inherent in all human beings as a quality of the species. Essentialism also is concerned with difference in that it separates humans from all other creatures in the natural world.

Essentialism has functioned for centuries to promote and enforce racism and human slavery. In the past it was convenient to believe that human beings differ from each other in quality and humanness because that belief justified treating others inhumanely. From the eighteenth century onward European and North American culture developed a strain of scientific racism that insisted that some races are inherently inferior to others. That form of essentialism justified genocide in the Americas, the British conquest of India, the European colonization of Africa, and slavery in the American South. Scientific racism was used in the twentieth century to oppress African Americans under Jim Crow and to murder 6 million Jews and others during World War II. It still is used by white supremacists and by regimes around the world to promote what is termed *ethnic cleansing*.

GENDER ESSENTIALISM

One of the oldest, strongest, and most pervasive forms of essentialism relates to gender. It is found the world over encoded in religious texts and customs, social and gender roles, art, literature, and science. Gender essentialism holds that men and women have distinctly different natures, or essences, that are particular to them. Women are thought to be closer to nature because they are considered to have more difficulty transcending their bodies, whereas men are seen as more easily able to distance themselves from embodiment so that they can engage in abstract thought, political and social activity, and other pursuits not linked to reproduction. This difficulty of transcendence among women is viewed in many societies as natural rather than cultural, though it is imposed on women culturally to ensure that someone will raise the next generation.

Sexually active men bear no physical burden and little social burden that tie them to reproduction; after ejaculation a man can walk away from the woman he has copulated with and resume his life. Without some form of birth control, however, a sexually active woman may become pregnant and physically tied to the fetus growing inside her body for nine months. The burden of the body grows heavier for her as she becomes larger and more uncomfortable, though women throughout history have continued to work, hunt, farm, and fight until they give birth to their children. After giving birth to the baby, a woman may wish to be free to abandon the child and resume a pursuit or adventure, but custom, culture, and law bind her to care for her children until they can sustain themselves, something that takes years.

Essentialism naturalizes gender inequality by maintaining that it is women's special nature to care for children and men's special nature to create culture and commerce. Woman's nature is held to be more passive, nurturing, peaceful, domestic, emotional, and content; men's nature is seen as more aggressive, intellectual, competitive, worldly, remote, and restless. Such views naturalize both sexual difference and a social structure in which women stay home and men run the world.

Essentialism was the first gender prejudice to be challenged by the successive waves of feminism. However, some feminists have embraced essentialism because it grants special strengths and powers to women on the basis of sexual difference. American cultural feminism in the 1960s and 1970s attributed the presence of large numbers of women in antiwar activism to the natural expression of their peaceful and motherly natures. That form of essentialist thinking was adopted by antinuclear feminist activists around the world in the 1970s and 1980s in defense of the natural world and the environment against nuclear testing and nuclear power.

In dealing with the traditional devaluation of women in culture and history, French feminism in that era viewed the essentialisms linked to women's bodies as sources of separatist resistance to patriarchal culture and its phallocentric, logocentric chauvinism, embracing essentialism and physical difference as a basis for women's empowerment. Thus, the two lips of a woman's genitalia might offer multiple possibilities for meaning in stark contrast to the unyielding singularity of the extruded male phallus, and the soft mellifluous sounds of the body and the womb of the mother offer another linguistic alternative to the violence of patriarchal language and its focus on castration and enforced gender normativity.

Strategic essentialists attempt to retain a critique of the social construction of gender roles while hanging on to the specificity of female experience in a gendered body. They argue that women deserve the same economic and political advantages that men have but that they are not the same as men and their difference from men should be respected. This type of essentialism often has racial and cultural undertones; many women of color argue that although they should have access to the same advantages as white men and women, they do not want their differences to be devalued and erased. Strategic essentialism maintains that the embodied experience of gendered beings of color should be seen as specific and important and can be employed by women of color as a locus of identity, political organizing, and social and economic empowerment.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

Social constructivism is the opposite of essentialism, holding that all the qualities of a person are socially constructed and are made to seem *natural* only to establish an ideological advantage for one group over another. If men and women believe that women are essentially equal to men but have been coerced into assuming dependent and subservient roles by cultural institutions controlled by men, they probably will view a woman's lot as unjust and work for social change. However, if everyone believes that female inferiority is natural, men and women will be more likely to accept the status quo, in which men dominate the cultural, political, religious, and economic institutions of their society.

Marxism was one of the earliest theories of social constructivism, followed by psychoanalysis, feminism, deconstruction, postcolonial theory, Foucaultian historical analysis, and queer theory that employs elements of all of those systems. Nineteenth-century Marxism argued that people's material relationship to the means of production entirely shaped their lives, whereas twentieth-century Marxist considered ideology crucial as well. Freudian psychoanalysis uncoupled the libido from essential gender, arguing for the innate bisexuality of all infants and outlining the cultural processes of sex and gender differentiation. Feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir (1993) described the cultural construction of woman as other to man and traced the advantages men gained from an investment in this myth. Deconstruction argued that binary opposition is a self-serving cultural construct that often is used to justify the oppression of one group by another. Foucaultian analysis showed the body and sexuality to be historical constructs that changed over time, taking their shape from operations of power and resistance. Queer theory uncoupled sexuality from gender, using all those theories to celebrate queer identities and queer cultural forms as parodic and transformative social projects.

More recently, transgender theorists and activists have taken the essentialist–social constructivist binary a step further, coupling and uncoupling gender behavior, bodily sex, and sexuality by insisting that gender can be experienced as an essence but that one's essence does not have to match one's physical body and that one's sexual expression can be heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual, regardless of one's physical sex or felt gender essence. Sex researcher John Money (Colopinto 2000) held that gender and sexuality are constructed by society, and he performed an experiment on a set of identical male twins in which a boy who accidentally had been castrated during a circumcision was raised as a girl. Money insisted that the experiment was a success, but the boy's subsequent depression, reversion to a male identity, and suicide helped expose the violent repression of gender variant and intersex bodies by the medical profession and helped spark new interest in hormones as agents of biological determinism.

Some scientists and activists continue to seek a biological component to gender and sexual behavior, and this is highly controversial. Many queer activists believe that if a physical component to homosexuality, such as brain type or genetic markers, can be identified, it will be less defensible to persecute gay men and lesbians as social deviants. Others believe that this type of science resembles the disturbing historical essentialism of scientific racism and misogyny, in which physical differences were used to justify social inequality, oppression, and extermination. Opponents of essentialist science fear that homosexual genetic markers will be used to screen out and abort fetuses that might become lesbians, gay men, or transgender people. Despite this possibility there is strong support for the role of biology as a determinant factor in gender and sexual behavior. Thus, society can be said to be experiencing a new era of essentialist thought that no doubt will spur more scientific study of the degree to which biology essentially determines the eventual gender and sexuality of children.

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Jaime Hovey

ESTHER

Queen Esther, also called Hadassah, the heroine of the biblical Book of Esther, is considered one of the pivotal females in scripture because, according to Jewish tradition, she was divinely ordained to save her people from genocide. Physical beauty and great courage were combined in her to such a degree that she merited having her name immortalized by becoming part of the Hebrew biblical canon. The narrative of this post-exilic book also provides the etiology of Purim, the carnival-like holiday that Jews celebrate every spring with much merriment even in the early-twenty-first century.

STORY OF ESTHER AND SIGNIFICANCE AS A HEROINE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Contemporary scholars prefer to read the Book of Esther as a comedy, romance, even a fairy tale, downplaying any verisimilitude to ancient (Achaemenid Empire) or medieval Persian (Islamic/*oriental*) court life and deeming the story's plot to be "structured on improbabilities, exaggerations, misunderstandings, and reversals." Even if "the setting of the Persian court is authentic . . . the events are fictional" as no corroborating sources of the events has ever surfaced (Berlin and Brettler 2004, pp. 1623–1624).

In brief the plot of the Book of Esther centers on Esther's fairy-tale-like good fortune, a destiny that transcends mere personal dimensions through the divine plan

Esther. *By fifteenth-century artist Andrea del Castagno.* © SUMMERFIELD PRESS/CORBIS.

(although God is not mentioned in the Book of Esther) that turns her into a savior of her people. An orphan, Esther was raised by her cousin Mordekai. When King Ahasuerus repudiated Vashti, his first wife, because she had disobeyed him, Esther was among the virgins brought to the court and Ahasuerus chose her as his next queen. On the advice of Mordekai, Esther kept her Jewish identity hidden. When Haman, Ahasuerus' prime minister, convinced the king to issue an edict condemning the Jews to extermination, Esther presented herself before the king unbidden (an act punishable by death) and invited him and Haman to two banquets. Haman, thinking himself in the queen's good graces, was totally unprepared for her powerful intercession at the second banquet on behalf of her people. Revealing her origins Queen Esther begged for and was granted the lifting of the edict as well as revenge against Haman. The reversal that ensued, that is, the saving of the Jews and the elevation of Mordekai, and the fall and death of Haman, his family, and many of his party who persecuted the Jews, forms the dramatic linchpin of the narrative.

Numerous details enhance the biblical account, which highlight Ahasuerus' credulity, Haman's arrogance, Mordekai's cleverness, and Esther's beauty and loyalty to her faith. More embellishments appear in the Septuagint (LXX) version of the Book of Esther and many more in Jewish rabbinic and legendary (*midrashic*) sources. The Septuagint version is a much longer version of the narrative and contains six large additions as well as a number of details not found in the Masoretic text. It deemphasizes the comic and stresses the melodramatic elements and it is considerably more concerned with issues of Jewish ritual. Jerome (d. 420) added the larger segments at the end of his translation of the book. In the Jewish rabbinic and legendary (*midrashic*) texts, which range from the second to the fourteenth centuries, Esther's character, both physical and psychological, is richly enhanced. Thus Esther herself is of royal blood, a descendant of King

Saul, worthy of royal marriage. She is one of the four most beautiful women in the world (the other three, also in the Bible, being Sarah, Rahab, and Abigail), and her beauty flourished unabated throughout her life. However Esther's spiritual characteristics surpass her physical ones, the latter being mere reflections of the former. "Esther put on royal apparel" (Esth. 5:1) is traditionally interpreted as referring to her being wrapped in the Holy Spirit. Troubled by the marriage of such a paragon to a gentile monarch, even in the cause of saving her people, rabbinical texts try to explain away the marriage as a formality without substance, outright rape, or, in an extreme instance, by claiming that Ahasuerus made love only to "to a female spirit in the guise of Esther" (Ginzberg, 4:387; 6:640n. 79; 4:387–388; 6:460n. 80).

ESTHER AS A FIGURE IN LITERATURE AND ART AND CONTEMPORARY LEGACY

Since Esther is an Iranian heroine, it is not surprising that Iranian Jews have preserved her memory with great devotion. A shrine in Hamadan, Iran, grew up around a tomb purported to contain the cenotaphs of Esther and Mordekai, which dates no earlier than the thirteenth century. It became a frequent pilgrimage destination for Iranian Jews. Esther's memory is also preserved in two fourteenth-century Judeo-Persian (Farsī in Hebrew letters) epics, *Ardashīr-nāma* (The book of Ardashīr [Ahasuerus]), and *Ezra-nāma* (The book of Ezra) by the Iranian Jewish poet Mowlānā Shāhīn. Familiar with both the biblical and rabbinic narratives, Shāhīn composed his own version of the Books of Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah by creating an audacious link between Esther's marriage and the fate of the Jewish people. According to Shāhīn, the purpose of Esther's happy marriage to Ahasuerus (preceded by an elaborate courtship and properly sanctified in a Zoroastrian wedding ceremony) was to give birth to Cyrus the Great (559–530 BCE), the king who issued the famous edict (539 BCE) granting permission to many minorities, including the Jews of Babylonia (western Iran), to return to their homeland and rebuild their Temple. Thus in Shāhīn's account, Esther's role as savior is much broader and fully justifies her marriage to a gentile monarch.

Shāhīn's epic is only one of the numerous works of art inspired by the Book of Esther in general and Esther in particular. Her beauty, courage, and self-sacrifice are celebrated in numerous paintings, beginning with those in the third-century Dura-Europos synagogue and culminating with representations by famous Renaissance painters, such as Sandro Botticelli (c. 1445–1510), Filipino Lippi (c.1458–1504), Jacopo Tintoretto (c. 1518–1594), and Paolo Veronese (ca.1528–1588), who all tended to associate her with the cult of the Virgin Mary. Musicians such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–1594) and George Frederick Handel (1685–1759) wrote motets and oratorios inspired by the tale, and playwrights as famous as Jean Racine (1639–1699) recast the narrative in dramatic form. In Jewish tradition Purim plays flourished from the early Middle Ages onwards setting the narrative into dramatic and musical forms, some of which have survived in Hebrew and Yiddish. The contemporary tendency of feminist biblical scholarship to view Esther in a more nuanced light has further enhanced her stature. A trickster's manipulative conduct, coupled with seductive beauty, are viewed to have been part of Esther's only available means to carry out her unselfish purpose through powerful but vulnerable men. To her enduring credit, she employed these means in the service of divine aims.

SEE ALSO *Judaism.*

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Vera B. Moreen

ESTROGEN

SEE *Hormones: I. Overview.*

EUNUCHS

The topic of eunuchs—deliberately castrated human males—is one that has received increasing attention in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In large part this is because of the growth of gender studies. The distinctive physical nature of eunuchs has begged questions about their gender identity throughout history, and they present a rich field for study.

The origins of eunuchs are unknown. Perhaps it developed from the use of castration as a form of punishment, or was a deliberate transfer of practice from the field of animal husbandry. The phenomenon is especially associated with Asia. Assyria and China are the earliest known civilizations to feature eunuchs, using them from the second millennium BCE.

It is primarily in the setting of royal and imperial courts that eunuchs have been found in history. In addition to the Assyrian and Chinese courts, eunuchs famously distinguish those of the Persian, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires, though others used them too (such as Ptolemaic Egypt and the Arab Caliphates).

ROLES THROUGHOUT HISTORY

In the popular imagination, eunuchs are most associated with the role of guarding royal and imperial women; visions of harems come easily to mind. Indeed one etymology of the Greek word *eunuch* is "guardian of the bed." Greeks and Romans even thought it was a royal woman who was responsible for the invention of eunuchs. It is true that this was one role that eunuchs had at courts (and in elite households too), but this was not their only function. Eunuchs were just as likely, if not more so, to be in the company of men. Also, they were not just attendants, but could hold significant office and wield political influence. In the later Roman Empire the office of grand chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*) brought great social status and could bring great power, because of the proximity to the emperor that the post entailed. The chief white and black eunuchs of the Ottoman sultan could also be forces to be reckoned with. Eunuchs of royal and imperial women could be powerful too, with examples including Staurakios and Aetios, who featured in the government of the Byzantine empress Eirene (r. 797–802), and Li Lianying, hairdresser to the Chinese empress dowager Cixi (1861–1908). The duties of eunuchs in the service of courts could extend to major roles not related to personal attendance, even military commands. The eunuch Narses was the hero of the reconquest of Italy under the Roman emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565). And in China, the eunuch Zheng He was the admiral of several expeditions in the fifteenth century.

Of course, eunuchs do not just feature in history as the personnel of courts and elite households. They became especially conspicuous in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe as singers. Although the unique musical quality of the eunuch voice was not unknown before this time (indeed there were eunuchs in the papal choir by the beginning of the seventeenth century), the birth of opera led to the particular prominence of the castrati. The day of the castrati, however, was in decline by the end of the eighteenth century, with a change in musical tastes and increasing opposition to castration. In 1902 Pope Leo XIII banned any new eunuchs from joining the papal choir, and in 1922 Alessandro Moreschi (known as the Angel of Rome), the last castrato to have served in the choir, died.

Eunuchs have had a more pronounced place in religious history beyond their role as church singers. They have been figures in a number of religions, usually in the guise of self-castrates, that is, those who willingly castrated themselves. This marks them out from other eunuchs, because the latter tended to be castrated against their will and when they had not yet reached puberty; self-castration in a religious context tends to be undertaken by mature individuals. With regard to religion in Greco-Roman antiquity, eunuchs are met in association with mother goddesses. The most famous instance is that of Cybele (or the Magna Mater [Great Mother]), whose cult was centered in Asia Minor at Pessinus in Phrygia, but who was particularly popular among the Romans, her cult image having been transferred to Rome in 204 BCE. Associated with the goddess was the figure of Attis, her human consort. In one version of the myth the goddess drove her lover to castrate himself because he had been unfaithful to her. It is possible that the example of Attis accounts for the place of self-castration in the cult of Cybele, though other theories exist. The eunuch priests of the goddess were known as *galli*, and adopted distinct behavior. They would dress as women, wear makeup and jewelry, and grow their hair long.

Such behavior provides a startling parallel with the modern-day case of the *hijras* of India. The *hijras* are castrated voluntarily, and this practice forms part of their dedication to the Hindu goddess Bahuchara Mata, though there are also Christian and Muslim members of their communities. The *hijras* dress and act like women, taking female names and using female kinship terms to describe the relationships between them.

Self-castration has also existed in a Christian context. In the Gospel according to Matthew (19:12), Jesus identified three types of eunuchs: those who are born eunuchs, those who are made eunuchs, and those who make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven. Some early Christians understood the last category literally rather than metaphorically, and welcomed castration, the most famous (reputed) example being the theologian Origen. The Council of Nicaea in 325 banned self-castrates from serving as clergy, but it is clear the practice was not so easily halted.

Indeed Christian eunuchs dramatically resurfaced in modern Russia in the shape of the Skoptsy (meaning literally "self-castrators"), who embraced castration to secure purity and salvation. Male Skoptsy could undergo the removal of just the testicles ("minor seal") or of the penis also ("major seal"). Unusually, female members could also experience genital mutilation, encompassing the removal of nipples, breasts, and external parts of the vagina. The Skoptsy came to light in the 1770s, and were persecuted for most of their existence. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought initial respite, but ultimately witnessed their demise.

Indian Eunuch Applying Make-up. © KARAN KAPOOR/CORBIS.

OPINIONS ABOUT THEIR NATURE AND CHARACTER

Throughout history eunuchs have elicited strong and divergent opinions about their nature and character. Given the altered physical state of those castrated prior to puberty, the question of their sex and gender identity has been a key issue. For Aristotle eunuchs were feminized beings, grouped with women and children rather than men. In the Greco-Roman world, the perceived feminized condition of eunuchs led to them being attributed with feminine behavioral traits. Another view of eunuchs was that they were neither man nor woman, but a third sex, or even lacking any distinct identity.

In terms of sexual behavior eunuchs have been associated with homosexuality. Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) is alleged to have had a eunuch lover, Bagoas (the title character of Mary Renault's 1972 novel, *The Persian Boy*), while the Roman emperor Nero (r. 54–68 CE) is said to have had his lover Sporus castrated and to have gone through a wedding ceremony with him, the eunuch taking the role of the bride. But eunuchs also appear as the sexual partners of women, and in Greco-Roman and Arabic thought one encounters the view that eunuchs were women with men and men with women. Whether eunuchs could marry occupied Christian thought. The Byzantine emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912) rejected this on the grounds that the purpose of marriage was procreation. The instance of castrati marrying women (a famous case is that of Tenducci in 1766) provoked Charles Ancillon's *Traité des eunuques* (1707; Treatise on eunuchs), which was designed to establish why eunuchs should not be allowed to get married. In China, however, eunuchs were permitted to marry. It is clear that the value of eunuchs as guardians of women was not so much that sexual relations would not occur, but that pregnancy would be avoided.

The role of eunuchs in politics was also cause for comment. This could be extremely negative, such as with the cases of the later Roman and Chinese empires. Some Roman literature of the fourth century CE (such as the history of Ammianus Marcellinus and the invectives of Claudian against the grand chamberlain Eutropius) is notably hostile to the involvement in government of court eunuchs, who are depicted as corrupt and greedy (views that have a wide currency, originating in part from Orientalism but also from ideas about the character of eunuchs). It seems that such antipathy was a reaction of the traditional elite to the new political significance of court eunuchs, most of whom would also have been of slave origin. In China there is a comparable reaction by the Confucian elite. Nevertheless, positive views of eunuchs existed as well. They could be considered loyal agents, and entrusted with special tasks. In the field of religion a similar dichotomy can be found. Eunuchs can be viewed as depraved sensual beings, but also as pure and chaste. In a Christian context this led to an association of eunuchs with angels, which underscored the notion that they had a distinct identity.

SEE ALSO *Castrati; Hijrās; Ladyboys (Kathoeys); Transsexual F to M; Transsexual M to F.*

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Shaun Tougher

EVE

SEE *Adam and Eve.*

EXHIBITIONISM

Exhibitionism occurs when a person displays his or her naked body or genitals in order to achieve sexual gratification and assert sexual power. It can be defined as both deviant and socially acceptable, based on the motivation for displaying oneself and the intended audience. As a deviant act, exhibitionism is the act of publicly exposing one's genitals to an unwilling audience for the purposes of sexual gratification. Exhibitionism is considered a perversion because it is typically an end in itself and not linked to subsequent sexual activity.

Almost all legally prosecuted and psychoanalytically treated exhibitionists are men, although female exhibitionists also exist. General explanations for male exhibitionists note that these men display themselves for hostile and aggressive reasons, subjecting unwilling viewers, who are often women or children, to a shocking sight that asserts the man's feeling of power. Little information is available about the behavior and motivations of female exhibitionists, because legal and psychological studies overwhelmingly focus on men. Female exhibitionists may also have aggressive motivations, but their most common motivations are to boost their self-esteem and assert control over the viewing of their bodies.

Typical behaviors of all exhibitionists include: public masturbation; dressing or undressing in front of a window; flashing, or briefly removing clothing such as an overcoat to afford a brief glimpse of the genitals; and calling attention to one's exposed genitals from a semi-private place such as a car or doorway. More socially acceptable forms of exhibitionism include stripping, posing for explicit photos or films, and posting images of oneself on the Internet.

MOTIVATIONS FOR EXHIBITIONISM

All exhibitionism is motivated by the cultural power inherent in the act of looking and the cultural taboos placed on nudity that make showing oneself in public a transgressive act. For those acts of exhibitionism treated as a perversion or crime, a dominant motivation is a need to assert one's power over others. Generally, such exhibitionists are insecure and socially inept, receiving little validation in their daily lives. They reverse this dynamic when they display their genitals. They often choose to show themselves to women or children who seem weak and easily frightened or repulsed by the sight of the exhibitionist's body. The strong reaction thus provoked validates the exhibitionist's sense of authority and dominance. For men, this reaction is particularly appealing because it also helps confirm their masculinity as a strength, in line with stereotypical definitions and representations of the ideal man. It may also compensate for a psychological fear of castration or impotence.

Other motivations for exhibiting that are more socially acceptable also hinge on power dynamics. Strippers, porn stars, and some sex industry workers claim that they enjoy taking the initiative to offer their bodies to a willing audience, feeling a sense of empowerment. Because many of these exhibitionists are women, this act constitutes a reversal of typical power dynamics that render women passive objects of desire and men as active and dominating viewers. When a woman controls the way in which her body is viewed, she shares in some of the pleasure of viewership and often returns the gaze of the watching spectator. While the woman may be asserting her sexual power, it is rare that she intends to make herself a threatening display; instead, these women intend to give the viewer pleasure.

Feminist theorists and others have argued about whether exhibitionistic acts, such as stripping, are truly empowering for women. Some argue that women who exhibit their bodies in ways as subtle as wearing tight-fitting clothes or performing private striptease scenarios for their sexual partners are embracing their natural sexual power in a positive way. However, others note that many of these women unknowingly mimic cultural or patriarchal norms of feminine beauty and that many strippers perform out of economic necessity instead of self-directed pleasure. In these latter cases, the male gaze is still objectifying the woman.

VOYEURISM AND EXHIBITIONISM

Exhibitionists receive part of their pleasure from a displaced voyeuristic pleasure; they identify with the viewers and imagine how their genitals appear to them. The pleasure comes from the recognition of power that exhibitionists imagine to take place and from an intrinsic interest in both their own genitalia and that of others. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) argues that exhibitionists and voyeurs have overlapping motivations, so exhibitionists display their genitals in the hopes of getting a reciprocal viewing of the other person's genitals. The desire to see results in the act of showing, or exhibitionism. Likewise, the desire to be seen results in active looking, or voyeurism. However, exhibitionists and voyeurs can differ, as the latter typically derive sexual pleasure from observing sexual acts or organs whereas they remain unseen, possibly due to a sense of shame or disgust that they attach to these sights. Exhibitionists clearly know they are being watched and take a certain pride in their genital display.

Psychological connections between exhibitionism and voyeurism may develop in childhood, when exhibitionist tendencies result from a period of active voyeurism linked both to the genitals in general and to the mother's body. Children's discovery of and natural curiosity about their own genitals produces a desire both to show themselves and to see the genitals of others, often other children. In the mother–child interaction, the young boy enjoys watching the mother's body, particularly the breast from which he likely fed as an infant. When he reaches an age at which family nudity is no longer deemed proper, he is suddenly denied access to this scene, and his voyeuristic impulse is directed internally as a desire to act the part of the mother and display the breast (penis). The pleasure initially associated with viewing the mother's body becomes connected with the act of showing what he wants to see.

LEGAL TREATMENT OF EXHIBITIONISM

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, exhibitionism has constituted one-third of all sex offenses reported in the United States, England, Wales, and Canada. It is much less prevalent in Africa and Asia. Exhibitionists can be prosecuted for indecent exposure, an act of lewdness defined by exposing one's genitals in a public place and intentionally aimed at getting an unwilling audience who is likely to be affronted by the act. Indecent exposure also includes other acts, such as public urination. Women's breasts are generally not included in this definition, as they are not considered genitals, and their display seems less offensive.

Other laws to which exhibitionists may be subject include those prohibiting lewd or indecent conduct and, occasionally, sexual psychopath laws that punish mentally disordered individuals who pose a danger to the community. Although exhibitionists have a high recidivism rate, it is rare for them to commit more severe crimes, such as violent acts. Because indecent exposure can be understood so broadly, there are some limitations on the enforcement of these laws. For example, the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution has been used to protect freedom of expression that may include displays of nudity.

Legal prosecution of indecent exposure did not occur until the nineteenth century, when new legal and psychoanalytical practices identified certain sexual acts as normal and others as perverse. This shift both allowed for increased analysis and documentation of the wide range of sexual activities and responded to a perceived threat to patriarchal authority. A new cultural need to define masculinity as a stable and dominant identity category arose for many reasons. Women posed a threat with their increasing demand for social and political equality. White male authority was also challenged by the demise of the strictly tiered class system, brought about by industrial revolutions, a gradually increasing middle class, and a general distribution of property and wealth. At the same time in Western Europe and the United States, various social patterns converged: Sexual practices were newly defined by the limiting terms of heterosexuality, homosexuality, and bisexuality; clothing for men became more modest, no longer accenting the crotch with tight-fitting pants; sexual activity and displays of nudity were relegated to the private arena of the household; and acts of sexual or bodily deviance were considered no longer immoral (affronts to God) but indecent (affronts to society).

As a result, the always-present activity of publicly exposing oneself to others became a crime and a psychological perversion distinct from the restrictive norms established by social regulations. Ironically, it also became a way to show conformance with stereotypical gender norms of a naturally powerful masculinity. From this period until the late-twentieth century, exhibitionism was defined almost exclusively as a perversion limited to male practitioners.

EXHIBITIONISM AND PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography provides an opportunity for exhibitionists to display themselves in a forum that is gratifying and relatively socially acceptable. Whereas the deviant exhibitionist subjects an unwilling audience to his or her genitals to humiliate or demand recognition of sexual potency, strippers and porn stars receive that recognition from an audience who has sought out this display. In this scenario, it is possible for an exhibitionist to find a willing voyeur so that both receive sexual satisfaction. Some theorists have argued that because this reciprocity is possible, neither variety of sexual preference is harmful or perverse on its own. It becomes problematic only when such reciprocity is missing and an unwilling person becomes a victim to a sexual act he or she does not enjoy or desire.

Certain peep shows feature booths that separate performers from viewers with transparent glass or plastic, so that both parties can see each other. This layout satisfies the doubled voyeuristic and exhibitionist desires of both performers and viewers. Viewers often masturbate or reveal their genitals under the watchful eye of the performers, who take pleasure in this display of sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Voyeurism.*

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Michelle Veenstra

EXTRA MARITAL SEXUAL RELATIONS

SEE *Adultery.*

F

FABLIAUX

The corpus of the Old French *fabliaux*, a genre that flourished in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, consists of some 160 short comic tales in verse, produced with almost no exceptions in Northern and Central France. Not all critics agree on which texts should be included in the fabliau canon, an uncertainty that derives in part from the rather loose use of terms such as *fabliau*, *lai*, *conte*, *dit*, among others, in mediaeval texts. The majority of these texts is anonymous or, with a few exceptions, attributed to authors about which little more than their name is known. Further, the wide variety of themes found in the genre also adds to the difficulty of defining it satisfactorily.

Nonetheless, a high proportion of fabliaux deal with gender relations and sex. The storylines may be grouped into three broad categories: those that treat an adulterous relationship; those that focus on marital difficulties other than adultery; and those involving a variety of—often unexpected—sexual situations. Although these categories frequently overlap, these major themes help highlight the core of the text. Whereas many fabliaux can be read as espousing an openly misogynist view, commenting negatively on women's penchant for deception and their sexual desires, they do not always overtly condemn the successful deceiver nor do they explicitly rebuke women for their sexual appetites. However, since neither of those traits is particularly praiseworthy, it is difficult to view the fabliaux as not reflecting an inherently misogynistic view of women. Although the characters that populate these texts are most often members of the bourgeoisie, the clergy, or peasants, members of the nobility make occasional appearances.

As examples of bawdy humor, the *esprit gaulois*, the storylines regularly reenact the courtly erotic triangle. Yet, as in "La Bourgeoise d'Orléans," called "a courtly adventure" by its author, the successful resolution often leads to possibilities of continued infidelity as the wife outmaneuvers her jealous husband. The tale is typical of a theme that runs through the genre, "le mari cocu, battu, et content" (the husband who's cuckolded, beaten, and happy). The husband who facilitates his own cuckoldry, as in other examples situated in courtly settings such as "Le chevalier qui recovra l'amor de sa dame" (The knight who recovered his lady's love), or "Guillaume au faucon" (Guillaume with the falcon), the latter based on a pun—the word *faucon* (falcon) creates a homophone of *faux con* (false cunt), points to the ambiguity of the attitude toward the adulterers who succeed, thus echoing to a certain extent the same ambiguity found in the courtly literature they parody.

Jean Bodel (1165–1210), one of the earliest authors of fabliaux, establishes the lubricity of the clergy in his "Gombert et les deux clercs" (Gombert and the two clerks, c. 1190), in which one young cleric sleeps with their host's wife, while the other does the same with the daughter. Satire of the clergy's sexual mores developed into a staple of the genre, with clerical participation in adulterous relations the norm. In tales where the adulterers are discovered, punishment tends to be exacted on the clergyman, rather than the wife, perhaps reinforcing the view that while one should expect no less from women, the clergy are held up to more strict scrutiny. One of the most notable examples in this vein is "Du Prestre crucifié" (The crucified priest), in which the naked priest, caught unexpectedly when the crucifix-maker husband comes home, hides out in the latter's workshop. The husband, noting that one of his Christ-figures displays unsightly genitalia, takes out his tools to remedy the situation. Not all clergymen suffer such extreme punishment, but few of them escape totally unscathed.

Language also furnishes a theme for sexual comedy in the fabliaux. Sometimes the tales are elaborated around a sexual metaphor, based on the renaming of sexual organs. A young man attempting to trick an uninitiated girl into a sexual relationship relies on a metaphor of an animal and food, as in "L'Esuiruel (The squirrel) or "La Dame qui abevra le polain" (The lady who watered the horse). Similar sexual metaphors figure in fabliaux such as "Porcelet" (Piglet) or "La Dame qui aveine demandoit pour Morel" (The lady who asked for oats for morel), but here they function as linguistic games to initiate sex in a married couple as well as to demonstrate that women's sexual appetite can be insatiable.

Other tales, too, offer variants of women's sexual appetites, both in and after marriage. "Le Souhait des vez" (Wishing for pricks), also by Jean Bodel, presents a husband who falls asleep without having sexually satisfied his wife. She refrains from waking him (as it would not be fitting). She in turn falls asleep and has an erotic dream: a fantasy of a village market in which all the stands sell penises of every size and description imaginable. As a woman cannot be satisfied by just one penis, she requires more. In "Celle qui se fist foutre sur la fosse de son mari" (The lady who got screwed on her husband's grave), a widow mourning the loss of her husband allows herself to be seduced by a squire who claims he killed his wife presumably through exhausting her in sexual intercourse. The widow asks to be killed in the same way (ostensibly to free her from her grief). She does not die. The equivocal ending, in which the widow has had some pleasure but the squire did not live up to his claims, reinforces the stereotype of the sexually voracious female.

Heterosexual relationships dominate the erotic preoccupations of the fabliaux, although few of the situations presented would fall into the realm of those activities blessed by the Catholic Church. Practices that would fall into the category of c*ontra naturam* or sodomy, although not a major theme of the genre, are hinted at and occasionally described. References to fellatio or cunnilingus, couched in metaphoric terms, appear in a number of fabliaux, as do couples whose sexual activities vary from the missionary position prescribed for procreative sex. Anal intercourse appears more than once, for example, in "Gombert et les deux clercs" and "Richeut." While heterosexual variant behaviors do occur, same-sex relations are nearly absent. Aside from veiled allusions, only "Le Prestre et le Chevalier" (The priest and the knight) offers an episode in which the humor derives from an encounter between a priest and a knight, the former being hinted at as a sodomite. No actual same-sex act occurs in the text. The "Trois dames qui troverent un vit" (The three ladies who found a prick) hints at possible same-sex relations in a convent and the use of a dildo, either in a couple or alone.

Other forms of gender transgression also appear relatively rarely. Nonetheless, one fabliau, "Berenger au lonc cul" (Long-assed Berenger) offers a complex set of transgressive activities, while at the same time commenting on class by means of gender. The wife who suspects her husband, a bourgeois who has married "up," of shamming his knightly, dresses as a knight herself and confronts him. The cowardly husband, rather than fight, willingly kisses the knight's ass. Passing as a man, the wife effeminizes her husband. In contrast, "La dame escoillée" (The castrated woman) presents an extreme instance of the misogynistic vein of the fabliaux, filtered through gender transgression and violence. A contradictory wife is upbraided by her noble son-in-law (who has already nearly beaten his wife to death for refusing to obey him) for her pride. He attributes her inappropriate behavior to her having testicles. A make-shift operation is performed by his servants who, after cutting into her thighs, pull out bloody bull's testicles that he had brought. The emasculated wife vows obedience, as does the terrified daughter. An insubordinate female is rendered subservient through a bodily transformation. Both fabliaux fit into what can be seen as an overarching conservative tendency of the sex genre in terms of gender relations.

Akin to the fabliau is the German *Schwänke*. Early *Schwänke* were in verse, but by the sixteenth century the genre was in prose. While they bear some thematic relationship to the French fabliaux and share some common stories (for example, the tale of Phyllis and Aristotle, a cautionary example concerning the power of women when men give in to desire), the genre has a wider range of themes. Nonetheless, one can identify a specific type for the wife in the Schwänke: she is typically portrayed as a shrew who angers easily and contributes to her husband's overall unhappiness. Although not common in English literature, there are also a few English fabliaux, the most famous of which are part of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Some, such as "The Reeve's Tale," have close parallels to French sources; others, for example "The Miller's Tale," have distant analogues in the French tradition. By the mid-fourteenth century, the genre had run its course in French literature. To a large extent, the prose *nouvelle* (short story) and the farce, two genres that grew in popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, carried on the sexual themes of the fabliaux. The sexual misadventures of the clergy remained as a major theme in the Renaissance *nouvelle*.

SEE ALSO *Folklore; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender Stereotype; Literature: I. Overview; Obscene; Pornography.*

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Edith Joyce Benkov

FAIRY TALES

Fairy tales, strictly speaking, were a vast corpus of literary texts published in Western Europe at the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, distinguished by the presence of fairies good and bad, sorcerers, magic objects and operations. Tales of fairies and the supernatural may go back as far as classical antiquity, but are no doubt medieval (such as the "matter of Brittany"), filled with magic, shapeshifting, impossible boons and prohibitions (Harf-Lancner 1984). Medieval analogues or origins have been identified for at least twenty-four tale types (Berlioz, Brémond, and Velay-Vallantin 1989). Antti Aarne catalogued these types in his early-twentieth-century international *Types of the Folk Tale*, which became the yardstick for classifying folk and fairy tale. An early version of "Little Red Riding Hood" dates back to the eleventh century, by Egbert of Liege (Berlioz 1994). The first version of "Sleeping Beauty" has been traced back to a medieval romance, *Perceforest* (Zago 1979). "Donkey Skin" was already well known in the sixteenth century in a now lost form, and has antecedents in the many medieval romances of daughters fleeing incestuous fathers. The model for the eighteenth-century "Beauty and the Beast" is the tale of Cupid and Psyche, contained in Apuleius' *Golden Ass* (c. 150 CE), which spread worldwide and spawned countless versions and variants (Hearne 1989)—in France, for instance, with a rich gendered subtext (Sautman 1989). An extensive literary form was written by Madame Leprince de Beaumont and published in 1756 in her *Magasin des enfants*, but another version, "L'Oiseau Bleu," closer to the folk versions, was authored before her by Madame d'Aulnoy.

Readers in the United States tend to associate fairy tales with the German collections of Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, published between 1810 and 1852. However, an already considerable international corpus of literary fairy tales had been produced by that time by their illustrious predecessor Charles Perrault (1628–1703), but also by many women, including German women. Benedikte Naubert's magic and fairy tales, written from 1789 to 1810, influenced Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), Achim von Arnim (1781–1831), and Clemens Brentano (1778–1842) (Blackwell 1997). Further, modern scholarship has deflated the Grimm national myth and shown that their so-called folk tales culled from the German oral tradition were a fraud. They were not garnered from peasants and simple people at all but from a few literate women in their entourage, one (at least) who was actually French (Ellis 1983). The Grimms systematically altered the content and tone of tales, giving them a masculinist twist when they might have presented more flexible views of sex and gender (Bottigheimer 1987).

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed nationalist and male-centered recuperations of folk and fairy tales in Europe, molded into a sexually expurgated, gender-conservative, ideologically sound corpus. For instance, in the corpus of the Russian Aleksandr Afanasiev, passed off for decades as "folklore," tales remained tame and conventional. Yet Afanasiev also published a hoard of obscene and erotic tales through a French undercover publication, the erudite *Kryptadia* (1883–1911), which, like its Viennese equivalent, *Anthropophyteia* (1904–1913), was edited by scholars hiding under pseudonyms lest the official corpus and its "proper" tone—and they also—be tainted by these bawdy tales (Tatar 1992).

A British admirer of the Grimms, engaged in the battle against the "yoke of classical tyranny," George Webbe Dasent published the widely read *Popular Tales from the Norse* in 1859. It has many tales of clever, strong heroines. Yet Dasent insisted that the tales were primarily about a male, "the youngest son," and "are uttered with a manly mouth," even though the narrative voice of these tales was imparted to women (Schacker 2003, pp. 116, 125–126). Thus, in this distinctive gender and racial ideology, "the feminized, ruralized, often infantilized images of the narrators of popular tales provide striking contrast with the rhetoric that is mobilized to characterize the study of popular tales—the voices that describe and compare, which dignify folklore with their attention, and which are clearly imagined by Dasent to be male" (Schacker 2003, p. 127).

The seventeenth-century French author of fairy tales Charles Perrault also inscribed his tales in the framework of tradition, times past, and an oral source from "mother goose" (*ma mere l'oye*), a fictive and highly constructed figure of the governess or nanny telling tales to children, and his tales uneasily interwove folk and literary traditions (Soriano 1968). Eighteen of the literary fairy tales of Madame d'Aulnoy (c. 1650–1705) correspond to tale types in the Aarne-Thompson system (Robert 1982). There is indeed a broad interface and historical relationship between literary fairy tales and those folk tales that incorporate the marvelous and the supernatural. These are "fairy tales" in the broadest sense, although they are usually referred to as magic tales, *Märchen*, or *Zaubermärchen*, or *contes merveilleux* (marvelous tales). There are also profound differences of style, usage, and ideological tone between these two bodies, even though many scholars study both fairy and folk magic tales together and brand them both as conveying a fiercely misogynistic ideology (Tatar 1992). However, this article does not refer to tales outside of Western traditions, which cannot be labeled "fairy tales" without erasing cultural difference and distorting their distinctive educational, ritual, religious, or initiatory functions.

Thus begins the tale of tales—a high-stakes game over race, nation, and gender, reflected in matters of content, authorship, audience, and modes of transmission. The written and the oral, tradition and invention, text and illustration, borrowings and survivals, are closely linked. Sociological perspectives, initiated by Jack Zipes (1983), have met historical ones to render obsolete the notion of an immobilized, frozen tale unrelated to the specific historical and cultural context that produced it (Velay-Vallantin 1992). The study of printed fairy tale books' illustrations has also elicited analyses of the ways sex and gender are constructed through the reception of a given tale (Hearne 1989, Velay-Vallantin 1998). As for debates on origins, they need not be of concern here, but they are rife in the history of tale scholarship (Simonsen 1981).

WOMEN AS WRITERS OF FAIRY TALES

Contrary to what has been claimed, Perrault was not the first French writer of fairy tales. This longstanding fallacy has been put to rest by fairy tale scholarship of the 1980s (as in the work of Jacques Barchilon and Elizabeth Wanning Harries). The first French writer to publish a fairy tale was Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, comtesse d'Aulnoy, whose "L'île de la Félicité" appeared within her novel, *L'histoire d'Hypolite, comte de Duglas*, in 1690, seven years before Perrault's and her own volume of fairy tales. The highest volume of tales written in France in the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century was by women—even though the genre attracted a plethora of writers of both sexes. Madame d'Aulnoy was a prolific author, popular in her day, who published more than nineteen works, including eight volumes of fairy tales (d'Aulnoy 1997). A similar style is found with other women writers of tales, such as Madame de Murat (1670–1716) or Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier de Villandon (1664–1734): These tales were longer, more prolific and eclectic both in sources and in tone, replete with details, did not shy from the grotesque or the macabre, played with gender identity, and were less conventionally moralistic than those of Perrault and other male writers. Madame d'Aulnoy boldly treats sexual matters, evoking passion, desire, violence, even sadomasochism. Women typically wrote much longer tales than did men, even on the same motifs or based on the same type: Patricia Hannon (1988) has defined this as writing a "motivated text," in which, through the transparent effort of producing text and writing it as a literary work while telling the tale, both the heroines and the writer attain voice. Women within the tales written by d'Aulnoy, L'Héritier, and Murat also speak more, with greater eloquence and freedom, and are capable of enjoying and fostering conversation, while the famous male-authored collections of Perrault and Grimm enforce silence on women (Marin 1996).

German women in the late eighteenth century also produced many tales, before or concomitantly with the collecting endeavors by famous male intellectuals such as the Grimm brothers, Achim von Arnim, or Brentano; yet a masculinist critical tradition has catalogued them mainly as translators and transcribers, active but in subordinate roles. Women writers created highly skilled and original works, such as the mother and daughter couple Bettina and Gisele von Arnim, whose novel *Gritta* (The Life of the Countess Gritta von Ratsatourhouse, c. 1843) was based on fairy tale motifs and themes, and had an intricate narrative structure with endless series of "drawers." Many German women tale-writers also corrected and strayed from male-dominated moralities and from silencing and punishing women (Blackwell 1997). And some of the tales written by German women demonstrated bold and original social thinking (Morris-Keitel 1997).

In France, mid- and late-eighteenth-century tales were freer toward sex and sexuality than their models, and took increasing liberties with tradition. This was, not surprisingly, more apparent in the works of male authors, less limited by the constraints of decency than women (see, for example, *Les Bijoux indiscrets* [1784] by Denis Diderot); but even some women went fairly far in questioning gender and societal norms, such as the iconoclastic Mademoiselle de Lubert (Duggan 1994).

In the 1970s and 1980s, feminist collections or rewritings aimed to depart from traditionalist and patriarchal models. Results are not always felicitous within a stated feminist goal. Seeking "strong, capable heroines"

Angela Carter. *Angela Carter has rewritten many of the best known tales to address feminist issues.* © MIKE LAYE/CORBIS.

in nineteenth-century printed collections, Ethel Johnston Phelps openly transformed tales, omitting or adding details, changing story endings, and imparting a strange racial twist by claiming a higher valorization of "strong, resourceful women valuable as marriage partners" in northern climes (Phelps 1981, pp. x–xii). The fairy tales of professional women writers have been more innovative in destabilizing masculinist norms. Margaret Atwood's "Bluebeard's Egg" and "Alien Territory" (Bacchilega 1997) and Angela Carter's substantial work have been influential and defining. Carter reinvented fairy tales of the international repertoire, with a strong feminist eroticism focused on female (hereto)sexual desire. She has translated, anthologized, and rewritten many of the best-known tales, such as "Beauty and the Beast" and "Little Red Riding Hood," revising fairy-tale mythology, thematizing conflicting images of women, and highlighting the violence that runs through these tales (Bacchilega 1997). Emma Donoghue's revisions are stylistically taught, far-reaching questionings of gender roles, normative institutions, and heterosexuality: Thus "Cinderella" ("The Tale of the Shoe") and "Beauty and the Beast" ("The Tale of the Rose") are transformed so that the heroine discovers love and intimacy with another woman.

MEANING AND INTERPRETATION AND THE FAIRY TALE

Fairy tales have been read psychoanalytically beginning with Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) himself. Motifs such as various enclosures (ovens, caskets), towers, and blood reflected familial relations. Geza Roheim (1891–1953) interpreted the tale of the "Good Girl and Bad Girl" (Perrault's "Les Fées")—rewarded or punished by the fairies with oral production of flowers and jewels or vermin—as a dream, and its latent content as translating aggressive hostility toward the mother but projected onto the sister. The Freudian psychologist Bruno Bettelheim (1903–1990) famously advocated for fairy tales as the privileged story form available to children to structure their psyche and direct their life; his theories have been scathingly criticized by tale specialists and pretty much discredited (Zipes 1979). Jungian readings of tales are exemplified by the work of Erich Neumann (1905–1960), Hedwig von Beit (who published two major works on the symbolism of tales between 1952 and 1964), and Marie-Louise von Franz (1915–1998). Bridging the needs of the collective unconscious with the hero or heroine's effort to reconstitute a fully integrated self through a variety of functions enacted through the fairy or magic tale's details, such readings do not typically confer agency primarily on women. In one study devoted to women in the fairy tales, von Franz develops her theory of the anima, asking whether the image they project corresponds to the true status of women and their psychology, or to the anima of men, concluding that they are not mutually exclusive and that women influence the anima of men, and conversely; she also considers the impact of the tale-teller's gender on this reading (von Franz 1972, Simonsen 1981).

Historical studies have also addressed sex and gender in fairy tales. Yvan Loskoutoff linked their appearance in the late seventeenth century, and the artificial recreation of an "innocent" folk tradition through a falsely naïve and childlike style, with a precise historical moment: before a mystical Catholic reform movement led by a woman, Madame Guyon (1648–1717), and supported tacitly by François Fénelon (1651–1715), was actually condemned. This was a form of the *repuerascentia* advocated by Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1469–1536), a devotional cult of the infant Jesus demanding a spiritual metamorphosis that embraced all the phases of childhood (Loskoutoff 1988). In 1695 Madame Guyon was arrested for heresy, and the fact that tales like "The Patient Griselda" and "Donkey Skin" were found in her papers was apparently held against her (Loskoutoff 1988). Many tale writers at the time—including Perrault—would have felt the impact of this doctrine, but the vogue of mystical childishness was particularly strong among women of the court, who reproduced it in the carefully contrived style of fairy tales (Loskoutoff 1987). It has also been suggested that fairy tales, commencing with the Italian versions of the sixteenth century, were from the onset embroiled in pedagogical debates on the independence of children from mothers, who become bad-fairy types, in parallel with the masculine forms of authority such as State and Reason, and against whom childhood learned to seek freedom. Another avenue is to read the tales of women writers, like Mademoiselle L'Héritier, in the light of Norbert Elias's work on court culture, and analyze their representation of the "euphemization of violence" and the extolling of ancient warrior virtues or obsolete chivalry models (Velay-Vallantin 1988, p. 66).

Catherine Velay-Vallantin thus provided a rich interdisciplinary interpretation of the confluence of "Little Red Riding Hood" with eighteenth-century southern French legends of the Beast of Gévaudan that brings together history, theology, sociology, folklore, and the study of fairy-tale illustrations. She has shown how this nexus of tales conjoined to instill fear in women, but also in the population at large, in the context of an antiheretical witch hunt, with a silenced practice of rape and murder against young women by their own kin in a culture where inheritance is a strong economic focus (Velay-Vallantin 1998).

Fairy and folk magic tales have been read as complicit in a lethal acculturation of girls and women into passivity, obedience, and silence, stressing a normative and repressive sex/gender ideology (Bottigheimer 1987, Marin 1996, Tatar 1992). However, other studies, especially of the literary corpus, have focused on their destabilizing potential, for instance by deconstructing masculinity (Seifert 1996). Ritual and symbolic material has been analyzed to reveal an imaginary of sex and power that confers active and transgressive roles on women (Sautman 1986, 1989). These viewpoints may not be as mutually exclusive as they first appear, since the corpus of fairy and magic tales is immense and extremely variable by writer, literary moment, region and sub-region, and tale type.

The representation of sex and gender in folk magic tales need not be traditionalist and misogynistic. The folk versions of tales that are easy targets of feminist criticism, such as "Cinderella" or "Little Red Riding Hood," can project more "woman-centered" messages. The folk variants of "Cinderella" are of the Ashputtle type in the English tradition, a tale that focuses on female bonding and the power of protective female ghosts, as opposed to hostile ones, and have generated feminist rewritings (Carter, Donoghue). While the Aarne-Thompson typology labels tale type 313A as "the Girl as Helper of the Hero on his Flight," the ethnologist Claude Gaignebet returns the focus to the girl when he dubs it "the demonic fiancée" or "devil's daughter." "Demonic" is not necessarily evil at all, but pertains to an imaginary of power and poetics of ritual that counter the pattern of "victim awaiting savior." In this type, women have magical and shamanistic functions: When the young man needs a tall object, he must kill the girl and boil her, and then put all the bones back, but he forgets one, and she is thus left with a defective foot or limb, a demonic mark. Cinderella also shows the demonic limping function, as she has only one shoe, with a foot that fits no humanly known size; this signals her as an Otherworldly being who leaves traces in the hearth, an identity confirmed by the glass slipper: The French *verre* (glass) is homonymous with *vert* (green), and thus she hails from the green mountain which is also the glass mountain, the Glastonbury of British fairy lore.

The nineteenth-century and twentieth-century French folk versions of "Little Red Riding Hood"—whose eleventh-century version stressed protection through religious ritual and color symbolism, not terror and punishment (Berlioz 1994)—depart both from Perrault's dire ending, and from Grimm's masculinist one with the manly hunters freeing the women from the beast's stomach—a version not in the German oral tradition at all, but derived from the French and found in Italian Tyrol (Verdier 1997). In the folk versions, the resourceful and brave little girl outwits the wolf. These tales are filled with gendered and erotic rituals, through the motifs of pins and needles, and the girl's cannibalistic repast, as well as scatological elements mobilized by the child to her advantage (Verdier 1997).

Thus, in the name of greater antiquity—the folk versions are recorded later, so they do not matter—many scholars have tended to privilege literary versions of tales that exist in both registers, or to glide over authentic folk origins as unimportant (for instance in the well-established treatment of the Grimm brothers' texts as oral tradition). They thus ignore or obliterate the unsettling, even disturbing, content of the folk versions. The latter prove unruly not merely with respect to female acculturation into the sex/gender order, but to the veiling and silencing of sexual matters. Scholarship on the literary tales of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has greatly illuminated the gender gaps and gender disobedience of these tales; the task remains to bridge the gap between the two bodies of tales and recognize the unique contribution of the folk tradition to non-normative readings of sex and gender.

SEE ALSO *Big Bad Wolf; Little Red Riding Hood.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

FAMILY

The family is perhaps the only societal institution that is regarded widely as both natural and essential. The biological basis of kin ties and the reproductive capacities of women historically have conferred that status on the family. This emphasis on biology has led to reductionist and functionalist accounts of the family that transcend cultural barriers. For example the sociologist Talcott Parsons (Parsons and Bates 1955), using a functionalist perspective, argued that the modern family has two main functions: to socialize children into a normative system of societal values and inculcate appropriate status expectations and to provide a stable emotional environment that will protect (male) workers from the psychological damage of the alienating occupational world. These functions are carried out by the wife and mother: She plays the affective, *expressive* role of nurturer and support, whereas the husband plays the *instrumental* role of earning the family's keep and maintaining discipline. In similar fashion, the Egyptian Islamist Seyid Qutb spoke of the family as "the nursery of the future," breeding "precious human products" (Choueiri 1990, pp. 127–128). According to Qutb, a man and a woman voluntarily enter into a relationship of marriage as two complementary partners, each discharging functions assigned by nature and biology. A woman fulfills her functions by being a wife and mother, and a man is the undisputed authority, the breadwinner, and the active member in public life (Haddad 1983).

THE ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION

Social scientists differ in their explanations of the biological, cultural, and social underpinnings of the family, but most agree that socialization plays a major role in the perpetuation of the sexual division of labor in the family and society. Socialization patterns ensure that girls and boys will be raised differently, with different expectations of their place in the family and the society. In this way attitudes and practices regarding gender and sex have shaped notions of the family. Similarly, the sexual division of labor in the family has reinforced attitudes toward and practices of gender and sex as well as state policies regarding women's roles.

THE MYTHIC GOLDEN AGE OF THE FAMILY

For some feminists the family is the site of women's oppression and gender inequality, whereas for some psychoanalysts it is the source of personality disorders or conditions such as the Oedipus and Electra complexes. Nevertheless, the family is regarded by many as a haven in a heartless world. Some have argued that in Europe and North America, this concept of the family emerged in the course of struggles against the market and the state.

Conservative commentators warn against the breakdown of the family and family values. In the former Soviet Union during the restructuring known as perestroika in the late 1980s, social problems were blamed on the *overemployment* of women and their *forced detachment* from the family under communism. The solution, in that view, was to reduce female labor-force attachment and increase female family attachment. In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, a romanticization of the family, domesticity, and the private sphere, combined with an emphasis on women's maternal role, followed the end of communist rule.

According to the sociologist Rebecca Klatch (1994), for the conservative movement in the United States in the 1980s, the ideal society was one in which individuals were "integrated into a moral community, bound together by faith, by common moral values, and by obeying the dictates of the family and religion" (p. 369). In this ideal community, male and female roles are respected as essential and complementary components of God's plan but men are the spiritual leaders and decision makers in the family. Women's role is to support men through altruism and self-sacrifice. Similarly, a contemporary Muslim view sees the family as the fundamental unit of society and stresses the mother's role in the socialization of children, particularly in raising *committed Muslims* and transmitting cultural values. According to the Iranian Islamist thinker Murteza Mutahhari (1982), marriage and family life are central to social reproduction and are "a sublime manifestation of the Divine Will and Purpose." He argues that "mutual affection and sincerity, as well as humane compassion and tenderness," are highly desirable attributes in married couples and "are often in evidence in societies governed by Islamic moral and legal checks and balances. In the others, such as those in the Europe and North America, these qualities are seldom noticeable" (pp. 7, 31, 58).

The 1990s saw the formation of a coalition of conservative Muslim, Catholic, and Protestant governmental and nongovernmental organizations in defining and dealing with family values. That coalition first formed around what it saw as objectionable recommendations pertaining to women's sexual rights in connection with the United Nations (UN) International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), which took place in Cairo in 1994, and the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW), which was held in Beijing in 1995. The alliance regrouped in June 2001 at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on AIDS in New York to stop what it saw as the expansion of sexual and political protections and rights for gays being pushed by the European Union.

Lamentations about the current condition of the family imply that at an earlier period, the family was more stable and harmonious than it is in the early twenty-first century. However despite massive research historians have not located a *golden age of the family*, as Stephanie Coontz (1992) found in the case of the United States. John Caldwell (1982) notes that many writers have tended to romanticize the peasant family even though Russian peasant women and girls worked 1.21 times as many hours as men and boys. Teodor Shanin (1987) points out that despite their heavy burden of labor (both housework and fieldwork) and their functional importance in the Russian peasant household, women were considered second-class members of the family and nearly always were under the authority of men.

The family is a powerful metaphor that is projected onto communities and even nations. In some accounts the ethnic group or the nation is a kind of family writ large. Notions of *ideal* family forms, typically accompanied by notions of the *ideal woman*, are found in an array of religious and nationalist writings and discourses across cultures. Here the ideal is the traditional patriarchal family unit, sometimes extended and sometimes nuclear, in which women are responsible for the biological reproduction and hence the continuity of the community (whether an ethnic group, a religious community, or an aspiring nation), and men are in charge of political, military, and economic matters. Women also are cast as the means by which the group's values are transmitted to the next generation and as symbols of the group's identity; this explains why women's dress and comportment are emphasized and often controlled. During times of transition, conflict, or crisis, nationalist ideologies and the state will stress women's reproductive responsibilities, exhort women to have more children, and/or ban contraception and abortion.

The importance attached to biological reproduction and group identity and the strength of attitudes toward male and female roles are the principal reasons for the continued opposition to nonheterosexual affective relationships and family forms in many parts of the contemporary world. This also explains why there is ambivalence and sometimes hostility toward female-headed households, especially when the female heads are unmarried and have children. The family ideology also is behind the continued control of the sexual behavior of women and girls, especially in more *patriarchal* settings. Many social scientists, including feminist scholars, have attributed gender inequalities and hierarchies in societies to the persistence of traditional family upbringing and the sexual division of labor in the household. Scholars of second-wave feminism wrote about the oppression of women within the family, whether as daughters, sisters, or wives, and called for equality in the family as well as in other societal institutions.

PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY AND THE FAMILY: RISE AND DECLINE

In *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Friedrich Engels (1972) wrote about the "world-historical defeat of the female sex" (Engels 1972, p. 68) in the wake of the agricultural revolution and the advent of civilization and class society. The historian Gerda Lerner (1986) opposed Engels's narrative by arguing that the subordination of women—the creation of patriarchy enforced by legal codes in the ancient Near East—enabled the development of private property and state power there and elsewhere.

The persistence of patriarchy is a matter of debate, and some feminist theorists argue that industrialized societies are also patriarchal. Sylvia Walby (1996) distinguishes between the *private patriarchy* of the premodern family and social order and the *public patriarchy* of the state and the labor market in industrial societies. In his work on South Korea, John Lie (1996) distinguished between agrarian patriarchy and patriarchal capitalism. Others have used the term *patriarchy* more strictly so that patriarchal society is cast as a precapitalist social formation that historically has existed in varying forms in Europe and Asia.

In the patrilocally extended household—commonly associated with the reproduction of the peasantry in agrarian societies—property, residence, and descent proceed through the male line. The senior man has authority over everyone else in the family, including younger men, and women are subject to control and subordination. Childbearing is the central female labor activity. Women's honor, along with, by extension, the honor of the family, depends in great measure on their virginity and good conduct. A study of "the values of Mediterranean society" described the importance of manliness, woman's sexual purity, and defense of family honor in Andalusia, Spain; in villages in Greece and Cyprus; and among the Kabyle in Algeria and the Bedouins of Egypt (Peristiany 1966).

As John Caldwell (2001) and Deniz Kandiyoti (1985) separately described it, the contemporary *belt of classic patriarchy* includes areas in North Africa, the Muslim Middle East (including Turkey and Iran), and southern and eastern Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan, northern India, and rural China). In those places one finds practices such as adolescent marriage of girls, high fertility, a preference for sons, and abortion of female fetuses (largely restricted to India and China). In many areas the preoccupation with female virginity leads to *honor killings* when there has been real or perceived sexual misconduct by a female relative. Such killings of females who are considered to have transgressed the norms of proper sexual behavior are meant to cleanse the violation of the family's integrity and restore its respectability and honor.

STRATEGIES FOR REPRODUCTION AND EXPANSION OF THE FAMILY

Family strategies for reproduction and expansion are varied. One strategy is endogamy, the practice of marrying within the lineage. In many cultures cousin marriage is used to keep property within the lineage and is associated with adolescent marriage, especially for girls. Jack Goody (1990) argues that endogamy mitigates the view of women as property, rejecting the classic Claude Lévi-Strauss's view of women as pawns who embody transaction and exchange, a view adopted by Gayle Rubin (1975). Lévi-Strauss (1969) studied *primitive* groups, which were exogamous, whereas Arab-Islamic tribes are endogamous. Nonetheless, many scholars continue to view endogamy as being related to patrilineality, which privileges men in terms of property ownership and control over family resources. In such settings women are considered a form of property.

In a study of northern Africa, Germaine Tillion (1983) identified endogamy as setting the stage for the oppression of women in patrilineal society long before the rise of Islam. Endogamy, she argued, kept property (land and animals) within the lineage and protected the economic and political interests of men. Endogamy increases the tendency to maintain property within families by controlling women in tightly interrelated lineages.

Endogamous and exogenous marriages alike entail some form of bride price or bride wealth. Often this transaction is meant to compensate the father, extended family, or tribe for the loss of a girl's labor power. Sometimes it is the price of the girl's deflowering; at other times it signifies the respectability and value of the girl or that of her family. It can take the form of cattle, jewelry, or money. Studies on Afghanistan find that the bride price (*walwar* in Pashto) signifies an interfamilial exchange.

Nancy Tapper (1984) has described the mobility and migration patterns that revolved around the bride price in Afghanistan in the 1970s. Men from one region would travel to another area to find inexpensive wives, and fathers would travel in search of a higher price for their daughters. In the Muslim communities of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) the dower (*mahr*) goes from groom to bride. In India it goes from the bride's family to the groom's family (dowry). In either case it can be an onerous financial burden. More important, dowry and dower are remnants of a patriarchal inegalitarian past in which parents *sell* their daughters. In all cases inheritance practices favor male kin, and those practices often are codified in law.

Another strategy of family (or kinship) reproduction and expansion is polygyny. The practice of multiple wives for a man is rooted in tribal imperatives and the agrarian economy, which requires the labor power of women and children. In the early twenty-first century polygynous households are most prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa, which remains largely rural and agrarian. Although Muslims claim that their religion permits men to marry up to four wives, urbanization and educational attainment have led to a decline in the practice and an expansion of nuclear families among Muslim communities in urban settings. Whereas family structure in the MENA region once was described as extended, patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, endogamous, and occasionally polygynous, in urbanized countries in that region polygny has become a statistically insignificant family form. Monogamy is the norm, and the recent reform of family law in Morocco has made it extremely difficult for a man to obtain a second wife; however, only Turkey and Tunisia have banned polygyny outright.

CHANGES IN HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES

Some of the most extensive studies on changes in household or family types and the impact of economic changes on women's status have been undertaken in Turkey. In the 1970s Kandiyoti delineated six socioeconomic categories of women: nomadic, traditional rural, changing rural, small town, newly urbanized squatter (*gecekondu*), and urban middle-class professionals and housewives (Kandiyoti 1985). Family form and household composition varied across those groups, as did the sexual division of labor. An interesting discovery was that the patrilocal extended household was being undermined by market incorporation, migration, and poverty, although patriarchal attitudes and practices remained strongest in the countryside. The patrilineal extended household is similarly characteristic of rural areas elsewhere in MENA but is less typical in large metropolitan areas, where neolocal residence is assumed upon marriage and the nuclear family form prevails.

Nuclear families, however, can continue to be patriarchal, partly as a result of the provisions of family law. The gender hierarchies and inequalities of the law may allow parents to beat their children and husbands to beat their wives. Brothers inherit more than sisters do, and a deceased man's wealth may be inherited by his male kin as well as by his widow or widows and children. Divorce may be obtained easily by a man but is very difficult for a woman, and after divorce, the children remain with their father or his kin. The husband is entitled to exercise his marital authority by restraining his wife's movements and preventing her from showing herself in public. This is the case because Arab-Islamic culture privileges patrilineal bonds and enjoins men to take responsibility for the support of their wives and children. The wife's main obligations are to maintain a home, care for her children, and obey her husband. Valentine M. Moghadam (2003) has referred to this as the "patriarchal gender contract." In the MENA region the patriarchal contract has been codified by the state in the form of Muslim family law or personal status codes, which usually are based on an interpretation by one of the Islamic schools of jurisprudence.

Studies of patriarchal family forms and kinship ties have been conducted by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians, including feminist scholars. The social anthropologist Jack Goody (1990) drew attention to two major kinship systems: African and Eurasian. The sociologist William Goode (1963) argued that the nuclear family form in the Europe and North America would be replicated in other parts of the world because it was best suited to the requirements of industrialization. More recently, Göran Therborn (2004) surveyed family systems across time and place and identified five *geocultural* patterns, each of which has been shaped largely by its predominant religion: European (including New World and Pacific settlements): East Asia, sub-Saharan African, West Asia/North Africa, and South Asia. Two additional *interstitial* family forms are religiously hybrid: the southeastern Asian and the Creole American. All traditional family systems, Therborn argues, include three *regimes*: patriarchy, marriage, and fertility. Echoing the work of other scholars, he argues that whereas at the turn of the twentieth-century patriarchy in the classic sense of male domination was a universal pattern, by the twenty-first century patriarchy had experienced a serious decline.

Many sociologists have attributed this decline to the effects of industrialization, urbanization, and educational attainment, along with the social changes caused by the youth rebellions of the 1960s and 1970s and second-wave feminism. Therborn also stresses the effects of wars and revolutions and especially the ideologies and political systems of communism and socialism, which transformed the family in Russia and China. He agrees with other scholars that the patriarchal holdouts are Muslim and Hindu communities in the Middle East, North Africa, and southern Asia. In Euro-American postpatriarchal societies social movements and equal rights have led to significant changes in family systems, although women remain unequal in terms of political and economic power.

The other two family regimes of marriage and fertility also have undergone change. Divorce, cohabitation, and extramarital birth are very common, and *civil unions* have been increasing in European and North American societies. In the United States 70 percent of women age twenty to twenty-four were married in 1960, but by 2000, that proportion had dropped to 23 percent. In Tunisia the average age at first marriage has risen dramatically, reaching twenty-eight years for women in 2005. However, Therborn points out that heterosexual marriage, along with monogamy, remains universal, the principal way of regulating sexual behavior and sexual bonding. In regard to fertility Therborn cites the major demographic literature to show how birth rates have been falling throughout the world and across the family systems, with some variations. Such a demographic transition, in which previously high-fertility countries such as Iran have seen major decreases in family size, is the result of the usual sociological and economic explanations of urbanization, educational attainment, and the increasing cost of caring for children, along with modern ideologies of socialism, secularism, and feminism that have promoted family planning or women's control over their own bodies.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, THE FAMILY, AND SEXUALITY

The demographic transition involves a change from the high-mortality and high-fertility characteristic of preindustrial societies to a pattern of low mortality and low fertility. John Caldwell (1982) argued that in Western Europe, the economic and demographic transitions coevolved: The transition from the traditional peasant (family-based) economy to the capitalist economy entailed changes in decisions about and the need for reproduction. There was less rationality for having large families because the cost of each additional child increased. In England and France the rate of population growth increased up until 1780 and then slowed after 1820 and 1879 in France and England, respectively. Although lower fertility rates came about in European and North American societies over the course of industrialization and urbanization, another important source of instability in the family-based system of production and reproduction, according to Caldwell, was "the egalitarian strain in the modern European ideology, powerfully augmented by the spread of education" (Caldwell 1982, p. 176). Marriage patterns also changed in the course of the demographic transition in Western Europe.

In the 1960s modernization theorists predicted that fertility and household patterns in European and North American societies would be adopted in developing countries that wanted to enhance their social and economic development. The World Fertility Survey (WFS) conducted in forty-one countries between 1977 and 1982 (World Fertility Survey 1984) found that women with higher education living in urban settings tended to have fewer children. The WFS also found that high fertility persisted in a number of regions, notably the Middle East, North Africa, southern Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. As late as 1988 Algeria reported 5.4 births per woman, and the Islamic Republic of Iran reported 5.6 births per woman. The 1990s, however, saw declines in the region as a whole and a dramatic decline in Iran.

Demographers who have studied global fertility decline since the 1960s offer varied explanations for the fertility transition: mortality reduction; reduced economic contributions from children; the opportunity cost of childbearing, especially for mothers; family transformation; vanishing cultural props for childbearing; improved access to fertility regulation; marriage delay; and the diffusion of certain ideas and practices. Caldwell (2001) cites the role of ideologies, attitudes, and the mechanisms of fertility control but points out that inadequate socioeconomic change may explain why some countries or some social groups within countries have been excluded from the global fertility decline. Karen Oppenheim Mason (2001) adds gender to the equation, arguing that the status of women and the family determines some of the explanations described above. The status of women is thus both an independent variable and a dependent variable in the demographic transition.

Socioeconomic development, state, gender, and class certainly play roles in fertility. The patriarchal family and the agrarian economy both favor high fertility. In protoindustrial societies the merchants (the traditional elite) organize their families much as farmers do and feel few, if any, ill effects from high fertility. By contrast, the fully developed labor market mode of production offers no rewards for high fertility. There is evidence that the labor status of the wife, especially if she works in the modern sector of the economy (the nonagricultural cash economy), is an important determinant of marital fertility. State policies may encourage or penalize large families. Women's lower status means restricted access to education and employment and hence higher fertility. Because women from elite families generally have the highest degree of access to education and employment, fertility also varies by class. Higher levels of education tend to result in more knowledge and use of contraceptives, although the availability of family planning programs is also an important variable. Salaried middle-class women have the fewest children.

These analyses help explain the demographic transition in MENA and its implications for the status of women, gender relations, and the family. As in other developing regions in the twentieth century, the demographic transition occurred more rapidly in MENA than it occurred in Europe, though it occurred later than in Latin America and southeastern Asia. The Demographic and Health Surveys statistics from the early 1990s in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey, and Yemen, along with many other developing countries, found that rural versus urban residence, education, and socioeconomic status determined the number of children as well as the health of the mother and child. In general, the surveys found lowering fertility rates and a rising age of marriage in the MENA countries surveyed (survey data are available at the Demographic and Health Surveys web site).

On average, fertility in MENA countries declined from seven children per woman in around 1960 to 3.6 children in 2001. As Farzaneh Roudi (2001) has shown, only Yemen has been relatively unchanged, and the average number of births per woman there is close to eight. In Iran, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Turkey, the combined effects of socioeconomic development, women's educational attainment, and state-sponsored family planning programs have produced the lowest fertility rates in the region. Indeed, the average of about 2.5 children per woman in these countries is even lower than the fertility rate in many Latin-American countries.

Thus, urbanization, industrialization, proletarianization, and mass schooling, which were so important in the demographic transition and the decline of classic patriarchy in the Europe and North America are present in the MENA region and have altered the social structure and gender relations, including the family system. Developmentalist, welfarist, and revolutionary states also have helped bring about societal changes, including legal reforms that bolster women's position in the family. Those reforms are an important basis for the ability of women to act autonomously. However, perhaps most important has been the expansion of schooling for girls. As Fatima Mernissi (1987, p. xxv) has stated: "Access to education seems to have an immediate, tremendous impact on women's perception of themselves, their reproductive and sex roles, and their social mobility expectations." These social changes have led to differentiation among the female population and an expansion of the range of options available to women, including the right to make informed choices about marriage and childbearing. These trends are relevant to a growing proportion of the urban female population, and they have been visible enough to result in opposition by conservative forces. Those forces see the relative rise in the position of women as having the potential to undermine the traditional patriarchal family.

Caldwell (2001) has argued that mass schooling probably has had a greater impact on the family in developing countries than it had in Europe and North America. First, mass schooling came in many countries at an earlier stage of economic and occupational structure development than it did in Europe and North America. Second, schooling frequently means westernization, including European and North American concepts of family and gender. According to Caldwell, "Schools destroy the corporate identity of the family, especially for those members previously most submissive and most wholly contained by the family: children and women" (2001, p. 322). Mernissi similarly emphasized the role of state-sponsored education in creating two generations of independent women. These are the women, Moghadam (2003) notes, who are forming feminist organizations that seek further social changes, including the modernization of family law and the criminalization of honor crimes and domestic violence.

Algeria and Iran, two large MENA countries, are representative of the profound family changes that are occurring in that region. Whereas a few decades ago the majority of women married before age twenty, only 10 percent of that age group in Algeria and 18 percent in Iran were married by the early twenty-first century. This is despite the fact that the age of marriage was lowered to puberty after the Iranian revolution and is age fifteen. The surge in unmarried young people and the fear of illicit sex led some Islamist leaders, such as then-president Hashemi Rafsanjani, to encourage *temporary marriage* (*muta'a* in Arabic, *sigheh* in Persian) and an Islamic contractual arrangement for sexual relations. Temporary marriage is, however, highly unpopular in Iran's middle-class society, which associates it with legalized prostitution.

Elsewhere more young people are remaining unmarried. In Turkey 14 percent, in Morocco 13 percent, and in Tunisia 3 percent of young women age fifteen to nineteen were married in the 1990s. Mernissi has argued that the idea of a young unmarried woman is completely novel in the Muslim world, for the concept of patriarchal honor is built around the idea of virginity, which reduces a woman's role to its sexual dimension: reproduction within an early marriage. The concept of a menstruating and unmarried woman is so alien to the Muslim family system, Mernissi adds, that it is either unimaginable or necessarily is linked with *fitna*, or moral and social disorder. The unimaginable has become a reality. Young men faced with job insecurity or lacking a diploma to guarantee access to desired jobs postpone marriage. Women, faced with the pragmatic necessity to count on themselves instead of relying on a rich husband, further their formal education. Rates of higher education have increased, and in a number of MENA countries, women's enrollments exceed those of men.

REACTIONS TO RECENT CHANGES IN THE FAMILY

There is a consensus that the dramatic increase in education among North American women in the postwar era was a major cause of the women's movement. The baby boomers went to college in massive and unprecedented numbers. College education increased women's labor-force participation; at the same time there was an expansion of labor participation by married women. A similar pattern can be discerned in MENA countries. Activist women, married and unmarried, emerge from the ranks of the educated and employed. This rapid social change—the impact of industrialization, urbanization, and education on marriage, the family, and gender roles—has caused a conservative backlash and a rise in religious fundamentalist movements as well as lamentations about eroding family values.

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Valentine M. Moghadam

FAMILY, ALTERNATIVE

The concept of the alternative family encompasses those models of family life that differ from the so-called traditional, or nuclear, family—that is, a family comprised of a husband and wife and their children. Two family types—women-headed families and lesbian/gay families—are often presented as clear and present threats to a traditional model of the family and thus to the very fabric of the United States.

Prior to the 1960s researchers noted that most Americans shared a common view of the traditional family:

> Family should consist of a husband and wife living together with their children. The father should be the head of the family, earn the family's income, and give his name to his wife and children. The mother's main tasks were to support and facilitate her husband's career, guide her children's development, look after the home, and set a moral tone for the family. Marriage was an enduring obligation for better or worse. The husband and wife jointly coped with stresses. Sexual activity was to be kept within the marriage, especially for women. As parents, they had an overriding responsibility for the well-being of their children during the early years until their children entered school; they were almost solely responsible. Even later, it was the parents who had the primary duty of guiding their children's education and discipline.
>
> *(Hamburg 1993, p. 60)*

Similarly, according to James S. Coleman (1988), families are the financial, human, and social capital of children, and these facets determine and influence a child's quality of life.

IMAGES OF THE FAMILY

Some have argued that three distinct images of the family have emerged (Baca Zinn and Eitzen 2005). The first is the image of the family as a safe "haven in a heartless world" (Lasch 1977, p. 8), providing protection in "a womblike" environment (Keniston 1977, p. 11). The second image presents the family as a location of personal fulfillment (Demos 1979). The third image—and definitely not as flattering as the previous two—presents the family as a location of encumbrance (Millman 1991). This image suggests that because of responsibilities to a variety of family members, the family inhibits individual development, expression, and joy.

Not only is the family sometimes viewed as an encumbrance, it is also frequently viewed as a source of society's decline.

> Each day, the media serve up new stories and statistics documenting that marriage is going the way of the horse and buggy, that we are becoming a nation without fathers and that, as a result, children are suffering and society is falling apart. The breakdown of the family is taken for granted as a simple social fact. The only question is who or what is to blame and how can we restore the family to the way we imagine it used to be.
>
> *(Mason, Skolnick, and Sugarman 2003, p. 1)*

This question received peak airtime in the public discourse in the early 1990s when then Vice President Dan Quayle challenged television character Murphy Brown for a having a baby without a husband. He also went on to blame the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion on, among other things, family decline. According to Maxine Baca Zinn and D. Stanley Eitzen, Quayle and his intellectual contemporaries have it backward. It is not changing family forms that cause structural decline and disarray. Instead, the authors state:

> Divorce and single parenthood are the consequences of social and economic dislocations rather than the cause. … Disappearing jobs, declining earnings, and low-wage work have far more detrimental effects on families than the demise of family values. … The simple solution that we return to the nuclear family at all costs allows the public and the government to escape social responsibilities, such as intervening in the ghettos, building new houses and schools, and creating million of jobs. … This view shifts the focus from the larger society to individual family members, who must then devise their own solutions for the dilemmas of our times.
>
> *(2005, p. 21)*

SINGLE-PARENT HOUSEHOLDS

Diana Pearce (1978) coined the term *feminization of poverty*, which calls attention to the large number of single women and their children who live in poverty. Pearce concluded that labor market discrimination contributes to the feminization of poverty. Single women care for more children than do single men, and single women receive less income when they enter the labor force than do single men. Meanwhile, father-only households, in comparison with mother-only households, are less likely to be poor, more likely to be in the labor force, and are generally smaller with older children (Norton and Miller 1992).

These assertions are borne out in national data. For example, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (2002, 2003), the number of families with children increased by more than seven million between 1970 and 2002. During this same period, the portion of households that were so-called total family households—that is, married-couple families with children—declined from 87 percent to 72 percent. Single-mother families increased from six million in 1980 to ten million (26%) in 2002. The number of single-father families increased from 690,000 to 2.2 million (6%) during the same period.

Carolyn Smith and Marvin D. Krohn (1995) contend that social class, and by extension the larger economy, influence household organization in cultural groups that are more economically disadvantaged. They found that living in a single-parent home has less influence on family processes than living in a situation of economic hardship. Other studies indicate that focusing on the effects of parental configuration and educational achievement without adequately considering socioeconomic status is misleading (Battle, Alderman-Swain, and Tyner 2005).

LESBIAN/GAY FAMILIES

Misleading research can also be found in the debate around lesbian/gay families, and exact statistics about such families are hard to generate. The research of Alfred C. Kinsey and colleagues (1948, 1953) suggested that 10 percent of adults in the United States are lesbian or gay. A more recent nationally representative sex survey, however, places that number around 4 percent, depending on how sexual orientation is defined and/or measured (Michael et al. 1994.) Regardless of the number, most scholars agree that generating exact numbers for lesbian/gay individuals or families is problematic because, among other reasons, sexual orientation is fluid throughout the life course, cultural definitions of lesbian and gay change over time, and there is still so much stigma around being lesbian or gay that many homosexual people choose not to disclose their orientation.

Some researchers have begun to examine differences between lesbian and gay male parents. For example, lesbian mothers tend to live in committed relationships far more often than gay men do and are more monogamous sexually (Fowlkes 1994). Similar to their straight peers, lesbian women are socialized to care for kin, which largely explains the formation of larger numbers of lesbian than of gay male families.

These differences notwithstanding, much research exists highlighting similarities between lesbian/gay parents and their heterosexual counterparts (Hotvedt 1982). More recently, however, researchers have begun to highlight some differences between these two family forms. For example, compared with straight couples, same-sex couples handle conflicts better (Gottman and Levenson 1999), have higher levels of cohesion (Zacks, Green, and Marrow 1988), tend to be more egalitarian in the division of housework labor (Kurdek 1993), and engage more equally in other key decision-making processes within their relationship (Allen and Demo 1995).

ALTERNATIVE FAMILIES AND GENDER

Women-headed families and lesbian/gay families challenge notions of patriarchy and gender hierarchy in very powerful ways. Their successes force societies in Europe and North America to seriously examine their assumptions about male dominance and their romance with traditional family forms.

Sociologists who study families are in broad agreement that gender is a social construction that influences the differing roles males and females play in families (Richardson 1977, Lorber 1994). More specifically, gender roles are the set of attitudes, behaviors, and activities that are socially and culturally defined as appropriate for each sex (masculinity and femininity) and learned through the socialization process (Lips 2005). In European and North American societies, for example, males are largely expected to demonstrate aggressiveness

Lesbian Family. *A lesbian couple with their daughter.* © MARKUS MOELLENBERG/ZEFA/CORBIS.

and stoicism whereas females are expected to be submissive and emotional.

The process of socialization into gender roles occurs from birth—though some researchers argue that this can commence as soon as the sex of the fetus is known. Gender is embedded in the images, ideas, language, and practices of a society. Parents are encouraged to provide gender-specific toys that not only reinforce gender-based identities but also can influence career choices (Thorne 1993). Toys given to boys such as computer games and tools allow for invention and manipulation—integral to scientific careers—whereas dolls and homemaking toys given to girls encourage imitation and nurturing. When children are able to help with household chores, they are often assigned differing tasks. Maintenance chores (such as shoveling snow) are given to boys, whereas domestic chores (washing clothes) are given to girls.

Research in school settings suggests that teachers can perpetuate gender bias. Teachers provide important messages about gender through both the formal content of classroom assignments and through interactions with students. For instance, Qing Li (1999) found that teachers often have different gender expectations around math competencies. They stereotype males as competent in math, which is reflected in the tendency to overrate their abilities at the expense of female classmates. Other researchers have found that boys receive more attention than do girls because they call out in class, demand help, and sometimes engage in disruptive behavior (Sadker and Sadker 1994). Globally, all societies use gender to assign tasks along gender lines—whether those tasks be housework or construction—while providing differential rewards to those who perform these tasks. To be sure, gender differences are strongly embedded in the structure of societies and shape gender-based hierarchies of power, wealth, and status where men are dominant over women (Risman 1998). In other words, because society depends on a predictable division of labor, gender becomes a major social institution that facilitates the organization of social life along unequally ranked gender roles. Sociologist Judith Lorber (1994) thus encapsulates the significance of gender: "Gender is a human invention, like language, kinship, religion, and technology; like them, gender organizes human social life in culturally patterned ways. Gender organizes social relations in everyday life as well as in the major social structures, such as social class and the hierarchies of bureaucratic organization" (p. 6).

Gendering is an integral part of the daily experiences of both men and women. The gendering process includes societal ideas regarding masculine and feminine attributes that are formally legitimated by religion, law, and society. Informally, gender is legitimated through the sanctioning of behaviors that are viewed as not appropriate by peers (Lorber 1994). The differences between male and female gender roles are established because of the power, status, and division of labor in society. For example, within the context of male dominance, men continue to be ranked above women, and the activities performed by women are strongly correlated with less power, prestige, and economic rewards, and are viewed as less significant than those of their male counterparts (Sadker and Sadker 1994, Desmarais and Curtis 1999). Assumptions about appropriate gender roles serve to perpetuate unequal opportunities in employment, education, and contracting. As a result, when women attempt to participate in gender-inappropriate endeavors—whether in the workplace, at home, or in leisure activities—they are often targets of various forms of prejudice and discrimination.

Some scholars who study gender have maintained that gender should be analyzed as a primary basis of social stratification (Lorber 1994). Critics of this position, however, maintain that gender must be also examined in relation to both race and class because women of color experience the intersection of gender and race—often in concert with class (Collins 1990). For example, within postindustrial societies, jobs are disproportionately segregated by gender, race/ethnicity, and class, whereby women of color are consigned to the lower classes, often providing *care work* to middle- and upper-class families (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). These gendered positions are invariably lower paying, are less prestigious, and possess little opportunity for advancement. Thus, notions of gender and race serve to unevenly relegate women of color to jobs that reflect their overall subordination in society (Higginbotham 1994).

Similar to single parents, gay and lesbian parents are becoming increasingly common. The birthrate of unmarried women increased 60 percent in the 1990s, with about one-third of unmarried women between the age of 15 and 44 becoming mothers (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2002). The increase is due to lesbian and straight women's increased ability to support themselves in the labor market, their desire to parent, and greater social acceptance of their roles as parents.

SOCIETAL IMPACT OF ALTERNATIVE FAMILIES

Gay male and lesbian families as well as heterosexual female-headed families render unstable European and North American cultural convictions about the patriarchal, heterosexual, nuclear family. By depicting the family as a unitary object, this notion implies that everyone has identical kinship relations while sharing a universally agreed-upon definition of family (Weston 1991). These *deviant* family types challenge presuppositions regarding the ideal family type and are often stereotyped by some media, politicians, and religious figures as deleterious for children (Stacey and Biblarz 2001). Almost invariably, children living with heterosexual single mothers are viewed as potential social problems—more likely to academically underperform, drop out of school, and become teen parents (McLanahan and Booth 1991). Similarly, because of homophobia, children of lesbian and gay male parents are feared to be at risk of psychological maladjustment, of molestation by parents or partners, or of becoming homosexual (Ross 1994). Therefore, gay male and lesbian parents are more likely to lose custody to heterosexual partners (Robson 1992). Moreover, in most states, only the biological parent has any legal right to the child after the breakup, and as such, the other lesbian or gay male parent may not even have visitation rights (Patterson and Chan 1997).

Both family types—women-headed and lesbian/gay families—challenge the traditional normative assumption that the patriarchal, heterosexual nuclear family is best equipped to successfully raise children. Because neither type conforms to the societal norm, they are both viewed as deviant or pathological. In industrialized societies, the traditional nuclear model of family implies a patriarchal heteronormativity that valorizes the role of the dominant male while simultaneously questioning the capacity of women to head the family. Women-headed families and lesbian/gay families not only challenge dominant notions of family by demonstrating the viability of differing household and sexual arrangements; they also have shown that traditional definitions are too restrictive and that no one universal family form exists (Gittins 2007). In short, fluid and dynamic family structures reflect changing historical periods, that suggest an evolving family structure is inevitable and adaptive.

SEE ALSO *Childcare; Domestic Partnership; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Marriage.*

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Juan Battle

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT

Employment opportunities for women in the United States have been limited by the assumption that women are mothers first and workers second or that working and mothering are incompatible. Differences in the treatment of men and women have been justified on the basis that women are or could become mothers. Women's prominence in the private, domestic sphere created a parallel stereotype in which men were thought not to have domestic responsibilities. Employers denied or discouraged men from taking leaves from work to care for family members, especially children. In 1993 Congress passed the Family and Medical Leave Act to allow both men and women to take leaves from work to provide family care.

THE PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 (FMLA) requires public and private employers to grant eligible employees up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave from work for a serious health condition, for the birth or adoption of a new child, or to care for a family member with a serious health condition. Although an employer can require an employee to exhaust any accrued paid leave as part of its twelve-week obligation, the important provision of the statute is the right of the employee to return to the same position or a similar position with equivalent pay, benefits, and working conditions after completing the leave. Employees may enforce the statute in federal or state courts by seeking money damages or an injunction to require compliance.

The FMLA applies to employees who have worked for an employer for at least a year and for more than 1,250 hours within the last year. Employees in high-ranking or sensitive positions are ineligible for FMLA leave; state elected officials, their staff, and appointed policy makers are excluded expressly from coverage.

THE PURPOSE AND APPLICATION OF THE ACT

The stated purpose of the FMLA is to protect the right to be free from gender-based discrimination in the workplace. Congress found that primary responsibility for family caretaking often falls on women and that such responsibility affects the working lives of women more than the working lives of men. To minimize the potential for sex-based employment discrimination, Congress attempted to ensure that family leave would be available on a gender-neutral basis. By creating an across-the-board rule and setting minimum standards for leaves, Congress tried to ensure that family leave would not be stigmatized as a drain caused only by female employees. The statute challenges the stereotype that only women are responsible for family care.

The FMLA applies to men and women alike, although nearly 60 percent of those who take leaves are women. It also applies to the married and the unmarried in terms of leave for the birth or adoption of a child. The statute also allows employees to take a leave to care for a child, spouse, or parent. The term *spouse* does not include domestic partners; the term *parent* does not include parents-in-law. The term *child* is more inclusive in that it includes not only biological and adopted children but also stepchildren and children for whom the employee has day-to-day responsibilities to provide care and financial support.

The FMLA does not address fully the problems facing single parents—not because they are ineligible but because there is often no one to share the work and family responsibilities. It also does not address the problems facing employees who cannot afford to take unpaid leave. Private employers with fewer than fifty employees are excluded from the FMLA; this means that a significant part of the workforce is not covered by the statute.

Workers' illnesses have dominated the use of FMLA leaves. This transformation of the FMLA to an extension of sick leave is the source of most employer criticism of the statute. Moreover, most leaves under the FMLA are short: Half of the longest leaves are for ten days or less.

As a policy to minimize the potential for gender-based employment discrimination, the statute gives eligible employees additional choices in dealing with family responsibilities. As a policy to aid in the balance of the demands of the workplace with the needs of families, the statute has had a minimal impact. Many leaves are for an employee's own illness. Leaves to care for children, spouses, and parents focus on single extraordinary events such as birth, adoption, and a serious health condition despite the fact that most conflicts between family and work involve much more ordinary events.

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Julia Lamber

FAMILY PLANNING

Family planning is a term that was created in the mid-twentieth century to refer to the ability to control reproduction through access to contraception, abortion, sterilization, and information and education. Reproductive control allows a woman to determine when and whether she will have children. A woman's ability to control the birth and spacing of her children has a direct impact on her educational, economic, and social opportunities, and a woman's enjoyment of heterosexual activity can be affected by the fear of becoming pregnant because she lacks information about and access to contraception and abortion.

HISTORY OF FAMILY PLANNING

Women have found ways to control their reproduction since the earliest days of recorded history. However, those methods were not always safe or effective. With industrialization, urbanization, and the advent of new reproductive technologies, there was a shift away from women's ability as individuals to control their reproductive lives. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the regulation of contraception and abortion began in earnest in the United States. In 1873 Congress passed the Act of the Suppression of Trade In, and Circulation Of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use (Comstock Law), which was named for the U.S. postal agent Anthony Comstock (1844–1915), who lobbied for the bill's passage. The law criminalized, among other things, the distribution through the U.S. Mail of information and materials related to contraception and abortion. By 1900 every state had criminalized abortion in most circumstances.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, social activists such as Margaret Sanger (1879–1966) and some members of the medical profession initiated a campaign for legalized contraception. By the mid-1930s contraception was more widely available in the United States, whereas abortion remained illegal until the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Roe* v. *Wade* in 1973. Sanger's organization, the American Birth Control League (formed in 1921), joined with other advocacy groups to become the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942.

Since their decriminalization the availability and acceptance of contraception, abortion, and information about sexuality and reproduction (sex education) have fluctuated with the influence of political and religious and/or moral leaders, the attitude of the medical profession, and advances in and the availability of technologies. One perspective on the role of family planning is that it provides information and technology to women so that they can control the number of children they will have (if any) and when they will have them. However, this ideal often is not met in reality. Women may have to contend with limitations on their reproductive rights on a micro level. They may be forced by a heterosexual spouse or other family members to prevent births (sterilization, contraception, abortion) or to give birth to a large number of offspring. With an unequal power differential in many families and marriages, women may be forced to create a family on the basis of the needs and desires of others.

On the macro level nations and international nongovernmental agencies are actively involved in regulating the availability of contraception, abortion, and sex education in countries around the world. These macro-level decisions often are based on economics, racism, military strategy, or the opinions of religious leaders. Typically, the nations with the largest financial input into international organizations, such as the United States, have the greatest voice in whether such groups advocate pronatalist or antinatalist policies.

ANTINATALISM AND PRONATALISM

Antinatalism is the discouragement of population growth (limiting childbirth) through policy and law. It often appears in nations where limited resources or geographic space requires limitations on population growth. Often antinatalism comes in the form of forced utilization of contraception, sterilization, and legalized abortion. Coercion to limit childbirth may take the form of legal acts or economic incentives. In China, for example, a one-child policy was introduced in the 1970s in response to fears of overpopulation in relation to that nation's limited resources. Although a couple could have more than one child, additional offspring meant an increased economic burden for a family through levies and fines. In China antinatalism combined with a cultural preference for male offspring led to a high rate of selective abortion and female infanticide.

Pronatalism refers to laws and policies that encourage population growth. It often becomes the policy in nations that have experienced a significant population decline (for example, after a war or a natural disaster) or when a government attempts to expand the labor force. Criminalization of contraception and abortion and limited access to sterilization are indicators of a pronatalist policy. Economic incentives such as tax breaks and monetary awards may be utilized to encourage marriage and large families. For example, after World War II, with the deaths of millions of its citizens in combat and on the home front, the government of the Soviet Union encouraged women to have large families, giving them medals and rewarding them monetarily for compliance. In a more recent example, after the war in the former Yugoslavia in the mid-1990s, Serbian women were encouraged, in a campaign steeped in nationalism, to have children to replace the soldiers lost in war.

Not all nations have a specific, overtly stated policy on population growth. However within nations different economic classes or ethnic and/or racial groups may be encouraged to or discouraged from reproducing in large numbers through specific, targeted laws or policies.

In each of these scenarios the concept of reproductive choice or reproductive justice is circumvented to some degree by national law and policy. Reproductive decisions are made by someone other than the woman who is or may become pregnant.

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FANNY HILL

Published in two volumes in 1748 and 1749 while its author, John Cleland (1709–1789), was in debtor's prison, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*—commonly known simply as *Fanny Hill*—is widely considered one of the first and most famous erotic novels in English. Roundly condemned in public and denounced by the Church of England, it was avidly consumed in private and led a long and often surreptitious afterlife in the literary underground, surviving primarily in editions published by small presses trafficking in erotica. In the spring of 1963, however, the U.S. publisher G. P. Putnam's Sons released the first modern commercial edition of *Memoirs* and was immediately prosecuted on charges of obscenity. After a series of protracted trials, the publisher was cleared in March 1966 in a landmark U.S. Supreme Court case—*"Memoirs" v. Massachusetts*—wherein it was determined that the novel appealed to prurient interest and was patently offensive but retained some "redeeming social value." *Memoirs* continued to be banned in Cleland's native England until the 1970s.

Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure chronicles the sexual education of Fanny Hill, a country-bred orphan of unflagging spirit who is absorbed into the sex trade immediately upon her arrival in London at the age of fifteen. Taken in by a kindly older woman named Mrs. Brown, Fanny unsuspectingly finds herself living in a brothel and is hastily initiated into an erotic life by a fellow prostitute, whose caresses awaken new ecstatic feelings in the heroine: "I was transported, confused, and out of myself . . . my heated and alarmed sense were in a tumult that robb'd me of all liberty of thought." Eager to pursue these novel sensations, Fanny willfully engages in a succession of sexual encounters that read like a compendium of early modern erotic practices (voyeurism, masturbation, lesbianism, group sex, hair and glove fetishes, sadomasochism, etc.), the novel unfolding like a pornographic bildungsroman. In the hermetic environment of Cleland's brothel, however, Fanny is hardly being instructed in the ways of the world, but rather in the connoisseurship of sexual pleasure. The narrative ends with Fanny back in the arms of her first and most idealized male lover, Charles, and improbably concludes by promoting "the delicate charms of VIRTUE" and the rewards of marriage. That Fanny designates this rather belated admonition a "tail-piece of morality" suggests the winking nature of Cleland's narrative style.

It is precisely such verbal dexterity and cheekiness, aside from its exhaustive depictions of a range of sexual acts, that earned the novel its reputation. According to his acquaintance James Boswell, Cleland set out to write an erotic novel "without resorting to the coarseness of *L'Ecole des Filles*, which has quite plain words." The result is a narrative that produces a spectacular array of metaphors and equivalences for the genitalia, a procession of ample "machines," "may-poles," "theatres," and "pleasure-bowers" designed to mask the body part but never its action. Indeed, the novel is ever aware of its parody of "literary" discourse, frequently lavishing sexual acts with mock-epic significance and mimicking best-selling novels of sexual decorum such as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740). Surprisingly, Fanny even apologizes for the tedium of her descriptions midway through the novel, recognizing that one might grow "cloyed and tired with the uniformity of adventures and expressions," wherein even the words themselves "flatten, and lose much of their due spirit and energy." Cleland's obvious interest in the semantic power and promiscuity of erotic discourse led him subsequently to compose *The Dictionary of Love* (1753) for "young people, and especially of the fair sex, whose mistakes are the most dangerous" and, later in his career, a series of etymological treatises on the generative potential in language.

Although Fanny's narrative is broken into two long letters addressed to an unnamed woman, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* is most often read by critics as a straight male fantasy of female sexuality. Fanny frequently lapses into panegyric when describing the "sublime" male organ, and her rendering of the female form is often highly aestheticized. Moreover, Fanny's narrative is almost entirely devoid of anxiety over unwanted pregnancy or disease, thus freeing her to explore her sexual impulses with impunity. Similarly, so as to carefully manage the erotic affect generated by the text, Cleland has his heroine go to outlandish measures to spy on two men making love. Fanny is appalled by what she watches, deeming such behavior "criminal," although she "had the patience to see it to an end, purely that I might gather more facts." Wishing to have the men arrested, Fanny stumbles in her haste to rouse the house, and knocks herself unconscious, conveniently allowing the lovers to escape. Cleland's meticulous handling of Fanny's attraction and repulsion here suggests his careful calibration of the volume's sexual mores. What makes the novel compelling for contemporary scholarly work on sexuality is its spirited attempts to valorize "pleasure" in an age that preached moderation: its self-imposed linguistic strictures and indebtedness to sentimentalism make it a provocative case study in the consolidation of bourgeois sexuality.

Cleland himself denounced the volume as "a Book I disdain to defend, and wish, from my Soul, buried and forgot," and shortly after its publication he offered the public a heavily expurgated version that sought to repackage the novel as a didactic narrative. He also published a less randy novel, *Memoirs of a Coxcomb* (1751), in an attempt to capitalize on the scandal that he claimed to regret. Together the two works sold but a small fraction of what *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* went on to sell illicitly, and both went quickly out of print.

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Scott Juengel

FAP

In the context of sex and gender, the word *fap* is an onomatopoeic representation of male masturbation. It is used widely as a sound effect in sexually explicit *manga*, a Japanese cartoon format. *FAP* also is used as an acronym for unrelated terms such as familial adenomatous polyposis, First Amendment Project, and FORTRAN Assembly Program.

The use of *fap* to describe male masturbation was popularized by the Internet-based *manga* Web comic *Sexy Losers*. On April 28, 1999, episodes one through four were launched in the traditional four-*koma* (vertical panes) format. Episode three featured the first use of the term. The author, a Canadian known only by his first name, Clay, credits the *manga* novel *Heartbroken Angels* by Masahiko Kikuni (2000) as the inspiration for his series. Others ascribe the use of the word to commercial translations of the novel. In the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the term had not yet made its way into dictionaries of American slang and continued to be associated with the Internet community.

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Christine R. Rainey

FARROKHZAD, FORUGH
1935–1967

Forugh Farrokhzad was a pioneer among Iran's women poets and is considered one of the country's most innovative poets of modern times. She was born on January 5 in Tehran, the third of seven children born to Mohammad Farrokhzad, an army officer, and Turan Vaziritabar, a homemaker. Farrokhzad's formal education was limited, as she never finished high school. At age sixteen, she fell in love with and, against her family's wishes, sentiments, married Parviz Shapur, a distant relative fifteen years her elder. The couple moved to the southwestern city of Ahvaz where he worked in the provincial office of the Ministry of Finance. The marriage ended in acrimonious divorce three years later. As was common practice in Iran, the court awarded custody rights of their son, Kamyar, to the father; Farrokhzad also lost visitation rights because the court judged her unfit to raise a child. Her pariah status was to turn into a haunting force in Farrokhzad's life and poetry.

Farrokhzad began writing poems first in the form of *ghazal*, the most central lyrical genre in the classical tradition, and later in *charpareh*, a ballad-like poetic form consisting of a number of stanzas each made up of four hemistiches where at least two rhyme. The themes of her early poems are youthful love, pangs of separation, particularly from her son, and a desperate search for true love. Three collections of poems were published successively, *Asir* (The captive) in 1955, *Divar* (The wall) in 1956, and *Osyan* (Rebellion) in 1957. By and large, the poems in these collections are in a confessional tone and address themes of physical and emotional intimacy. Although her poems refresh the millennium-old tradition of male Persian lyricism, their self-expressive qualities worked against the poet's status in the highly normative culture of mid-twentieth-century Iran. The response from poets, critics, and readers was generally negative. The very community that could have welcomed the audacity enshrined in such expressions reacted with repulsion or derision or both, earning the poet the undeserved reputation of a loose woman and a threat to Iranian women's sense of modesty.

The effect on the aspiring poet's fragile psyche was devastating. Farrokhzad suffered a nervous breakdown in September 1955 and was hospitalized for about a month. What sustained her, at least in part, was a new interest in filmmaking, which would lead to her close association with Ebrahim Golestan, a leading intellectual filmmaker. Meanwhile her poetry, still largely in traditional verse forms, began to take on social issues. This tendency became evident in *Osyan* and together with the themes of love forms the twin strains that dominate the poems that followed. In 1956 Farrokhzad took the first of several trips to Europe, an experience that helped restore her to health; it also infused her poetry with the kind of cosmopolitanism hitherto absent from all writing by women in Iran, including her own early works. She also kept a journal, which was first published under the title *Dar Diari Digar* (In another land), and posthumously as *Javdaneh Zistan, Dar Owj Mordan* (Living for eternity, dying at the peak).

Farrokhzad's 1958 friendship with Golestan led to the last, most productive phase of her life. She worked on at least four documentary films through Golestan Film Studio, *Yek Atash* (1959; A fire), *Khastegari* (1960; Courtship), *Ab va Garma* (1961; Water and heat), and *Mowj va Marjan va Khara* (1961; Waves, corals, and flint stones). Some of these films were featured and won prizes at various European festivals. The 1962 film *Khaneh Siah Ast* (The house is black), a poetic treatment of the life of lepers which she wrote, directed, and edited during and after a twelve-day sojourn in the Baba Baghi leper colony, remains her best film by far. During the same period, she adopted a boy from his leper parents. In 1964 the publication of *Tavallodi Digar* (Another birth) awakened Iran's literary community to Farrokhzad's poetic genius, and the feeling has only grown through the decades. Although many of the thirty-three poems in this volume had been published in the leading literary journals of Tehran, the book revealed the coherence of an evolving vision that had gone largely unnoticed. Farrokhzad died at the age of thirty-two on February 14, 1967, when she swerved the car she was driving into a stone wall to avoid colliding head-on with a school bus.

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Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak

FASCISM

Fascism refers to a set of movements and political ideologies that emerged after World War I, first in Italy. Fascism also refers to sufficiently similar movements in other countries, notably German National-Socialism or Nazism. Fascist movements were nationalist, authoritarian, anti-egalitarian, anticommunist, and antidemocratic mass movements that also adopted corporatism in economics, a cult of violence as a cure for decadence, the leadership principle, and the use of uniforms and paramilitary formations in politics.

GENDER POLITICS OF FASCISM

Fascist movements blended modernizing with traditional and reactionary elements. On questions of gender, it was most often the traditional and reactionary strands that came to the fore, at least in theory if not always in practice. Fascism sought to exploit the mass mobilization and industrialization of modernity without the accompanying push for emancipation. Aggressive opposition to feminism and women's rights were ideologically ideal. The demands of national mobilization for war, however, pulled in the other direction. Yet fascist regimes, like that of Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) in Italy and Adolph Hitler (1889–1945) in Germany, were less successful at exploiting female labor than either the communist Soviet Union or the liberal democratic Great Britain and United States.

The radical rightists that provided much of the intellectual basis for fascism, like the followers of Georges Sorel (1847–1922) in France and Italy, or radical Italian nationalists (later fascists) like Giovanni Papini (1881–1956), touted an antifeminism heavily colored with misogyny. Even the futurists, like Emilio Marinetti (1876–1944) known for his "scorn for women" (De Grazia 1992, p. 25), who represented the most modernizing aspects of fascist ideology, had no place for women's rights. Instead their cult of speed, machinery, noise, and war had a strong hypermasculinist tendency.

ITALIAN FASCISM

Not surprisingly, Mussolini's regime (1922–1945) sought to strengthen the family and traditional sex roles. Its pronatalist policies (somewhat illogical in a country that regularly had to export population) led to policies and institutions to support women and children, promoting motherhood and discouraging female work outside the home. Some of these social welfare measures were similar to steps taken in non-fascist countries. Others bore the imprint of Italian Fascism, like the (openly homophobic) tax on bachelors, which grew greater as the unmarried man grew older (and exempted those in military service). Family allowances were provided for large families; and especially prolific women (twelve or more children) were paraded in special public rituals as the regime sought to promote the female ideal of the pretty, nubile, peasant girl as a counter to the Hollywood starlet or selfish bourgeois woman. Other public rituals mobilized women in parades of uniformed gymnasts or in ceremonies during which women sacrificed their gold wedding bands for the nation. Given the compromises (as with the Church) and contradictions of Italian fascist governance, the effects of these policies on marriage and fertility patterns were modest.

NAZISM: RACISM AND REPRODUCTION

Italian Fascism came to power in a society in which women had not yet achieved the vote (Fascists both blocked women's suffrage and rendered it irrelevant). Nazism rose in the ultra-democratic Weimar Republic which gave women full political rights. Seeking women's votes meant downplaying misogyny and stressing how Nazi policies would address traditional women's concerns (like public morality or getting their unemployed husbands back to work). Hitler consistently did better among female than male voters, though in this German women echoed a general tendency in that country as well as elsewhere in Europe for women to vote more to the right (and have greater religious participation) than their husbands and fathers.

In power from 1933 to 1945, the Nazi government was pro-natalist and pro-family (and it also drew these policies from earlier, *Völkisch,* currents) but Hitler's eugenicist and exterminationist racism resulted in different applications. (Racism in Fascist Italy was a late and imitative phenomenon.) In Nazi Germany, the male/female gender dichotomy was bisected by the racialist one of Aryan/non-Aryan—in practice the latter meant Jews, Gypsies (Roma and Sinta), and non-Europeans. Men and women were also divided into the *valuable* or *life worthy* versus the *life-unworthy*, which included both those deemed asocial or criminal and those with hereditary mental or physical diseases or conditions. Combining the eugenicist with the racist models (non-Aryans were automatically unhealthy), Nazi natality policy sought to promote healthy Aryan births while discouraging all others. Promoting the birth-rate, in general, while restricting reproduction among many was an inherently difficult policy. Nazi policies also reflected the contradictions between those who sought a more biological approach (derided as zoo-politics by its opponents) and those who favored traditional family values, in line with the teachings of the Catholic and Lutheran churches.

The 1935 Law for the Protection of the Hereditary Health of the German People sought to ban marriages of the unfit (including those with unfit relatives), by requiring a Certificate of Suitability of Marriage, though this was not always enforced in practice. Merely unfit couples could sometimes marry if they produced a guarantee (e.g., through sterilization) that they would not reproduce. Often a medical examination for a potential marriage could lead to forced sterilization. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 extended the marriage (and sex) ban to racially mixed couples. Similarly abortion was prohibited for Aryans but encouraged for Jewish women. The availability of contraception was also systematically reduced. Institutionalized handicapped individuals were methodically killed due to a combination of economic and eugenicist concerns, though this policy was cut back in Germany after the Catholic Church vigorously objected.

A series of social welfare measures were meant to encourage large families: from subsidies (including loans and tax breaks), visits by social workers, and education for expectant and new-mothers to public honors including awarding military-style medals for prolific mothers. The definition of asocial (for purposes of either denial of marriage or sending to a concentration camp) tended for males to reflect criminal activity. For women, it usually meant sexual profligacy, reinforcing traditional sexual double standards. Though Nazis insisted that woman's place was in the home, Hitler was not above using female talent (like the filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl) when it served his purposes.

The more radically Nazi Schutzstaffel (SS) sought to promote racially healthy children whatever the marriage status of the mother. To this end, the SS opened retreats where racially valuable single-women could have their children. In a few cases, SS men could assist in conception. Finally, during the war, unwed mothers could retroactively legalize their marriages with dead soldier-fathers. Plans were even afoot to encourage bigamy after the war to make up for the loss of males.

HOMOSEXUALITY

The close male bonding in Nazi organizations could easily slide into homosexuality. Ernst Röhm, leader of the Sturmabteilung (SA), the Nazi storm troopers or brown shirts, was generally considered to be at the center of a homosexual clique. Hitler exploited this reputation when he destroyed Röhm and the leadership of the SA in 1934 for completely political reasons. The bureaucratically competing police agencies of the Nazi state actively repressed male homosexuality while largely ignoring (technically illegal) lesbian activity. Though differing psychosexual fears and attractions may have played a role, the stated reason was the allegedly more passive role of women in sex and the belief that lesbians might become mothers. Male homosexuals were subject to arrest and deportation to concentration camps where they wore the particularly dishonoring pink triangle badge. At the camps, homosexuals could be worked to death, executed, or sometimes forcefully re-educated through sex with women in the camp brothel (among such women were lesbians, sent to the brothels as punishment).

If Nazi pro-natalism had only limited success, its policy of extermination was devastatingly effective. The reproductive logic of Nazi racism was also responsible for what, to many Europeans, was a horrific innovation: the systematic murder of Jewish and Gypsy women and children along with their menfolk. Families arriving at extermination camps were separated, the men from the women and children, since breaking up the family group made the prisoners easier to control.

FASCISM AS A SEXUALIZED POLITICS

Fascists always touted their virility. But there is much that is classically feminine in the Fascist emphasis on uniforms, on organized display, and on an aestheticizing of politics. Some have seen this as an indication of a redirected sexual energy, linked to Fascism's cult of the irrational. Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957) gave this theory its fullest formulation, including an analysis of the swastika as an ancient sex symbol representing two intertwined bodies.

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Allen Douglas

FASHION SYSTEM

Fashion, it has been said, is a way of telling the time. From time immemorial to present, fashion has shaped the appearance of humanity in the journey from antiquity to modernity. Long before the "father of history," as Herodotus was coined by Cicero, in his passage to the Middle East in the fifth-century BCE, recorded the exotic costumes of the Persians and the foreign lifestyle those costumes signified, humans invented dress presumably as a way of surviving the wrath of God and/or nature. The often unacknowledged initiator of what would be called "fashion" appears to be the same tempter who led Adam and Eve to their post-nudist state. Prompted by sin and imposed by a sense of guilt, the first piece of clothing was made in Paradise. "And the eyes of Adam and Eve were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons" (*Genesis* 3:7).

During the millennia that followed the elusive origins of myth and history, fashion emerged in the Western world as a seductive sorceress who gradually "aestheticized and individualized human vanity" and "succeeded in turning the superficial into an instrument of salvation, a goal of existence" (Lipovetsky 1994, p. 29).

The permanence of the ephemeral remains the most charming paradox of fashion whose continuity depends on rapid cycles of creation and decline. As a versatile social and psychological system, fashion "abhors fixity, of form or meaning, of knowledge or feeling, of the past itself" (Hollander 1994, p.17). And as one of the most significant industries of modernity, fashion is a master of trends and the mirror of the rapid pace as well as the unpredictable moods of a mutable world. Through a process of constant formation and deformation, the aesthetics of fashion also reflect the inescapable anxiety of a transient world in search of endless visual stimulation and individual theatricality.

The question remains: When did fashion appear first in the Western world? In the Bible or in Homer? In ancient Athens or in modern Paris? And is it possible that this fundamental institution of modernity lacks a "fixed point of origin?" (Finkelstein 1998, p. 23). Since the early days of recorded history, in places like ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, the prevalent pleated garment retained its form and simplicity for an extended period of time. In Egypt, the "same tunic-dress, worn by both sexes, was maintained for nearly fifteen centuries ... in Greece, the peplos, a woman's outer garment, prevailed from the origins of Greek society to the middle of the sixth century BCE in Rome, the male garb of toga and tunic persisted with slight variations from the earliest period to the end of the empire" (Lipovetsky 1994, p. 19).

However, as fashion critics assert, the power of fashion as a homogenizing phenomenon capable of meeting psychological needs for self-expression as well as of charting an individual's social territory according to one's status, class, and gender, scarcely existed before the Middle Ages. It has been argued that fashion in the strict sense did not emerge until the mid-fourteenth century. "This moment stands out, first and foremost because of the appearance of a radically new type of dress that was sharply differentiated according to gender: short and fitted for men, long and close to the body for women. This revolution in apparel laid the groundwork for modern dress" (Lipovetsky 1994, p. 20).

Gender differentiation through garments offered civilization a new approach to sexuality and social performance; it was during and after the Middle Ages that the fashioned self acquired a different sense of coquetry in a state where the aesthetic distance between genders, classes, and cultures was exaggerated. It has been argued that fashion "can be employed as a measure of the civilizing process. The logic behind this maneuvre is that fashion denotes self-consciousness, and that when the cycles of fashion move rapidly then a more complex idea of self will exist" (Finkelstein 1998, p. 13). As an answer to Descartes, the premise that *I dress therefore I am* would later emphasize modernity's recalcitrant fixation with the visual culture. In the twentieth century, the recycled visual images of the entertainment industry, and especially fashion magazines, corroborated modernity's fixation with the culture of aesthetics. As Finkelstein (1998, p. 14) observes:

> The widespread fascination with body image underscores the idea that a preoccupation with appearances—as evidenced by fashion—is a natural, universalistic tendency ... The history of art production, the building of urban landscapes, and human body decoration are all swept together as 'natural' expressions of the human need to aestheticize the environment.

Long before the advent of fashion magazines or Hollywood, the wisdom of the late Middle Ages underlined the sharp importance of the rising aesthetics of fashion. A famous writer who lived and thrived at the end of the Middle Ages remarked, "clothes provide the basis for making hard and fast judgments about a man's character, or that one cannot discover far more from someone's words and actions than from his attire. But I do maintain that a man's attire is also no small evidence for what kind of personality he has, allowing that it can sometimes prove misleading" (Castiglione 1997, p. 136). As Lipovetsky (1994) points out, for the long period that preceded Castiglione's time, societies went on without the capricious dictates of fashion. This does not denote that life revolved without "change, or curiosity, or a taste for exotic realities. But it was only at the end of the Middle Ages that the order of fashion itself became recognizable—fashion as a system, with its endless metamorphoses, its fits and starts, its extravagance" (p. 15).

The fashion system did not simply transform the appearance of western society after the Middle Ages; it altered its expectations and its manner of interaction. The metaphor of cloths as language, with its own grammar, syntax and vocabulary, confirms the power of fashion as a "visual language" capable of silently conveying cultural messages. It is a "new way of speaking the body, and freeing it from silence" (Finkelstein 1998, p. 67). Roland Barthes has famously affirmed that "fashion does not evolve, it changes: its lexicon is new each year, like that of a language which always keeps the same system but suddenly and regularly changes the 'currency' of its words" (Barthes 1990, p. 215).

Fashion is both visual and discursive. In fact, "in fashion the two languages coexist and live side by side. Any kind of analysis of fashion must take account of this fundamental theoretical assumption." (Paulicelli 2004, p. 11). As both a visual and verbal communication, the aesthetics of modern fashion, especially in the twentieth-century, expressed the Western civilization's wish for refinement. Through film and photography, magazines and advertisement, directly or indirectly, Western fashion intrigued the imagination of the middle classes no end and affected both sexes equally and most civilizations generally. As a critic observes, "nobody with eyes escapes (fashion)" (Hollander 1994, p. 11).

It is within the context of a nonverbal communication that fashion rules as the queen of signs in an environment of aesthetic exchange and competition where people crave for social approval, acceptance, and individuality. As a mode of social exchange, fashion places an individual's taste at the mercy of the collective judgment. Vice versa, the public judgment influences and conforms personal taste. Hence, a continuous and daily dialectic between the self and the public reforms identity and restructures public perceptions. Cinema and photography have been instrumental in shaping a relationship between the private and the public realms in the twentieth century. Finkelstein (1998) observes that "fashion works for the individual as a way of advertising the self; it mediates between what one desires and what can be presented as socially acceptable to the other" (p. 55).

Western fashion more often than not declares its whims, tendencies, and turning points through public figures envied or adored, or both, by their followers. From the time of Marie Antoinette to the century of Eva Peron, Madonna, and Princess Diana, the middle class taste reflected, reproduced, and redefined the style of its "queens of style," reinforcing the role of fashion as a dual desire for conformity on the one hand and an individual differentiation on the other (Finkelstein 1998, p. 38). As the last French queen before the revolution, for instance, Marie Antoinette was posthumously applauded for her "heroic fashion"—her impeccable taste that on one hand provoked the impoverished French, and on the other placed her as a winner in the annals of fashion. Thanks to the *Christian Diored* Eva Peron, French fashion permeated the Argentine upper class aesthetic of the 1940s and 1950s, leaving its traits on the Argentine bourgeois aesthetic since. And Diana's personal quest for emancipation was highlighted by the fashionable image of a sparklingly dressed princess who spoke through images, not words. As Lipovetsky (1994, p. 31) observes:

> This is the crux of fashion's originality and also its ambiguity: an instrument of social discrimination and a manifest mark of social superiority, fashion was nevertheless also a special agent of the democratic revolution. On the one hand, it blurred the established distinctions and made it possible to confront and confuse social strata. On the other hand, it reintroduced –although in a new way- the timeless logic of signs of power, brilliant symbols of domination and social difference. Here is the paradox of fashion: its flashy displays of the emblems of hierarchy played a role in the movement toward the equalization of appearances.

As a "Western phenomenon," fashion is naturally linked with developments in consumerism and industrialization. "Consumerism is invoked to explain a great many social changes which transformed the west from the sixteenth century to the present" (Finkelstein 1998, p.89). Jean Baudrillard once claimed that "modernity is a code, and fashion is its emblem." Above all, fashion embodied charm and deception, the two sides of capitalism that gave modernity its coding. As a vital part of what Veblen coined a "conspicuous consumption" society, fashion expressed, "in luxury and ambiguity, an invention characteristic of the West: the free, detached, creative individual and its corollary, the frivolous ecstasy of the self" (Lipovetsky 1994, p. 37). It is in the landscape of capitalism that fashion attained a new orientation. Once the instrument of the elite and the upper classes, fashion under capitalism reached a wider audience. As a designer claims, "fashion is more than the darling of the upper classes and that became obvious in modernity when capitalism unleashed its forces" (Lagerfeld 1996, p. 64).

Parisian haute couture, for example, used to be the epicenter of modern fashion as well as the epitome of class. As an international pole of attraction, the French *haute couture* houses used to cater to the few privileged ladies who would come to Paris to spend fortunes on a dress especially made for them. *Haute couture's* dictates would then reach the middle class through editorials and displays which presented the rare couture aesthetic to the public and seamstresses who were capable of mimicking it for their clients. The death of couture was officially declared in January 2002 when Yves Saint Laurent presented his last, farewell couture collection in Paris. Even though some fashion houses continue to maintain their *couture* ateliers, the age of the *prêt-a-porter* (ready-to-wear) industry, more accessible to the masses, heralded long ago the downgrade of the importance of *haute couture*. Industrial production transformed fashion into an industry; photography, journalism, and cinema turned that industry into a fountain of enticement.

The notion that women are more attuned to fashion than men sounds like a relic of the past where coquetry and fashion were strictly associated with a leisurely female bourgeoisie in search of enticement. By the end of the second millennium there was no substantial doubt that "the mechanism of desire which operates in the fashion system draws into its orbit not just women but every consumer, irrespective of gender or age" (Griggers 1990, cited in Finkelstein 1998, p. 96). However, at the time when the English couturier Charles Frederick Worth was taking Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century, women indeed were the best clients of the emerging industry. As has been noted, "before the nineteenth century, upper-class men and women were equally ornamental in their dress. Both wore excessive amounts of lace, perfume, highly colored silks and brocades. The dramatic division between male and female appearances, which began with the emergence of the bourgeoisie, is often accounted for by industrialism, capitalism and the segregation of private from public domains." (Finkelstein 1998, p. 55) According to Kaja Silverman (1986), it was this division that allegedly transformed middle class women into "fashion slaves unable to pay for their obsession, while men abandoned the world of fashion but retained financial control over it" (cited in Finkelstein 1998, p. 58).

The end of the nineteenth century marks the starting point of the culture of enticement. It was around that time when men and particularly women discovered a new sense of materialism in the emerging temples of modernity, namely the department stores. From the post-arcade era of the department store to the post-modern time of fashion magazines, fashion not only acquired social meaning, but also succeeded in creating everlasting wordless images of modern existence based on the presumption of European perfection and desire for its mimicry by non-European cultures. Prior to the magazine era, one finds the allure of European fashion concentrated and constrained within the bounds of physical space of the department store, in places such as Paris where department stores preceded the modern form of the magazine and the advertising industries (Appadurai 1996, p. 73).

When Denise, Zola's heroine in *The Ladies' Paradise*, first enters the sensational Parisian department store, she feels "a desire to run away and, at the same time, a need to stop and admire. She was so lost and small inside the monster, inside the machine, and although it was still idle, she was terrified that she would be caught up in its motion, which was already beginning to make the walls shake" (Zola 1998, p. 49). Within the frame of its time and space, the 'machine' Denise is enraptured by epitomizes the spirit of an early era eager to conquer the consumer's imagination with the commodification of ambience. Ironically, the place is called "Paradise" in the English translation of the novel; a paradise liberated from mythical sin: Within its reformed gates of pleasure, the only modern sin not tolerated by the religion of capitalism is poverty.

It has been asserted that "wherever capitalism goes, its illusory apparatus, its fetishisms, and its system of mirrors come not far behind" (Harvey 1990, p. 344). Part of this apparatus is the reinvented Denise, a global creature enraptured by the evolving power of the fashion industry. As Finkelstein (1998, p. 64) notes,

> the fashion industries have thrived on the instability of women's identity, and have continued to burden women with the putative need to reinvent themselves constantly. Women are ubiquitously portrayed in various and often contradictory poses as the 'new' woman, the working woman, the sports woman, the family woman, the sexually liberated and educated woman. This chameleon is capable of looking attractive in high-impact shades, reptile gloves, evening gowns by Ungaro, spiked heels, and a divided skirt.

One of capitalism's favorite expressions, *reinvention*, is the key word in the fashion lexicon. A post–Cold War global fashion icon like Madonna uses it often to illustrate postmodernity's photogenic aimlessness and tireless quest for new short-lived images swallowing the old. Ephemerality is crucial to the experience (as well as to the economy) of modernity. "Newness," Walter Benjamin argues, "is the illusion of which fashion is the tireless purveyor," (1999, p. 22) a phrase which, if it means anything, means just that—the greater the ephemerality of images the more pressing the need for more. Thus, fashion functions as the unchanging means of selling what is perceived and desired as changeable.

More than ever before, post-industrial capitalism draws its capacity for reinvention through the politics of consumerism. Consumption creates time and fashion breaks up time into seasons and months. Pressed between the draconian rules of advertising and the Herculean demands of the global market, early twenty-first century fashion media urge consumers to think and consume within the given timeframe. A critic reminds us that "Marx argued that classes are defined by their means of production. But, it could be true, that in the information age at least, classes are defined by their means of consumption" (Brooks 2000, p. 61). Surely, the ability to consume makes us modern, but above all, as the line from a popular film goes, "it's our ability to accessorize that separates us from the animals." Fashion is a substantial part of the contemporary gigantic machine of consumerism. Not simply because people can afford to buy cloths more than ever, but also because fashion, as the power-generator of fashion magazines and other media, constantly dictates rules to a receptive audience used to being tutored on the aesthetics of living: from how to decorate, to how to build a house;

from where to eat sushi, to how to eat it; from when to make love, to how to wear a condom in style. This process of *fashionization* involves the dialectics of public and private realms, of social space and the individual. Fashion, in a nutshell, not simply shapes but *inhabits* space. It *normalizes* people's fantasies, regulates their appearances and pedals their aesthetic choices on both a local and a global level.

Fashion itself, at least in its post-industrial phase, is a mirror with two faces: consumerism and vanity at a time when the individual is urged to be, think, and look global. Asides from products and images, fashion advertising sells the existing social order. "Apart from the ideological force of ads themselves . . . the entrenchment of the new selling practices decisively changed the network of social relationships, changed the outlook for democracy, changed what it meant to be a person" (Ohmann 1996, p. 115). Furthermore, in the years that followed the magazine and television boom, "advertising is no longer built around the idea of informing or promoting in the ordinary sense, but is increasingly geared to manipulating desires and tastes through images that may or may not have anything to do with the product to be sold. If we stripped modern advertising of direct reference to the three themes of money, sex, and power there would be very little left" (Harvey 1990, p. 287). In addition, "the acquisition of an image (by the purchase of a sign system such as designer cloths . . .) becomes a singularly important element in the presentation of self in labour markets . . . it becomes integral to the quest for individual identity, self realization and meaning" (Harvey 1990, p. 288).

As a powerful tool in the process of projecting and spreading fashion ideology, fashion magazines and advertising consistently propagate a specific idea of a Western lifestyle that goes beyond dress coding; it is an idea of homogenization that, often in harmony with the rhetoric of globalization serves the needs of the global market above all. The aesthetic gentrification that derives from the *fashionization* of modern lifestyle leads to a bifurcation: on a global perspective it divides the new world map in the light of a softer post–Cold War prejudice: the *fashionable* and the *unfashionable* world. It is a prejudice reminiscent of the division that Edward Said described between an emergent West and its abject Other, according to which the Other that was excluded and negated gives birth to a positive identity for the Western colonizer (Sharma and Sharma 2003, p. 303). Masking the local as global is a gradual process that generates new capital while it trains the consciousness of a nation to the global art of the hyperreal. The new capital seals the changing urban landscapes with the pride of the *fashionable*: Ralph Lauren, Prada, Benetton, or Armani stores parade in rejuvenated fashionable streets. Cities themselves become gigantic department stores and magazines glitter as their magic mirror.

It was long before the fall of the Berlin Wall that aesthetics had taken over ethics in Western culture. At a culminating moment of the twentieth-century, the Yuppie culture of the Reagan years embraced image over meaning, and accordingly revised the lexicon of language by adding up terms that emphasized a false representation of reality at a time that the "real" was marching toward disconnection from its origin or reality, or historical perspective. Ageless tales from that era, such as Tom Wolfe's *The Bonfire of the Vanities* and Brett Easton Ellis' *American Psycho*, portray the emergence of a sensational yet unenthusiastic world for whom "Armani" becomes synonymous to "acceptable." Language is reduced to a system of "substituting signs of the real for the real itself" in fashion-conscious Manhattan of the vanities. Image, as a Platonic idea of power, inspires this system of signs formed and reproduced within the realm of desire, which resembles what Baudrillard describes as, "the map that precedes the territory" (2001, p. 1733).

In the third millennium, it is hard to imagine that a world without fashion ever existed. From privilege to necessity to addiction, fashion has gone full circle all the way from its evasive origins in Paradise to a literal heaven of endless profit and possibilities. Even in the thorniest of historical circumstances the fashion industry has risen above adversity. During World War II, for instance, the famous Parisian *haute couture* houses not simply did not go bankrupt, but the French fashion industry in general "had its profits siphoned into the treasury of the German government, helping to finance the Nazi invasion of France and the continuation of war in Europe" (Finkelstein 1998, p. 87). On September 11, 2001, while the remains of the Twin Towers burned, anxious women all over America were calling the main Yves Saint Laurent boutique in Manhattan to inquire about a skirt designed by Tom Ford. There is an unabashed impatience about fashion that even catastrophe cannot tame. Between the urge to consume and the disappointment of possession (Baudrillard 2001) postmodernity is never short of reasons to justify its need for vanity and deception. As Umberto Eco banters, "it is impossible to build a perfect society if people are ill dressed" (1986, cited in Finkelstein 1998, p. 70).

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Michael Skafidas

FATHERHOOD

Fatherhood is the state of being a father. That state can be defined as a biological function, a legal classification, an emotional connection, a social role, a symbol of authority, or even a philosophical position. Fathers in all those guises have constituted a central part of the social, cultural, and religious life of most cultures. Many societies are patriarchies, organized around the father as the dominant figure in an extended family. The roles of fathers have changed in the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. The familial roles of individual fathers have become more nurturing at the same time that biological science has made the identities of fathers more certain.

THE BIOLOGICAL FATHER

Biologically, a father is the male individual who has contributed to half of a child's genetic material. The father's genes may be contributed in several ways. Males may inseminate females through sexual intercourse or may contribute sperm to a sperm bank. The father may be married to the woman he impregnates and continue to live with her and their child as a nuclear family. The father may have contributed genetic material as a part of a more casual sexual encounter and have either no relationship or only a legal relationship with his child. Women may be inseminated with sperm from a sperm-donor bank so that the identity of the father is unknown. Occasionally males contribute sperm to women who wish to have children but to whom they are not married.

Only recently has it become possible to determine with certainty the identity of a biological father. Before scientists developed the ability to sequence and read DNA, the identity of a biological father could be presumed only through circumstances. Blood typing, which was invented in 1901 by Karl Landsteiner, could indicate with any certainty only males who could not possibly be the father of a child. The need to guarantee that a husband was the father of his wife's children produced many legal and social constraints on the activities of women. Endowing the wife's offspring with the name of her husband—the patronym—constituted an attempt to make the father's link to his wife's children more certain. Because in many societies a family's wealth was passed through male children, it was important to try to assure that those children were indeed from the father's bloodline. Even in an era when it is possible to discern who a child's father is with overwhelming probability through DNA tests, the law still presumes that the husband of a woman who bears a child is the child's father unless circumstances suggest otherwise.

Before the advent of DNA technologies, many laws were passed to protect the assumption of paternity and the rights of fathers, though it also was presumed that mothers had more responsibility and greater capabilities with younger children. If a married couple wished to divorce, the law presumed that the mother had a stronger claim to the custody of younger children (the *tender-age presumption*). At the same time it was much more difficult for unmarried males to claim paternity or for unmarried women to prove that a specific man was the father of her child. More recently family law has acknowledged that fathers have more than legal ties to their children and has begun to even out the rights of both parents in relation to their children. More unmarried fathers take, or are forced to take, legal responsibility for their offspring because their relationship to children can be proved.

THE SOCIAL ROLE OF FATHERS

Over the generations, fatherhood has become a more emotional, caring, nurturing relationship. Fathers often share child-care responsibilities, bonding with their children as caretakers and contributing members of the family unit. In the traditional European and North American bourgeois nuclear family, the father was understood as the source of authority, rule making, financial security, and discipline, mostly because he tended to be the parent who worked and had only limited responsibilities in caring for the children. In cultures in which both parents work or the mother is a major source of family income, fathers have become more involved with their children's daily care. They thus have become more intimately involved in their children's emotional lives and development. There are many cultures in which fathers still are patriarchal authority figures governing the family. However in many European and North American cultures, fathers have become coparents, sharing decision making and having more multifaceted and enriched relations with their children.

Many nuclear families include fathers who are not the biological fathers of the children. Second marriages and stepchildren point to a more social function for fathers. Fathers need not have a biological relation to children. They may have important legal and social relations with them as stepfathers or adoptive parents or in other relationships in which males take the role of protector and nurturer.

One result of changes in the family has been a growing fathers' rights movement. This movement attempts to balance family laws that favor the mother and make it difficult for fathers to have rights in relation to their children, especially when they are no longer or never have been married to the children's mothers.

THE FATHER AS SYMBOL AND METAPHOR

The role of the father as authority figure in and protector of the traditional patriarchal nuclear family has long served as a model for a more figurative understanding of the father as a powerful person who oversees the welfare of a group of people. In societies organized around the prohibitive powers of males, the father becomes symbolic. The father is one who has the power to prohibit certain desires and activities, not as an individual prohibition, but as a social rule. In this sense all governments act as figurative fathers when they pass and enforce legislation. The symbol of the powerful but beneficent father is employed as a metaphor to characterize important cultural figures. The founders of nations, such as George Washington in the United States, are the *fathers of the country*. Inventors become the metaphorical fathers of entire technologies. Henry Ford is the father of the modern assembly line, and Alexander Graham Bell is the father of modern communications. The heads of religious groups, such as priests, often are referred to as Father. Deities have paternal attributes.

In the end the notion of fatherhood is a philosophical position in which an individual assumes an ethical responsibility for the care of a group. People's comprehension of this position is premised on the image of the father as the powerful one in whose name they live but whose prohibitions also foment desires and rebellions. A central myth of European and North American culture, the myth of Oedipus, is centered on respect for and defiance of the fathers' prohibitions. The figure of the ethical presence of the father governing people's lives penetrates many religions, social organizations, literary traditions, and psychoanalytic conceptions of the ways in which people become conscious individuals.

SEE ALSO *Family; Motherhood; Patriarchy; Patrilineality.*

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Judith Roof

FATIMA
c. 606–614–633

An emblematic figure in Islamic history, known as Fatima al-Zahra (the pure one), Fatima was the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632) and his first wife Khadija (d. 619). She was married to Muhammad's cousin, ʿAli ibn Abu Talib (r. 656), the fourth caliph of Islam (r. 656–661), the fourth caliph of Islam (r. 656–661) and the first Shiʿi imam. It is said that Muhammad had insisted that she should be ʿAli's only wife, as Khadija had been his. She was the mother of Hasan (625–669) and Husayn (626–680)—second and third imams venerated by Shiʿis worldwide, among other children. After her father's death, Fatima was denied by Abu Bakr (r. 632–634) and ʿUmar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–644), the first and second caliphs of Islam, what was considered by Shiʿis as well as many other Muslims to be her rightful inheritance: revenues from the land of Fadak. Fatima's vigorous defense of the rights of the family of Muhammad was recorded in medieval sources of differing ideological backgrounds. The denial of the inheritance to Muhammad's only living child was considered a figurative act depicting the repudiation of his legacy by the community. The slaying of Fatima's son, Husayn, by the Umayyad dynasty army came to be considered akin to the biblical Fall, insofar as its influence on the crafting of the language and rhetorical arsenal of Islamic political discourse and worldview is concerned.

The historical persona of Fatima, as it can be reconstructed from medieval sources, can be read in contradistinction to that of ʻA'isha (c. 614–678). ʻA'isha was Muhammad's favorite wife, who competed with Fatima for the Prophet's affection, and whose father, Abu Bakr, rather than Fatima's husband, won out in the succession disputes that plagued the Muslim community after Muhammad's death. But the rivalry ran deeper: Both women manifested remarkable courage in the public arena, but the emphasis on Fatima's piety and probity in traditional sources (as, for instance in, her oft-cited punctilious observation of the decorum of segregation from unrelated men) is juxtaposed to the more controversial behavior of ʻAʻisha, whose marriage to Muhammad was fraught with accusations and insinuations.

The iconic similarities between Fatima and Mary, mother of Jesus, as figurative emblems of feminine compassion and courageous resilience, alluded to in many medieval works of exegesis particularly by Shiʻi writers since at least the tenth century, also have been explored further and meditated upon from the middle of the twentieth century, most notably by the French Catholic orientalist Louis Massignon (1883–1962). In the latter half of the twentieth century—with the rise of Islamic feminism, connected to both the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 and the subsequent Islamization of the public sphere and sociopolitical discourse throughout the Muslim world—there was renewed interest in the exploration of early Islamic history for the cultivation of Muslim female role models. As part of that endeavor, and while retaining Fatima's image as a model of piety and exemplary motherhood, other traits have been underlined. The influential Iranian religious thinker Ali Shariati (1933–1977), an admirer of Massignon, wrote a polemical and idealized portrayal of Fatima as a determined, resolute, and authentic example of liberated Islamic femininity. This proved particularly important for the modern Islamist platform in Shiʻi circles, representing both the centrality of the question of women to a reinvigorated and modern Islamic political theology and the call to discard European and North American customs and mores in order to bolster the anticolonial dossier of the burgeoning Islamist movement.

SEE ALSO *ʻA'isha; Islam.*

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Neguin Yavari

FAT SUBCULTURE

SEE *Body Image.*

FELCHING

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

FELLATIO

SEE *Oral Sex; Sexual Practices.*

FEMALE

The claim that humans are "naturally" female or male is a contentious one. This debate stems in large part because of varying definitions of gender (how society defines femininity and masculinity) and sex (female and male). The categories of "female" and "male" sex stem from a biological classification, which typically begins by noting whether an organism can produce ova (and thereby classified as female) or sperm (and thus classified as a male). However, this distinction provides only an initial dichotomy. For humans, biological sex is determined by their chromosomes, genitals, gonads (ovaries or testes), and hormones. Typically, these factors are aligned so that a person is considered biologically male or female. Scientists have also become invested in determining what genes may play a role in human's biological sex, noting, for instance, that the lack of a Y chromosome does not necessarily make one biologically female; nor does having a Y chromosome make one automatically male. Yet such binaries risk overlooking the complications of how "female"ness and "male"ness function and are ascribed meaning in society (see Ortnor and Whitehead 1981; Warren and Bourque 1991). Casual references about the "opposite" sex not only suggest that men and women are in opposition to each other but also that there is nothing in between. This gender binary is challenged if one takes a cross-cultural, historical, or interdisciplinary view of sex categories.

All humans begin, biologically, with a "female" brain. Eight weeks after conception, the testes of male fetuses begin producing testosterone, thereby altering fetal development so that the fetus becomes masculinized (for information on the role of sex development and brain structure, see Brizendine 2006). Because this time of fetal development corresponds with the increase of sex hormones and the development of major organs, biologists continue to investigate possible biological differences between males and females. However, biologists also wonder if there are structural (as well as hormonal) differences between female and male brains. They typically focus their energies on the communication and emotional centers of the brain to see if those components develop differently in men and women. Indeed, many researchers try to link sexual anatomy with gender identity. Some biologists insist that females, because of reproductive demands, have limited intellectual skills (such ideas stem from medical texts in the Middle Ages and continued into the twentieth century) or should be prohibited from certain activities. Other biologists examine biological differences between males and females without attempting to limit either sex's agency. For instance, Richard Udry (2000) found a correlation between the amount of testosterone that fetuses were exposed to in utero and the degree of masculine traits that they exhibited later in life. Others have found consistent differences in childhood developmental milestones (sitting independently, walking) to suggest some differences due to sex alone (Reinisch, Rosenblum, Rubin, and Schulsinger 1997). The mentioned researchers associate the trend of male infants achieving these skills with those infants developing more independence, suggesting a biological component to the agency we associate with masculinity and to the extended dependence some associate with females.

Others are reluctant to make such a link between biological sex and gender traits, claiming that labeling someone a female is a social construct rather than a biological mandate. Yet there is a wide spectrum of opinion about how to best understand the relationship between the theoretical concepts of sex and gender. Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000), for instance, foregrounds the extent to which concepts of gender—rather than biological science—can make supposedly rigid biological constructs of sex quite relative. She critiques focusing on anatomy to the exclusion of one's genetic, hormonal, and cultural influences. Yet certain cases have demonstrated risks in absolutely divorcing sex and gender. In the 1960s and 1970s, John Money (1952) emerged as an influential figure in debates about sex and gender identity, arguing that children's gender identity is fluid until a certain age (for differing perspectives, see Powlishta, Sen, Serbin, et al. 2001). Money is perhaps best known for his role in the John/Joan case of David Reimer, whose penis was amputated during what should have been a routine circumcision. Money "reassigned" Reimer, an infant, as a female and reported that the treatment was successful. Later, evidence about the failed efforts to socialize Reimer as a female and Reimer's 2004 suicide cost Money credibility in the medical community and established him as a divisive figure in debates of sex (Colapinto 2001). Although the John/Joan case was atypical in many ways, such cases reveal the myriad ways that biologists and the medical profession address sex.

Fausto-Sterling (2000) and others have proposed that sexual categories be rethought and expanded from the original two (female and male) to recognize that not all people have alignment between their sexual characteristics (chromosomes, genitals, gonads, and hormones). Approximately 1 in 100 people have some sex deviation from these categories (Blackless, et al. 2000). Some deviations that occur naturally are termed *intersex* (formerly referred to as *hermaphroditism*) and may include ambiguous genitalia, discernable at birth, and other subtler signs that present later in life. This condition does not pose a physical threat to humans and yet is often treated, typically involving surgery on nonconsenting patients (infants) who may not be told their full medical histories as they mature. In 90 percent of these surgeries, infant bodies are typically transformed into "females" because surgeons consider the procedure easier than creating a penis (Angier 1997). Many scholars note the degree to which medical anxiety about the family's response to such an infant, as well as the pressure to announce a sex, constrains medical practice (Kessler 1998). Some contend that these bodies are not "corrected" out of medical necessity but because they disrupt biological binaries (male and female), threatening cultural norms about sex and gender (Herdt 1994). Those who have undergone such treatment have begun speaking out about their experiences, as have other people who are not intersexed but have been treated to reconcile their "sex" and gender (Scholinski 1998).

Some people, in addition to intersexed individuals, find these sexual categories oppressive. The possibility that biological attributes linked to sex can be challenged—or conquered—by culture has energized various social sciences. Many insist that gender is not based solely on biology but manifests itself in other spheres (values, relationships, communication, interests, self-presentation, and self-concepts [Ruble and Martin 1998]). For instance, U.S. parents continue to interact with their infants in ways shaped by their gender expectations, focusing on their daughter's appearance and supposed vulnerability (Karraker, Vogel, and Lake 1995) and continue to allow gender to alter their interactions with their children as they grow. It would be inaccurate to state that children simply absorb gender messages; children themselves become quite interested in discovering, questioning and/or reinforcing gender norms, particularly at certain developmental stages (see Martin and Ruble 2004). Scholars have found that differences in the gender socialization of children can affect their sexuality as well, both in terms of people's self-definition and expression (Levine and Evans 2003). However, these gender norms shift significantly depending on one's social setting, and thus an understanding of culture provides a necessary context to explore how "sex" operates.

Anthropologists, by definition, study humanity in the hopes of understanding how people function in society. Anthropology is different from other social sciences in its investment in cultural relativism and cross-cultural comparisons. In the 1960s, anthropologists began to write about the parallels they saw between the scholarship that overlooked indigenous histories and that which overlooked females. Given the field's investment in comparative work, some viewed both exclusions as intensely problematic. The first recourse for many was observing and addressing the discipline's male bias. Margaret Mead's (1928) earlier work about the malleability of what was appropriately female and male, depending on one's geographic and cultural contexts, became newly important because of this reevaluation.

Others began observing the ways in which work may be asymmetrically distributed along sex lines. Many noticed that the bulk of domestic labor was not only accomplished by females, but that such work was often unseen and unvalued, especially when compared with "male" work that received public recognition and monetary compensation. Theorists began observing that sexual categories were used as metaphors for other social interactions, including those based on racial terms, class, and colonizer/colonized divides (Stoler 1991). People who inhabited social categories linked with the female typically had less power, fewer resources, and less control over their representation. Certainly, anthropologists acknowledge that a group's lived life and the way in which it understands its meaning may vary. For example, some observe that popular myths about which sex is more powerful may contradict a group's lived reality. However, by expanding the work of Gayle Rubin (1975), who offered the field the term *sex-gender system* and thereby separated those theoretical terms, the field began addressing how matters of sex can impact a community. Anthropologists, finding that gender norms not universal (see Lamphere, Ragone, and Zavella 1997, Ortner 1996), continue to examine assumptions that the female's primary role is a nurturing and subordinate one in order to construct a fuller understanding of how women actually live their daily lives.

Sociology as a field is largely concerned with recognizing societal issues and generating solutions to those dilemmas. This discipline uses the term *status* to describe how various members of society are categorized and treated and also how relationships among people are shaped. Sex can be considered a "master" status, in that being female or male affects multiple aspects of a person's life (Lindsey 1997). Sociologists analyze what is considered "normal" for different types of statuses and then decipher how larger social institutions and arrangements uphold these norms. They also consider how power affects these definitions and the people within these statuses. "Sex roles" then, may convey inaccurate information about men and women, as they privilege the stereotypical and assumed behaviors for various sexes. Sociology's three major paradigms (functionalism, social conflict, and symbolic interaction) articulate different understandings of how society operates.

Within the field, women have historically been excluded from discussions of social institutions other than those of the family and home. This trend began with the foundational work of Auguste Comte in the 1850s, whose pattern of addressing females exclusively in relation to their family role was repeated by other key figures. Comte's model was continued by functionalist theorists who focused on how society is organized and how those parts cooperate to build a social whole. For instance, some functionalist theorists (including Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim) saw the domestic sphere as the most apt choice for women because it gave females a restricted function in proportion to their assumed limitations. Sociologists who focused on symbolic interaction may question how individuals experience, initiate, and alter social patterns; because such fields were dominated by men, it took time for this field to consider women's experience of society. Conflict theorists (who focus on social inequality within systems) were among the first sociologists to critique women's status in society, noting that this power dynamic (within the home, for instance) paralleled other social problems seen as pertinent to the field (see Engels 1972 [1884] and Weber [1947]). Questioning the status quo has been a standard part of sociological practice; the repercussions of conflict theory encouraged sociologists to see sex as a productive variable for investigating power distributions within society.

Since these developments, sociology has embarked on research that investigates differences between the sexes, analyzes the stress of individuals' playing their sex roles, and recognizes women as a culturally peripheral and economically dependent group. Sociologists have begun critiquing their methodology as well, noting that some theoretical models were developed without considering female experience, a crucial absence given that women compromise over half of most populations (Harding 1986). Those invested in female autonomy began synthesizing sociology's methods for critiquing social injustice and feminist theory in order to generate alternate questions, paradigms, and institutions for social change. Both approaches focus on how females have experienced and do experience their lives and continue sociology's contention in critiquing power as a malleable phenomenon (Chafetz 1988). It is important to note that the sociology of women is not necessarily feminist (Delamont 2003).

A definitive consensus within psychology about the significance—or reality—of differences between the sexes does not exist. Clinical psychology encountered its first major feminist critique in the work of Naomi Weisstein (1968). In *Psychology Constructs the Female*, Weisstein contends that when it comes to the consideration of women, the "science" of psychology frequently repeats stereotypes of the female and underplays or ignores individual contexts. After her influential book, journals (including *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy* and *Women and Therapy*) continued her exploration of the role that sex plays in clinical practice. Subsequent psychologists analyzed the ways that social norms about gender impact individuals' emotional lives (Miller 1976). Others noted that some disorders (historically, hysteria in the early 1900s and survivors of violence in the 1980s) tend to be diagnosed by the individual's sex (Brodsky and Hare-Mustin 1980).

The field of psychology's analysis of "female" can be roughly categorized as having four themes that overlap chronologically: an initial inquiry into "exceptional" women (focusing on women designated as successful); "problematic women" (focusing on females deemed deviant or deficient, especially in comparison to men—Freud's work is often included within this category); "psychology of gender" (looking at how gender structures relationships between females and males); and "transformation" (critiquing the assumptions and practices of psychology; Crawford and Marecek 1989). Researchers' theoretical background helps shape the field: Some focus on the historical and methodological practices that excluded women except to consider their abnormality, others focus on how biological factors may impact (but not irrevocably determine) people throughout the lifespan, whereas others focus on the social context of gender and how those systems affect individuals. Many psychologists continue to ask the question about how sex could be considered not just a variable but a salient characteristic. In 1973, the American Psychological Association designated the studying of women's psychology as a subfield (Unger 2001). Journals such as *Sex Roles*, the *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, and the international journal *Feminism and Psychology* focus on such questions.

Undoubtedly, these larger scale issues impact individuals and their families. Social-cognitive psychologists note that children's gender lessons are influenced by factors outside the sphere of one's individual family and can include modeling by others, interactive experience, and explicit instruction (Bussey and Bandura 1999). Adult females and males may find that their gender is determined by personal goals, environment (political, social, economic) and various conditions that occur—a model that suggests a larger amount of fluidity (Deaux and Major 1987). Awareness of these patterns led to the critique of diagnostic standards. Other psychologists continued to reflect on the relationships between patient's issues and the larger society—such as the relationship between the prevalence of eating disorders in women and social pressures for women to conform to beauty norms—are kept in focus (see Fredicksen and Roberts 1997).

Some claim that quantitative and qualitative work of psychologists is affected by society and that they are, therefore, unable to properly critique gender (for an assessment of approaches, see Kimball 2001). Many researchers in the field remind colleagues that the sexes differ not only biologically but in terms of their political, economic, social, and psychological backgrounds (Rabinowitz and Martin 2001). Quantitative studies, then, that present differences between the sexes as "essential" or hardwired may find those differences resolved when controlling for those additional contexts (see Deaux 1984, Deaux and Major 1987). Qualitative psychologist Carol Gilligan's (1982) work was influential for her critique of ways that moral development had been conceptualized within the field; her demand that psychologists scrutinize one's social location and absences and/or silences (termed *women's voice theory*) was championed and criticized within the field. Others have continued to contend that scholars analyze their relationship to research subjects and topics to avoid repeated dismissals and devaluing of females (Fine, Weis, Weseen, and Wong 2000; Morawski 1988).

SEE ALSO *Male*.

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Maureen McDonnell

FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION

Female circumcision is the English-language term used for many different traditional practices that involve cutting and modification of the female genitalia. Now considered a euphemistic term by many writers, it nevertheless embodies the intention of the practitioners to perform a traditional cutting ritual analogous to male circumcision practices. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the term *female genital mutilation* or FGM was popularized to draw attention to the severity of some forms of the practices as well as the international opposition to all forms, and to stimulate the movement for change. *Female genital cutting* (or FGC) is the term frequently used to stress the benign intent of the practitioners, even though the practices are known to be harmful in various ways.

The actual cutting that is done, as well as the ideas and purposes behind the practices, vary tremendously. In an effort to describe the physical consequences more systematically, the World Health Organization developed a typology that is widely used. The first type (Type I) is commonly referred to as clitoridectomy, which includes the partial or total removal of the clitoris and clitoral prepuce (hood). An intermediate form that includes the removal of the entire clitoris, clitoral prepuce, and some or all of the labia minora (inner lips) and often some or all of the labia majora (outer lips) is usually referred to as excision (Type II). Infibulation is done in Type III, which refers to procedures that include the removal of tissues such as in Types I and II plus the partial closing of the vaginal opening by joining the raw tissue on the two sides together so that scar tissue forms across the vaginal opening. In the practice of this very severe type—found mostly in northern Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, and Djibouti—a straw or other thin object is used during healing to preserve a single tiny aperture for urination and menstrual flow. For infibulated women, first intercourse is extremely difficult, resulting in tissue damage or the necessity of cutting a bride open at marriage (usually by a midwife). In societies where infibulation is culturally practiced, it is common to reinfibulate the vulva following each birth, a practice also called recircumcision. Reinfibulation may also be done at other times, such as when a woman wants to have herself tightened. Any other practices that change or affect the female genitalia are categorized together as Type IV. This category includes the custom of labia stretching found in some cultures, the use of astringents, or piercing.

ORIGINS AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Female circumcision practices have carried differing meanings in the historical periods and in the cultures and where they are practiced. Female genital cutting practices have existed since ancient times in northeast Africa and may have existed as long in many of the countries where they are found in the twenty-first century. The practice was reported in the ancient Nile Valley, but some of the stories told about its origins are not factual, being used as origin myths either to reinforce or discredit people's beliefs in the practice. Some stories attribute infibulation to the sexual preferences of the ancient pharaohs or their need to monitor births of potential rivals, whereas another story attributes the origin to the revenge of the biblical Sarah on her husband's concubine Hagar. Some speculate that female circumcision with infibulation may have originated as a way to protect shepherd girls from rape by strangers or nomads. While these stories have no basis in evidence, contemporary Nile Valley peoples do presume that the severe form known as *pharaonic circumcision* dates back to the time of the pharaohs. Although evidence has not been found by studying the remains of predynastic or later mummies from Egypt, there is documentary evidence from Herodotus that Egyptians, Phoenicians, Hittites, and Ethiopians practiced female excision about 500 BCE. Lililan Passmore Sanderson (1981) cites several ancient references to the rites translated as circumcision of girls, including a papyrus dated 163 BCE that refers to the circumcision of girls in Memphis, Egypt, at the age when they received their dowries. Writers believe that it may have been ideologically grounded in the concept of bisexuality of gods, reflected in the human anatomy. Circumcision would have represented the removal of the feminine "soul" of the man and the masculine "soul" of the woman so that each could be more fully male or female. This is a widespread idea in circumcising cultures, that circumcisions serve to establish unambiguous gender identity. In the Nile Valley, the practices predated the spread of Christianity and later Islam, and survived and were syncretized into the belief systems of ordinary believers in those faiths.

In other parts of Africa, female circumcision practices are not necessarily related to Nile Valley origins. The practices vary widely, as do the timing, purpose, and techniques. The areas where female circumcision is most common include northeastern, eastern, central, and western Africa, but not all ethnic groups in those regions practice it. In all, about twenty-eight countries of Africa, including all the countries of coastal West Africa (Mauritania to Cameroon) and across the continent to the east coast from Tanzania to Egypt, include some groups who practice some form of female genital cutting. The highest incidence of the severe forms is found in Djibouti, Somalia, some areas of Eritrea and Ethiopia, and central and northern Sudan. Only very small percentages of women are circumcised in Zaire, Uganda, and Tanzania (5–10%); less than half (20–30%) in Mauritania, Senegal, Ghana, and Niger; and half or more in the remaining countries of the region.

Terminologies vary a great deal, and the terms used provide clues to people's ideas and beliefs about the origin and meaning of these practices. In Sudan and Egypt the surgeries, of whatever type, have been commonly referred to by the Arabic word for "purification" (*tahur* or *tahara*). Purification is thought to render the girl clean and pure, physically and morally. When clitoridectomy is combined with infibulation—the most common practice in Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea—people call it *pharaonic purification* (*tahur faroniya* in Sudanese Arabic), underscoring their belief about its origins in the ancient civilizations in the Nile Valley. For the partial or total clitoridectomy or prepuce removal, Sudanese commonly used the term *sunna purification* (*tahur as-sunna*). By using the term for the traditional practices associated with the prophet Muhammad (*sunna*), practitioners invoke the contested idea that the prophet approved removal of the prepuce or even partial or total clitoridectomy. Many Muslim scholars, however, assert that any sort of circumcision of females is against the teachings of Islam, criticizing what they see as misuse of the term *sunna*. Nevertheless, many Muslims continue to use the term *sunna* for whatever form of the surgeries they practice, including excision of all external genitalia.

Although often assumed to have religious meanings, female genital cutting has been practiced by members of all the major religions in Africa, including Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, as well as by followers of other African indigenous religious belief systems. It is found in diverse cultures and given different meanings. In some cultural groups, such as the Gikuyu and Maasai of Kenya, excision traditionally has marked a girl's transition to womanhood, usually performed between the ages of eight and thirteen. The Maasai did excisions just weeks prior to marriage, and the Gikuyu prior to first menstruation. In these cases, the surgeries are commonly accompanied by symbolic rituals (such as the shaving of heads among the Maasai) and communal celebrations; the girls are expected to adopt changes in behavior or clothing. Young women experience the transition individually among the Maasai, collectively among the Gikuyu. Where such transitions are ritualized collectively, the circumcision experience may form the basis of an age-set, as among the Gikuyu. In addition, being circumcised according to traditions has often been interpreted as necessary to affiliation with one's ethnic group.

The age of circumcision in many cultures is so young that it is clearly not intended to mark the onset of womanhood. Sudanese girls are most commonly infibulated between the ages of five and seven, although research indicates some practitioners have begun performing clitoridectomies on babies; in western Africa, circumcision seems to be not uncommon as young as age three. Instead of marking womanhood, it seems to mark the end of early childhood, a rite to be completed before a girl enters school or begins to be significantly involved in family labor that takes her outside the home, long before she approaches sexual maturity. In some cultures the goal of genital cutting is explicitly to reduce sexual desire in preadolescent girls and women. In the case of infibulation, there is the added goal of preventing illicit intercourse by constructing a barrier of scar tissue. Among Arab Sudanese of many ethnic groups, failure to preserve a daughter's virginity in this socially marked way would dishonor the entire family, so timely genital cutting is considered vital. Additional reasons given include cleanliness, femininity and the removal of "masculine" parts, and an aesthetic preference for smoothness. European missionaries under colonial regimes, medical workers, and administrators participated in efforts to suppress female circumcision. Nationalist reaction, most notably in Kenya, led to political defense of the practices. Even at the turn of the twenty-first century, some African leaders expressed strong resentment toward outsiders who condemn the practices without understanding their significance.

EFFORTS TO END THE PRACTICES

Change efforts accelerated over the last several decades of the twentieth century. Young Gikuyu women and urban Kenyans have largely given up circumcision, and many urban and rural Sudanese have shifted to the less severe sunna or stopped doing any form. However, there has also been persistence or even expansion of the practices in situations where migrants or displaced persons seek to assimilate to the practices of higher-status ethnic groups with more severe forms.

Hygienic conditions have improved in many areas. Well-trained circumcisers with access to modern equipment and supplies perform clitoridectomy and infibulation with sterile razors, needles, and sutures, and utilize antibiotic powder, but for many areas unhygienic circumstances are still a concern. However, there has been growing consensus among reformers that medicalization or reduced severity of the cutting should be rejected and only complete abandonment of the practices should be advocated.

Psychological and sexual impairment have not yet been extensively researched, although a few researchers have begun to focus on these topics. More common has been information on the health risks associated with these surgeries (including hemorrhage, septicemia, shock, infections, urine retention, and obstructed labor), and it has been mostly the medical issues that have prompted criticism. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, however, international and African criticisms of the practice in all its forms had grown tremendously, with human rights concerns becoming increasingly central to change efforts. International organizations (UNICEF, WHO), government ministries, international and local non-governmental organizations (CARE, Inter-African Committee Against Harmful Traditional Practices), and committed individuals have begun to develop effective strategies for public health education programs in each of the affected countries.

The human rights focus has drawn particular attention because the surgeries are usually performed on children, with or without their consent. Change agents are promoting the right to bodily integrity for girls, and in some cases simply encouraging delay—to let the girl decide for herself when she is older—has been explored. Delay is a particularly useful strategy because change is not a one-time act, but rather requires resolve to continue to resist the social pressures of traditional values. Adding months or years of delay allows the parents to avoid confronting change, yet it improves the chance that a girl will not be circumcised since she or her parents may become influenced by the new ideas about abandonment of the practice.

Particularly important has been the development of theological discussions about the practices. Some religious leaders have become active in questioning and even condemning some or all types of the practices. Particularly in light of the fact that some people use religion to justify continuing the sunna form of circumcisions, the increased involvement of Islamic religious teachers who are speaking out against the idea that sunna circumcision is permissible has been significant. However, there continue to be some Muslim leaders who defend the less severe form, so the ongoing theological discussions are important.

In some countries, change agents have successfully promoted alternate rituals without cutting. Governments and organizations have cooperated on projects to raise awareness in neighborhoods and rural communities, combining religious messages, health messages, songs, and skits. The (IAC) Inter-African Committee Against Harmful Traditional Practices has sponsored boys' soccer tournaments (the FGM Cup, for example) to promote male awareness. Posters, videos, radio programs, and religious songs with anti-circumcision messages are being utilized. Basic work to promote women's literacy and empowerment continues to be important.

Resistance to change is attributed to such concerns as the fear that daughters will be unmarriageable, male sexual preferences for infibulated women, and the desire to preserve ethnic traditions and identity.

SEE ALSO *Clitoris.*

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Ellen Gruenbaum

FEMINISM

This entry contains the following:

I. AFRICAN (SUB-SAHARAN)

African feminisms must be identified as post–Cold War phenomena, although many precursors and contributing influences coalesced during the mid-1970s and 1980s, and we have witnessed the florescence of African feminist movements in the post-1995 period. These feminisms have acknowledged African cultures and philosophies that celebrated women's participation in separate but complementary gender arenas, as well as subjected the gender bias within traditional culture to the critiques of modern life.

BACKGROUND

The slow evolution of African feminisms relative to American and European feminism is related to the fact that between 1957 and 1967 most Sub-Saharan African countries were emerging from colonialism, and public attention was focused on drawing the parameters of new state political, economic, and legal systems. Women subordinated gender concerns to nationalist concerns during this period. They played complementary roles with men in the movements that brought about independence, and elite women mobilized their organizations and institutions to support the nationalist parties. However, the fact that women did not receive the recognition that was due them and were increasingly marginalized within post-independence politics allowed a critical activist dynamic to emerge in African women's feminist dialogue.

African women tended to reject Western feminism (as well as the use of the term) in the 1960s and early 1970s because they saw it as a hegemonic force focused on individualism and the "politics of the body." In the dialogues that followed, scholars such as Niara Sudarkasa and Kamene Okonjo emphasized the assymetrical but complementary roles of men and women, and Gwendolyn Mikell focused on how the emerging African feminists blended traditional communal and pronatal concerns with the new strategies for survival within a crisis-ridden state. Scholars such as Oyeronki Oyewumi accused European colonizers and missionaries of creating binary male/female categories that distorted the reality of women's blended public and private roles in traditional African cultures. In general, African women resented the early Western focus on clitoridectomy or "genital cutting" as sensationalist and as a hegemonic attempt to control African women's private realms.

Takyiwaa Manuh and Frances Dolphynne described women's primary concern with addressing the serious social and economic challenges they faced in the 1980s and their resulting determination to craft new laws that created greater equality in property ownership, maintenance of children, and justice for wives given the existence of polygynous forms of marriage. However, during the economic decline of African states and the emergence of economic restructuring programs monitored by the international financial institutions, the devastating increases in maternal, infant, and child mortalities and the increase in HIV/AIDS prevalence rates drew attention to women's health status. Organizations such as Women in Nigeria (WIN) devised strategies to educate women about their economic and political rights, producing documents in local languages that increased knowledge accessibility. Not surprisingly, many African women scholars such as Patricia McFadden began to stress the need to interrogate and transform the conditions facing women in Africa through feminist activism.

THE TRAJECTORY OF AFRICAN FEMINISMS

The United Nations Decade of Women (1975–1985) set in motion a chain of local, national, continental, and global conversations that produced more varied concerns, which crystallized into what scholars call African feminism. Filomina Chioma Steady describes how the 1985 Women's Conference in Nairobi provided an opportunity for African women from all walks of life to share in discussions about "forward looking strategies" to address illiteracy and poverty and the responsibilities that women had to press governments to construct and implement national women's policies. However, with the end of the Cold War and the withdrawal of Western countries from much of Africa in the absence of a Soviet threat, the challenges for women altered. Into the political void stepped military governments, rebel groups, and informal armies that exploited the natural resources of Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, waged genocidal war in Rwanda and Sudan, and used rape as a tool of war. This violence against women accompanied by the rising HIV/AIDS rates in the 1990s had the effect of clearly focusing African women's feminist mobilization on issues related to the state.

The Fourth Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995 was the major culminating event, after which the language of feminism was widely used across Africa. The African national and NGO delegations that went to Beijing came back with broader ideas about how to implement democratic changes, demand that their countries sign onto CEDAW, provide educational equity for the girl child, and establish goals for the representation of women in politics. African women from different cultural and religious backgrounds, including Muslim, Christian, Traditional, Afro-Asian, Arab, and Swahili, could now discuss aspects of the Beijing platform relating to the family in a way that guaranteed respect for all traditions. In 1994, South Africa, which had moved from apartheid to democratic elections, and Rwanda, which was recovering from genocide, became important sites for feminist discussions. Some of the discussions among women of the African National Congress (ANC) involved women negotiating a percentage of elected and appointed positions in the new government; and this has been replicated in Uganda, Rwanda, and other places. Aili Mari Tripp has emphasized the fact that these local and regional African women's organizations have focused on the elimination of difference and the emergence of a culture of unity within African state politics.

The debate about whether African feminism should be equated with activism or scholarship by and about women was heated at the end of the millennium. The notion of "'women's rights as human rights'" and the focus on eradicating violence against women began to be thoroughly integrated into the activism of African women's organizational networks such as BAOBAB in Nigeria. Women shared ideas and tactics in subregional conferences in Rwanda and Uganda, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, South Africa, Ghana, and Mali about how to construct a "Culture of Peace" that empowered women. Out of these discussions came support for the notion that in a post-war environment, women needed to transform national security strategies and insert themselves into state, transstate, and United Nations policy initiatives, such that human security gained importance as a balance to militarized security. They were aware that in situations of economic or political crisis, religion could be a critical arena for either local amelioration or conflict resolution. For example, Ayesha Imam and others helped counter the post-militaristic conflict between religious groups in Nigeria by working on equitable treatment for Muslim women accused of *ZINA* (sexual) crimes under Islam, and these death sentences were overturned. Women such as Regina Amadi-Njoku and Ndioro N'Diaye have helped push these notions of gender inclusion into the dynamics of the African Union and have helped it systematically integrate women into their emerging peace and conflict resolution mechanisms.

Equally as important has been the intellectual mobilization in the formation of African feminist ideas. Molara Ogundipe-Leslie and others have examined women's portrayal of themselves and their aspirations through literature. Then, through the Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town, women have analyzed their own conditions and proposed new approaches to African feminist understandings. The journal *Feminist Africa* became the major tool for women's dialogue about these issues. Through its pages one could see African women examining the scholarly arena with the goal of removing disciplinary boundaries that inhibited gender knowledge and recreating it as a site for feminist imagination and greater gender equity. Over a period of five years, *Feminist Africa* highlighted the work of groups such as the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) and the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA). The journal explored ways that women's organizations mobilized to transform the African state and thoroughly examined "sexual cultures" (no. 5) and "subaltern sexualities" (no. 6). These approaches were considered sufficiently inclusive to encompass new sexual realities, despite the fact that they challenged the binary sexual symbolism of traditional African culture. Rather than occurring in isolation, this feminist intellectual dynamism has also been global, in that African women and American Africanists have shared their ideas and analysis at forums such as the Women's Caucus of the African Studies Association in the United States.

The subtle shift from the pervasive use of the term *feminism* to the analysis of social conditions related to gender equity is symbolic of the new African perspectives. Certainly, there is a link to traditional predilections to deny a singular focus on women's individualism and urge concern for what is positive for society in general. However, the new focus on gender conditions and experiences is designed to be inclusive and holistic, reflecting the realization that the meanings and contexts of maleness and femaleness have begun to alter in the new global environment. African women pushed for and achieved a new Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2005) that, although still not acknowledging women's full sexual rights, was a tribute to their activism. In that sense, African feminists have returned to the issue of the body but on their own terms and within the context of historical and cultural change. The scholarly articles in *Feminist Africa* (no. 5 and no. 6) point this out and that African women are now challenged to respond to and transcend the historical conditions of the region. The new thinking about gender included consideration of the need for scrutinizing African gender hierarchies, especially to counter stereotypes and achieve greater equity in how sexuality and homosexuality play out within African culture.

Most recently, African feminist activists have begun to ask themselves how to think about these transformations and how African women will function as gender stereotypes fade away in the coming period. The book *Africa after Gender?* edited by Catherine M. Cole, Takyiwaa Manuh, and Stephan F. Miescher, is symbolic of this new period of feminist intellectual questioning. It examines volatile arenas of gender confrontation, forms of women's activism in public spaces, ritual and performative aspects of gender, and issues of masculinity, misogyny, and seniority. In the final chapter of the book, Helen Mugambi raises this issue: Can there be a post-gender question in African studies at a time when women's everyday lives at the local and state levels are still permeated by the gender hierarchies and battles of a post-colonial era? She answers it by proposing that African feminists reject a linear approach to the gender issue in favor of a circular approach that blends history, present challenges, and desired futures into a dynamic, interactive configuration that is constantly imagining, seeking, and addressing equitable treatment for both women and men.

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Gwendolyn Mikell

II. ASIAN

Europeans and North Americans have often been skeptical of feminism in Asia because of instances of women's oppression there such as domestic violence, dowry, and seclusion. Women's activism has a long history in Asian cultures albeit its distinctiveness from European and North American feminism.

The uniqueness of Asian feminism is based on:

1. The conception of multiple sources of women's subjugation rather than patriarchy only;
2. The recognition of imperialism and colonization as causes of gender oppression;
3. A focus on collectivism instead of individualism;
4. The rejection of the label *feminism* as a symbol of European and North American ideological domination.

Asian feminist perspectives are also called third-world feminism as it includes race, class or caste, sexuality, imperialism, gender, and the role of state in analyzing gender oppression. In many Asian societies, the common experiences of feudalism, traditions, colonization, and androcentric social and familial hierarchies reduced women to domestic subservience. Consequently, feminist activism historically concentrated on improving women's lots. Feminist movements of the 1970s and 1980s, conversely, stressed women's emancipation and empowerment and their entry into the core of national politics.

Feminism in Asia has traditionally been disparate along class lines, with mainly elite women occupying leadership roles. However, conditions of poverty have drawn feminist theorizing to Marxism, whereas the centers of action and debate are located in nongovernmental organizations (NGO) rather than academia.

EAST ASIA—JAPAN, KOREA, AND CHINA

Rapid industrialization after World War II, U.S. occupation of Japan, and the Korean War (1950–1953) shaped the women's movements in the two countries. Japanese feminists utilized their experiences of organizing for suffrage in the nineteenth century to agitate against the occupation and, later, to demilitarize U.S. bases. Simultaneously, women's groups worked to improve health care, food supplies, and social benefits for families. By the early 1950s Korean and Japanese women increasingly entered labor forces and, in 1956, Japan established its first female trade union. Nevertheless, a clash between pro-work and pro-motherhood forces polarized the fledgling Japanese feminist movement. In the early 1990s women regrouped to force the government to pass laws protecting part-time workers and child-care laws to support working mothers. Since then Japanese women's movements have taken up issues such as prostitution, trafficking, sex tourism, reproductive rights, and violence.

In Korea, workingwomen's conditions remained poor and marginalized, particularly in rural areas. In 1983 Korean women pressured the government to establish a special agency for women's welfare, the Korean Women's Development Institute, and in the early 1990s, they worked to pass laws ensuring labor equality. In both Korea and Japan, women's participation in political processes continues to climb.

Feminism in China can be traced back to the 1800s, when many women resisted marriage to live as independent workers. After the revolution in the 1950s, the communist government introduced laws to initiate gender equality in the marriage and labor structures to mobilize women to join the workforce. Most Chinese women's groups were established under the government's auspices. Nonetheless, the Chinese government's one-child policy to reduce population has encouraged violence against women and sex-selective abortions. With rising consumerism and unemployment in the post-Mao era, women are being sidelined in the labor force while traditional gender roles in the family are being resurrected.

SOUTHEAST ASIA—INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, THAILAND, PHILIPPINES, AND VIETNAM

Following globalization and growing affluence in Southeast Asia, a new class of urban, professional, workingwomen is exerting significant influence on the market and politics and has begun to scrutinize traditional gender disparity. But these critiques consciously reject European and North American models and position feminism within local cultures. For example, in Malaysia women's organizations such as Sisters in Islam (established in 1988) are engaged in seeking women's rights within an Islamic framework.

Since the 1980s Southeast Asian feminists have been challenging the working conditions of housemaids and women employed in multinational companies, domestic violence, polygamy, inequality within marriage, and lack of educational opportunities. In the Philippines feminists took leadership in ousting U.S. military bases in 1991. Antiprostitution and antitrafficking campaigns have occupied the center stage of women's activism in Thailand.

Vietnamese women's movements carry the legacies of the two Trung sisters (both died in 43 CE), who led an all female army against Chinese invaders in 40 CE, and of Bui Thi Xuan (d. 1802), a peasant-revolt leader in the eighteenth century. The first women's organization in Vietnam was formed in 1930. Vietnamese women played critical roles and held high-ranking positions in the rebellion against the French in the 1940s, in the war with the United States from 1964 to 1973, and against invasions by Cambodia and China in 1978 and 1979. The communist government has actively forwarded women's rights and endeavored to end patriarchal and feudal control. Women's participation has been vital in national reconstruction after the wars, and the government has passed several laws supporting workingwomen, particularly mothers.

CENTRAL ASIA—UZBEKISTAN, KYRGYZSTAN, AND KAZAKHSTAN

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1980s, central Asian nations became independent and began restructuring their governances and economies. The resultant sociopolitical upheavals placed in jeopardy women's rights guaranteed during the Soviet regime. Even under communism the main culture of the region was Islamic, which is being vigorously reclaimed with various traditions affecting women, such as purdah and segregation, making a comeback.

The Soviet administration viewed feminism as socially divisive, and this attitude is prevalent in the early twenty-first century. The burgeoning women's movements are prioritizing issues of violence, reproductive rights, sexuality, and gender equality but have lost grounds in achieving equitable political representation. To dissociate from the past women's movement under the Soviet administration because of its ties to the Communist Party, contemporary women's movements have de-emphasized participation in political processes. Instead, central Asian women's movements are attempting to find a balance between their identities and roles as Muslims and feminists in society.

SOUTH ASIA—BANGLADESH, INDIA, PAKISTAN, SRI LANKA, AND NEPAL

Feminism in south Asia is inexorably linked to nationalism. Although women have historically played prominent roles in socioeconomics of the region, their organized political participation occurred during anticolonial struggles that led to sovereignty in the late 1940s. After independence several powerful women's NGOs operated in each country, such as Bangladesh Mahila Parishad (established in 1970), the National Federation of Indian Women (established in 1954), the Women's Action Forum in Pakistan (established in 1981), the Women's Foundation of Nepal (established in 1988), and the Voice of Women in Sri Lanka (established in 1978), often working simultaneously against repressive governmental policies and instituting supportive laws.

Although influenced by European and North American thought, south Asian feminist philosophies have been deliberately nested in indigenous cultural contexts. Feminist activism has centered on women's inclusion in political processes, economic advancement, issues of violence, and overall improvement of status. The theoretical bases of south Asian women's movements have generally been broad and have stressed intra- and extranational issues such as political repression, judicial insensitivity, law enforcement tyranny, neocolonialism, and globalization. The movements tend to work concurrently on legislative and nonlegislative solutions and redress. For example, mainly because of women's activism India passed The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act into law in 2005, whereas the majority of anti-HIV intervention is being led by regional NGOs. The movements are characterized by their nongovernmental and decentralized status as well as diversity in mass base, structure, administration, and focus.

South Asian nations have generated voluminous and varied feminist writings in indigenous languages and English that range from fiction to theory. The first feminist utopist writing in English, *Sultana's Dream* (1905), is credited to India's Begum Roquia Sakhawat Hossain (1880–1932). Susie Tharu and K. Lalita edited a valuable two-volume collection of women's writings from 600 BCE to the 1990s in *Women Writing in India* (1991–1993). Although operating under harsh political conditions, such as civil war, armed insurrection, governmental corruption, theocratic stranglehold, and crushing poverty, women's movements for social and legal equality in south Asia have been vast, radical, and vibrant.

TRANSNATIONAL FEMINISM

Despite the diverse political situations in each country, feminist organizations in Asia have endeavored to forge regional alliances. Between 1990 and 1992 women's movements in Japan and Korea collaborated on the issue of Japan's exploitation of *comfort women* during wars. In 1996 Pakistan's Women's Action Forum formally apologized to Bangladeshi women for the Pakistani military's atrocities and rampant rape during the 1971 war that led to the formation of Bangladesh. In the 1990s Naripokkho of Bangladesh (established in 1983) created transnational collaboration among several nations including France, England, Canada, and the United States to facilitate the treatment of girls and women disfigured by acid thrown on them. Asian women's organizations continue to convene conferences and exchange programs to further such collaborative relationships.

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Shamita Das Dasgupta

III. MIDDLE EASTERN

Middle Eastern feminism is a discourse and practice of educated and employed middle-class women, some of whom are active in women's organizations. Using a variety of legal and discursive strategies and calling themselves secular, Muslim, or Islamic, Middle Eastern feminists challenge women's institutionalized second-class citizenship and call for change in women's positions in the family, the polity, and the religious community. Feminists and women's organizations are rebelling nonviolently against women's location in the private domain and men's control of the public domain. Their principal demands are (1) egalitarian family laws; (2) criminalization of domestic violence and other forms of violence against women, including "honor killings"; (3) nationality rights for women and their children; and (4) greater access to employment and participation in political decision making. The point of reference for Middle Eastern feminism is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), but some also use the Qur'an and early Islamic history to make the case for women's participation and rights.

"Islamic feminists" call for women's right to *ijtihad*, or religious interpretation, and the reform of patriarchal Islamic jurisprudence.

HISTORY OF ISLAMIC FEMINISM

Middle Eastern feminism has existed since at least the early twentieth century, often in conjunction with nationalist or other progressive social movements. However, in the latter part of that century feminist activities became more focused on women and gender issues and more organized. That process arose in the context of sociodemographic changes (urbanization, increased female educational attainment and salaried employment, declining fertility, the predominance of the nuclear family), political developments (the spread of fundamentalism as well as a gradual process of political liberalization in some of the countries in the region), and the global women's rights agenda.

Whereas the period from the 1950s to the 1970s saw women involved almost exclusively in official women's organizations or charitable associations, the period since the third United Nations World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 saw the expansion of many types of women's organizations. State conservatism in some countries forced women's organizations and feminist leaders to assume a more independent stance than they might have taken in previous decades. For example, the preamble of the 1986 report of the Arab Women's Solidarity Association called on women "to unite, to close ranks and become a political and social force able to effect changes in prevailing systems, laws and legislation that will be beneficial for women and for all the people." A recommendation of the political committee was for the "release of general freedoms, particularly the freedoms of expression and organization; for respect of human rights for men and women; for a greater participation by women in political decision-making, and for an equal share with men in the authority exercised both in the state and the family" (cited in Toubia 1988). The first meeting of Arab women's nongovernmental organizations in Amman, Jordan, in November 1994 made similar recommendations.

ISLAMIC WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Women's organizations include the traditional charitable or service organizations, professional associations, women-in-development (WID) nongovernmental organizations, research centers and women's studies institutes, women's auxiliaries of political parties, and women's rights or feminist organizations. All are contributing to the development of civil society in the region, although the feminist organizations perhaps are doing this most consciously. For example, Moroccan feminist organizations such as l'Union d'action feminin and l'Association démocratique des femmes marocaines launched a campaign in the early 1990s to reform the patriarchal family law, the *Moudawana*, in the face of state lack of interest and organized Islamist opposition. In the latter part of the 1990s a more conducive political environment enabled a feminist-state alliance that succeeded in legislating a more egalitarian family law in 2003.

The Lebanese League for Women's Rights runs candidates for political office, and the Beirut-based Women's Court launched highly visible campaigns "to resist violence against women" in 1995, 1998, and 2000. North Africa's Collectif 95 Maghreb Egalité was the major organizer of the "Muslim Women's Parliament" at the NGO Forum that preceded the fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995; later it formulated an alternative "egalitarian family code" and promoted women's political participation. North African feminist action also is concerned with the social rights of working-class and poor women. Turkey is home to the Association to Support Women Candidates (Kader), Flying Broom, Women for Women's Human Rights, the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work, and Anakultur (a feminist organization for rural women). Palestine's Legal Aid and Counseling Center lobbies against family violence. The Jerusalem Center for Women promotes women's rights and peaceful solutions to the conflict with Israel. Birzeit University's Institute of Women's Studies seeks to produce new generations of feminist leaders in the Middle East.

Middle Eastern feminism also may be seen in literary and cultural efforts such as the publication of books, journals, and films. Feminist publishing houses include Cairo's Noor (which organized the first Arab Women's Book Fair in 1995), Morocco's Edition le Fennec, and Iran's Roshangaran Press and the Cultural Center of Women, along with journals and magazines such as Morocco's *8 Mars*, Iran's *Zanan* [Women], and Turkey's *Partisi*. The quarterly feminist journal *Al-Raida* is published by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World at the Lebanese American University. The Women's Library in Istanbul contains research and documentation on women and gender issues. Skillfully circumventing censorship, Iranian filmmakers, male and female alike, have produced internationally acclaimed films with feminist themes.

Well known in their own countries as well as in international feminist circles, Middle Eastern feminists include Algeria's Khalida Messaoudi and Boutheina Cheriet; Iran's Shahla Lahiji, Noushin Ahmadi-Khorassani, Parvin Ardalan, and Shadi Sadr; Jordan's Haifa Abu Ghazaleh and Rana Husseini; Lebanon's Lamia Shehadeh and the late Laure Moghaizel; Morocco's Latifa Jbabdi, Rabéa

Algerian Feminist Khalida Toumi. HZ/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

Naciri, and Nouzha Skalli; Palestine's Hanan Ashrawi, Zahira Kamal, and Souheir Azzouni; Tunisia's Bochra Bel Haj Hmida, and Esma Ben Hamida; and Turkey's Sirin Tekeli and Pinar Ilkaraccan.

GOALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Campaigns for women's rights have succeeded in effecting legal reforms and policy changes. In Iran, as a result of a well-publicized case of a girl's death at the hands of her brother and father, feminist lawyers and activists challenged the automatic granting of child custody to the father in the aftermath of divorce. In 1999 Egyptian feminists secured the reversal of Article 291, which exonerated rapists who married their victims. Egyptian feminists and public health activists also have formed or worked with coalitions against female circumcision. In December 2001 the Jordanian cabinet approved several amendments to the Civil Status Law, raising the legal age for marriage to eighteen for both males and females and granting women legal recourse to divorce. An amendment to the penal code makes perpetrators of honor crimes liable to the death penalty. However, judges are allowed to commute the sentences of the convicted, and the practice continues, with families using underage men as the perpetrators of the violence.

In some countries feminists are contributing to national dialogues and political debates on democracy and human rights, and women's organizations are building coalitions with human rights organizations to expand civil society and citizenship rights. Algerian feminists not only are active in the struggle for modernization of family law and against religious extremism but also have formulated a position on democracy that is based on their experience with the violent Islamist movement of the late 1980s and the 1990s.

OBSTACLES AND CHALLENGES

Feminism in the Middle East continues to confront obstacles and challenges. In addition to the resource constraints of many women's organizations, feminism faces unreliable or patriarchal governments, societal conservatism, the preoccupation of Islamist movements with women's appearance and behavior, and cultural debates about "authenticity" versus westernization. Nevertheless, domestic and global developments have produced women's movements that challenge popular understandings and legal codes regarding the public sphere and the private sphere and that demand more access to the public sphere, full and equal participation in the national community, and full and equal rights in the family. Those gender-based demands not only would extend existing rights to women but also broaden the political agenda and redefine citizenship in the region.

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Valentine M. Moghadam

IV. WESTERN

The term *Western feminism* is controversial because the appellation *Western* is ambiguous—does it name a geographical place, a political or ideological hegemony, or a state of cultural, historical, or racial homogeneity? Does it preserve imperialist divisions between the "West" and "the rest," enabling a series of exclusive and exclusionary valuations along axes of superiority/inferiority, civilized/uncivilized, and developed/underdeveloped? Is it the enabling fiction of racially white global dominance in the fields of politics, culture, law, and economics? Are *Western* and *white* analogous? Who is included in the category—second- and third-generation immigrant populations with complex forms of national identification, resident nonwhite populations, people of mixed race? What implications are there for its use in a postcolonial context in which the terms *Western* and *Eastern* have been rigorously critiqued? And what of the differences between the countries that are conventionally considered to be Western? Yet the term may have some valency insofar as it now necessitates the kinds of qualifications suggested here and thus recalls its specific history. The term *feminism* is also problematic insofar as it suggests a homogenous political movement through time and space. The history of feminism, however, indicates a multiplicity of *feminisms* that offer significant differences of emphasis, context, and motivation however much they share the common goal of female emancipation and equality.

Bringing the terms feminism and Western together raises yet another series of difficulties, not least that some feminist approaches have been explicitly opposed to the liberalist frameworks of the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment within which the West was established as the dominant global power. Nonetheless, Western feminism is both created by and resistant to the form of post-Enlightenment individualism that established the autonomous, rational individual as the basis upon which the basic rights of citizenship might be secured. Western feminism, in addressing the unequal status of women, has necessarily aligned itself with the emancipatory discourse of Western liberalism, which has proved to be a powerful tool for feminists seeking to establish gender parity. It has also required, however, acquiescence with the principle of the sameness of individuals, and this has often been at the expense of the specificity of a more plural understanding of women and the differences between them. Further, some feminists believe that Enlightenment individualism inscribes patriarchal values and is thus of limited worth. Consequently, Western feminism invokes a complex history of both complicity and resistance, and if it has any definitional utility it is with regard to embodying and clarifying this tension.

Western feminism also names a specific set of discourses that have historically been promoted as universal. To recognize some forms of feminism as Western, therefore, is to acknowledge the particularity of feminist programs produced within the West and to resist both the imposition of a homogenous narrative of feminist achievements on non-Western contexts as well as the assumption that Western feminist analyses and objectives are shared with non-Western movements. At the more localized level, however, the term is unsatisfactory inasmuch as it obscures the huge regional and political differences between the feminisms that operate in the countries that constitute what is, at least in everyday use, understood to be the West. Moreover, it appropriates those forms of feminism that are critical of the ethnocentrism of Western feminism and may identify as Western but are nonetheless produced in dialogue with Western intellectual and political environments. For the purposes of this entry, therefore, the term Western feminism will refer to those feminist discourses that are inscribed within or conducted with reference to liberalism and that operate within those regions conventionally considered to be Western, namely western Europe, North America, and Australasia.

There are two main approaches to discussing the development of Western feminism and delineating between the various feminisms that constitute it. The first offers a chronological treatment of Western feminism from its emergence in the nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century, while the second offers a system of classification of the main forms of feminist thought and activity within Western feminism.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN FEMINISM

The historical development of Western feminism is generally discussed in terms of three main "waves," each of which constitutes a stage in the form of feminist activity. The chronology and thematic organization is somewhat loose, however, and each stage overlaps with the others.

First-wave feminism is usually dated from the mid-1850s to the beginning of World War II and was characterized by its liberalist stance insofar as it sought, through political activism, the full citizenship rights of universal suffrage, self-determination, access to higher education, and ownership of property.

Second-wave feminism, often considered synonymous with the women's liberation movement, refers to the reemergence of feminist activity in the aftermath of the World War II until the 1990s. Significant developments in the first half of the twentieth century prepared the ground: Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex* (1949), reinvigorating debates regarding the status of women rendered dormant during World Wars I and II; women's suffrage had been achieved in most Western countries; and women's participation in higher education had also undergone a period of rapid expansion.

Like the first wave, the second wave was largely defined by its liberal agenda, but expanded its focus to include a vision of female solidarity; demands for equal pay; interventions in the spheres of reproduction, sexuality, and cultural representation; and the more substantial theorization of patriarchy. Many of the forms of feminism outlined below emerged during the second wave, but as Elizabeth Weed (1989) argues, "for all the varieties within the [feminist] movement … the 'second wave' … was inscribed within the liberal system of individual rights … and the various strains of feminism have had to engage in one way or another with the terms of that inscription. It is in this sense that 'liberal feminism' is the mainstream feminism" (p. xii). Several defining features and concerns of second-wave feminism rapidly emerged. First, all feminists, regardless of their particular approaches, agreed that in societies that divide the sexes into binarized cultural, economic, or political spheres, women are less valued than men. Second, key concepts such as patriarchy, sexism, and misogyny were formulated as ways of theorizing about the purportedly universal oppression of women. Third, autonomous female identities were suggested in which women's bodies and conventionally "feminine" activities were prioritized and represented as positive in contrast to the centuries-old portrayal of femininity as a source of danger, impurity, and evil. Finally, feminists acted on the principle that women could consciously and collectively change their social position and identity whether through advocating for equal employment, reproductive, and sexual rights, or by challenging and resisting male violence against women, pornography, sexual exploitation, unequal domestic arrangements, and all other forms of gender-based discrimination.

Despite broad agreement regarding the assessment of the position of women, considerable disagreements began to emerge among feminists in the 1970s and 1980s. Feminists of color, who confronted both sexual and racial discrimination, and lesbian feminists challenged the movement; both groups argued that second-wave feminism was dominated by white, middle-class, and heterosexual agendas that failed to address the multiple axes of oppression in the intersections between class, race and sexuality. The failure of the leaders of the women's liberation movement to take up the concerns of their fellow feminists resulted in the splintering of the movement. If feminism was losing its identity as a unified political movement, however, it was beginning to make its presence felt in universities as feminists recognized the powerful role of educational institutions in shaping cultural values and meanings and the importance of critiquing their exclusion of women's contributions. Women's studies departments and programs were established in universities starting in the late 1960s, and by the early 1980s the field had been an established discipline for approximately a decade. It was the combination of the critiques of feminism on the grounds of racism and heteronormativity and its increasing academicization that contributed to a decisive shift against the movement's liberalist roots and produced what is now referred to as the third wave.

The emergence of third-wave feminism in the 1990s was the result of an explosion of theoretical perspectives informed by poststructural, postcolonial, and queer theory, each of which problematized the dominant (European) liberal presentation of individualism as homogenous and universal. Because of its roots in liberalism, feminism was by no means exempt from these critiques. Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1991), for example, offered a powerful criticism of the "colonialist move" in some Western feminist scholarship on women in the "Third World," particularly insofar as it appropriated the "production of the 'third world woman' as a singular monolithic subject" (p. 51). She was particularly critical of the presumption in Western feminist scholarship of a conflation between women as historical subjects, and "woman" as a homogenous category of analysis on the basis of presumed shared oppression.

While many of the concerns of the second wave have continued to be important, Western feminist activity in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries marks both a self-reflexive turn and a mature phase in feminist activity as it seeks to address the previously hegemonic assumptions of the second wave. It registers a shift in the common preoccupations that have informed debates between feminists. Most notably, there has been a movement away from the denunciation of gender inequalities toward the poststructural theorization of discursive constructions of gender. In addition, third-wave feminists advocate a sustained examination of hegemonic representations of masculinity and a more nuanced understanding of the often-significant differences between women in the contexts of class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, and economic status.

TYPOLOGIES OF FEMINISMS

Western feminism is generally divided into six main types—liberal, Marxist, socialist, radical, psychoanalytic, and poststructural—each identified on the basis of their central approach (see Tong 1998 for a thorough survey). Before discussing the ways in which these types differ from one another, it is important to note that the various categories regularly overlap and that they all share in common a concern with the causes of the oppression of women and suggest means through which it might be overcome.

Liberal feminism is committed to the full equality of women and men, arguing that this can be achieved through legislation and social reform. It assumes the fundamental sameness of men and women on the basis of the Enlightenment universal individualism and proposes the reformation rather than the dismantling of social systems and institutions that have hitherto discriminated against or excluded women. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) is considered to be the classic expression of the liberal feminist perspective. The liberal feminist tradition was continued during the 1960s and 1970s by feminists such as Betty Friedan, who in 1966 founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in order to campaign for women's rights.

Marxist feminism disagrees with the liberal analysis of both the causes of women's inequality and the means for overcoming it. Instead, it suggests that the cause is capitalism, in particular the ways in which it promotes private ownership of property and the means of production by a relatively small number of men, in turn producing the class system and ensuring women's social and economic inequality. The solution proposed is the replacement of capitalism with a socialist system with the effect that women would achieve an economically equal status with men. Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (1970), in which she identified "sex class"—the condition of women as an oppressed class—is an early classic of Marxist feminism. Other well-known Marxist feminists include Michèle Barrett and Christine Delphy.

Radical feminists are critical of both liberal and Marxist perspectives, arguing that the analysis of and solution to women's disempowerment must be more far-reaching than either the liberals or Marxists suggest. Rather than capitalism or institutional sexism, it is patriarchy—understood as a complete and universal social system that places men as hierarchically dominant—that lies at the root of women's oppression, and it must therefore be completely dismantled. For many radical feminists, liberalism and socialism are simply different expressions of patriarchy, and thus to adopt any one of these perspectives is to fail to address the fundamental cause of women's oppression. Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1970) is an exemplar of radical feminist analysis in which she examines patriarchy as a socially conditioned belief system that masquerades as the natural order, showing how patriarchal attitudes and systems have penetrated such areas as literature, philosophy, and psychology. Andrea Dworkin, Mary Daly, and Catharine A. MacKinnon are also considered to be influential proponents of radical feminism.

Socialist feminism emerged in response to the Marxist prioritization of the proletariat struggle over that of women. It offers a synthetic analysis of the causes of women's oppression combining elements of the Marxist perspective with the radical feminist view that sexist oppression is endemic in society. Alison M. Jaggar (1983), for example, argues that it is necessary to interrelate the complex forms of women's oppression rather than focusing on a single cause, and she uses the Marxist concept of "alienation" in order to show that within capitalist systems the various roles demanded of women lead to their oppression rather than their full integration within society.

Psychoanalytic feminism attributes the root of women's oppression to the Oedipal crisis suggested by Sigmund Freud, whereby individuals are created as gendered selves as a result of their induction into the world of regulated cultural discourses through the intervening force of their fathers, a movement requiring the negation of the mother. From a feminist perspective psychoanalysis offers a compelling explanation for women's secondary social position within patriarchal societies and indeed for the existence of patriarchy (see Mitchell 1974). Some feminists argue that patriarchy is shown by psychoanalysis to be a product of the male imagination and is therefore open to challenge and transformation (see Mitchell 1974). Others, such as Sherry B. Ortner (1975), Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976), and Nancy Chodorow (1974), argue that if some form of Oedipal crisis is inescapable then its values and meanings can be realigned more positively toward women through dual parenting and women's greater participation in the workforce, leading to those characteristics traditionally associated with weak and dangerous femininity becoming meaningless. Nonetheless, psychoanalysis has tended to validate essentialist and universal gender idealizations, aligning femininity with passivity and negativity and masculinity with agency and normativity. It is thus a dangerous tool for feminists to wield without undertaking critical adjustments to its core propositions, a task that has been undertaken by Juliet Mitchell, Jacqueline Rose, and Elizabeth Grosz.

Each of the feminist approaches discussed above shares a liberal provenance in common. In particular, each provides a unified account of women's oppression and suggests total solutions that mark them out as modernist in orientation. The final school of feminist thought—poststructural feminism—is distinctly at odds with modernist approaches insofar as it refuses to offer a metanarrative of women's oppression but rather suggests that there is no single cause for women's subordination, and that, therefore, there can be no unified approach toward overcoming it. Poststructural feminists are expressly critical of liberalist feminism, suggesting that its efforts to provide unified accounts of women's oppression instantiate phallocentric modes of thought. They also claim that sexual and gender identities are not inherent properties of individuals but are rather constructed through (phallogocentric) language. As such, poststructural feminism derives much of its own account from the intellectual strategies of thinkers such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan, and to some extent, therefore, it too can be charged with taking up the discourse of the "fathers." By far the most influential proponent of feminism in this vein is Judith Butler (particularly in her 1990 book, *Gender Trouble* [2nd edition, 1999]).

Poststructural feminists also argue that the promotion of any feminist project on the basis of the assumed commonality of women's experiences is unfeasible because it ignores differences between women rooted in the intersections of race, class, and sexuality. Here they share much in common with those feminists who identify the ethnocentric bias within much Western feminism, where whiteness is figured as both normative and invisible. Hazel Carby (1982), for example, has argued that Western feminism has not included an awareness of the different nature of black women's experiences and that consequently many of the feminist insights regarding the sources of women's oppression are inadequate. She suggests, however, that a supplemental inclusion of nonwhite perspectives in feminist work would not solve the problem but rather that "the process of accounting for [black women's] historical and contemporary position does, in itself, challenge the use of some of the central categories and assumptions of recent mainstream feminist thought" (p. 213).

Poststructural feminism in turn has been strongly criticized for overemphasizing differences between women and suggesting that the category "woman" is merely a product of phallocentric discourse and thus an empty signifier. As Naomi Schor (1987) has argued, "Whether or not the 'feminine' is a male construct, a product of a phallocentric culture destined to disappear, in the present order of things we cannot afford not to press its claims even as we dismantle the conceptual systems which support it" (p. 97). Perhaps the defining feature of Western feminism, therefore, is likely to remain for the foreseeable future a productive struggle between the claim for the common identity of women and the respect of difference.

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Sîan Hawthorne

FEMME

Femme, sometimes spelled fem, is a queer gender that exaggerates the powerful, highly artificial elements of femininity. Femmes are usually women and sometimes men for whom femininity is experienced as both integral to their self-presentation and highly stylized. Usually, femmes are lesbian women who enjoy being girlish or womanly with other women. Some femmes prefer other femmes, but most femmes prefer somewhat masculine or butch women as their sexual partners, though the category of butch can itself range from soft butches, to athletic types, to very masculine women, to female-to-male transsexuals. Traditionally, however, femme women have been understood as the feminine element in a butch-femme couple, or as feminine women interested in exclusively butch lovers.

Many famous lesbian couples in the early part of the twentieth century were butch-femme in their gender styles: Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas are one famous American butch-femme lesbian example; Radclyffe Hall and Una Troubridge another example from Britain. There are few examples of famous femmes that were not part of a butch-femme couple, in large part because many famous women could not be out lesbians. Barbara Stanwyck is perhaps the best example of a lesbian woman whose femininity was powerful and strategic, and who brilliantly managed to convey this to audiences without having to actually come out and ruin her career. Among mid-century American lesbians, membership in a lesbian sexual subculture might have been signaled by becoming part of a butch-femme couple, where one woman dressed and comported herself as more masculine than did her stereotypically feminine partner. Butch-femme style was especially prevalent among working-class lesbians in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Joan Nestle, an outspoken femme who experienced lesbian life in the 1950s and 1960s, argues that butch-femme style helped make lesbians visible when there was no woman's movement or gay movement to protect them, and that their presence represented female erotic independence from men. As such they became frequent targets of violence. The homophile movement of the 1960s was ashamed of them, and discouraged such open visibility as being too antagonistic to mainstream culture.

Feminism steered many lesbians away from gender polarities of masculine and feminine in the 1970s, and an androgynous style of flannel shirts and Birkenstock sandals became the lesbian uniform for a good part of the decade. The retro revival of the 1980s and 1990s, however, helped bring back butch-femme style, especially femininity in the form of the hyper-girlish lipstick lesbian. Lesbian cultural critics have argued that butch-femme lesbian style offers a challenge to heterosexual gender styles by showing that they can be appropriated and subverted. Such appropriation, these critics argue, reveals heterosexual style *as* style, as artificial and socially constructed behaviors rather than natural ones. Femme style distances itself from heterosexual femininity by embracing the dramatic, campy, subcultural feminine styles found in bondage cultures, Goth and biker cultures, rock-and-roll culture, and sex work culture. The recent revival of burlesque, which emphasizes the dignity and expertise of performers and their routines, is all about femme power, and celebrates female strength and female embodiment in its variety and splendor. The new burlesque confronts audiences, taking the traditional appropriative voyeuristic look that seeks to commodify and consume naked women's bodies and sexualities, and turning that look around, so the dancer looks back at the theater, defiantly owning her own person and offering up instead an appreciation for women and their bodies that is shared by audiences and performers alike. Community burlesque events encourage audiences to celebrate women with big breasts, hips, thighs, buttocks, and stomachs who display their bodies joyously, as a challenge to conventional and narrow childlike, emaciated and passive styles of feminine beauty and comportment.

Many people confuse butch and femme with male and female, and assume that butch-femme couples are imitating heterosexual gender styles. This assumption usually involves misrecognizing femmes as subservient and butches as dominant and aggressive. In fact, femme women are understood in lesbian communities as very powerful—usually as powerful or more powerful than their butch partners, who may be shy, oppressed, and unsuccessful in the larger world. While stereotypical masculinity and femininity rely on the notion that men are powerful and dominant and women are passive and subservient, lesbian butch-femme couples turn that upside down. Butches are there to please and satisfy their femmes, and to demonstrate great devotion, chivalry, and fighting prowess if necessary. Femmes, on the other hand, are sexually powerful divas and mother figures who demand attention, sexual satisfaction, and love, but who may also offer fierce protection and devotion in turn.

Because femmes can pass as straight women, or at least present a certain level of gender normativity, they can hold jobs that butch women are unlikely to get, and thus may have significantly more economic power than their butch partners. Femme women can occupy any position in office culture, schools, restaurants, theater, or the movie industry, whereas butch women are still stigmatized in almost every area of employment. Moreover, femininity, because it is more socially acceptable for women, offers more mobility in terms of class. While there are classed feminine styles, butch gender is almost universally regarded as lower class. An unfeminine or butch woman is often read as uncultured, uneducated, uncouth, blue collar, and freakish, and her masculine style never fits in with the accessorized, more glamorous feminine gender norms of offices, corporations, or even universities. Femme women can move across and through these worlds, taking what they need and bringing it back to their communities. While many can pass as straight, most choose not to whenever possible, challenging gender norms when they can by doing gender with a difference.

This is to say that femme and feminine are not the same thing. Most femmes adopt femininity as a lesbian style that makes them attractive to other women, not to men. Femme women emphasize the power that can be achieved by feminine wiles. They flirt, use dramatic makeup, act bitchy, and enjoy being bossy and dominating. They may employ highly theatrical gestures, wear tight and dramatic dresses that emphasize their cleavage and legs, use bold lipsticks and mascaras, wear flamboyant jewelry, and totter about on the highest, spikiest heels they can find. At the same time, they present themselves as sexually autonomous out lesbians. For these women, femme is about sexual power, and the drama of their gender is about emphasizing agency, desire, attractiveness, and narcissistic pleasure. They are anything but passive. Indeed, most femmes demand sexual gratification, and their gender style is meant to issue a challenge to the people they desire: "Are you brave enough to take me on? Are you strong enough to please me?"

Men can be femmes too. Usually femme describes a highly effeminate man who identifies less as a gay man than he does as a feminine person. This can mean he identifies as a woman or a transsexual, but not necessarily so. He may be a drag queen, or a radical fairy, or an ultra-feminine boy. Male femmes share with female femmes the adoption of femininity as a powerful and theatrical style of gender that emphasizes agency, independence, costume, comportment, flair, flirtation, narcissism, and feminine strength. There are femme categories in most voguing competitions, and these reward the contestant for displaying a feminine style that is clearly constructed yet richly felt and inhabited, reflecting a deep understanding of the strategic way gender operates in the world around all of us, regardless of our gender and sexual identities and identifications.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme.*

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FERTILITY

Fertility is defined as the quality of being fruitful and productive. Physiologically, it refers to the ability to conceive a child. A closely related term, fecundity, refers to the capability of conceiving and bearing live offspring, though in everyday language the two terms are often used synonymously. Before people had a better understanding of human reproduction, the term fertility was applied exclusively to women, but today the term may apply to either sex. Virility is a masculinized version of fertility and suggests robust sexual activity and the ability to impregnate women. Virility is also associated with culturally determined images of masculine appearance and behavior. In certain cultures (especially Latino), machismo, or an exaggerated sense of masculinity, is not only acceptable but often expected in virile men.

Biologically, women become fertile at puberty (usually between ages ten and thirteen) when the ovaries begin functioning. Each month, roughly corresponding to day fourteen of her menstrual cycle, the woman ovulates (releases an egg). It is during this time that she is most fertile. If sperm is present fertilization may occur in the fallopian tubes with the resulting embryo implanting in the uterus. Females continue to release one egg each month throughout their reproductive years, though after the age of thirty a woman's fertility begins to diminish. Infertility affects only 5 percent of women in their thirties; however, by the time they reach their thirties, they can expect a 25 percent chance of infertility, which is defined by the inability to conceive a pregnancy after one year of unprotected sex (six months if she is thirty or older). The chances of delivering a healthy baby (because of miscarriage or other medical conditions) are even less. The onset of menopause near the age of fifty marks the cessation of the woman's menstrual cycles and her ability to conceive a child. Men, however, remain sexually fertile throughout most of their adult life. After the onset of puberty, when the testicles begin functioning, males are able to produce a continual supply of sperm capable of impregnating a woman (though male fertility does diminish as men approach advanced years).

Most couples have no trouble conceiving. In the United States 85 percent of women will get pregnant within one year of unprotected sexual intercourse. Of the remaining 15 percent, most are not entirely infertile (very uncommon) but, rather, subfertile, meaning they may need medical or technological assistance to conceive a child. It is estimated that at the start of the twenty-first century 2.4 million couples worldwide experience infertility, and the number appears to be growing. Essentially, each step in the reproductive process contributes to fertility, and anything that interrupts or interferes with those processes may cause difficulty for couples trying to conceive a child. The two most common reasons for infertility are hormonal conditions (in either sex) or anatomical abnormalities (including blockages in the reproductive organs caused by disease).

Cultural influences, as well, including nutrition, sexual behavior, timing, economics, lifestyle, and emotions, may also influence fertility. In addition, the deferment of childbearing due to later age of marriage, the availability of reliable birth control and abortion, the changing roles of women in the workplace, and the tendency to delay childbearing until later in the marriage account for the increase in infertile couples.

FOLK REMEDIES FOR INFERTILITY

Primitive cultures, which lacked a full understanding of reproduction, often developed rituals and ceremonies to ensure that both the land and the people would be fruitful. Dances, prayers, sacrifices, and sacred rites were performed to try to influence those aspects of nature that could not be otherwise explained or controlled. Ancient people often personified the concept of fertility in the form of female deities such as the Greek's Aphrodite, the Roman's Venus, the Teutonic Freyja, the Irish's Brigit, and the pagan's Mother Nature. Societies as diverse as Incan, Babylonian, Slavonic, and Iroquoian believed that fertility of people and land were controlled by female deities and priestesses.

Though feminized versions of fertility were common, male images were also involved in fertility rituals. Some ancient cultures scattered the testicles and penises of animals on the fields to encourage crop fertility in a conflation of human and agricultural regeneration. Phallic symbols were thought to promote fertility, and many early Romans carried amulets that depicted phalluses of priapic proportions. In India early cultures believed that a female virgin would be fruitful if she were deflowered with a lingam, a stone in the shape of a phallus that symbolizes Shiva, the god responsible (among other things) for creation. Human and animal sacrifices and ritual prostitution were all performed in an attempt to bring fertility to the community. Many modern European and North American rituals and celebrations were born from early pagan fertility rites. The tradition of Easter eggs arises from two pagan symbols of fertility: the egg, and rabbits (which procreate efficiently and prodigiously). Phallic maypoles (some even included two rings representing the testicles) were erected for young couples to dance around in traditional spring rituals meant to assure a bountiful harvest.

Early people also sought herbal remedies to assure fertility. Pagans believed that mistletoe, because the parasitic plant grew halfway between Earth and the heavens, never touching the ground, contained mystical powers, which, among other things, could promote fertility. To maintain its potency the druids cut mistletoe with a gold sickle, being careful to keep it from touching the ground where it would lose its power. Because the plant was green year round, druids thought it contained the spirit of Mother Nature. Couples hoping to conceive kissed under its bough and took away a berry (which contained juices very similar to semen) each time until all the berries were gone and the mistletoe lost its potency.

Other folk beliefs held that mandrake root could cure sterility and act as an aphrodisiac to promote sexual vigor. In the Bible the long-barren Rachel eats mandrakes in order to conceive a child (Genesis 30). Jewish people called the fruit of the mandrake *dudaim* (or love apple) because of its purported ability to cure infertility. Ancient Greeks steeped it in vinegar or wine to make an infusion, which they drank. Even in the early twenty-first century in many Middle Eastern cultures, dried mandrake roots are carried as a charm to promote fertility. Yams have been long thought to promote both fertility and the incidence of twins in humans because they contain chemical compounds that are similar to female sex hormones. Ginseng, another home remedy for infertility and sexual dysfunction, is used by many couples to improve male sexual function (leading it to be called the *herbal Viagra*) and female fertility.

EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN MEDICINE AND TREATMENT OF INFERTILITY

Modern treatment for infertility consists of hormonal and reproductive technologies. Fertility drugs such as Clomid and Pergonal stimulate the follicles (the site of the egg in the ovaries) to mature and release one or more eggs. Artificial insemination, a practice dating back to the eighteenth century, has improved to allow for the concentration of sperm in men with low sperm counts (and in cases where there is an incompatibility between the man's sperm and the woman's cervical mucous). Artificial reproductive technologies (ART) have been developed that involve the surgical removal of the egg from the woman's ovaries. The most commonly known of these techniques is in vitro fertilization (IVF), in which the woman's egg is isolated in a laboratory Petri dish, mixed with sperm, and, if fertilization occurs, the resulting zygote (or very early stage of an embryo) is injected into the woman's uterus (which has been hormonally primed to accept a pregnancy) where it will implant. The procedure is expensive and time-consuming, but it offers the chance for many infertile couples to conceive.

There are numerous variations of the in vitro technique, such as gamete intrafallopian transfer (GIFT) where the embryo is returned to the fallopian tubes instead of the uterus in an attempt to let the process proceed as naturally as possible after fertilization. In cases where a woman's ovaries remain able to produce eggs but the egg is unable to travel to the uterus (because of disease or prior surgery), a surrogate woman may be contracted to carry the pregnancy to term for the infertile couple. The surrogate then legally relinquishes parental rights to the child after birth. In addition, a donor embryo may be implanted into an infertile woman. Technology offers many alternatives to natural conception, with resulting pregnancy rates equalling (if not better than) that of fertile couples. Pregnancies conceived by artificial reproduction technologies have a high risk (up to 35% of the time) of multiple births. It is estimated that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, about 1 percent of all births in the United States are the result of ART technology, and in other countries, such as Denmark, the rate is as high as 4 percent.

EFFECTS OF ATTITUDES ABOUT FERTILITY ON POPULATIONS

Though the fertility rate (a measure of the number of children born per woman) has generally been used as an indicator of population growth, it is becoming less reliable in many Asian countries such as China and India, which have very strong population control laws and offer incentives to control their exploding population growth. China's one-child policy limits each family to one offspring. Because of a cultural preference for boy children, there is a significant decrease in the number of girls born (because of selective abortion or infanticide). The practice of eliminating girl fetuses and babies is so widespread that it has created a lopsided gender ratio that threatens the social balance of Chinese society. The Chinese government is now trying to address the situation by proposing financial incentives to encourage couples to keep female children.

SEE ALSO *Contraception: I. Overview; Infertility; Reproduction (Procreation).*

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Diane Sue Saylor

FETUS CULT

SEE *Infanticide.*

FILM, GENDER AND EROTICISM

This entry contains the following:

I. HISTORY OF

A history of the representation of eroticism in cinema dates back to some of the earliest images in moving pictures and other popular culture genres. The first public screening of projected images, organized by the Lumière brothers, took place in France on December 28, 1895, and consisted of predominantly images from everyday life such as work, family, and games. Other moving image technologies, such as hand-cranked kinetoscopes (mid-1890s) and nickelodeons (early 1900s), although middle-brow entertainments in their heyday, were precursors to the "peep show."

EARLY CRITICAL WORKS

The first critical works that attempted to catalog eroticism in film were written by Ado Kyrou (1967) and Raymond Durgnat (1966). Durgnat defined eroticism as "often pornographic, and almost always aphrodisiac . . . rarely engage[s] the personality exclusively at the point of sexual excitement. . . . But nonetheless . . . has a potent effect in attracting and pleasing audience" (Durgnat 1966, pp. 11, 16). Those two writers did not deal specifically with theoretical questions of gender or sexuality in erotic arts;

instead, they were concerned with classifying the nature of images that are considered erotic.

Durgnat's *Eros in the Cinema* (1966) identified visual pleasure by using wardrobe eroticism, music and dance numbers, and bodily expression as defining categories. Kyrou's *Amour-Érotisme au Cinéma* [Love and eroticism in the cinema] (1967) stressed orientalism and erotic horror fantasies. Both linked their scholarly pursuit to surrealism, an early twentieth-century European art movement that was known to champion popular culture. Both writers referred to erotic entertainment in international mainstream films, but Durgnat reserved a lengthy discussion for the visual pleasure elicited by stars' bodies and fashions, transvestism, homosexuality, and verbal double entendres in the pre-Code Hollywood film industry, stating that "the most lavish and exotic era of screen romance was the late 1920s" (Durgnat 1966, p. 77).

PRE-CODE CINEMA

Early filmmakers, relying on a preexisting popular repertory, put vaudeville skits, music hall and dance hall numbers, and melodramatic stories into the service of erotic entertainment. *The Moving Picture World*, an American magazine for cinema professionals, ran cryptic advertisements for the rental and purchase of erotic short film loops as early as 1907. The ads presented not explicitly heterosexual erotica but what the film historian David Robinson called "visual novelties" (Robinson 1996, p. 124).

Through the Keyhole (1901) by the French company Pathé and D. W. Griffith's *A Search for Evidence* (1903) offered spectators the voyeuristic pleasure of peering through a hole (created by a camera mask) to spy on goings-on in hotel rooms, often of an errant husband. The film scholar Sabine Hake argues that "the keyhole shot seems to lay down forever the sexual order in and of the cinema" (1992, p. 41) and that in early cinema the keyhole shot, complicating ideas of gender and spectatorship, suggests narrative control, even if the look may seem insignificant in comparison to the erotic display on the screen. Other films, advertised with the original German title as *Pikanter Herrenabend* (literally hot or spicy gentlemen's night or stag film), were produced by the Austrian Saturn production company between 1906 and 1910. Short films of dance hall numbers by the French magician and filmmaker Georges Méliès (1861–1938) often showed scantily clad high-kicking women and earned early French films a reputation for being erotically charged.

By the 1910s flesh barely hidden beneath a fine film of clothing was the signature costume of many popular female stars worldwide, including the two most famous "vamps": the French Musidora (Jeanne Roques) and the American Theda Bara. Musidora, best known in the role of "Irma Vep" (an anagram for *vampire*) in a skintight black hooded leotard in Louis Feuillade's *Les Vampires* films (1915–1916). Bara starred as the Vampire in the director Frank Powell's *A Fool There Was* (1915). Those films are considered the precursors to pre-Code 1930s erotic horror films that featured the male stars Bela Lugosi and Boris Karloff and the 1970s erotic horror fantasies of the French director Jean Rollin.

The suggestiveness and fetishistic qualities of the costumes and the ways in which actresses were lit, staged, and filmed became as important as the stars in defining erotic pleasure for men and women viewers. Two great screen stars who bridged the silent to talking film eras—Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo—epitomize the erotic body and its relationship to costume. The historian Gaylyn Studlar (1988) makes this case for many films starring Dietrich that were directed by Joseph Von Sternberg, such as *The Blue Angel* (1930), *Morocco* (1930), *Dishonored* (1931), *Shanghai Express* (1932), *Blonde Venus* (1932), and *The Scarlet Empress* (1934). Greta Garbo's on-screen persona and visual presentation as sculptural form, the film critic Lucy Fischer (2001) has suggested, are equated with the "erotic" category of Art Deco—"kinky, highly sophisticated women dressed in leather trouser suits, insolently smoking cigarettes" as defined by Victor Arwas (quoted. in Fischer 2001, p. 90)—in films such as *Flesh and the Devil* (directed by Clarence Brown, 1926), *Love* (directed by Edmund Goulding, 1927), *The Mysterious Lady* (directed by Fred Niblo, 1928), *A Woman of Affairs* (directed by Clarence Brown, 1928), *Wild Orchids* (directed by Sidney Franklin, 1928), *The Kiss* (directed by Jacques Feyder, 1929), *The Single Standard* (directed by John S. Robertson, 1929), and *Mata Hari* (directed by George Fitzmaurice, 1931). The theme of orientalism is especially evident in the erotic representation of Garbo in *Mata Hari*.

HAYS CODE

Will H. Hays, a former postmaster general, was hired by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) to draft a self-regulatory code of ethics to standardize images of sex and sexuality, costumes and dance, violence and criminality, and obscenity and profanity because Hollywood wanted to show that American films could be "responsible for spiritual or moral progress, for higher types of social life, and for much correct thinking" (Hays Code 1934). Although some self-censorship of the industry had begun in 1922, the Hays Code regulated explicitly erotic imagery such as "scenes of passion," "excessive and lustful kissing," and "seduction" and banned any explicit representation of homosexuality or bisexuality, including the words *gay*, *homosexual*, and *bisexual*.

Theda Bara. *Actress Theda Bara in* A Fool There Was. **FOX FILMS/THE KOBAL COLLECTION.**

Formally introduced in March 1930, the Hays Code went into effect on July 1, 1934. Some explicitly erotic images and content still appeared in films in the 1930s through the 1950s, although they often were billed as morality films that were intended to educate the public about vices and showed nudist beaches, striptease dances, and even childbirth, among other "immoral" activities.

By the 1960s, filmmakers were pushing the limits of the Hays Code and pressure from civil liberties groups forced the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) to revise its codes. The sexual revolution of the 1960s in the United States, the advent of underground cinema by artists such as Andy Warhol, the ease of production with 16-millimeter cameras, and the availability of European "art house" cinema changed not only the erotic content of films being made in the United States but also the viewing habits of mainstream American audiences. Most important in the code changes was the lessening of restrictions on films' sexual themes and content. The Hays Code was abandoned in November 1968 for new MPAA categories that rated films in accordance with the suitability of a film for a viewer's age. Further changes were made in September 1990 to eliminate the X rating in favor of NC-17 (No Children under 17 Admitted).

SCHOLARLY WORK ON EROTICISM

The film scholar Eric Schaefer (2002) noted that sexploitation films and pornography influenced the mainstream industry and redefined erotic cinema in the 1960s and 1970s. The year 1972, the feminist film critic Linda Williams has argued, signals the "transition from illicit stag films to the legal, fictional narratives" with *Deep Throat* (1989, p. 98). In the same year Bernardo Bertolucci's *Last Tango in Paris* (1972) received an X rating for its erotic realist content even though it featured the commercial star Marlon Brando. In February 1973 the American journal *Film Comment* published a special issue titled "Cinema Sex" that focused on representations of sexuality and censorship in both commercial and soft-core pornography film industries.

With the elimination of government censorship in much of Europe by the mid-1970s, the erotic film industry grew, with the French erotic narrative *Emmanuelle* (1974) heading the list with $600 million in profits worldwide. The year 1976 marked the beginning of the San Francisco Gay and Lesbian Film Festival. In addition, academic debates about the merits of high and low culture and a reassessment of aesthetics by art historians and film critics (Richard Dyer, Stefan Morawski) and particularly feminists in the 1970s and 1980s (Laura Mulvey, Linda Williams) made the study of erotic art and eroticism in film legitimate forms of academic pursuit.

Gina Marchetti's annotated bibliography on women and pornography published in *Jump Cut* in 1981 argued that by defining erotic expression, "Morawski sees erotic art as a cathartic, liberating aesthetic experience" (Marchetti 1981, p. 57). Laura Mulvey, influenced by both Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis and writing specifically about scopophilic pleasure (the love of looking), first defined a kind of male gaze of Hollywood cinema, which, she argued, objectified women by denying them subjectivity. She later revised her argument to reconsider the power dynamic of the look and addressed women's pleasure of looking in film. Linda Williams's 1989 work on the relationship between surrealism, popular culture, and commercial horror films and more recently on the dynamics of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and straight pornography in *Porn Studies* (2004) reopened the debate on erotic pleasure in watching commercial mainstream films.

SEE ALSO *Baker, Joséphine; Blaxploitation Films; Body, Depictions and Metaphors; Censorship; Dance; Dietrich, Marlene; Gaze; Gender Studies; Gender, Theories of; Monroe, Marilyn; West, Mae.*

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Carina Yervasi

II. ART AND AUTEUR CINEMA

Art films emphasize the artistry, innovations, edginess, and vision of cinema. Cinema began as a novelty, presenting lowbrow entertainment aimed at mass audiences although, even in its early years, filmmakers had aspirations towards the kinds of high art legitimacy that characterized cultural forms that were more traditional. As studio production developed in the United States and Europe in the early twentieth century, avant-garde experimentalists began working independently with film as a way to express different, less realist practices such as cubism, dada, and expressionism. Because of film's ability to combine image, abstraction, and perspective, it became the perfect medium through which independent artists could present alternative and experimental work. These films appealed to the more sophisticated audience who would understand and appreciate what the filmmaker was attempting, who appreciated a film's allusions to other films, and who could engage with the film's complex and often iconoclastic take on controversial material. Finally art films often, though not always, take more chances exploring sexual relations. This last attribute means that the term *art film* is sometimes a euphemism for the kinds of sexually explicit films shown at burlesque houses.

AN ALTERNATIVE TO HOLLYWOOD AND THE POWER OF THE STUDIOS

The art film is most often associated with independent filmmakers. This connection relates to the structure and workings of studio systems of filmmaking in Hollywood and in Europe. Filmmakers working within the Hollywood system, no matter what the quality of their films, had to comply with the self-censoring rules that Hollywood had set for itself. Dealing mostly with issues of sexual explicitness and suggestion, these rules, called the Hayes Code, limited the kinds of images that a Hollywood film could present. Sexuality was represented more by innuendo than by depiction. Even the suggestion that married couples slept in the same bed was curtailed by requiring twin beds in their bedrooms. Because independent films did not usually cost as much as studio films to make and because they did not represent a venture focused primarily on turning a profit, such films did not need to appeal to mass audiences. The filmmakers could therefore take the kinds of chances in style and content necessary to their artistic expression.

Given the ascendancy of the Hollywood studio system in the United States, most art film made between the world wars came from Europe. Many art filmmakers worked in relation to avant-garde movements. Surrealists Salvador Dali and Luis Bunuel made *An Andalusian Dog* (1929); Jean Epstein made the expressionist *Fall of the House of Usher* (1928); painter Ferdinand Leger fashioned *Ballet mécanique* (1924); Carl Theodor Dreyer directed *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (1928); F.W. Murnau contrived the expressionist vampire film, *Nosferatu* (1922); and Fritz Lang made several expressionist films about Dr. Mabuse (*Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler* [1922]). Even films considered a part of mainstream cinema in Europe, such as films by Jean Renoir and Erich von Stroheim, became art film in America because their European provenance and languages rendered them less accessible to a U.S. audience.

GROWTH AND ACCEPTANCE

After World War II, with the exportation of Hollywood films to Europe and vice versa, increasing numbers of filmmakers saw film as art. Younger artists gained access to filmmaking equipment and began making short films with a more personal vision, which often included frank presentations of sexuality. Maya Deren and Kenneth Anger were art filmmakers of the 1940s and 1950s. Deren made *Meshes of the Afternoon* (1943), a short film strongly influenced by surrealism. Anger made impressionistic short films, including *Fireworks* (1947) and *Scorpio Rising* (1964), that explored issues of gay sexuality. Film pioneers such as Stan Brakhage and Frederick Wiseman worked in the 1960s and 1970s. Brakhage's films are often abstract and lyrical, and include explicit material about birth, sex, and death. In films such as *High School* (1968), Wiseman perfected the cinéma vérité style of documentary filmmaking in which the handheld camera captured real, unstaged events.

American art filmmakers were less adventurous, and although their films often addressed issues of sexuality and death, the more ambitious scope of European art films defined the category. In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, art film houses imported avant-garde films from French filmmakers such as Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut, and Alain Resnais, as well as a series of life/death explorations by Swedish director Ingmar Bergman and art films from Italy made by directors Federico Fellini, Pier Paolo Pasolini, and others. Often working with controversial subjects such as adultery, crime, the holocaust, war, homosexuality, and sexual passion, Godard's *Breathless* (1960), Truffaut's *Jules et Jim* (1962), Resnais' *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (1959), Bergman's *Cries and Whispers* (1972), Fellini's *Juliet of the Spirits* (1965) and *Satyricon* (1969), Michelangelo Antonioni's *Blow-Up* (1968), Pasolini's *Salò, or The 120 Days of Sodom* (1975), Peter Brooks' *Marat Sade* (1975), and Japanese director Hiroshi Teshigahara's *Woman in the Dunes* (1964) presented an alternative, often graphic, sometimes shocking, cinema that pushed U.S. directors to be more unique and explicit. As a result Robert Altman, for example, made political satires with mature themes such as *M*A*S*H* (1970), whereas Martin Scorsese directed *Taxi Driver* (1976).

These art films from the 1960s and 1970s were joined by films that were less artistic and more explicit, such as *Emmanuelle* (1974), which used the techniques of the art film to present soft-core pornography. Borrowing some tropes of art cinema, including long contemplative shots without conversation, an emphasis on atmosphere, and creative camera work, these soft-core art films substituted sexually explicit content for the art films' painful explorations of difficult topics.

Since the late 1980s, art films have acquired a more mainstream audience. Directors David Lynch (*Blue Velvet* [1986]), Jim Jarmusch (*Stranger Than Paradise* [1982]), Spike Lee (*She's Gotta Have It* [1986]), and Paul Thomas Anderson (*Boogie Nights* [1997] and *Magnolia* [1999]) join European filmmakers Chantal Akerman (*A Couch in New York* [1996]), Pedro Almodovar (*Tie Me Up, Tie Me Down* [1990] and *High Heels* [1991]), and Neil Jordan (*The Crying Game* [1992]) in producing edgy, thoughtful films that locate issues of gender and sexuality as a part of the human experience.

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Judith Roof

III. CULT AND MARGINAL CINEMA

Cult and marginal films hold an ambiguous status among the public, the critics, and film historians. Subject to any combination of attack, censorship, contempt, criticism, ostracism, rejection, and ridicule, they can paradoxically become the object of attention from critics and academics and adoration from a part of the public. At times subversive, at times crudely normative, cult films are often shunned from the company of serious filmmaking art, and are situated between the abject and the celebrated. They can range from auteur or independent film, to provocation, rehash, formulaic recipe, genre clone, and outright trash. Few films have exemplified so many of these categories at once as much as John Waters's (b. 1946) *Female Trouble* (1974)—avowedly shocking, mercilessly lacerating motherhood, childhood, the judicial system, sex, and more, all the while being laced throughout with cruelty, violence, and scatology—a work that can only be deemed brilliant by some and repulsive by others.

Although they seldom succeed at the box office, some cult movies receive awards at film festivals, such as Asia Argento's (b. 1975) *Scarlet Diva* (2000), a film regarded by many as being poorly made and acted—in spite of the cult diva status of the star filmmaker—that exploits the theme of the sexually victimized woman in a post-Sadean universe of degenerate, corrupt, male film industry moguls. Some cult films are both adopted by a community and experiment with groundbreaking filmmaking, such as Melvin Van Peebles's (b. 1932) *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), which became emblematic of a certain form of resistant African-American cinema.

The term *cult* originated in the United States and is historically associated with Tod Browning's (1880–1962) *Freaks* (1932). It designated films deemed purposefully bizarre, shocking, or exaggerated, and then B and Z series, low-budget productions, mostly from the horror or science-fiction genres. It has become a broader but fairly recognizable category, including subgenres such as gladiator and prison films or road movies, and tapping into other forms such as animation and martial arts. In the early twenty-first century, the term has become abusively applied to any commercial film that risks a dubious success at the box office, as if the label *cult* could offset that result.

In the United States, Hollywood's domination of viewing practices often results in relegating films from other countries to a cult or marginal status that only sometimes becomes auteur. This is especially true of films that comment oppositionally on the sex and gender order. Cult films are frequently willing vehicles for explicit, even brazen, representation of sexual situations and unconventional gender behaviors. Although bold sexual content is often decisive in ascribing cult status (for instance, with the Japanese film *In the Realm of the Senses* [1976]), a sharp critique of the gender order can result in permanent marginalization. The fate of countless films with artistic ambitions and a social or political message can be directly related to contentious treatment of gender issues, sexual orientation, or exposés of the status of women. Such films often garner critical acclaim, but lag behind in box office receipts.

Even critical success, in the end, may not suffice to counter this kind of marginalization. Deepa Mehta's (b. 1950) *Fire* and *Water* are of high artistic value, but their sharp contestation of traditional sex and gender norms in India provoked fierce opposition and obstacles to filming; in India, Hindu nationalist militants staged riots and fire-bombings of theaters. Her films thus acquired a subversive counter-fame in India in spite of opposition, whereas in the West, they remained known only to a small fraction of the public. David Lynch's (b. 1946) films are both cult and auteur—his *Blue Velvet* (1986) routinely figures in cult film lists and in fact incorporated a cultlike underworld in the plot. Yet *Mulholland Drive* (2001), one of his most ambitious works, was only a relative success, in part because of his complex treatment of Freudian concepts such as latency, dream transference, and tensions between the ego and the id, but also because of his direct and matter-of-fact treatment of lesbian passion.

When transferred to VHS and DVD, marginal films may have a second life that is more successful. Unknown films can become cult, and cult and marginal films can accede to a higher status. However, taglines and jackets often distort their content, usually by selling sex even if it is absent. Films are thus labeled as cheap erotic exploitation regardless of their aims. A defining U.S. cult movie, Jonathan Demme's (b. 1944) *Caged Heat* (1974), has thus been misconstrued as a sex exploitation action film with lesbian undertones, although it is much more of a female-bonding escape movie. Now metonymic of the cult subgenre of the women's prison movie associated with exploitative sex scenes, sadomasochistic display, and sexually charged violence, *Caged Heat* assumed its ambiguous cult status, reinforced by Demme's rise from obscurity to fame, making his early work of interest to critics and film lovers.

An extreme case of marginalization is a low-budget French film made by two women, one of whom is a known porn star. *Baise-Moi* (2000) was intended to be provocative and shocking, with a nihilistic message about women as victims of violence turning into perpetrators of unbridled violence. But the filmmakers were outflanked by French regulators of the film industry and critics: in the midst of a heated controversy, the film was officially labeled pornography and forced out of mainstream venues into more disreputable movie theaters, all of which rapidly spelled its demise. The film never had a chance at even being cult, in contrast to Bertrand Blier's (b. 1939) *Les Valseuses* (Going Places) in 1974, which focused on two thugs who spend their time abusing and sexually assaulting women while committing murder and other crimes; yet despite the violent subject matter, the film is considered both auteur and mainstream. The message could not be clearer: committed and represented by men, violent crime is art, but women, especially those associated with the sex trade, cannot step behind the camera to show it without being condemned as deviant. As feminist film critics have pointed out, their role is to figure monstrosity itself, and their mutilated bodies to remain objects of scopic fantasy.

Because of its freedom with utter fantasy, unrealistic social situations, and outrageous narrative components and visual effects, cult cinema has the option to be in open rebellion against the sex and gender order. However, this potential seems overwhelmingly channeled in one direction, showing violence exercised by and against women, in a variety of subgenres. In contrast to women as victims, these films represent them as prone to violent excess. They frequently reaffirm the power of men as the unavoidable focus of desire, with women who are ready to kill for their man (such as in *Switchblade Sisters* [1975]). Animation, with its connection to childhood as well as the graphic license offered by the distancing of drawing two-dimensional figures, can go very far in juggling gender-transgressive images with very patriarchal codes. For instance, in an animated television series (*Gunslinger Girl*) from Japan, little girls with skirts, teddy bears, and patent leather shoes become gun-wielding trained assassins. Perhaps grim humor is intended, but the gender message that the girls are both ruthless and dependent is violent and conventional, and the display of children as wounded combatants is deeply disturbing.

Cult films regularly exploit the gender-bending and action potential of women exercising violence but often as an exotic, curious twist to normative plots. Such films on the one hand confront conservative representations of passive women by showing them as strong, brave, and lethally effective; on another level, they may normalize the visual impact of extreme violence directed at and weathered by women. In the best scenario, they expose the complex relationship of women to violence, as both resistant and embracing. In the worst cases, they nurture the cliché that women are unruly, disruptive social forces, eager to commit mayhem, and must thus be controlled or killed. They may also carry powerful psychoanalytical messages that reveal fluctuating identifications with sadism and masochism and their agonistic enactment. Thus *Heavy Metal* (1981), an overtly sexual animated film with strongly identified heterosexual norms, bills the destroyer of evil as the woman warrior—tough and effective yet dressed in a dominatrix outfit; but before she can show her warrior mettle her naked body has to endure torture and whipping.

Surveying the punishment horror movies mete out to female victims, especially in films of the "woman in danger" type, Linda Williams has argued that films of the 1980s increasingly "[escalated] the doses of violence and sex," showing titillating scenes of purported female desire, to punish the woman even more gruesomely for the expression of such desires (1984, p. 577). Other genres of cult cinema may attract viewers precisely by reversing this process. It may be assumed that the spectacle of female nudity and violence appeals first to male viewers, and primarily heterosexual ones. Yet such scenes and visual formulae need not be merely commanded by the dominance of that male gaze, which Laura Mulvey (1975) famously defined as hegemonic in cinema.

Other types of publics may find viewing pleasure in cult films: the homosocial bonding of women, in the quasi-complete absence of men except as villains or chumps, may appeal to a wide swath of the female public; the representation of strong female characters at once attracted to men and independent from them, might well enthrall heterosexual women; and the eroticism and gender-transgressive strength of female characters would not be lost on lesbian viewers. If, in the horror genre, the woman can be said to be looked at and "fail to look back, to return the gaze of the male who desires her," this is not necessarily the case in other types of cult movies (Williams 1984, p. 561). In strictly female environments (even when blown apart by full conflict, as in prison movies, where it is the independent sadism of the female warden that causes the crisis) male desire and the male gaze can be displaced or even vacated—by a violent act directed at males that silences them. Thus the vexed question of the existence of an autonomous female gaze remains at the center of competing readings of cult cinema and its meanings. Gaylyn Studlar, for instance, has argued for a counter-analysis, examining the "relationship of cinematic pleasure to masochism, sexual differentiation, processes of identification, the representation of the female in film, and other issues" that might be an alternative to the ubiquitous Freudian model (1985, p. 775). Whatever model is proposed, cult cinema continues to provoke viewers and critics to probe the guilty pleasures they derive from it.

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

IV. LESBIAN, GAY, AND QUEER FILM

It is worth pointing out that eroticism is in the eye of the beholder. For the purposes of this entry, *eroticism* will primarily be found in representations that might elicit an erotic response in a substantial number of lesbian, gay, queer (henceforth lgq) viewers, mostly—but not exclusively—through images of lgq characters in erotic situations on screen. Although the term *lgq film* is profoundly unstable, the article will follow the leads of Vito Russo (1987) and more recent queer film scholars to consider onscreen moments through all of cinematic history that might be read as queer—or in this case, queerly erotic—by lgq spectators. In mainstream cinema the history of lgq eroticism in many ways parallels the history of lgq identity—cast in deep shadows; villainized; manipulated to affirm the values of viewers presumed straight. But whereas mainstream audiences have become increasingly accustomed to images of lgq identities onscreen since the 1980s, these same audiences continue to balk at open representations of lgq eroticism.

Hollywood cinema in the days before the now-infamous Motion Picture Production Code (in effect to varying degrees from 1930 to 1968) allowed the creative cinematic imagination some limited space for representations of the erotic and homoerotic, as in films such as Cecil B. DeMille's *Manslaughter* (1922) and *The Sign of the Cross* (1932) or lesbian director Alla Nazimova's *Salomé* (1922). At the same time, some early stag films, such as *Cast Ashore* (1924) or the animated *Everready Harton in Buried Treasure* (1925), anticipated the pornography of later decades. But by far the most prevalent queer representation in Hollywood through the 1940s was the stock comic effeminate man—the pansy or sissy whose gender-inverted persona was allowed precisely because of his apparent distance from anything seriously erotic.

Some lesbian spectators in the 1930s and 1940s might indeed have sensed something erotic in the powerful, gender-flaunting women played by Greta Garbo (1905–1990) and Marlene Dietrich (1902–1992). At the same time, lesbian eroticism was regularly employed to suggest sickness in human nature or human society. Mrs. Danver's creepy fetishism in Alfred Hitchcock's *Rebecca* (1940) thwarts *normal* heterosexual desire in marriage and thus—as with sodomites in the Middle Ages—must be destroyed by fire. The lesbian S/M Nazi Ingrid becomes the very emblem of fascist tyranny in

My Own Private Idaho. *Keanu Reeves (left) and River Phoenix in* My Own Private Idaho. NEW LINE/THE KOBAL COLLECTION.

Italian director Roberto Rossellini's neorealist classic *Rome: Open City* (1945). But the 1940s, in experimental films such as Kenneth Anger's *Fireworks* (1947) and Jean Genet's *Un chant d'amour* (1950), saw some attempt at a more honest approach to the homoerotic.

Despite the generally reactionary political climate of the decade, the 1950s witnessed a weakening of the Production Code, with female nudity in period burlesque films and nearly naked male bodies as objects of the erotic gaze in physique films, especially those by queer director Bob Mizer. Popular screwball comedies, apparently based on erotic tension between the sexes and featuring iconic sex symbols such as Marilyn Monroe (see *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, 1953, directed by Howard Hawks) and closeted heartthrob Rock Hudson (see *Pillow Talk*, 1959, directed by Michael Gordon), teased gay spectators in the know with sly homoerotic suggestion. Male beefcake homoeroticism was flaunted in Biblical and period epics such as *The Ten Commandments* (1956, Cecil B. DeMille), *Ben Hur* (1959, William Wyler), and particularly *Spartacus* (1960, Stanley Kubrick).

The sexual revolution of the 1960s and the symbolic beginning of the lesbian and gay civil rights movement with the Stonewall Riots of June 1969 occasioned more explicit depictions of the erotic generally, including the homoerotic, through the 1970s and beyond. This was particularly evident in experimental and art film of the 1970s. Andy Warhol's reels featured explicit male nudes: his *Flesh* trilogy (all directed by Paul Morrissey: *Flesh*, 1968; *Trash*, 1970; *Heat*, 1972) put hunky Joe Dallesandro's body on shameless erotic display and launched him into cult stardom. John Waters's comic classics (*Pink Flamingos*, 1972; *Female Trouble*, 1974) were calculated as a send-up of—and affront to—conventional notions of the (homo)erotic. Queer Italian director Pier Paolo Pasolini's films (*Teorema*, 1968, or the 1971–1974 "Trilogy of Life") represented the (homo)erotic as idyllic working-class vitality that cut through the oppressions of modern consumer culture. European directors such as Derek Jarman (*Sebastiane*, 1976) or Rainer Werner Fassbinder (*Querelle*, 1982) used male homoeroticism to high-minded artistic ends, whereas Frank Ripploh's 1981 *Taxi Zum Klo* pictured various configurations of gay male sex with a bold realism apparently void of metaphorical conceit. Other, somewhat more popular, features about queer characters offered the naked male body as object of a (sometimes pathological) homoerotic gaze: *Midnight Cowboy* (1969, John Schlesinger), *Myra Breckinridge* (1970, Michael Sarne), *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975, Jim Sharman), *Caligula* (1979, Tinto Brass), *Cruising* (1980, William Friedkin), *Making Love* (1982, Arthur Hiller), *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1986, Stephen Frears), *The Gold Rimmed Glasses* (1987, Giuliano Montaldo), and *Prick Up Your Ears* (1987, Stephen Frears).

Feminist directors Jan Oxenberg and Barbara Hammer emerged in the 1970s with a series of films that celebrated the lesbian body. Several other films—some widely distributed—showed sex between women: *The Killing of Sister George* (1968, Robert Aldrich), *Je, Tu, Il, Elle* (1974, Chantal Akerman), *Personal Best* (1982, Robert Towne), *The Hunger* (1983, Tony Scott), and *Desert Hearts* (1985, Donna Dietch). The 1970s and 1980s also saw the rise of gay male (and to a much lesser extent lesbian) pornography in film and then video—in terms of production and consumption, the most substantial display of queer eroticism in film history. But by the mid-1980s, the AIDS crisis mostly overwhelmed queer filmmaking and muted queer sex on screen.

In the 1990s, directors such as Derek Jarman (*Edward II*, 1991), Todd Haynes (*Poison*, 1991), Gus Van Sant (*My Own Private Idaho*, 1991) and Gregg Araki (*The Living End*, 1992 but see also his 2004 *Mysterious Skin*) portrayed frankly erotic scenes of sex among men in a group of films sometimes designated as the New Queer Cinema. In the 1990 documentary *Tongues Untied*, director Marlon Riggs explored the African-American gay male experience while probing the freighted social constructions of race, gender, desire, and the black male body. Although not explicitly erotic, Cheryl Dunye's 1996 *Watermelon Woman* also considered the complex dynamics of race, sex, and gender while in its way queerly eroticizing the stock black female servant character of the Hollywood golden era. Spanish director Pedro Almódovar served up an impressive array of queerly erotic characters and scenarios in enormously popular films such as *Tie Me Up! Tie Me Down!* (1990) and *All About My Mother* (1999).

The year 2005 witnessed the release of two films of note for queer erotic representation. *Transamerica* (directed by Duncan Tucker) followed the journey of a preop male-to-female transsexual and—though by no means erotic—focused the audience's attention on the realities of transgender bodies in significant ways. A love story between young cowpokes set in 1960s Wyoming, *Brokeback Mountain* (directed by Ang Lee) promised daring erotic candor but barely delivered. Tellingly, the men's sexual relationships with their wives of convenience enjoyed more relaxed and open representation, and the film's dishonest television marketing emphasized these heterosexual relationships to the clear exclusion of the homoerotic, presumably to seduce straight viewers into seeing something they might otherwise find distasteful. Well past the turn of the millennium, then, filmmakers continue to struggle to make—and evade—queer eroticism palatable to a mass audience.

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Gary P. Cestaro

FISTING

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

FLIRTING

Flirting is a playful type of interpersonal social behavior that indicates interest in or attraction to another person and is often considered a sexual activity. It can be both verbal and nonverbal and is largely common to all cultures and genders. Because of globalization, cultural differences are decreasing as most cultures adapt to the more overt, Western style of flirting. Nevertheless, flirting is often context-specific and tends to be played out at the boundaries of acceptable social behavior. In sexually repressive cultures, flirting may be as simple as a woman showing her unveiled face, whereas in sexually permissive cultures it may be as overt as grabbing someone's buttocks. Casual flirting generally abounds in areas with warmer climates, such as Latin America and Italy (where men are notorious for overt flirtation), whereas colder areas, such as Canada and northern Europe, feature less public flirtation because people tend to make less eye contact with one another in such climates. In Japan, geishas and hostesses act as professional flirts and entertainers for men. While still part of the culture, these women were most common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Flirting ranges from simple friendly behavior to sexually charged conversations and activity. While some flirting is done as a social game that is fun in itself and has no clear goal, other flirting is clearly motivated. It can be seen as a precursor to sexual activity or dating, and thus is often considered the first step of courtship, when the players discover if attraction is mutual. Flirting can also be social, intended to flatter another person and win their preference, if not their affections. Thus, people flirt with friends, employers, and others whom it may be important to keep happy for one's career or social status.

Although both men and women actively flirt, it is typically considered a female activity, and women are arguably more adept at subtle flirtation. Women's stereotyped flirtation can often be condemned as teasing, because woman are more likely than men to see flirting as non-goal-oriented behavior. This negative connotation is linked to the notion of the coquette, a woman who flirts or seduces in a teasing manner and who is often thought to use her sexual charms maliciously or to exploit men. While men may also be guilty of such behavior, they are less likely to be criticized for it. The twentieth-century books and movies based on the fictional British spy James Bond provide an excellent example of a man who uses sex appeal to achieve his many missions, getting more respect than disapproval for these actions.

While most research on flirting is focused on heterosexual activity (linking to courtship and marriage), gay men and lesbians flirt with each other in much the same way as heterosexuals. For these individuals, however, there is an added component: They first must ascertain whether the object of their interest is sexually attracted to the same sex, before moving on to see if the person is personally attracted to them.

NONVERBAL FLIRTING

In addition to playful conversation marked by banter and innuendo, flirtatious behavior includes many nonverbal cues. The first step of flirting is often making eye contact and may include winking or raising the eyebrows. Often, women who are flirting tilt their heads to the side and lower their eyes after maintaining eye contact for a few seconds. Flirtatious touching includes light brushing of the arm in conversation, hugging, kissing, hand holding, or engaging in other means of contact. In a field all its own, dancing is a prominent type of physical flirtation that allows partners to be close to each other and interact in a playful and responsive way, all under the guise of a socially acceptable tradition.

Flirtatious body posture includes leaning toward one's conversation partner, mirroring the other's body language, turning the palms out or up, and keeping the body open, not closed (as achieved by crossing arms and/or legs). Men tend to stand or sit tall, making themselves look bigger or more imposing. They often point their elbows away from their body to do so, often by putting their hands in their pockets or behind their heads. Women tend to diminish their physical size by drawing their knees in when sitting; they also may emphasize their figures by swaying their hips when walking, tightening their stomachs, and pushing out their breasts. Other movements common to all include smiling, nodding the head, laughing, and speaking softly or more dynamically than usual.

HISTORICAL VARIATIONS OF FLIRTING

Beginning in the twentieth century, flirting started changing in some dramatic ways in response to cultural shifts. The success of feminist movements led to the questioning of traditional gender roles, so that women may be sexual instigators as easily as men; they are no longer expected to play the role of passive women waiting to be courted. Prior to the twentieth century, women of all cultures would subtly indicate their interest in a potential sexual partner by, for example, batting their eyelashes or dropping a handkerchief; men, on the other hand, were more assertive and overt in their intentions and spoke directly or touched the other's body. Beginning in the 1970s, women in European and North American cultures became more direct in their flirting, and this change has left both some men and some women in confusion about how to play the flirting game when both genders are equal. In areas that have maintained traditional gender roles, such as the southern United States and most African countries, flirting has continued as a chivalric interaction between polite men and appreciative women. Some people argue that in this situation, women in fact have more power to choose a mate than when both genders are in active pursuit of each other.

Following the technology boom of the 1990s, cyberflirting and other high-tech means of flirtation have arisen. E-mail, instant messaging, and text messaging via cell phones or other handheld devices have become tools for exchanging flirtatious or suggestive messages. This trend is particularly prevalent in such tech-savvy countries as India, China, and the United States. In Saudi Arabia, where coed talking or socializing is a punishable offense, people use Bluetooth technologies in their cell phones or computers to send flirtatious messages to other nearby users.

SEE ALSO *Seduction.*

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FOLK BELIEFS AND RITUALS

The term *folk*, implying informality, lack of sophistication, and lack of skill, is, quite rightfully, contested by scholars sensitive to conventional constructions of the beliefs and practices of women and lower status men. The terms folk religion, common religion, popular religion, customary religion, practical religion, domestic religion, peasant religion, local religion, and the "little tradition" are all used, sometimes interchangeably, often ambiguously, by anthropologists and historians of religion. The literature suggests no consensus about who the folk of folk religion are. For example, William Christian stresses the agricultural identities of those who engage in folk religion; anthropologist George Foster defines folk religion as an urban phenomenon; and for fellow anthropologist Robert Redfield the folk of the little tradition are the unreflective masses. Nor is there consensus regarding the content of folk beliefs and practices. Anthropologist Edmund Leach, for example, stresses concern with the life here and now. Social scientists Michael Hornsby-Smith, Raymond Lee, and Peter Reilly describe the magical or superstitious nature of folk practices, and anthropologist Eric Wolf sees folk beliefs as utilitarian and moralistic but not ethical or questioning.

This profusion of terms and conceptualizations suggests that the label folk has a great deal to do with who is doing the labeling and in what context. For the purposes of this entry, folk beliefs and ritual practices are defined as the beliefs and practices of individuals, families, and communities as they are expressed and enacted in situations outside of the control of formal religious or political authorities. This does not mean, however, that folk practices and beliefs are never coercive. Quite to the contrary, formal authorities sometimes provide a means of escape for women or girls whose legal or sexual autonomy is constrained by folk practices such as genital mutilation or clitoridectomy.

Folk beliefs and ritual practices shape sex, sexuality, and gender in myriad ways in a multitude of cultural contexts. It is not possible to identify universal themes and patterns in this regard. In this entry, the presentation of examples of folk beliefs and ritual practices is organized around the axis of life cycle rituals not because this organizational paradigm is in any manner inherently a folk paradigm, but rather because life cycle rituals tend to be the occasions of particularly obvious opportunities for expressing and constructing gender, sex, and sexuality.

Folk beliefs and rituals are particularly potent shapers of gender and sexuality because they are understood or experienced as "authentic": traditional, timeless, organic, and heart-felt. Part of the power of folk practices is that they are not perceived as invented or imposed (even if actually they are). Thus, they tend not to be easily resisted or contested, but rather taken-for-granted as simply "our way of doing things."

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Folk practices at birth and during infancy generally aim at safeguarding the life and health of the newborn, clarifying the infant's gender identity, and constructing the infant as a socially appropriate member of the family and community.

An excellent example of these concerns is found in the beliefs and practices surrounding burial of the placenta in premodern Karelia (the area along the Finnish-Russian border). The placenta and cord blood were considered to be charged with supernatural power and thus were considered particularly effective in safeguarding the child against harmful influences and sicknesses. The afterbirth often was ritually treated in a gender specific manner. A baby girl's afterbirth was hung in the attic from the main supporting beam of the house while reciting: "As this home is renowned, the dwellers renowned, may this maiden be renowned, may she grow attractive . . ." For a boy the afterbirth typically was buried in the eastern corner of the cowshed while the following was chanted: "The Eastern Christ, nourisher, heavenly, give a good lot, health, brains, ability, honor to this suitor . . ." According to Marja-Liisa Keinänen, these rituals reflect and shape a girl's loose connection with her farmstead since she will move to her husband's house upon marriage. The incantation stresses that potential marriage partners will hear of the girl's attractiveness. For boys the placenta is rooted in the house where he will remain upon marriage, and the incantation emphasizes his intelligence and honor.

MENARCHE / PUBERTY / INITIATION

As children approach puberty, folk beliefs and practices often turn toward more firmly establishing the child's social gender and sexual identity.

Among the Navajo, women occupied a place of importance and respect: Descent was determined through the maternal line, and residence typically was matrilocal.

Reflecting these patterns, a young girl's first menstruation was a cause for rejoicing because it indicated that she was ready to bring forth new life; menarche was the fulfillment of the promise of the attainment of reproductive power. Physiological maturity alone, however, was not seen as sufficient for the fulfillment of this process. The girl must also be ritually transformed before she takes her place as a woman. During the four day ritual sequence known as *Kinaalda* (first menstruation), songs were sung linking the particular girl and her house with the primordial first woman and first house. The girl was dressed in ceremonial clothing and jewelry in order to make her over in the image of Changing Woman, a deity associated with primordial creation and reproduction. Older women known for their good character vigorously massaged the girl in order to mold her. Later on the girl greeted a series of visitors, ran a race toward the sun, and ground corn for an enormous sun-shaped ceremonial cake that is served on the last day of the ritual sequence. The latter ritual was part of an explicit desire to make her industrious in later life, but also serves to infuse profane work activity with sacredness. According to Bruce Lincoln, the identification of the initiand with the mythical Changing Woman is the most important theme of the *Kinaalda* sequence. Through dressing the girl in the garb of Changing Woman and other ritual acts, the community and the initiand come to understand that all fertility—of people and of crops—depends on her.

In contemporary American society, male initiation as a folk practice often takes place away from the watchful eyes of elders. Hazing rituals of various sorts are among the most common forms of male initiation. These rituals may take place in the context of younger boys joining high school or college sports teams, or young men joining college fraternities, during boot camp, and in prison. During these rituals, boys and young men may be dressed as women (made to wear a bra and panties), treated like women (forced to perform sexual acts on the older males), beaten or paddled while being commanded to keep quiet and refrain from expressing pain, and symbolically and ritually instructed in the gender hierarchy of the given institution.

It seems that the core beliefs underlying these practices are that male society is hierarchical, that subordinate men are female-like, that harsh physical treatment is necessary to turn boys into men, and that adult (initiated) men must be prepared to keep men's secrets and pass on gender expectations to the next crop of initiands.

MARRIAGE

Marriage practices continue the pattern of enforcing and reinforcing proper gender roles and sexual behavior both through instructing the bride and groom regarding social expectations (including the expectation to produce legitimate children) and through presenting the bride and groom to the wider community in their roles as appropriately gendered adults.

In modern Israel most of the Jewish wedding sequence is governed by the state (which registers marriages and can refuse to register *inappropriate* couples), the rabbinate (that has a monopoly on officiating at Jewish wedding ceremonies), and the fashion industry (that determines what sorts of dresses and other accoutrement are stylishly appropriate). Still there is one folk ritual sequence that continues to thrive, often in the face of opposition from the Rabbinate.

According to Jewish law brides must immerse in the ritual bath before the wedding in order to achieve a state of menstrual purity. In traditional Jewish North African societies it was customary for the bride to immerse in the ritual bath in the company of female relatives and friends, who then held a party for the bride. In Israel today this practice has disappeared among some communities but spread to other communities. At the parties after the bride immerses in the presence of a bath attendant, women sing, dance, perform skits (often poking fun at men), and eat sweets.

The various participants in this ritual sequence tend to interpret it rather differently. For the most part the bride has a passive role: Her body is supervised and prodded by the bath attendant and, often, the future mother-in-law. During the parties, guests and relatives make frequent comments—almost always favorable ones—regarding her physical appearance.

An elderly Moroccan rabbi in Jerusalem (Sered 1999) explained that the cakes and singing were a public acknowledgement that the groom's family was satisfied with the bride. The rabbi went on to explain the final part of this ceremonial sequence, application of henna dye to the hands of the bride:

> "HeNnaH stands for Hala (a ritual performed when baking bread), Niddah (laws of menstrual purity), Hadlaka (lighting Sabbath candles). These are the three (ritual acts) that are necessary for the bride (to know). I heard this from an official source. They teach the bride. They put on her hand the color so that she will look beautiful for the groom. The kind of color you buy at the pharmacy to cover gray hair. All of the female relatives. They put it on her hand as a stamp that she has entered the correct Jewish life. It means that you have entered the burden of keeping the commandments."

In this ritual sequence, proper gender and sexual roles and identity are symbolically stamped onto the body of the bride in the presence of an audience comprised of both her own family members and family members of her future husband.

DEATH

Death tends to be the least gendered ritual sequence, and folk beliefs regarding deaths and funeral practices tend to emphasize concerns other than gender and sexuality. In death gender roles and sexual behavior often recede in importance.

In rural Portuguese villages women follow the funeral procession and attend mass, while the public roles are performed by men. Close female relatives of the deceased may scream loudly when the coffin is lowered into the grave, while men are not expected to shout. More important than these specific acts, however, are beliefs and expectations that women keep closer ties to the dead both by caring for the sick and dying, and by performing a large number of rituals aimed at preserving the bonds between the living and the dead.

These kinds of expectations are common in much of the world, particularly in Mediterranean societies. While the practices do not generally have the kind of gender-constructive significance that other life cycle rituals have, it is not always the case that gender and sexuality disappear after death. Muslim folk beliefs, for example, elaborate upon a highly sexual and gendered paradise.

SEE ALSO *Folk Healers and Healing.*

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FOLK HEALERS AND HEALING

Illness, pain, misfortune, decay, and death are realities that people in all cultures confront, recognize, and interpret and manage in one way or another. Scholars use the term *healing* to describe the ways in which people cope with and try to alleviate suffering and the term *healers* to describe individuals who have expertise in alleviating suffering. The descriptor *folk* is used to indicate healing beliefs, practices, and experts not mandated by, affiliated with, certified by, trained by, or officially recognized by the dominant religious or medical institutions of their societies. In many societies the mainstream healers, such as priests and doctors, are men, whereas the folk healers may be men or women. Although priests and doctors typically have more prestige and receive better remuneration for their work, at the popular level folk healers may be seen as having better insight into human suffering, being more compassionate, and being more sensitive to local traditions.

FOLK TREATMENTS FOR ILLNESS AND SUFFERING

Folk healers rarely differentiate between illness and other types of suffering. For Korean shamans, for example, misfortune includes all sorts of bad luck, illness, and financial loss. In northern Thai cities female spirit mediums are consulted for matters such as arthritis, back problems, goiters, social difficulties, business problems, and care of children (Wijeyewardene 1986). In Okinawa the great majority of the people who consult *yuta* (shamans) do so for health problems. Among the roles of the *yuta*, however, are giving advice about plans, business, and wedding dates; interpreting unusual experiences such as dreams and accidents in religious terms (neglect of rituals, etc.); communicating with relatives after their death; leading exorcisms to guide lost spirits to the tomb; leading rituals of thanks to the house deity; and teaching traditional rituals (Lebra 1966).

Folk-healing repertoires often follow what Roger Bastide (1978) called the law of accumulation. That is, rather than sticking with a set arsenal of cures, folk healing tends to embrace a variety of foods, herbs, baths, incantations, massage, pilgrimages, amulets, spirit possession, and other techniques in efforts to do whatever it takes to alleviate suffering. It is often the case that within a specific cultural setting, various healers specialize in particular techniques and those who are suffering consult with numerous healers to maximize their chances of successful healing. For example, Black Caribs understand a variety of reasons why people become ill: germs, sorcery, lack of practical caution (such as wearing insufficient clothing), angry ancestors who were not properly treated through rituals, and taboo behavior on the part of an individual's mother. Various causes of illness legitimate various solutions to illness: European and North American medicine, bush medicine, and ancestor rituals to cure disease. Women predominate as healers in the last two categories (Kerns 1983).

WOMEN AS FOLK HEALERS

Because the first line of healing response tends to take place in the home, mothers and grandmothers often predominate as folk healers. As primary providers of child care. women are likely to function informally as domestic healers. Often certain women, perhaps the oldest woman in a household or a particularly gifted or competent woman in a neighborhood or community, serve as informal domestic healing experts. This scenario is particularly prominent in African-American communities where poverty and racism as well as slavery and its legacy have led to difficult relationships between many African Americans and the white-dominated formal medical establishment (Mitchem 2005).

A second reason women may predominate as folk healers as well as those who consult folk healers is that in most societies, women have the primary culturally assigned responsibility for infertility and the physical consequences of pregnancy and childbirth. Matters of fertility and infertility are simultaneously part of the usual female life course and matters that tend to be unpredictable and not totally controllable as a result of biological or social causes. For these reasons women often turn to folk healers for help in managing the complexities of navigating a path of socially and personally acceptable fertility choices. Expert knowledge of fertility-related matters represents cultural power. Although in many cultures the dominant religious and medical institutions attempt to gain control over women's fertility and sexuality, folk healers often serve as women's advocates in those areas. As a result folk healers may risk stigma or persecution as witches, abortion providers, or sorceresses (Ehrenreich and English 1972).

A third reason women often predominate in the realm of folk healing involves institutionalized gender inequality. In contemporary North American society women are sick more often than men, visit physicians more often, and take more medicine; they also are more likely than men to evaluate their health as poor. Although there is some variation on the basis of race and country of origin, statistics generated by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention consistently show that women of all age groups have a variety of chronic illnesses at rates higher than those for men. Explanations for why women are sicker (especially when, as is the case in the United States, women outlive men) include the double load of paid work and housework; the feminization of poverty; relentless responsibilities of caring for sick children, aging parents, and other family members; cultural expectations that women are weaker than men; medicalization of women's bodies (especially in relation to menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and menopause); a tendency to treat women's bodies as *unique* or *exceptional* (in comparison with male bodies, which are treated as normative); repeated traumas of the threat and reality of sexual violence; harmful fashions such as high heels or extreme dieting; and the stress caused by systematic exclusion from the arenas where the economic, military, and political decisions that affect everyone's lives are made. This constellation of ongoing social factors is a poor fit for the dominant North American biomedical model, which typically identifies specific causes for specific pathologies and prescribes specific treatments regardless of the patient's worries, family situation, cultural beliefs, and so on (Sered 2000).

Women healers often describe a path to their ritual roles that begins with a personal history of chronic illness. For example in Brazil signs of incipient spirit *mediumship* (spiritual callings) include excessive crying, protracted illness, unexplained events, unsolvable problems, and unusual occurrences (Leacock and Leacock 1972). The path to becoming a spirit medium usually involves a stage of sickness or another type of misfortune that a ritual group leader interprets as being caused by undeveloped mediumship. The husbands of future mediums may object to or not believe in the *mediumidade* (mediumship) of their wives. Most women mediums and cult leaders believe that a married woman should have her husband's consent but that if he will not give it, the spiritual order should take precedence over his resistance.

In some societies women's healing has important communal expressions. In parts of Africa, for example, women and some men who have chronic or intractable illness may conclude that their suffering has been inflicted by *zār* spirits and that they need to join *zār* ritual spirit possession groups to bring the spirits under control. Janice Boddy (1988) describes the following steps likely to be taken by a sick person in such African societies: advice from family members, home remedies, patent medicines, European or North American doctors, and *feki Islam* (male religious specialists) who perform divinations and provide charms. If spirits are found to be the cause of the distress, the *feki Islam* will perform an exorcism. However because the *zāiran* (*zār* spirits) are immune to Islamic ritual techniques, women patients may consult a female *zār* practitioner. Many women join these ritual spirit possession groups because of fertility and childbirth problems. (According to Boddy [1989], possessed women have been pregnant more times than have nonpossessed women and have lost more children than have women who are not possessed.)

THE SOCIAL POSITION OF FOLK HEALERS

As people who deal with aspects of life that are inherently uncontrollable (death and decay are inevitable for all living creatures), dirty (bodily effluvia are not aesthetically appealing), and emotionally charged, folk healers may occupy an interstitial position in their societies: Healers are necessary and helpful, but they also spend a lot of time dealing with parts of life that others prefer to avoid. This may explain why in some cultures transgendered people, who for reasons of their sex and gender status reside in a *betwixt and between* social position, are particularly active as healers.

Among the Mescalero Apache, multigendered adults "are usually presumed to be people of power. Because they have both maleness and femaleness totally entwined in one body, they are known to be able to 'see' with the eyes of both proper men and proper women. They are often called upon to be healers, or mediators, or interpreters of dreams, or expected to become singers or others whose lives are devoted to the welfare of the group. If they do extraordinary things in any aspect of life, it is assumed that they have the license and power to do so and, therefore, they are not questioned" (Farrer 1997, p. 249).

For similar reasons very old women (past childbearing age), people who experience dissociative psychological states, and other exceptional or marginal people may find an important social niche as folk healers. That niche, however, tends to be an ambiguous one because of the nature of healing and threats from the dominant medical and religious establishments.

SEE ALSO *Folk Beliefs and Rituals.*

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FOLKLORE

The word *folklore* has a precise genesis, August 1846, when William Thoms, an English antiquary, used it as a substitute for the expression *popular antiquities*. In spite of the simplicity of the word's components—translating literally into the *lore of the folk*—it is difficult to find an accurate definition of folklore, because it refers both to a field of learning and to the whole subject matter of that field. Folklorists identify three main elements when they attempt to explain the nature of their work: They see folklore as a diversity of forms of expression, grounded in tradition, by means of which a community manifests its own identity.

DEFINING FOLKLORE

The "Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore," adopted on November 15, 1989, by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), offered the following definition of folklore: "Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means." This definition manages to bring together the main key words—*tradition*, *community*, and *identity*—on which folklorists concur when they attempt to explain the nature of their discipline. Other elements of the UNESCO proposal, however, are open to debate or to questioning. The idea, for instance, that folklore is transmitted orally has been questioned by Alan Dundes (1989) and does not correspond to the present conception of folklore. In the early twenty-first century, folklore might include, for example, autograph or recipe books, and the domain of electronic communication taking place on the Internet and cellular phones. The quotation above tries to summarize the folk component of the word. When it comes to the lore element, the usual practice is to list the diversity of expressive forms: beliefs, customs, skills, and the broad range of verbal genres such as legends, personal stories, riddles, proverbs, and songs. Richard M. Dorson (1972) tries to regroup the matter in four sectors: verbal forms on the one hand and, on the other hand, the manifestations of folklife—material culture, social folk customs, and performance folk arts. It is precisely the diversity of the materials and their dissimilarity that challenges any attempt to define the discipline, according to Barre Toelken (1979), who offers, however, a brief definition that adds the two important notions of informality and dynamism. Folklore's substance consists of "tradition-based communicative units informally exchanged in dynamic variation through space and time" (p. 32).

TRADITION: A DYNAMIC PROCESS

An aura of nostalgia may still surround the notion of folkloric traditions, a legacy of the origins of the discipline in the nineteenth century. At that time, customs, beliefs, or expressions of simple folk, mainly peasants, were seen as survivals of ancient cultural systems. Folklorists from urban milieus thought that they could restore traditional rural cultures represented by the "backward" groups they were studying, groups who were supposed to have resisted to the so-called advanced industrial culture. Tradition is no longer viewed as something fixed in a past that folklorists should resurrect. Tradition gives meaning to the present and builds the future through making reference to the past; it entails change and creativity. The way the performer of a song builds upon preexisting models and repertoire leaves room for interpretive innovation and adjustment to new contexts. In order to remain within the boundaries of folklore, however, a balance must be kept between individual creativity and the respect for what a community considers its tradition. It is precisely through this common agreement on what constitutes its beliefs, customs, and verbal lore that a group defines its identity. Change and creativity within a sense of continuity are essential; otherwise, the group can become oppressive. A perverse manipulation of tradition may occur when the sense of a common heritage is invoked for nationalistic or racist motives. There is something paradoxical in this kind of fallacious recourse to traditions at a time when the world is experiencing the globalization of means of communication and the rapid changes brought about by this phenomenon.

COMMUNITIES AND THEIR FOLKLORES

Until the last two decades of the twentieth century, the general practice was to associate folklore with socially or geographically marginalized groups. This opposition between folkloric communities and those who studied them was a reflection of nationalism and of a romantic vision of the people. It has been replaced by a more inclusive and diversified notion of what constitutes a group expressing its own identity through a specific folklore. The term *folk* does not refer to a single homogeneous entity: Everyone belongs to a variety of groups "national, ethnic, linguistic, religious, occupational, familial—each with its set of identifying traditions." Sexual identity must also be added to this "onion-skin layering of multiple identities of each individual" (Dundes 1989, p. 16). One of the earliest categories to be socially recognized, sexual identity, generates a rich and elaborate repertoire of divination techniques, songs, proverbs, tales about gender roles, and crafts specific to men and women. Identity groups develop significant forms of expression and behavior that bring their members together and function as means of identification and cohesion. Even formal institutions such as academia, law, and government create their own peculiar folklore, made up of common ways of talking or behaving that are not the product of a specific training but built up and transmitted as a result of more or less codified interactions between their members. The "folk," according to Dundes (1965), refers to "any group of people whatsoever who share one or more common factors" (p. 3).

Identification with a group through a common set of traditions becomes a problematic issue in the context of multiple forms of diasporas that are the result of market forces, political upheavals, and mass communication. Original forms of folklore are emerging from new types of global communities that are building up through the Internet and the cellular phone. Such new forms coexist with the local elder who orally transmits old tales to the grandchildren of the community. The phenomenon of multicultural and diverse societies leads, on the one hand, to forms of hybridization or creolization, for example, to a process of cultural cross-fertilization; on the other hand, it may result in a sometimes intolerant promotion of a certain group's image. Ethnic slurs, what folklorists call the *blason populaire*, have always been a way for a community to build its cohesion, to define itself vis-à-vis another group, which can belong to a different race, country, village, or soccer team. Another example is provided by the antifeminist slurs so evident in jokes, proverbs, and riddles. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which this type of folkloric tradition has contributed to the formation of deep-seated prejudices.

CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES

To some degree, folklore in a multicultural, globalized society still carries the elements of loss and nostalgia that were evident at the origin of the discipline in the nineteenth century, the time when the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and other collectors compiled customs and beliefs from rural areas or stories of oral traditions to prevent them from disappearing. The sense that heritage, which identifies a community, should be preserved, can be commercially or politically manipulated. Local traditions, crafts, or festivals become products that are sold to tourists and other consumers looking for images of authentic traditions. In 1950 Richard M. Dorson coined the word *fakelore* for this kind of manipulation, which began, in fact, at the origins of the discipline when the Scottish poet James Macpherson in the 1760s invented the legendary Gaelic bard Ossian. Fakelore, however, cannot simply be dismissed as inauthentic. It plays an important cultural role, especially in the elaboration of representations and myths that contribute to foster national or ethnic identity. One can mention the paraphernalia that accompanies the revival of Celtic culture or the many revival festivals with their parades of folkloric costumes, their dance performances, and their demonstrations of traditional crafts. These events try to keep alive traditions that are more or less accurately reconstructed, sometimes with the blessing of folklorists who work hand in hand with their promoters.

This connection between what one might call genuine research and the use of folkloric data for ideological or political ends has also been evident since the very beginning of the discipline. Its development during the nineteenth century was concomitant with the process of nation building in Europe. The best examples of this close relationship come from relatively small countries such as Finland, Hungary, and Ireland, known for their activity in collecting and studying folklore. This quest for the voice of one's people, for the soul of the folk that the German poet Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) found in folktales, songs, and national heroes, can be legitimate, especially among groups who feel a loss of identity because of oppression or colonization. During the 1930s, however, in a Germany demoralized after its defeat in World War I, the misuse of folklore, in continuity with the Herderian concept of the folk, contributed to the promotion of Nazi ideology. In the mass of folkloric literature produced at that time, fake anti-Semitic proverbs were published alongside genuine data. In the postnationalist multicultural societies of the twenty-first century, however, folklore can become a tool for the promotion of human rights. Working with groups of immigrants or grassroots movements, folklorists, both scholarly and amateur, have found ways to preserve these groups' identities, to give them voices and hence, political powers.

FOLKLORE AND WOMEN'S IDENTITIES

If one assumes that folklore is concerned with vernacular forms of culture, in the aesthetics of everyday life, women's traditions and the way they shape their identities should represent an important part of what is studied. Historically this has not been the case; men have been responsible for most of folklore's production and much of its content. Since Claire Farrer's collection of essays (1986 [1975]) and Francis A. de Caro's bibliographical survey (1983), women folklorists have raised this issue and have analyzed the relative absence of women's voices in the practice and study of their discipline. They refer to Herder and the founding fathers of Romantic nationalism as representing a worldview that has infiltrated folklore research. This worldview is based on the assumption that patriarchy reflects the inviolable natural order of the world and that the social organization of a nation is modeled on the nuclear family. Tradition, designed to preserve the social order, is seen as the expression of the forefathers' wisdom passing through the male line from father to son.

The result is that little attention has been paid to women's folkloric production in comparison to that of men; women were usually used as informants only when men were not available. When they have not been ignored, genres identified with women have been denigrated, as is evident from the expression *old wives' tale*. Even a cursory look at the forms of folkloric expression associated with women reveals their diversity and their importance for the communities in which they are produced. Some deal with issues that are specific to sexuality and family life. An important body of lore is related to women's reproductive functions from menstruation to menopause, including love magic, courtship and marriage customs, birth practices, and child care. Women act as healers and practitioners of folk medicine. Many of the traditional art forms created by women have often been neglected, regarded merely as aspects of their domestic activities, even if certain outstanding forms of needlework have attracted the interest of researchers—for example, quilts or folk costumes, a distinctive mark of identification in traditional societies. In addition to multiple forms of needlework, women's crafts that are accompanied by folklore include cheese making, soapmaking, butter churning, and gardening. Beyond the domain of daily activities, the important field of historical and heroic female figures has gained attention, with work on the Amazons, saints, the Virgin Mary and her cult, and the controversial topic of ancient goddess worship, among others.

As does any other group, women define themselves by their identification with different communities, some of them including men, others specifically female, such as nuns, nannies, waitresses, and female prostitutes. With the redefinition of gender identities, other ways of self-identification—as lesbian, trans-or bisexual, for example—are being explored and folklores are developing.

As mentioned some explanation for a lack of attention to the voice of women in folklore can be found in the theoretical assumptions of the discipline's founding fathers. On the one hand the nationalist bias tended to see cultures as homogeneous gender-neutral ethnic entities. On the other hand a model of performance based on public or formalized areas favored forms of expression proper to men, whereas those practiced by women, such as recipes, lullabies, and songs, are mostly confined to the private domain.

Fieldwork practices, generally based on the contributions and concerns of male informants, tended to neglect female forms of expression. Nevertheless, in spite of these shortcomings, folklore may offer theoretical grounds for addressing gender issues, mainly because it recognizes that categories, among them gender, are cultural constructions of reality and that they reflect the diversity of forms of collective identifications. Its interest, since its origin, in vulnerable communities under threat from majority cultures, can easily shift—especially now that more women folklorists work in the field—to give increased attention to forms of expression in relation or opposition to patriarchy.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO FOLKLORE

In the nineteenth century the first question that was asked about legends, customs, and other forms of folklore concerned their origin. Did a tale, a song, or a legend appear at several places at the same time or in just one place from whence it was disseminated? Related to this concern was the belief that fragments of lore had to be identified and collected in rural areas because they constituted survivals of earlier rituals. As folklore was seen as relics of ancient mythologies, one of the goals of the folklorist was to reconstruct the myths of gods and heroes from these fragments.

This belief in the possibility of retrieving the original form of a folkloric item underlies the historical–geographical approach, also known as the Finnish school of folklore. According to the premises of this method, a form, for instance a tale, originated at one time in a precise place and then spread from there. The folklorist then has to collect all the variants of this tale, find their common plot, and then, by comparing these variants, locate the place where the story appears in its purest form. This effort resulted in invaluable collections of folkloric items. In 1910 Antti Aarne published his catalogue of types of folktales, which was expanded by Stith Thompson, who also compiled and classified narrative units of stories in his *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*. The critics of this approach express doubts about the possibility of finding all the possible variants of a tale and remark that it reduces the tale to an abstract plot, lacking the aesthetic and human components that make it relevant to the performer and the audience.

The diffusionist theory, which is likewise concerned with the ways items of folklore travel, does not look for sources but studies how cultures borrow from one another. Psychoanalytical folklorists used myths and folktales to find Freudian symbols. Sticks, knives, pencils, and trees represent the male genitals, whereas the female organs are symbolized by caves, bottles, boxes, jewel cases, and gardens. Attention has also been given to the structures underlying myths, legends. and folktales. In his *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928), Vladimir Propp shows that folktales revolve around a recurrent series of thirty-one types of action—functions in his terminology—themselves organized in sequential arrangements. The structuralist theory is most prominently represented by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966); he argues that similar invariant features can be found in myths around the world and that they can be related to the logical structure of the human mind.

In parallel to this work on the textual expressions of folklore, a number of folklorists in the second half of the twentieth century expressed less interest in genres and forms than in the role folklore plays in a given community. The functionalist theory looks at its role in educating the young, promoting values or censuring disapproved attitudes, fostering solidarity, or expressing protest. In this approach great importance is given to the environment in which a form takes on its meaning, with a shift from merely compiling collections of data to situating them in the cultural context of their performance. In this context, fieldwork and the development of ethical and honest relationships with informants become the cornerstones of the folklorist's work.

FIELDWORK AND ETHICAL ISSUES

It goes without saying that the first requirement for folklorists is to manifest a real appreciation for the traditions they are studying; dismissing them as backward survivals or romanticizing them with nostalgia are equally disrespectful. The ethical problem resulting from the tension between the right to information and the legitimate restrictions a group may put on the dissemination of their lore is a crucial aspect of folklore research. Some aspects of a ceremony may be taboo for outsiders, and publishing them might be seen as a religious offense. Such cases are normally dealt with through ethical and policy regulations applying to research involving human participants. In a context of freely available information, a question remains: Is it possible to protect and copyright folk materials? In certain communities some performers are seen as owners of the stories or songs they perform. Even when this is not the case, should not the community itself be considered the owner of its tradition, not the folklorist, or those who want to patent healing plants, or pop singers who earn considerable revenues with folk songs without recognizing their origins? Since the 1960s, developing countries have tried to regulate the use of folklore traditions, and UNESCO has begun to address these complex and difficult issues under the umbrella of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO).

SEE ALSO *Anthropology; Blood; Boys, Construction of; Folk Beliefs and Rituals; Folk Healers and Healing; Food; Funerary Customs: I. Non-Western; Funerary Customs: II. Western; Gender Identity; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender Stereotype; Girls, Construction of; Legends and Myths; Maiden; Marriage Bed, Rituals of; Mermaid; Rough Music.*

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Madeleine Jeay

FOOD

Food and gender exemplify the *total social phenomenon* identified by the anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) as those social practices so ingrained in our lives that we cannot imagine either ourselves or our social world without them. The range of meanings in gender and food makes generalization close to impossible, and only a multitude of perspectives can do them justice if we are to understand the implications of each for life as we know it.

Do such far-reaching social phenomena connect or divide? Do they sustain community or fortify individuality? Necessarily, they do both, and food, as with culture more generally, divides quite as much as it connects. The sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1918) long ago pointed out the paradox of eating, an activity that equalizes individuals and distinguishes among them. For although we all eat, we do not all eat the same foods, or eat them the same way, with the same utensils or with the same sorts of people. Nor do all of us invest food with the same meanings. It is only to be expected that some of the most striking connections and most dramatic divisions concern gender. In many societies, food practices remain highly gendered activities. Even so, or perhaps precisely because this gendering is so intrinsic to the ways in which we think about food and our relationships to it, gender divisions are often taken for granted. We see them as *naturalized* rather than historicized, an example of what the cultural commentator and semiologist Roland Barthes (1915–1980) identified as a *mythology*—that is, a narrative that explains and legitimates the comfort of the world as we know it. Meanwhile, the end of the twentieth century saw a veritable explosion in what has come to be known as *food studies*, prompting closer examination of the many ways in which food practices both divide and are divided by the particulars of periods, places, and peoples.

Among those particulars, gender orders food practices in many ways. But whether the effects are conspicuous or discreet, gender is central to three fundamental aspects of food: the *sensuality* that makes us desire food, the *work* that puts food before us, and the *commensality* that turns eating into a collective enterprise. Most discussions move readily across categories. Still, these rubrics help to clarify the gendering of foods and, in a larger sense, the *feeding* of gender; *doing food*, they show conclusively, entails *doing gender*.

SENSUALITY

The group, like the individual, requires food for sustenance, and the state of any society is commensurate with the well-being of its population. The distinctive consumption patterns of individuals and groups uphold a given food order or system. These patterns reveal principles that, in defining consumption, identify both self and community. On the most basic level, food is an insistently material product, and consumption is grounded in the primary sensual experience of physical change. This constitutive sensuality of food, what one eighteenth-century cookery book called its *terrestriality*, is responsible for an array of gender connections, all of which derive from the property of food to transform. Because the possibility, even necessity, of alteration triggers unease, anxiety attends every food decision. Consciously or not, every consumer weighs the hope of pleasure against the fear of pain.

In no domain is this power of food clearer than in corporeal consumption. Chefs and nutritionists, diners and legislators have long recognized that food has the potential to alter the collectivity no less than the individual—the body politic along with the body. All uses of food assume the alteration of the consumer, whether the physiological changes consequent to the ingestion of nourishment or the attendant psychic and social modification of behavior. Because food so profoundly engages identity, the dynamics of eating are necessarily fraught with both the fear and the desire for change. Both what and how we eat, then, reveal a great deal about what we are and what we hope to be. *You are what you eat*, the adage tells us, and it is hardly surprising that notions of food should carry markedly gendered conceptions of self.

In many—perhaps most—cultures different foods and food practices at different times are related to men and to women. The consequent segregation of male and female spheres of activity tends to reinforce ideal, and often idealized, conceptions of masculinity and femininity. The belief that certain foods fortify has led societies across the globe and at all stages of development to require or at least enjoin men to consume certain foods before going into battle or onto a playing field. In a startling twist on this bond between the food consumed and the body constructed, Michel de Montaigne notes in his essay "On Cannibals" (dating from 1575 and first published in 1580) the conviction that consumption of the enemy's flesh constitutes the final subjugation of the enemy through the assimilation of his strength.

The projection onto particular foods of the manly virtues of strength and courage is commonly invoked to prohibit women from consuming or even touching certain foods. Mere contact is thought to contaminate the food with female physiology, which is taken to undermine the strengths ascribed to male physiology and required of men. Other foods, conversely, target female physiology, with the intent of promoting the fertility and nurturance that defines women. Still other foods, notably sweets in contemporary Europe and North America, have been deemed the domain and the delight of women, who have themselves customarily been charged with being, as the nursery rhyme goes, *sugar and spice and everything nice*.

Long considered a lesser sense because it allies humans with animals, taste (along with smell) has been ranked well below the *noble*, more intellectual senses of sight and hearing. Food, as a consequence, has been charged with seduction. The temptations of the table are seen to lead humans, most notably men, away from the path of higher virtue. Just as poison seems an appropriately passive female means of destruction—what true warrior ever stoops to such means?—food offers women a resource that inverts as it perverts their constitutive association with nourishment. Eve leads Adam astray with the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Eden (Genesis 1). Rebekah alters the order of succession in favor of Jacob, and she does so by preparing Isaac's favorite dish for a disguised Jacob to present to his father in exchange for his blessing (Genesis 27). The overtly sexual seduction puts food on display as a promise of the woman herself. The magnified sensuality of eating signifies the erotic possession to come. Food proposes as it embodies the (female) Other; the equation holds in lesbian discourse as well as the heterosexual tradition.

As a vehicle of definition and self-definition, food has multiple and even contradictory uses. If you are what you eat, you are also not what you do not eat. The most striking pattern of gendered consumption involves the refusal to eat. Anorexia nervosa—that is, a pathological fear of gaining weight and attendant avoidance of food—overwhelming afflicts young middle-class women in North American and European societies. As perhaps the most prominent gendered eating disorder in modern industrial societies, anorexia (and its counterpart of binge eating followed by purging, bulimia nervosa) has attracted the attention of psychologists and nutritionists, sociologists and historians. (Although obesity is often construed as an eating disorder, it is less clearly gendered than is anorexia or bulimia.) A contrary view proposes this form of willed starvation as a means for the otherwise powerless woman to define her social situation. Historians who have scrutinized the writings and lives of medieval female saints advance complex arguments about the incidence and significance of eating—and in particular, fasting—for women. Rejection of food renounces this most basic of earthly pleasures in favor of the incomparably greater pleasure of the divine. At the same time, this renunciation regulates, and endeavors to control, the social relationships that define women's lives in a patriarchal society. Insofar as refusing nourishment at once rejects and reasserts the association of women and food, fasting reconfigures the prevailing social role and status of women. In a negative no less than in a positive mode, food is very much part of the gender equation.

WORK

The production of food operates under very different premises. Whereas consumption inexorably comes back to the body and corporeal ingestion of food, work points away from the body to the social sphere. Rather than predicaments of individual or group identity, work raises issues for the distribution of resources and access to the means of production and to the economic, political, and cultural spheres sustained and shaped by that production system.

Here it is worth reflecting on the factors that have kept conventional women's work from serious intellectual consideration. Neglect in this area explains why gender is so often equated with women: with women's concerns, values, and aesthetics; with the specific opportunities open to and the particular obstacles faced by women. Feminists in the 1960s and 1970s made this case, as they examined, reevaluated, and valorized women's work. Yet this promotion of women's work assumes that it remains a special category, a deviation from the norm. Is women's work an exception to the *universalist* rule identified with a social order that takes the masculine as the norm? Or is it a distinctive category in its own right? And what are the social implications of these positions? The debate is far from closed.

The overall disregard for women's work needs to be understood in light of the prevailing conception in social science of work as an activity that is publicly performed and formally remunerated. By this standard the largely private and unremunerated food work of women is essentially hidden. The focus of classical and Marxian economics alike on industrial production and commercial markets could not take the domestic contributions of women into account. Finally, the macrosocial processes by which social science understands contemporary society are not designed to consider attributes such as gender. Industrialization, urbanization, democratization, modernization, and globalization offer models of social change that largely disregard the particularities of gender as a force in such change. The question that must be addressed by every analysis concerns precisely this particularity: How different is women's work and what are the effects of that difference?

Although anthropologists have been alert to the significance of women's work in traditional or premodern societies, the impetus for recent scholarly and popular work on food has come with a focus on contemporary institutions and primarily in North America and Europe. In part because it is a highly visible, identifiably modern institution, born in response to the increasing social and geographical mobility of an expanding urban society, the restaurant has become a privileged location for such study. The restaurant is also a central site of the service economy. In this public space production and consumption join forces in a bounded setting amenable to investigation. Then too, the highly gendered nature of restaurant work, the conspicuous division of labor, and the clear gender hierarchy signals the restaurant as an important setting for the display of the gendered nature of both food production and consumption.

The starkest distinction in the restaurant appears among the workers. As the military origins of the model of the chef determined and justified, the male chef ran the restaurant just as he had run the kitchens of the aristocracy. Even in the twenty-first century, despite undeniable—even dramatic—changes, the closer the restaurant to a long-established, mostly French, model, the higher the proportion of men in the upper reaches of

A Traditional Family Dinner. © BURKE/TRIOLO PRODUCTIONS/BRAND X/CORBIS.

food production. It was the male cooks who first professionalized as chefs, and it was the elite male consumer who became the culinary connoisseur known as the gastronome. The knowledgeable male consumer and the professional male chef formed the ideal gastronomic couple. In this closed culinary community, women had no place.

Women coped with other disadvantages. As either housewives or hired help, women were everyday cooks in a domestic setting, not chefs in a restaurant. By custom as well as by law they were excluded from public venues and professional associations. Moreover, the oral culture in which domestic cooking occurs hindered their broader social presence. In terms of prestige, women cooks might do well enough for small households, but claims to consequence demanded a *real*—that is, male—chef and his team of assistants (which the French language, continuing the military model, appropriately calls a *brigade*). The broader distinction between written and oral culture reinforced the polarity of male and female culinary domains. Not until women entered the public arena with cookery books did they and their cooking get out of the kitchen and into the culture at large. Through recipes, reporting, and other formalizations of practice, writing gives food a permanence that is denied to the material product that disappears upon consumption.

We should, however, guard against taking rules, regulations, ideological pronouncements, and literary glosses as faithful renditions of practice. Despite the formal exclusion of women from the most professionalized venues and masculinist (and even frankly misogynist) norms, contemporary research has pointed to how crucial women and women's cooking have been in setting the culinary order. The remarkable growth of the domestic culinary market gave women cookery-book writers a platform, and sales, that the elite chefs came to envy (and emulate—even, in one case, resorting to a female pseudonym).

The gender dichotomy of female cooks versus male chefs persists because of reinforcement by other culinary binaries: elite versus popular cuisines, cafes and other informal eating venues versus restaurants, haute cuisine versus home cooking, special occasion feast versus everyday meal. The typical configuration would give us domestic women cooking popular or home-style dishes every day at home, and professional men operating in restaurants preparing special occasion or *fancy* cooking. In the worlds of real cooks and food, the boundaries are considerably more fluid, the categories more capacious and certainly more ambiguous. Thus in twenty-first-century Africa, women have a strong public presence as the primary vendors of street food. Cooking and *chefing* are the two sides of any culinary enterprise, roles dissociated from the status of cook and chef. Even so, the gender divisions outlined here will not soon disappear. Restrictive classifications are still in place, and they remain a useful, if inequitable, shorthand for characterizing, and judging, the food worlds that we encounter.

Many contemporary societies must deal with the tensions discernable in these foodways: the promotion of equality in the public sphere through equal access to professional status set against the appreciation of distinctiveness and difference. Are we concerned with women cooking or with an attitude toward food characteristic of a culinary product that could be identified as *women's cooking*? Although the significance ascribed to culinary difference is most striking with respect to *other* cuisines (national, regional, ethnic, foreign), gender often subtly defines the relationships of these kinds of cooking to the practices that dominate the culinary landscape.

Women writers have made much of the differences of women's conceptions and practices of food. A classic instance can be found in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927) where a great stew epitomizes the community created with great thought and skill at the dinner table by the hostess. In Mexican writer Laura Esquivel's novel *Like Water for Chocolate* (1989) (and in its film version), the preparation of food makes a fantastic declaration of love and offers amazing evidence of the transformative powers of food. These time-honored associations of women with nourishment and food preparation have also inspired numerous collections of recipes that celebrate cooking as the expression of a distinctive female universe centered around home, family, and intimate personal relationships.

COMMENSALITY

The meal controls consumption, and it does so by regulating the individual appetite. The formalization of the meal integrates the individual into a social order. Social norms and custom temper the constitutive sensuality of food. By controlling pleasure and pain, the formally organized meal reduces the scope for individual initiative. In modern Europe and North America, the increasing attention to *proper* behavior at table, to the formal sequence of meals, to the specific utensil for each task, and to the proliferation of rules of etiquette has been linked to the domestication or *civilizing* of the military order and the promotion of a civility or polite society commonly associated with women. The dainty fork in the small hand of a woman picks up the morsel, instead of the knife wielded aggressively by a man (although not until the nineteenth century did the fork become a generally required implement).

Eating in company melds the social and the individual. Accordingly, commensality opens a window into the ways in which individuals as well as collectivities conceive of social life and practice their values. Even a rudimentary meal creates a community, however temporary it must be. The meal brings interpersonal tensions to the table, dramatizes social dynamics, and provides a setting for the performance of social relations. To the extent that it reproduces a common social order, commensality requires a certain, if momentary, equality. Whence the proliferation of mechanisms of exclusion and rules of inclusion that determine who may eat what with whom and on which occasions. Many of the dining rules or customs translate the differential positions occupied by men and women in society; that is, the gendered hierarchy of social roles. Many groups allow no or little gender-mixed commensality—men take precedence over women, who routinely eat separately from and after men. Or, as was almost invariably the case in clubs and fraternal orders of one kind and another, women had no dining privileges except on special occasions, and even then often were required to enter the establishment by a side entrance. Although these patterns of exclusion have been vehemently contested in many quarters, exclusionary bastions of male commensality continue to exist. By contrast, female commensality tends to informality, often in an extension of the domestic setting (the coffee klatch, the tea party), exclusionary of men more in fact than by intent. Though they were designed to attract women, the tearooms and lunchrooms opened by early department stores did not exclude men.

At the same time, the preparation of the meal, whether the family dinner or commemorative meals such as Passover and Thanksgiving, most often falls to women. They may eat apart, but, as the customary guardians of tradition, they have the responsibility of keeping the table and maintaining the community. Preparation of the meal gives women a place, albeit in absentia, at the men's table. Though formally discrete, the male and female spheres may actually overlap a good deal. As a significant extension of the community beyond the kitchen, written recipes correspond to a *gentle nationalism* that identifies and promotes the national community through its culinary practices. Their collection and publication give women a not insignificant stake in the enterprise of nation building from which they are otherwise largely excluded.

An example will illustrate the high promise of commensality, a coming together that is dependent upon the sensuality of the food and the work that puts that food on the table. *Babette's Feast* by the Danish director Gabriel Axel (1987) is the quintessential cult food film, a dramatization of the transformative potential of every meal, of the food, of the cook, of the consumer. Even more than the novella by Isak Dinesen (1885–1962) on which it is based, the film questions even as it shows the ways in which gender associations inflect our understandings and practices of food.

The feast in question is the culinary creation of Babette, a French woman who fled civil war in Paris in 1871 and sought refuge with two middle-aged sisters in a remote corner of Denmark. For many years Babette cooks for them, preparing the familiar and very simple local fare. One day she wins the lottery and determines to use her winnings to make a *real French dinner* for the sisters and the other members of their austere Lutheran sect. The dinner is magnificent, a repast worthy of the greatest chef. The explanation comes when Babette reveals that she had been the head chef in one of the most celebrated restaurants in Paris.

From preparation to consumption, the sensuality of the meal illuminates the screen: gleaming copper pots, starched white table linen, gleaming silver, glowing red wine, sparkling champagne, a crackling fire, quail prepared with unctuous foie gras studded with black truffles, a mammoth round of blue cheese. This conspicuous sensuality scares the pious guests who have watched the procession of foodstuffs with increasing trepidation: a live tortoise on a cart and quail fluttering in a cage, a whole calf's head with its baleful stare. Fearing a *witches' Sabbath*, they resolve not to yield to their senses. "It will be as if we never had the sense of taste," vows one man. Yet so great is her artistry that Babette works magic even against their will. The seduction of food works its way, in a completely desexualized mode, its transcendent pleasures reinforced by the hymns that the group sings after dinner. The luscious goods of this earth turn into extraterrestrial phenomena as they prompt a higher felicity. As one guest declares, "In this beautiful world of ours, all things are possible." Babette is the *alma mater*, the nourishing mother who sacrifices herself to sustain others. The Frenchwoman will not return to France, having spent all her lottery winnings on the feast. She will remain in service to the sisters and return to the routine of their, and her, everyday life.

The transformation of the food transforms Babette herself. The cook whose work is rooted in the domestic crosses culinary gender lines to conquer the masculine realm of the chef. After many years spent preparing the uncomplicated and undemanding meals of everyday, Babette suddenly appears as a true chef, the chef as a veritable general directing complex strategic operations. With Babette's preparation of her feast, cooking moves out of the domestic arena into the public domain. That a high-profile professional woman chef such as Babette would have been an impossibility in nineteenth-century France only underscores the opposition of cook and chef that justified the exclusion of women from public venues in the first place. At the same time, Babette's chefing in the film points to the intimate and intrinsic bond between chefs and cooks. *Babette's Feast* deconstructs the conventional culinary duality by separating the culinary roles of cooking and chefing from the culinary statuses of cook and chef. Because they are so clearly social constructions, the gendered roles are shown as both arbitrary and powerful—all the more powerful for their grounding in society, its norms, its interdictions, and its injunctions.

Cook and chef, Babette converts the guests no less than the food. The camera pans around the table, showing the faces changing as the guests fearfully and then joyfully taste the mysterious dishes set before them. The sect that had fallen into squabbling and dissension becomes one again, as the women and men realize the original vision of love and harmony of the founder whose centennial they had gathered to celebrate. Babette expands the conventional female role from the family to the larger community. In the Parisian restaurant where she had cooked for an adoring public, her cooking gave her the opportunity to make that public hers. "I made them happy," she tells the sisters. With this feast, with commensals far removed from the connoisseurs whom she once served, she not only made the guests happy, she shapes a community.

Babette's Feast ratifies our own experiences with food. We know that food connects as it divides, and we know as well that gender is a powerful element in connection and division just as it is a crucial component of our food practices generally. Sensuality, work, commensality—these fundamental qualities of our food experiences insistently remind us of the many ways that food practices both *are* gendered and themselves *do* gender—total social phenomena that, in concert and in conflict, shape our world.

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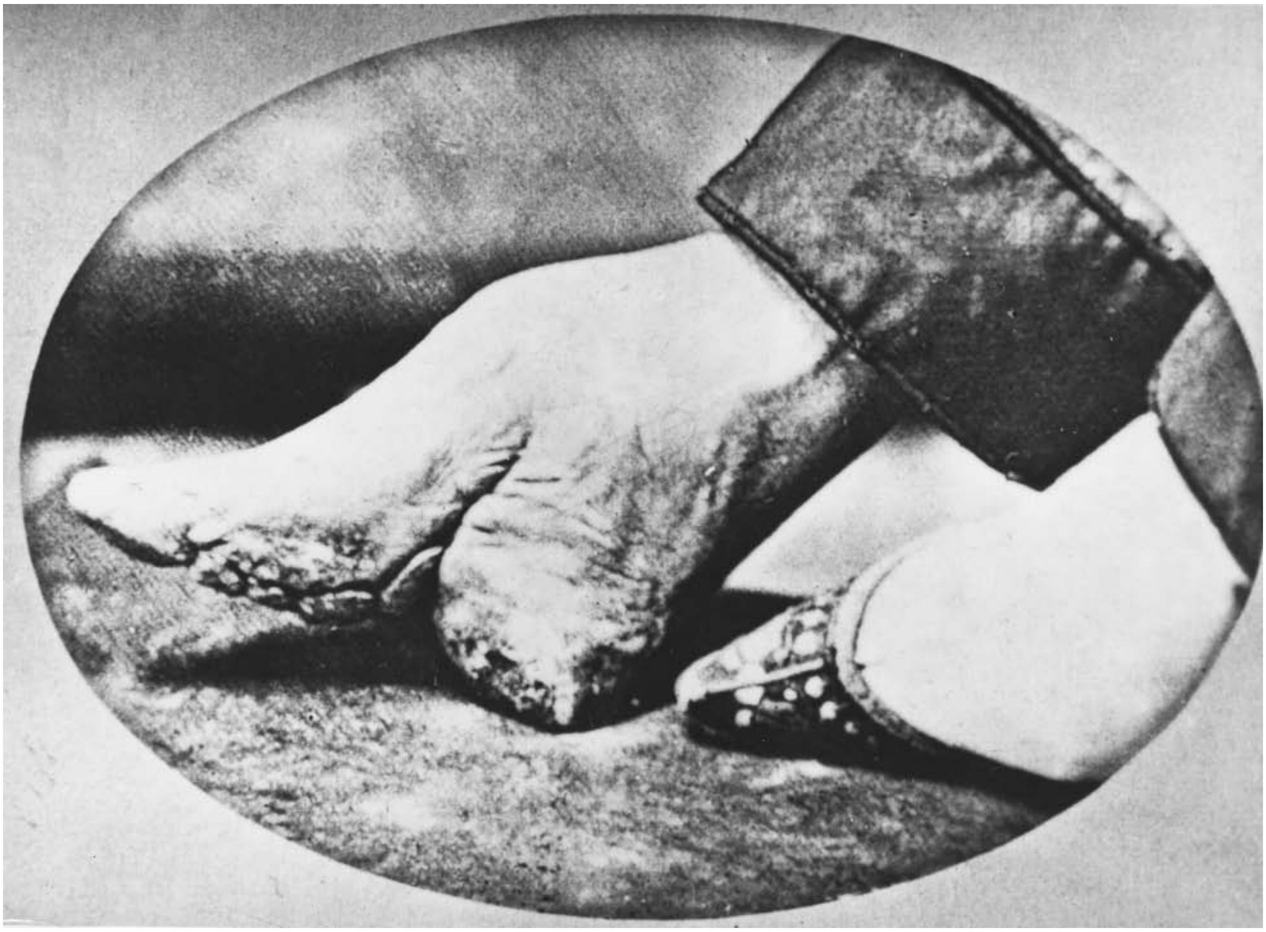
Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson

FOOT BINDING

In China foot binding has had a diverse and often contentious history. Although the practice originated in the middle to late tenth century, over time, women's small feet came to symbolize many female-related qualities, including weakness, brokenness, passivity, delicacy, and sensuality. Writers throughout the history of China often contemplated the many dualistic qualities of bound feet: They were both animalistic (like a hoof) and a symbol of aristocratic refinement, domesticating and frivolous, erotic and virtuous, painful and beautiful. The primary symbol associated with bound feet is the lotus blossom. This further complicates interpretations of them because the lotus is both a sign of Buddhist piety and a poetic allusion to a range of sensual and erotic pleasures. Contemporary interest in foot binding shows that scholars continue to find the practice a useful entryway into various aspects of Chinese culture and its representations in literature.

HISTORY

The cultural preference for small feet and elegant walking in China can be traced back to the twenty-first century BCE, and there are many possible origins for the practice of foot binding. For example, the ruler of the Qi kingdom in 499–501 CE, Xiao Baojian, marveled when his consort stepped on golden leaves shaped into lotus blossoms: "Every step a lotus." There is also the story of Yexian, the Chinese Cinderella, first recorded in the ninth century CE: She drops a tiny shoe while returning from a banquet she attended in disguise, eventually



Feet Deformed from Binding. *The feet of an aristrocratic Chinese woman, deformed as a result of foot binding.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/ GETTY IMAGES.**

leading to a royal marriage. Poet Han Wo (844–c. 923) wrote "Ode to the Slippers," which compared women's feet to lotuses and praised feet precisely six inches long. During the Tang dynasty (618–907) dancers from outside China who bound their feet entertained the court, perhaps inspiring palace women to imitate them.

However, there is general scholarly agreement that foot binding began in the court of Li Yu (reigned 961–975) in the interval between the Tang and Northern Song (960–1127) dynasties. The legendary first foot binder was Yao Niang, Li's favorite concubine, who danced on a gilded stage in her socks. By the end of the tenth century the practice of foot binding had begun at court, and the literary image of bound feet, often referred to as lotus flowers, was firmly established in Chinese storytelling and poetry.

At the end of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) women aimed for four-inch-long feet. The Mongol rulers of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) loved bound feet, and natural unbound feet became a source of shame. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the three-inch-long foot was the standard for courtly beauty, elegance, and femininity. Chinese peasant and servant women generally had unbound feet until the middle to late eighteenth century, when cotton production became widespread and women at all social levels were able to make binding and shoemaking cloth in large quantities.

Between 1860 and 1930 European and North American missionaries and Chinese reformers worked to end foot binding; photographers began taking pictures of women with nude bound feet, breaking a significant taboo against viewing them. The Chinese reformer Kang Youwei (1858–1927) founded the Do Not Bind Feet Society in 1883 and in 1898 drafted a letter asking the emperor of Guangxu province to end the practice. Reformers argued that foot binding was a symbol of national weakness and backwardness, whereas unbound feet symbolized national strength and modernity. As a result of the work of those reformers, the significant increase in women doing factory instead of farm labor, the Japanese invasion, and World War II, the practice mostly had ended by the early 1940s. In 1949, the Communist Party banned foot binding, as the practice limited women's ability to perform agricultural labor. The last factory making lotus shoes ceased producing them in 1999.

FEET AND SHOES

Although the cultural meanings of foot binding were diverse, there was a standard process for creating small feet. Mothers would begin binding their daughters' feet when the girls were around seven years old. Women would sprinkle their feet with alum powder and then take a binding cloth two to four inches wide and ten to thirteen feet long and wind it tightly around the foot, repeatedly folding under four toes (leaving the big toe pointing upward), drawing the heel and toes as close together as possible, and sewing together the ends of the cloth. Foot binding had three effects: It shortened the length of the foot, reduced the width of the sole, and reshaped the foot to produce an arched bulge on the instep and a deep crevice under the arch. Foot binding re-formed the foot by bending and stretching its ligaments and tendons, but without breaking the bones.

The shoes women made for themselves and others contained rich imagery. Embroidery on the sides of the shoes would depict stories or symbols such as the lotus flower. Brides to be would make shoes for all their female in-laws. There were different shoes for weddings, sleeping, longevity (blue fabric), and mourning (white or cream fabric). Children's shoes often had the faces of their birth-year animals on the toes. The bindings and shoes never came off in front of men, and allowing men to touch or see nude feet was taboo, resulting in shame and loss of face. Men considered touching the shoes or covered feet of their wives or concubines erotic.

CONTEMPORARY DEBATE

Recent scholarship remains divided about how to understand foot binding in the history of Chinese literature and culture. Scholars differ over how to use one of the primary sources of foot binding oral history, photographs, poetry, and prose: the five volumes of *Caifeilu* (translated as *Records of Gathering Fragrance* or *Picking Radishes*). Those books were edited in the late 1930s by Yao Lingxi, who was a self-described *lotus addict* trying to preserve the remnants of a vanishing practice. Scholars such as Ping Wang and Dorothy Ko also disagree about the usefulness of various interpretive approaches for studying foot binding, such as psychoanalytic, feminist, gender, subaltern, and literary theories. As foot binding allows for the study of interrelated aspects of Chinese culture such as gender relationships, sexuality, power, the body, labor, and clothing, there is no doubt that literature pertaining to and photographs of the practice, as well as exhibitions of shoes, will continue to draw audiences.

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FOPS

The fop was the Enlightenment (1600–1800) forerunner of the dandy, a man known for an attention to dress and fashion bordering on the absurd. The term originally meant fool, appearing in English as early as 1440; by the eighteenth century it signified a vain man who was foolishly devoted to his own appearance above all else. The stereotype of the fop involved extravagantly expensive clothes made of the finest materials, cut in the latest and most daring styles. Fops wore elaborate wigs, makeup, and shoes, and took every opportunity to display themselves.

Fops were real-life characters as well as theatrical and literary ones. They were associated with places of public display, such as courts and theaters, so much so that the center of the pit in opera houses was sometimes called Fop's alley. Fops were associated with fashion, manners, the aristocracy, and all things French; Molière's (1622–1673) play *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* [The would-be gentleman] (1670) is a fop stereotype, a middle-class social climber so eager to impress his aristocratic friends with his clothes, dancing, and money that he makes a spectacle of himself. His attention to dress is so exaggerated that even his own servants are unable to control the violent fits of laughter he inspires.

Part of the comedic effect of the fop is that he is a man with no sense of moderation or of his natural station. He is a bourgeois who thinks he can be an aristocrat, and is a man with a woman's attention to fashion and manners. Repudiating the sober virtues of middle-class masculinity, he violates boundaries of both class and gender. His mincing effeminacy parodies both the effeteness of the upper classes of his era and the stupidity of a merchant class that craves their approval; the moral lesson his stereotype teaches is that aping the values of the womanish upper classes emasculates bourgeois men and makes them foolish.

In the nineteenth century the fop became the dandy. As does the fop the dandy emulates the aristocracy. Unlike the fop the dandy affects nonchalance, reserve, and even cynicism so as to not appear to be trying quite so hard. The most famous dandy of all was George Bryan "Beau" Brummell (1778–1840), a friend of the British Prince Regent (George, Prince of Wales, who became King George IV [r. 1820–1830] after the 1829 demise of George III [r. 1760–1820]). Brummell, from the 1790s until his death, embodied the relentlessly immaculate stereotype of the well-dressed man. He may have discovered fashion as a method of social resistance when he and his cadre of fashionable friends abandoned the practice of wearing powdered wigs and hair in response to Prime Minister William Pitt's (1759–1806) 1795 tax on hair powder. Not only was wearing powder expensive, it was going out of fashion by the time Pitt introduced his tax; Brummell was then in the military and thus required by its dress code to powder his hair. No doubt this annoyed him, and he quit powder and the military in the same moment, adopting a style of disputably Roman haircuts that were all the rage in a gesture of fashionable resistance, thus resisting fashion's terms through fashion's means. This would be the beginning of a lifelong devotion to appearance that would come to define his identity and place in history.

Thus, Brummell was *so* well-turned out as to be a spectacle. There was nothing outlandish about his dress or his manner; in fact, he was known for his reticence. But a man dressed so carefully as to call attention to himself makes a theatrical event out of the everyday habit of men's dress, raising it to the level of sublime performance and even parody. Cultural critics see Brummell as the precursor of the decadents and aesthetes of the late nineteenth century and the mods and punks of the twentieth. His careful arrangement of his person was so proper as to constitute a rebuke. Such extreme attention rises to the level of the parodic and can be read paradoxically as both the highest emulation of aristocratic masculinity and a critique of its excess.

Later versions of the dandy, such as the mods and teddy boys, whose Carnaby Street frock coats and trousers revived Edwardian fashion in the United Kingdom in the 1960s, were similarly fanatical about perfect attire. Unlike Brummell, whose father left him a fortune to squander, most mods and teddy boys were working class, and their appropriation of men's styles critiqued the class assumptions that equated a tailored appearance with wealth, education, and other cultural advantages unavailable to most of them. As with Brummell their adherence to the dictates of fashion were so precise and so perfect as to be over the top. The *take* on culture signified by their clothes and attitude helped constitute a subcultural group of young men who could show their rejection of the terms of upward mobility by appropriating its terms for themselves.

Dandies have often been viewed as homosexual, in part because such extreme attention to appearance is often read as narcissistic, in part because a fixation on clothes appears fetishistic, and in part because one of the most famous homosexual of the early modern era, Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), was himself a dandy in his youth. His literary creation, Dorian Gray, is also a dandy, as is the friend who seduces Gray into a life of epicurean indulgences, Lord Henry Wotton. Dandyism does not have a fixed sexuality, although many modern dandies were also gay men, such as Noel Coward (1899–1973), Quentin Crisp (1980–1999), and Andy Warhol (1928–1987). Metrosexuals may be contemporary dandies, with their ambiguous sexualities and fine attention to male attire and masculine accessories. In an age increasingly dominated by dandyish Hollywood leading men, the parodic power of dandified dress may be on the wane. However, since his first appearance as a fop, the dandy has reinvented himself in every new fashion era and no doubt will do so again soon, on his own terms.

SEE ALSO *Effeminacy.*

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FOREPLAY

Foreplay is most commonly defined as sexual or erotic stimulation preceding sexual intercourse. Foreplay can consist of a wide variety of activities, including massage, kissing, caressing, teasing, removal of clothing, manual or oral genital stimulation, verbal stimulation, stripteases, and fantasy role-play. Foreplay is also sometimes used to encompass activity leading up to a sexual encounter, such as flirting or romantic dates. Foreplay may also include activities such as bondage, discipline, humiliation, or erotic torture.

The activities that constitute foreplay are thus highly contingent, both on what individuals find erotic or stimulating and on how they define sexual intercourse. Widescale surveys of sexual practice, including those by Kinsey (1948, 1953), Hunt (1974), and Janus (1993), have tended to privilege heterosexual (and often married heterosexual) practice and therefore define sexual intercourse as vaginal penetration by the penis. This definition of intercourse, however, excludes gay and lesbian experience completely and places homosexual sexual encounters entirely in the register of foreplay. Limiting the definition of intercourse to penetrative activities similarly excludes individuals whose sexual practice excludes penetration. Many gay men and lesbians, for example, prefer oral sex to anal or vaginal penetration; additionally, an increasing number of straight men and women consider oral sex to constitute sexual intercourse. The precise definition of foreplay is thus somewhat flexible and highly dependent on individual sexual preferences and beliefs.

Foreplay is generally considered to heighten sexual excitement and response, and is meant to ignite sexual desire and to prolong the tension that precedes orgasm. In men, for whom arousal and orgasm can often be attained faster than for women, foreplay is thought to intensify orgasm. For women, foreplay is often a crucial component of sexual satisfaction; for women with male partners, extended foreplay allows time for the woman to match her partner's level of arousal. Many women, moreover, report being unable to attain orgasm without sufficient foreplay. Foreplay is additionally used as mechanism for enhancing closeness and intimacy and thereby heightening the emotional connection experienced between partners during sex.

As the culture meanings of sex have changed and as the erogenous zones fetishized by society have changed, so too have the kinds of foreplay activities that couples have engaged in. In the nineteenth century, when many religious and social strictures limited appropriate sex to procreation, foreplay of any kind was often minimal. In Victorian society, which emphasized the control and regulation of sexuality, indulgence in foreplay for eroticism's sake was hardly encouraged. Some groups, however, began to challenge the primacy of marital sex and to experiment with other forms of sexual organization. In the case of the Oneidans, a commune of "free love" advocates in Oneida, New York, in the mid-nineteenth century, the re-visioning of sex and marriage had profound effects on foreplay. The community trained its men in the practice of coitus reservatus, in which the male partner refrains from ejaculating. This practice allowed the community to retain control over procreation, while freeing men and women for sexual exploration with less risk of unwanted pregnancies. The Oneidans adhered to nineteenth-century gender norms, construing men as active and controlling and women as passive and subordinate. However, they refigured the application of these roles in the arena of sexuality; men were to take on the responsibility of preventing ejaculation, which required significant control, while women were to succumb to sexual desire. Men prided themselves on their ability to bring female partners to multiple orgasms, and extended foreplay was thus desired and widely used.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as sexual pleasure came to be seen as increasingly important to a happy marriage, extended foreplay became more important to sexual unions. In many cases, however, such foreplay was considered necessary strictly for the woman's sake. Male desire was thought to be quickly aroused and easily satisfied, and many men therefore opted for quick and efficient sexual intercourse. Sex manuals and researchers, however, increasingly encouraged men to engage in more prolonged foreplay so as to increase pleasure for their partners. By the 1920s and 1930s, sex writing emphasized sex as an expression of love, self, and togetherness, rather than as a matter of male control and efficacy, and sex manuals began providing detailed advice on how to extend foreplay so as to augment mutual satisfaction.

Though Kinsey's sex surveys (1948, 1953) restrict their most extensive detail regarding foreplay behavior to that of married heterosexual couples, the results are nonetheless revealing. Kinsey's discussion of sexual techniques includes data on the frequency of lip kissing, deep kissing, breast stimulation, manual genital stimulation, and oral genital stimulation. His findings reveal substantial variation based on educational levels: In those with no more than a high school level education, foreplay was most often perfunctory, involving little kissing and minimal bodily contact. Kinsey claimed that lower-educated men often regarded oral-genital contact, oral breast stimulation, and even deep kissing with some aversion or suspicion. Cunnilingus and fellatio were widely avoided and were practiced frequently by only a small minority of married couples. The prevalent attitude toward sex of men with some or no high school education was utilitarian: the goal was to achieve orgasm as quickly as possible after instigating sexual relations. Among college-educated men and women, foreplay tended to be much more extended, generally ranging between five and fifteen minutes. Those with higher education were far more likely to regularly utilize a variety a sexual techniques, including manual stimulation of the genitals, deep kissing, and breast stimulation. Though fellatio and cunnilingus were more likely to be practiced by college-educated couples, frequent usage was limited to a small minority.

Morton Hunt's 1974 follow-up on the Kinsey data finds much more practice of a wider range of sexual behaviors and a concomitant rise in the duration and variety of foreplay activities after the sexual revolution. Hunt finds an increase in the prevalence of most kinds of sexual behaviors, noting that the greatest increases correspond to the most taboo behaviors. Oral-genital contact, then, had become a fairly widespread practice by the 1970s. Such contact, moreover, was comprising a greater proportion of the total time spent on foreplay, particularly among younger respondents, 60 percent of whom indicated that as much as half their foreplay time was devoted to fellatio or cunnilingus. Hunt also noted a greater usage of anal contact as part of foreplay. More than half the married respondents under age 35 reported experiencing manual stimulation of the anus, while more than 25 percent had engaged in oral-anal stimulation.

Hunt also remarks on an overall emphasis on the importance of foreplay among sexual partners, though, as with Kinsey, he focuses on heterosexual couples. Hunt finds that the variations in the prevalence of foreplay between high school and college-educated men had closed up by the 1970s, with both groups spending about fifteen minutes on foreplay. Single men and women under twenty-five also average about fifteen minutes on foreplay, while those between twenty-five and thirty-four years of age average about twenty minutes. Foreplay has become a consistent practice among both married and single couples. Taken as whole, married and single couples appeared to engage in roughly equivalent durations of foreplay; the most consistent statistical differences in the duration correlates to a group's age, with the youngest people spending the most time on foreplay.

Received wisdom about foreplay has often been that men want less while women want more. Early twentieth-century interest in foreplay was explicitly based on this belief, arguing that mutual sexual pleasure required the male to put off his own desire for orgasm in order to further arouse his female partner. However, researchers have increasingly found that partners of both sexes are genuinely concerned about their partner's pleasure. Janus (1993), for example, finds that a significant percentage of both men and women are more concerned with their partner's satisfaction than their own. Hunt implies a similar concern with mutual satisfaction in his analysis of Kinsey's foreplay data, when he suggests that educated men spend more time on foreplay because they have been made aware of its importance to female satisfaction. Hunt further believes that his own data, which mark an all-around increase in the duration and range of foreplay behaviors, reveal a growing pressure, in the age of sexual liberation, to be sexually expert. Kahn (1981) finds that men and women place similar value on foreplay, ranking nude petting fourth and third respectively in a list of sexual preferences.

SEE ALSO *Arousal.*

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Maureen Lauder

FORNICATION

Fornication refers to acts of sexual intercourse between two people who are not married to one another. It is different from adultery, which occurs if at least one of the two intercourse partners is married to someone else, though fornication and adultery are often associated as similar transgressions. The term *fornication* derives from the Latin *fornix*, which means archway; the vaulted arches of churches are called fornications. The term gained its sexual connotation because prostitutes in Rome often solicited business from the archways of buildings. In the early twenty-first century, fornication is a slightly obsolete, archaic term, connoting issues of sin and morality, and employed in the context of religious discussions of sexual behaviors.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

The category of fornication represents the intersection of religion and/or morality with criminal legislation enacted by governments. Prohibitions against fornication derive from cultures in which religious laws were the laws that governed the society, as in Judaism, Islam, and Christianity, at various times in history. In Old Testament law, fornication was a version of idolatry or adultery, both prohibitions listed in the Ten Commandments. Idolatry or worshiping another god was considered a form of fornication in so far as illicit intercourse served as an analogy for unfaithfulness. Extramarital intercourse represented a breach of marital vows. Although all extramarital sexual acts were serious infractions of both religious and civil laws, premarital sex was less serious than adulterous sex, although having premarital sex might produce a marriage under Jewish law. Islamic law followed the Old Testament prohibitions against pre- and extramarital sexual relations, classifying such behaviors as *zina*, or the most serious kind of transgression. Christianity, too, forbids fornication, based on both Old and New Testament proclamations. Asian religions also forbade fornication. The Hindu holy book, the Bhagavad Gita, prohibits adultery and premarital sex, and

Buddhism understands all sexual activity as a barrier to self-righteousness.

The rationale for prohibitions against pre- and extramarital intercourse came from the societies' need to maintain familial integrity and identity, guarantee the legitimacy of children, and protect unmarried women from interference or their own premature desires. As postindustrial societies devised state-enforced criminal codes, transgressions such as fornication were most often codified along with other moral wrongs as defined by the dominant religion.

As Renaissance (1300–1699) and Enlightenment (1600–1799) governments began producing criminal laws, issues of morality such as fornication were defined as behaviors that were against the law. Criminal laws forbade premarital sex, extramarital sex, and adultery. The early North American colonies adopted antifornication laws. In 1642, for example, the Massachusetts colony enacted a law against fornication that stated "that if any man shall commit Fornication with any single woman, they shall be punished either by enjoining to Marriage, or Fine, or corporal punishment, or any or all of these as the Judges of the courts of Assistants shall appoint most agreeable to the word of God." Under the Napoleonic Penal Code of 1810, husbands could divorce wives who committed adultery, though the husbands' own behaviors were less restricted.

Modern governments still have antifornication laws, which criminalize nonmarital cohabitation, adultery, and prostitution. Any kind of extramarital intercourse is a crime in most Muslim countries, and the laws are often enforced, yielding harsh punishments for malefactors. In many countries with such laws, the woman is treated more harshly than the man, perpetuating sexist myths about the provocative powers of women. In European and North American countries, antifornication laws usually define *sex* as vaginal intercourse between two persons not married to one another and treat the partners as equally culpable. Antisodomy laws, or statutes making anal intercourse a crime even between married partners, are also considered to be antifornication laws. Although ten of the states in the United States still criminalize fornication, many states have begun to repeal such laws in light of the 2003 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lawrence v. Texas*. In 1977, well before the *Lawrence* case, a New Jersey court struck down a New Jersey antifornication statute, stating that antifornication statutes involve "a fundamental personal choice" that people have the right to make without governmental interference. The court, in *New Jersey v. Saunders*, premised its declarations on a constitutional right to privacy that "secures conditions favorable to the pursuit of happiness." In 2005, in *Martin v. Ziherl*, the Supreme Court of Virginia found that state's antifornication statute unconstitutional, declaring that because a majority views a behavior as immoral "is not a sufficient reason for upholding a law prohibiting the practice" and that individuals' decisions about their intimate lives are a "form of 'liberty' protected by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." Given these court decisions, some states repealed their antifornication laws, but others retain them. In almost every state such laws are rarely, if ever, enforced.

PLACE IN THE SOCIAL IMAGINATION

Despite the increasing separations between traditional morality and state criminal laws, the idea of fornication still has a powerful place in the social imagination. It has long provided a subject for literature and matter for censorship. William Shakespeare's play *Measure for Measure* (1604), for example, portrays a civic leader who insists on prosecuting fornicators. The duke is not envisaged as a sympathetic character, but as one who would destroy the joys of love. Such eighteenth-century novels as Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* and Pierre Choderlos de Laclos's *Dangerous Liaisons* portrayed the scandals of fornication as did nineteenth-century novels by Leo Tolstoy, Gustave Flaubert, and Émile Zola. In the twentieth century, literature depicting fornication and adultery, such as D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, were initially banned for their scandalous content.

In the early twenty-first century, the term fornication conveys an archaic notion of sin, especially in the face of more liberal beliefs about sexuality and personal freedom. The availability of birth control, the sexualization of culture, and the independence and mobility of individuals makes extramarital sexual activity both more possible and less risky in terms of possible pregnancies or, often, other familial ramifications. The number of children born out of wedlock or who live in nonpatriarchal nuclear families makes the constraints of fornication laws seem outdated and unnecessary. Nonetheless, government programs advising teen abstinence from sexual activity still depend upon the connotations of sin that the term fornication conveys, returning sex education to the realm of morality over considerations of health, choice, or safety.

SEE ALSO *Adultery; Canon Law; Erotic Art; Film, Gender and Eroticism: I. History of; Middle Ages; Pornography.*

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Judith Roof

FOTONOVELAS

A *fotonovela* (also known as photonovel or photonovella) is a series of captioned photographs that tell a story. Generally presenting tales of romance, the genre began in Italy and Spain and was imported to and transformed in Latin America. Because *fotonovelas* are relatively cheap and portable, readers share them widely. In many working-class neighborhoods *fotonovelas* are distributed by a local entrepreneur who sets up a rental library where for a few cents one can borrow a volume that is to be returned the next day. *Fotonovelas* are exchanged and traded among middle-class young people, constantly recycling a series of images and messages that are interpreted according to the experience of the reader despite the intentions of the writer or publisher (Hill and Browner 1982).

ORIGINS AND TYPES

The genre began after World War II in Italy and Spain as stills from films, such as the Italian classic *roman-photo Grand Hotel*, but soon emerged as a separate medium (Habert 1974). Spanish romantic novels were transformed to photographs. Latin American *fotonovela* production began in Cuba in the late 1940s. With the Cuban revolution of 1959, production shifted to Miami.

The formulaic plot of the early *rosa* ("pink"; sex is not mentioned) *fotonovela* featured a naive young woman of good breeding but reduced circumstances who unknowingly causes a wealthy man to fall in love with her, thus solving her financial and romantic problems. The female characters, although they tried to appear independent (and thus endear themselves to the spectacularly virile hero), ultimately were won by acknowledging their innate weakness and the man's superiority. The images of women were extremely traditional. Women should do what is best for men despite their talents and needs. Men solve problems. Women respond from the soul, not from the intellect.

In the 1970s entrepreneurs in Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico began to produce *fotonovelas suaves* ("soft"; sex is implied), whose characters were middle-class without upward mobility through romance for the heroine. Obstacles, including a woman's occupation, could keep the lovers apart for a while, but the stories inevitably ended happily with the lovers reunited. Career was subordinated to love and marriage. Male and female characteristics remained clearly differentiated. Women were weak and needed protection; men provided it.

The *fotonovela roja* ("red"; with explicit sexuality) produced in Mexico beginning in the 1970s represented a radical departure from the *fotonovela rosa* (Curiel 1980). Characters and settings were poor, but the villains, male and female, were upper-class. There were no happy endings. Women in the *fotonovela roja* were in charge of their own economic destiny despite the sex and violence that permeated all relations, romantic and contractual.

Single women in the *rojas* had two options: domestic service or prostitution. Both were problematic, subjecting women to the inevitable sexual predation of upper-class men. Death, the usual ending in a *fotonovela roja*, was presented as clearly preferable. True love was between a man and a woman of humble circumstances but pure hearts.

Fotonovela content is a function of production cost-effectiveness. Casts are small, and the sets are the homes and offices of the actors and producers. Scripts often are recycled with very minor variations, although readers often submit scripts. Original scripts are readjusted to the norm. An avid *fotonovela* reader, the Colombian union leader Ruth Correa sold a number of "scripts" to a Colombian producer. Union organizing was critical in her plots, requiring many people and access to the shop floor. In production the heroine lost her union roots, transformed from a factory worker to a secretary at her typewriter (a scene available in the office of the *fotonovela* producer).

ALTERNATIVE FOTONOVELAS

Only in alternative *fotonovelas*, usually produced by community or union organizers, do women organize (Flora 1984). Alternative *fotonovelas* treat themes such as birth control, the importance of women's education, and the need to engage in self-help. In these *fotonovelas*, which often are produced by feminists, men and women work together as equals to solve community problems.

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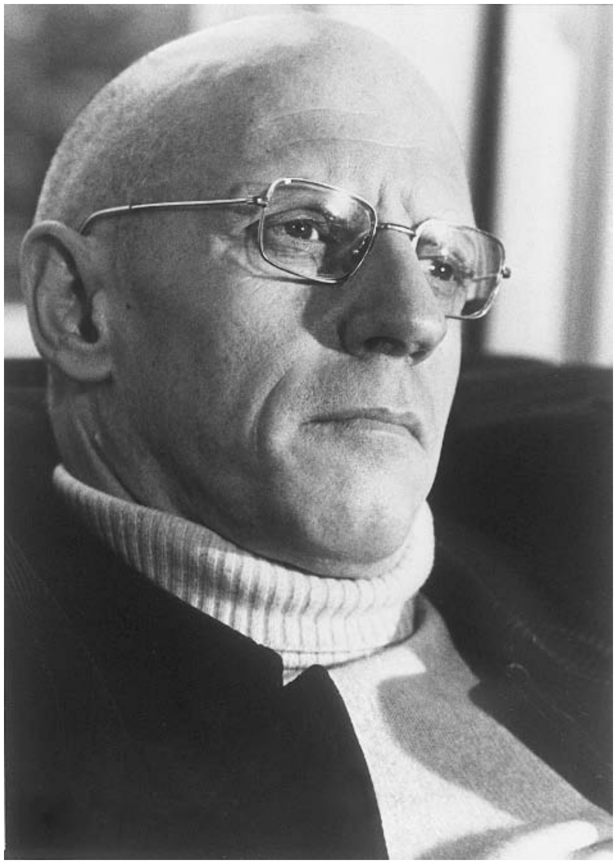
FOUCAULT, MICHEL
1926–1984

One of the late twentieth century's most important thinkers, Michel Foucault—classified variously as structuralist or poststructuralist, with neither label fitting comfortably—provides one starting point for several new lines of critical thought, including postcolonial theory, new historicism, and queer theory. Born in Poitiers, France, on June 15, 1926, Foucault studied at the École Normale Supérieure, working with such prominent philosophers as Louis Althusser (1918–1990) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961). Following the 1968 student protests in France, Foucault became politically active, especially on behalf of prisoners' rights. In 1969 Foucault gained election to the prestigious Collège de France, where he was professor of the History of Systems of Thought until his death in Paris on June 25, 1984, of AIDS-related causes. He lectured widely outside France and taught, in his last decade, at the University of California, Berkeley.

Beginning in the 1960s Foucault had a long-term, nonexclusive relationship with the sociologist Daniel Defert. Foucault's sexual life was the object of much speculation, especially after the publication of James Miller's 1993 biography, *The Passion of Michel Foucault*, and Hervé Guibert's 1991 novel, *To the Friend Who Did Not Save My Life*, which presented Foucault in sensationalized ways. Foucault was involved in gay sadomasochistic sexuality and in experiments with LSD, but Miller's claim that these provide a key to his thought has been controversial. David Halperin makes a strong rebuttal in *Saint Foucault* (1995).

Foucault's major works include *Madness and Civilization* (1965, English translation [1961, French publication]), which studies the emergence of modern ideas of mental illness; *The Birth of the Clinic* (1973 [1963]), a history of the development of clinical medicine; *The Order of Things* (1970 [1966]), which elaborates a broader critique of the human sciences; *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972 [1969]), a reflection on Foucault's archeological methodology, showing how different periods operate with different *epistemes* or *discursive formations*, systems by which what counts as valid knowledge is established; *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977 [1975]), which examines the shift from a society in which power is centralized in a monarch and displayed in spectacular public torture and executions, to a modern *disciplinary* system of which the prison is an exemplary institution; and the three volumes of the *History of Sexuality*: *An Introduction* (1978 [1976]), *The Use of Pleasure* (1985 [1984]), and *The Care of the Self* (1986 [1984]). *Discipline and Punish* and the *History of Sexuality* are considered part of a turn in Foucault's work from archeology to genealogy, with the latter suggesting a reliance on Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's (1844–1900) philosophy and an emphasis on the contingent (nonprogressive, nontranscendental) nature of historical change. Also important in Foucault's thinking about sexuality and gender are *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-Century French Hermaphrodite* (1980 [1978]); various essays and interviews, collected in the *Essential Works of Foucault*; and the 1975–1976 lectures, "Society Must Be Defended."



Michel Foucault. AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

The first volume of the *History of Sexuality* develops a counterintuitive argument: Whereas, in what Foucault calls the *repressive hypothesis* the twentieth century came to understand sexuality as repressed and taboo, Foucault argues instead that modern sexuality depends upon eliciting speech about sex, with a series of discourses emerging to identify the truth of one's self with a sexuality felt to be inborn and *natural* (but in fact *produced* by these very discourses). Foucault traces a set of historical processes—most intense in the nineteenth century but with roots as far back as medieval Christian confession—by which an *incitement to discourse* about the inner self and its sexual desires produces a European and North American *science of sex* involving medical, psychiatric, pedagogic, and political institutions. Four major figures, the hysterical woman, the masturbating child, the Malthusian couple, and the perverse adult, become the *privileged objects* of sexual knowledge, and new scientific disciplines—including the sexology of Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895), and Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), and ultimately psychoanalysis—develop to investigate such objects. Where individuals' sexual behavior had previously been a matter of (dis)allowed *acts*, modern sexuality wraps one's very *identity* up with the specification of a stable, essential sexual self. In Foucault's influential formulation, "The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species."

Foucault argues, further, that knowledge about sex/sexuality is intimately wrapped up with power in configurations of power/knowledge. For Foucault, power is not just exerted from above, but instead involves multiple, local force relations that always entail both exertions of power and resistances to it. The modern deployment of sexuality involves a change (like that described in *Discipline and Punish*) in the way power operates in European and North American societies: Where power was once centralized in a monarch who could put others to death, modern societies decentralize power, disciplining subjects and their bodies in part by investing them with a sexuality that subjects themselves are expected to observe, husband, control, and speak. Power, rather than operating simply through repression, *produces* the very kinds of sexualized subject that it can use most effectively. The king's *right of death* is replaced by *power over life*, or *bio-power*.

Though in Volume I of the *History* Foucault focuses on sexuality as a modern innovation, he turns in the next volumes to consider premodern constructions of the body, sex, and pleasure. The plan of the reconceived *History*, left incomplete at Foucault's death, would have examined how sexual acts and pleasures, thought by the ancient Greeks to be useful in leading an ethical life, began to be distrusted in ancient Rome, a development that continued and intensified within European Christianity. *The Use of Pleasure* and *The Care of the Self* develop Foucault's ideas about *technologies of the self*, ways in which the subject comes to recognize, care for, discipline, and know itself, and moves Foucault's thought further into the realm of ethics than previously.

Foucault's work has been highly influential for scholarship on gender and sexuality. Though criticized by some feminists for his lack of attention to gender difference, Foucault has been important for others because of his antiessentialist take on sexuality, which echoes feminism's insistence that gender is a social construction. Teresa de Lauretis, for instance, takes Foucault's technologies of the self as one starting point for her *Technologies of Gender* (1987). Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) also follows Foucault in many respects, especially in showing gender (like Foucault's sexuality) to be not a cause but an effect, the production of discourses that deny their own productivity in an attempt to naturalize and essentialize gender.

It is not surprising that the feminists most attracted to Foucault's thinking have also often been those—like de Lauretis and Butler—closely associated with queer theory, which questions the stability of identity categories. Indeed, almost all the work associated with queer theory depends in significant ways on Foucault, especially (1) his insistence that sex and sexuality have a history; that they are not stable, innate givens, and hence might change in the future, (2) the corresponding recognition that an individual's sexuality is a construction, determined by discourse and power/knowledge (which is not to say that sexuality is not real and deeply felt), and (3) the elaboration of a theory that makes resistance integral to power, recognizing that as soon as a hegemonic discourse develops, resistant counter-discourses also emerge. Unlike lesbian/gay studies that take their starting point in the assumption of relatively stable gay and lesbian identities, Foucault's *History* and queer theory both emphasize the historical contingency of any identity, the ways in which subjectivity and sexuality are shaped differently at different points in time.

Foucault's work—particularly the argument that the figure of the homosexual emerges only in the nineteenth century—has been considered inaccurate by some historical specialists; thus, for instance, Rictor Norton (1945–) identifies a gay subculture in the eighteenth century. We should recognize, however, that—especially in Volume I of the *History*—Foucault is writing in broad strokes, outlining a field of inquiry that he hoped to study in more detail later; he also complicates his own history, emphasizing that several nonsynchronous changes contributed to the development of modern sexuality, and arguing against a supersessionist view that modern sexuality all at once replaced its predecessors. Foucault's work has, indeed, been enabling for many scholars working on premodern materials—classicists such as Halperin, John J. Winkler (1943–1990), Froma I. Zeitlin (1933–), and Simon Goldhill; medievalists such as Carolyn Dinshaw and Karma Lochrie; and early modernists such as Jonathan Goldberg and Valerie Traub (1958–).

One final critique of Foucault that is important to acknowledge concerns the Eurocentrism of his work. Thus, Abdul JanMohamed, in an essay in Domna Stanton's *Discourses of Sexuality*, notes that Foucault does not go very far in analyzing racialized sexuality. Ann Laura Stoler, in *Race and the Education of Desire*, also recognizes that Foucault's *History* might benefit from a fuller engagement with the global (colonial/postcolonial) dynamics of race; she points out, however, Foucault's own concern with analyzing the development of European state racism in lectures (now published as *"Society Must Be Defended"*) contemporaneous with the *History*. Her own analysis of postcolonial situations where race and sexuality are constructed by and through each other then works to develop a complex, intriguing Foucaultian analysis of materials Foucault himself never considered.

SEE ALSO *Body, Theories of; Gender, Theories of; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Steven F. Kruger

FRENCH KISSING

SEE *Kiss, Modern.*

FREUD, SIGMUND

1856–1939

Sigmund Freud was the founder of modern psychoanalysis. He is also the intellectual figure most responsible for bringing issues of sexuality to the center of European and North American consciousness. A medical doctor, Freud studied nervous conditions and other mental disorders, believing that some maladies arise from the repression of early thoughts and desires rather than as an effect of physical disease. He refined the talking cure, in which he discerned patients' anxieties from what they said as well as they ways in which they said it. He hypothesized that the repression of specifically sexual desires underlay most nervous symptoms. In his long career Freud showed that the unconscious—that of ourselves which we cannot know—operated according to specific rules. In his work he showed the effects of the unconscious on conscious behavior, established the presence and influence of infantile sexuality, increasingly believed that the innate disposition of human beings was bisexual, developed the idea of the Oedipus complex, and thought that even civilization itself could be analyzed. His work focused on hysterics (patients with nervous symptoms that had no physical cause), dreams, psychic development, the sexual causes of nervous conditions, and the dynamism of the human mind, which he thought worked according to Newtonian principles of conservation. His centering on sexuality and his understanding of the dynamic functioning of the human psyche changed the way Europeans and North Americans think about the complex mental processes by which they become individuals.

Sigismund Schlomo Freud was born in Freiberg, Moravia, on May 6, 1856. He was the first son of his father's third marriage. His mother, Amalia, was twenty years younger than his father, Jacob Freud, and Sigmund had half brothers who were older than his mother and a nephew who was a year older than himself. The Freuds were Jewish and not wealthy. Freud's father was a wool merchant who was not always successful, though circumstances improved as Freud grew older. In 1860 the Freuds moved to Vienna, where Sigmund was to live for almost the rest of his life. By 1866 Freud's mother had given birth to five more children: four girls and a boy. They lived in a modest six-room apartment, where the serious Sigmund occupied his own bedroom while the rest of the family shared the three others. Freud adored his mother and liked his father.

Freud attended the local gymnasium, or high school, and was first in his class for seven years. He read widely, liking in particular the work of German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and William Shakespeare (1564–1616). In 1873 Freud began studies in medicine at the University of Vienna. He worked as a research assistant in 1876 on a zoology project in Trieste, trying to determine if there were gonads in eels. When he returned from Trieste, he began working in the physiology laboratory of Ernst Brücke (1819–1892), investigating the nervous systems of fish and the physiology of human nerves. Freud learned most of his positivist, empiricist scientific assumptions from Brücke and the faculty of the University of Vienna, which meant that he believed there were physical mechanisms for phenomena, which could be discerned through careful scientific method and observation. Freud did not believe that there were any mystical or metaphysical causes for biological phenomena.

In 1879 and 1880 Freud served his time in the military as a medic, completing his medical degree in 1881. The following year he took a junior post at the General Hospital in Vienna, where he worked for three years gaining both clinical experience and more specialized experience in the psychiatric clinic, working with Theodor Meynert (1833–1898) and Hermann Nothnagel (1841–1905), who became two of Freud's supporters. He researched the effects of cocaine as a local anesthetic, and in 1885 was awarded a travel grant to work with the French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893) in Paris.

Charcot's work with hysterical patients began to move Freud from his studies of brain physiology to psychology. Charcot, who believed hysteria was a psychological disorder rather than a physical condition, treated his patients through hypnosis. Freud returned to Vienna convinced that mental diseases were less physical than psychological and that the same psychological laws applied to all people, healthy or not. He also saw that the physiologists had done all they could and set out to help develop methods by which the neuroses—nervous ailments without physical cause—could be treated.

FREUD'S EARLY WORK

When he returned from Paris, Freud opened his own practice specializing in nervous diseases. He married, settled down, and also became friends with an otolaryngologist, Wilhelm Fliess (1887–1904), who for the next fifteen years served as Freud's specific audience, commenting on Freud's manuscripts and sharing ideas, especially Fliess's insight that humans were intrinsically bisexual in disposition.

In his medical practice Freud became unhappy with the modes of treatment and began to look for better ways to understand the causes and treatment of mental disorders. He translated the French psychiatrist Hippolyte Bernheim's (1840–1919) work on hypnosis, and worked with senior colleague Josef Breuer (1842–1925) on *Studies in Hysteria* (1895), a collection of studies on five hysterical patients. The most famous of these patients was Anna O., a patient whom both Breuer and Freud had treated in the 1880s. As a result of Anna's intelligence and own processing of her hysteria, Breuer began development of the talking cure, which replaced hypnosis. In the talking cure patients talk out their crises, finding in their own accounts the clues to their symptoms. In hearing their speech Freud also began to discern that the basis for his patients' nervous symptoms was often repressed sexual desires. He also found that the process of talking not only produced catharsis for the patient, it also proceeded through a much more difficult process. Patients inevitably were resistant, both consciously and unconsciously, to revealing material. Hence the physician needed to listen closely to what they said indirectly and inadvertently.

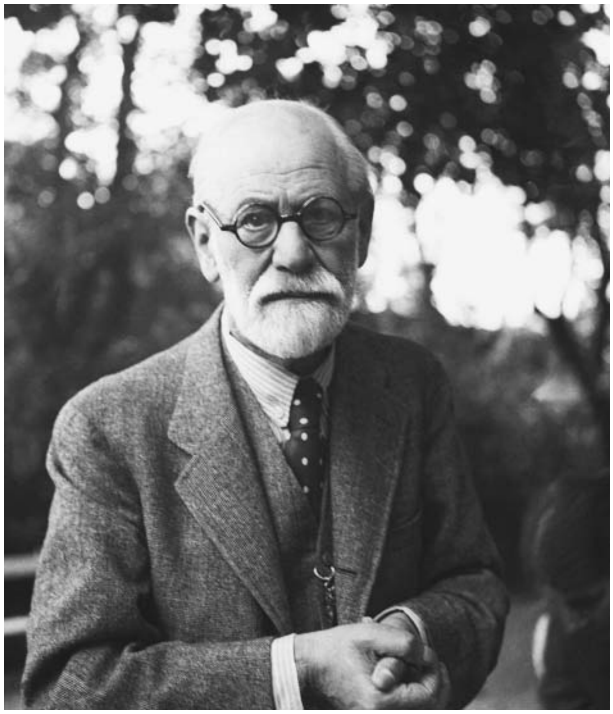
In studying hysterical patients Freud noticed that often the patients revealed an early sexual trauma, or seduction. At first Freud believed that his patients had literally been abused by relatives or caretakers and that abuse, repressed, formed the traumatic kernel around which hysterical symptoms later emerged. In the talking cure patients occasionally recalled such incidents. Freud first concluded that a great deal of sexual misconduct was occurring in middle-class households and that children were suffering at the hands of nannies and perhaps even male relatives. But Freud later revised this seduction theory, positing that patients' fantasies of such sexual contact were sufficient to produce a type of trauma as these guilty desires were repressed. Freud's recanting the idea of literal seduction has caused some to accuse him of not listening to his patients' claims. But Freud could not believe that so many people suffered at the hands of late Victorian patriarchs.

The material—the dreams, fantasies, and anxieties—presented by his hysterical clients inadvertently provided hints about their unconscious desires and fears. Freud became interested in this unconscious, a concept that had existed for much of the nineteenth century. Freud determined that one of the most fruitful sites to explore the unconscious was dreams, and he began an ambitious study of dream work, published in 1900 as *The Interpretation of Dreams*. After reviewing all available theories about dreams, Freud suggested that dreams were essentially fulfilled wishes. More important he suggested that the material in the unconscious represented by the dream was organized by a combination of condensation, whereby many different figures were combined into one; and of displacement, in which ideas, wishes, or events from one time and place played out in another set of circumstances.

In addition to its insights about how the unconscious worked, *The Interpretation of Dreams* also presented a large measure of Freud's own self-analysis, in particular his discovery of what he called his Oedipal wishes. Freud saw in his early childhood self the desire to eliminate his father so he could have his mother all to himself, a wish thwarted by his father's power. Freud's formulation of the Oedipal wish contributed to his increasing understanding of the underlying sexual component that operated in the unconscious.

Between 1900 and 1905, Freud continued to write studies about the ways in which the unconscious is revealed, including *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1904) and *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905). The first was written for a more general audience and provided numerous examples of mistakes and inadvertent slips, which have come to be known as *Freudian slips* and which often reveal an unconscious wish or sexual desire. The second showed that jokes often have a sexual basis.

Freud's more important work of this time was *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905). In this collection, Freud set out two crucial ideas about sexuality. In the collection's first essay, he examined what are perceived as sexual deviations and perversions, such as homosexuality, fetishism, and voyeurism, arguing that these perversions are a normal part of human sexuality. Basing his analysis on the idea that human beings are innately bisexual, he suggested that the range of sexual desires and particular desires within that range are not pathological. Human beings, he said, have both a sexual aim—what it is they want to do, and a sexual object—with whom they want to accomplish their aim. A sexual aim might be heterosexual sexual intercourse or it could be voyeuristic—wanting to see sexual relations, or the aim could be oral stimulation of the genitals or the desire to be spanked. The sexual object could be male or female or even inanimate, as was sometimes the case with fetishists. If the sexual aim of a male was sexual intercourse and the sexual object was a female, then the result would be typical heterosexual sex. If the aim of a female was oral sex with another female, then the result would be female homosexuality. The point of Freud's first essay was that all of these permutations are a natural part of human sexual existence.



Sigmund Freud. **© HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.**

The second essay argued for the existence of sexual feelings in very young children. Freud showed the ways infants already have a sexuality fixed on erogenous zones, such as the mouth, the anus, and the genitals. Although, as he suggests, this sexuality goes underground until puberty, the nature of the infant's sexual pleasures tend to set the individual's preferences for life. In addition, sexual traumas and seductions, which Freud believed were also sexual in nature, often dated from this period in a child's life.

The third essay discussed the ramifications of puberty when sexuality reappeared and developed into its adult forms. Although Freud would later revise his idea that sexuality ever disappeared, this last essay was perhaps the least inflammatory of the collection. Public and even expert reception of Freud's *Three Essays* tended to reduce the work to an argument for perversion and libertinism. Freud was seen as immoral and advocating free love.

Although other physicians had noted evidence of sexuality in children, denials of this idea have persisted into the early twenty-first century.

In 1905 Freud also published a single case study of a hysterical patient in which he had tried to use the insights garnered from his work on dreams as a part of his analytic method. "Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria," or the Dora case, has become one of Freud's most notorious case studies, along with "Little Hans," the "Wolf Man," and the paranoid senate president Daniel Paul Schreber (1842–1911). Dora had come to Freud with nervous symptoms—a nervous cough, a hysterical whisper, migraines, and depression. Her situation, as Freud's novel-like case study recounts, involved a sick father unhappy with his wife, and another couple, Herr and Frau K. Dora told Freud that her father was having an affair with Frau K and had traded her to Herr K so he could be with Herr K's wife. Dora despised Herr K, whom she accused of having tried to kiss her. Dora also recounted two suggestive dreams to Freud, who read the case as an instance of repressed sexual desire. Dora, Freud decided, was reacting to her own desire instigated by feeling Herr K's erect penis against her when he tried to kiss her and had displaced her erotic feelings to her throat, which caused her symptoms. One of Dora's dreams about fingering a jewel case seemed to confirm Freud's analysis. Dora, however, did not agree and terminated the analysis before it was completed. Freud concluded that her termination had been revenge against him, but later Freud came to a different conclusion, one that involved an understanding of how transference worked in the analytical situation.

Transference is a necessary process in analysis. Transference occurs when the patient's unconscious ideas are displaced into and are expressed through other ideas, actions, and people. In the analytical situation the patient transfers unconscious thoughts onto the person of the analyst. In the Dora case Freud thought that Dora's treatment of him revealed Dora's transference onto him of her repressed erotic feelings for Herr K. Later, however, Freud realized that the analyst also transferred unconscious feelings onto the patient during analysis, a phenomenon called *countertransference*. Freud recognized that his belief in Dora's erotic attraction to Herr K had been an effect of his unconscious wish that Dora have erotic feelings for himself, a revision he acknowledged in footnotes appended to later editions of the text. He also indicated that he believed that Dora's hysterical symptoms came from her repression of an attraction to Frau K.

CASE STUDIES

In 1909 Freud, who had gained both recognition and notoriety for his work on sexuality, continued publishing case studies of patients whose symptoms and analysis provided instructive material to the developing field of psychoanalysis. Freud had begun hosting meeting for interested practitioners at his home and had thus begun to gather followers both in Vienna and internationally, including Karl Abraham (1877–1925) from Berlin, the Viennese Otto Rank (1844–1939), Ernest Jones (1879–1958) from Britain, Sándor Ferenczi (1873–1933) from Budapest, Carl G. Jung (1875–1961) from Switzerland, and Lou-Andreas Salomé (1861–1937) from Germany. Although Freud and Jung would soon part ways, during the first decade of the twentieth century, they were friends and allies working for the common cause of psychoanalysis—Freud the father figure, Jung the son.

During this period, Freud would report three case studies and a more prolonged study of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). These case studies confirmed and extended Freud's ideas about the sexual cause of neuroses. The first case, known as "Little Hans," involved a young boy, the son of a friend, who was pathologically afraid of horses. Little Hans's father often reported his son's symptoms to Freud, who talked to the boy himself only occasionally. After gathering the boy's symptoms—a fear that horses would bite him, a fear that they would fall over—Freud concluded that the source of Little Hans's phobia was an ambivalence about his father. It was, in short, an Oedipal ambivalence. Little Hans both hated and loved his father, was afraid his father would castrate him because he adored his mother, and sometimes wished his father were dead. The boy had displaced anxieties about his father onto horses. His fear of their biting him was a fear of castration—that he would lose his penis. His fear of the horses falling over was a fear that his father would die. The boy ultimately resolved this love/hate feeling about his father by deciding that his father should marry his own mother so that Little Hans could marry his mother.

Freud's next case study was the "Rat Man," the case of a man plagued with obsessive thoughts of torture by rats. Freud traced this obsession, too, to sexual ambivalence. Freud's reaffirmations of the sexual cause for nervous disorders, however, finally caused the break between him and his disciple Jung. Jung, who had risen to be the first president of the International Psycho-Analytic Association, was not convinced that sexual anxieties were the cause of all neuroses or that all libido, or life energy and drive, was ultimately sexual in nature. In advancing the idea of a more universalized and less sexual libido, Jung broke openly with Freud and his supporters.

Freud, however, continued to demonstrate, through additional case studies, the centrality of sexuality not only to neuroses but to most human activities. In a long paper on da Vinci, undertaken to illustrate the use of psychoanalysis on broader cultural issues, Freud concluded that da Vinci's talent and creative energy derived from his adoration of his mother and his sublimation of homoerotic feelings. The idea of sublimation—that one substitutes a more acceptable form of energy in place of less accepted desires such as homosexuality—became an important concept to ideas about art and science developing in the early twentieth century. Art and scientific research represented the sublimation of erotic energies into artistic energies.

For his study of da Vinci, Freud had used a painting and one of da Vinci's childhood memories as the texts he analyzed. In 1910 Freud became interested in the case of Schreber, a judge in Saxony's highest law court. After reading Schreber's memoirs, Freud wrote a study of Schreber's paranoia. Schreber heard voices, thought the world and God were in a conspiracy against him, and believed that he could save the world if he transformed into a woman. Freud interpreted Schreber's paranoia as love turned to hate and his desire for gender transformation as a way of defending himself against his wish to love a man. Again, repressed sexual wishes constituted the core of the mental disorder.

Freud's final case study of this period, "Wolf Man," emphasized one of Freud's other key points: that the sexual repression that produced neurosis was a product of infancy. The Wolf Man, a wealthy Russian nobleman, was almost debilitated by neurosis and liked sexual activity only with servants and in a position in which intercourse was accomplished from the rear. Like Dora, the Wolf Man told Freud a dream, this one about a window suddenly opening and him seeing five white wolves sitting in a tree. Freud, who had explored the patient's background of early sexual play with an older sister and threats of castration from his nanny, interpreted the dream as the expression of his trauma at seeing what Freud called *the primal scene*—the scene of his parents having sexual intercourse. The Wolf Man had developed a castration anxiety that had turned into sadism and the masochistic desire to be punished by his father. By the end of the four-year treatment, the Wolf Man was engaged to marry.

SEXUAL DIFFERENCE

During World War I Freud continued to refine his ideas about psychoanalytic technique, infantile sexuality, and the structure of the psyche. He wrote a brief paper published in 1915 on the origins of fetishism, a sexual preference in which individuals are aroused by objects such as shows or lingerie, or body parts such as the nose or feet. Freud's theory of fetishism was a part of his developing theory about the relations between the body and the psyche, especially around issues of sexual difference. According to Freud, fetishists tend to be males because fetishism arises at the moment the little boy realizes that all people do not have penises, usually when seeing his mother undressed. If all people do not have penises, then he may also lose his. Upon recognizing this the young child imports a substitute penis, or fetish, for that which is missing from his mother, usually an item closely associated with her. The fetish becomes an ambivalent object. On the one hand it supplies a substitute penis that allays the child's fear of castration. On the other hand, the presence of the substitute signals the absence of a penis. With the fetish, individuals can disavow castration, meaning that they can know that some people are without penises, but all the same, they still have penises by means of the fetish.

Freud further developed his ideas about the libido and the sexual instinct—the drive to sexual pleasure, copulation, and reproduction—in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). In this short study Freud explained the dualistic system by which he believed the psyche operates. If individuals are generally governed by what Freud called the pleasure principle, meaning they seek a state of low energy and little tension, why did they repeat traumatic scenes? Using the example of his grandson, Freud saw the child's play with a spool of thread as a mastering of his mother's absence. The repetition of the game of throwing the spool away and then reeling it back in while repeating *fort* (there) and *da* (here), was a repetition of an attempt to master what the boy found unpleasant. Through this observation Freud saw the psyche as a dynamic system of conflicting forces—the urge for low energy, or the pleasure principle; the sexual instinct, or Eros; and the death drive, or the desire to die. Sexuality and libido are still central forces in psychic existence, but contend with other equally basic drives.

Freud also continued to refine his ideas about sexual development first treated in *Three Essays*. Having declared libido as masculine in that earlier work, as well as having developed his idea of the Oedipus complex around issues of threatened castration, Freud needed to account for the psychic development of females. He saw the early development of individuals as still the same, but at a certain point, the moment when a small boy might realize that all people do not have penises, girls recognize the same thing and see their own lack of penis as a problem. This results in *penis envy*. If human development is premised on the visibility of literal organs, and if the penis is the privileged organ because it is visible, then the male becomes the model and the female becomes merely a failed man.

Clearly, however, females develop sexually and psychically in their own ways, and in the last decade of his life, Freud tried to formulate how those developments occurred. Thinking of women as less clearly defined than men, Freud referred to feminine sexuality as a *dark continent* and never satisfactorily explained female sexual development, though he published two later essays on women: "Female Sexuality" (1931) and "Femininity" (1933). What he did offer was the idea that early female sexuality, focused on the clitoris, is masculine, and that girls switched both their affections and the erogenous cravings from their mother to their fathers and from the clitoris to the vagina. Their lack of penis was replaced by a craving for a child.

Freud and his family were forced to flee Vienna by the arrival of the Nazis in 1938. Relocating in London, Freud lived little more than a year, continuing to write and suffering from oral cancer brought on by his addiction to cigars. He died on September 23, 1939. His life's work ranged from attempts to understand what he called the *preoedipal*, that period of early life before speech, to working through cultural prehistories in such studies as *Totem and Taboo* (1913), *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930), and the final *Moses and Monotheism* (1939). Throughout his career he saw psychoanalysis as a kind of archaeology, a digging through layers to earliest memories, a practice aptly symbolized by his collection of ancient figurines. His establishment of the importance of sexuality to the human psyche changed European and North American culture, helping to accomplish the transition from Victorian repression to the freer expressions that took root in the late twentieth century. His ideas about the unconscious and the interpretation of dreams and symptoms form the basis of most of the North American and European modes of interpretation in the early twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO *Bonaparte, Marie; Childhood Sexuality.*

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Judith Roof

FRIENDSHIPS, PASSIONATE

The exploration of friendship as a historical site for same-sex love can be traced to Edward Carpenter (1844–1929), who, in *Ioläus: An Anthology of Friendship* (1902), examines famous examples of same-sex friendship from ancient Greece, through medieval Persia and Europe, to his own times. Ioläus was the supposed beloved of Hercules, at whose tomb male lovers were said to have pledged fidelity to each other. Carpenter's anthology includes Sappho (c. 600 BCE), Princess Anne of Great Britain (1950–), Lady Sarah Churchill (1921–2000), and the Ladies of Llangollen (Eleanor Butler [1739–1829] and Sarah Ponsonby [c. 1755–1831], who eloped in 1778 and lived together for fifty years). Carpenter drew on earlier work by Walter Pater (183–1894), Oscar Wilde (1845–1900), and the painter Simeon Solomon (1824–1862), all homosexual men who celebrated famous passionate same-sex friends, both male and female (Vanita 1996).

Lesbian and gay studies have always paid close attention to the institution of friendship—from pioneering excavations of female romantic friendship, such as those by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Lillian Faderman, and Janice Raymond, to later studies, such as those by Alan Bray, Martha Nell Smith, and Martha Vicinus. Even scholars such as John Boswell and Bernadette Brooten, who are interested in historical formulations of sexual categories, nevertheless also focus on friendship as a site for desire (as in Boswell's work on adoptive kinship and on medieval Christian paradigms of friendship, such as those developed by Aelred of Rievaulx [1109–1167]).

Some scholars object to the study of friendship as a site for homoeroticism, claiming that friendship is by definition nonsexual, so unless documentary evidence exists of genital intercourse, a friendship may be considered homosocial but not homoerotic. This argument ignores several facts. First, friendship and love often overlap and are inextricably intertwined in many societies' understanding of love. Thus Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–40 BCE) points out that *amicitia*, the word for friendship, is derived from *amor*, the word for love. While Plato (c. 427–348 BCE) argues that male-male friendship can be either sexual or nonsexual, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) insists on the rareness and exclusivity of true friendship and calls a friend a second self. He considers male–female marriage a type of friendship and male–male friendship the most excellent type of friendship. Later, Michel Eyquem de Montaigne (1533–1592) argues that ideals of same-sex friendship have influenced those of marriage, thus the idea that spouses should share all possessions is modeled on the classical ideal of friends sharing everything.

Second, ideas of what constitutes sexual relations and eroticism vary widely across time and place and even at the same time and place. For example scholars have demonstrated that in seventeenth-century England, *sodomy* was narrowly defined as anal or oral intercourse, hence many men probably considered other types of intimacy, such as kissing, embracing, mutual manual sex, or even intercrural sex (sex between the thighs), permissible (Bray 1982). Third, documentary evidence of genital relations rarely exists, even within male–female marriage, except insofar as childbirth may be read as evidence.

The heterosexist assumption that male–female desire is more normal and natural than same-sex desire is responsible for conventional scholarship's establishment of a higher standard of proof for eroticism between same-sex friends than between cross-sex friends. That a particular same-sex friendship was more than what Aristotle terms a friendly relation based on convenience or utility is sufficiently indicated by cumulative evidence of intense intimacy and/or the desire for such intimacy, including embraces, kisses, the writing of passionate letters or poems, choosing to share a bed over time when not constrained to do so, and, most important, living together or spending long periods of time together for many years. Whether or not or how often genital intercourse took place is ultimately much less important than the primacy, intensity, and continuity of an intimate relationship—same-sex or cross-sex.

Ancient Hindu texts posit friendship as the most sacred and highest of all relationships. Marriage is conceived of as a subset of friendship—the final vow of seven in the ancient Vedic wedding ritual of *Saptapadi*, still central to Hindu weddings in the early twenty-first century, is a vow of friendship, and the formulation of friendship in this vow is the same as the conventional formulation of same-sex friendship (seven steps taken together and seven words spoken together constitute friendship) in ancient texts. The eleventh-century Sanskrit story cycle, the *Kathasaritsagara*, recounts several stories of same-sex friends, both male and female, who are spontaneously and strongly attracted to one another, an attraction attributed to their connection in a previous birth. Such friends vow fidelity to one another, live together, and often die together. Each views the other as a second self, and they are termed *swayamvara* (self-chosen) friends; the word *Swayamvara* is also commonly used for the ceremony in which a girl chooses her own groom. The ancient epic, the *Ramayana*, describes a friendship ceremony in which two men walk around a fire, and exchange vows of mutual fidelity. These rituals are also part of the wedding ceremony. Such overlapping tropes, rituals, and terms indicate that friendship was viewed as a type of marriage and marriage as a type of friendship. The fourth-century sacred text, the *Kama Sutra*, describing oral sex performed on men by men of the *third nature* (those men who have a predilection to desire other men), also notes that two male friends who trust one another completely can enter into a union that is sexual and marriage-like (Vanita 2005).

In later texts these formulations of passionate same-sex friendship are imbricated with other models of union. For example, some fourteenth-century Sanskrit and Bengali devotional texts tell the story of two co-wives who enter a divinely blessed sexual union that results in one of them becoming pregnant and giving birth to a heroic child. In another vein a nineteenth-century genre of poetry in Urdu depicts clandestine sexual relationships between female relatives and friends as well as private rituals of union between women, which establish them as lovers and even spouses. In these poems and the glossaries attached to them, specific terms are used to refer to a woman's female lover; here, friendship functions simultaneously as a dimension of amorous relations, as a cover for those relations, and as an alliance among groups of women inclined to same-sex relations (Vanita 2005).

In premodern Hindu texts, an explicitly sexual same-sex relationship may sometimes be acknowledged as positive and virtuous, but in Christian texts, same-sex friendships, in real life or in literature, have historically been celebrated only as long as they were not acknowledged as fully sexual. This is because same-sex sexual relations had come to be viewed as sinful, and those engaging in them were often persecuted and sometimes executed. Hence, even when a relationship was sexual, like that of Anne Lister (1791–1840) with Anne Walker, the public celebration of the union could not include an acknowledgment of its sexual component (Bray 2003). When friends are aware of the need to carefully conceal the sexual aspect of their relationship, friendship has at least two dimensions—it is a felt and lived reality for the partners, but it is also a cover or front, intended to play into observers' assumption that friendship is always non-sexual. Possibly as an effect of colonization and the importation into India of a new, Christianity-based homophobia, nationalists and other European-educated Indians begin to scrutinize and denounce same-sex desire, with the result that friendship increasingly began to function as a façade.

Following the rise of industrialization, urbanization, and individual mobility, the male–female married couple is increasingly expected to fulfill all of each of the individual's needs and desires, and friendship is gradually demoted to a secondary position. At the turn of the twenty-first century, this unit takes primacy over all other relations, familial and friendly. However, through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe and North America, same-sex friendship continued to be seen as a crucial component of the good life. Romantic same-sex friendship sometimes functioned as complementary to and sometimes as an alternative to romantic cross-sex love. The tropes, language, and conventions deployed in writing about romantic friendship both influence and are influenced by writing about cross-sex romantic love. Both male and female writers, such as Katherine Philips (1632–1664), Thomas Gray (1716–1771), Lord Byron (1788–1824), Emily Dickinson (1830–1886), Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862), and Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), wrote passionate poems, including epithalamia and elegies, to and about same-sex friends.

Women writing about women friends also develop particular codes—Paula Bennett has uncovered Emily Dickinson's use of the clitoral imagery of jewels and flowers in her poems to and about women friends. Some writers construct a literary ancestry for themselves by using the trope of friendship to simultaneously reveal and conceal same-sex passion. Thus, Katherine Bradley (1846–1914) and Edith Cooper (1862–1913), lovers and aestheticists, who wrote together under the pen name Michael Field, frequently invoked Sappho, Plato, and Shakespeare (1564–1616) to frame their celebrations of their own loving friendship.

Women activists and educationists through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often invested intellectual, emotional, and physical energies in passionate friendships with one another, and drew their primary support from such relationships (Faderman 1999). An underresearched type of friendship is that between homosexually inclined men and women, a relation simultaneously erotic and nonsexual (Castle 1996, Vanita 1996).

By the twentieth century, friendship becomes almost completely subordinated to family; this reversal is clear in the linguistic shift from the eighteenth-century use of the word friends as inclusive of kin to the modern description of friends as *like family*. With the development of sexual identities such as gay and homosexual, friendship increasingly functions as a way for lovers to pass as or be read as *just friends*. For instance, Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) and Vita Sackville-West (1892–1962) were long viewed as just friends until the publication of their letters and diaries established that they were lovers as well. Lesbian and gay studies scholars are building awareness of the erotic component of friendship and the friendly component of eroticism and are also exorcising excessive anxiety around same-sex desire. This is helping break down binary constructions of *heterosexual* and *homosexual*, so that we may acknowledge the rich, messy complexity of human relationships that often escape categorization.

SEE ALSO *Homoaffectivity, Concept; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Lesbianism; Middle Ages.*

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Ruth Vanita

FRIGIDITY

Frigidity, also known as inhibited sexual desire (ISD), sexual apathy, or hypoactive sexual desire, is characterized by a decreased or nonexistent interest in sexual activity, lack of sexual fulfillment or satisfaction, difficulty reaching orgasm, insufficient lubrication in women, and inability to achieve or sustain erection in men. In European and North American medicine, ISD is considered a common sexual disorder. The most common causes are stress (and its associated problems, such as insomnia and digestive disorders), physical fatigue, and relationship problems wherein one partner does not feel emotionally supported by the other partner. Frigidity has also been known to be caused by, or associated with, a very restrictive upbringing concerning sex and religion, negative attitudes toward sex, or negative and traumatic sexual experiences, such as rape, incest, or childhood sexual abuse.

DEFINTION AND CAUSES

ISD may be a primary condition (where the individual, male or female, has never felt much sexual desire or interest) or secondary (where the individual at one time felt sexual desire but no longer has interest). In monogamous relationships, the situation also varies from partner to partner: An individual may have interest in other people sexually, but not toward the primary sexual partner. In men, impotence or erectile dysfunction can lead to sexual disinterest but are rarely defined as frigidity. In women the inability to attain orgasm during sexual activity is more commonly and historically known as frigidity. The term has more often been used to describe a woman's lack of sexual response to heterosexual, vaginal intercourse. According to Suzanne Laba Cataldi (1999), "the term *frigidity* covers a wide range of meanings—including lack in ardor or warmth; a marked aversion or abnormal indifference to sexuality; and a physical inability to attain orgasm. The word is, or was, usually applied to women" (p. 70).

HISTORY

In the 1950s and 1960s, especially in response to the 1953 publication of Alfred Kinsey and colleagues' *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, physicians turned closer attention to the sexual health of heterosexual marriages, and based that health, on *normal* female sexual behavior. The notion of the vaginal orgasm was instituted as a barometer for the sexual health of the female, as well as that of the married couple. Carolyn Herbst Lewis, in a 2005 study of premarital medical practices in post–World War II America, points out that physicians "asserted that just as a vaginal orgasm was integral to a woman's psychosexual health, the performance of a healthy heterosexual gender and sexual role—as evidenced by a satisfying sexual relationship—was crucial to the establishment and maintenance of a stable marriage" (p. 87). Lewis cites the rising rates of venereal disease and the increasing sexual permissiveness of the nation's youth as reasons for this concern about women's sexual health. Physicians and psychiatrists, following predominantly male studies of female health, instituted the *premarital pelvic exam* as a means by which to monitor and guide a woman's sexual *growth* away from the clitoral and toward the vaginal orgasm.

Influenced by psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud's (1856–1939) theories of psychosexual development, physicians defined "healthy female sexuality by such factors as passive acceptance of male sexual direction, a soft and submissive femininity, and a self-sacrificial drive to motherhood. The vagina formed the epicenter of this heterosexuality" (Lewis 2005, p. 90). This emphasis on the vaginal orgasm, along with the primacy of "male sexual direction," inevitably created problems for women who were unable to have vaginal orgasms. These women were labeled frigid by their husbands, as well as by the medical field—even though they may have been able to have a clitoral orgasm.

The reason for this, according to Freudian theory, is that the clitoris was "the primary organ of sexual pleasure during childhood, but in puberty, and particularly with the approach of marriage, a healthy, mature woman transferred her focus to the vagina [as receiver for the penis]" (Lewis 2005, p. 90). If a woman was psychologically unable to make this transfer, then she was *diagnosed* as frigid. In the mid twentieth century, frigidity did not define only the absence of sexual desire; it defined *inappropriate* sexual desire, or sexual desire that did not depend on the penis. Lewis also point out that this

> inappropriate sexual outlet was [linked to] inappropriate gender role behavior. In addition to her improper sexual performance, a frigid woman would display improper gender identifications as well. … This reflects the physicians' assumption that lesbians, as psychosexually maladjusted women, would rely on clitoral stimulation rather than vaginal penetration in their lovemaking.
>
> *(pp. 90, 96–97)*

Cataldi's analysis of frigidity, also focusing on the mid twentieth century, is specific to her research on the work of Simone de Beauvoir, the twentieth-century feminist novelist who published *The Second Sex* (1949), a groundbreaking analysis that expresses Beauvoir's views on female eroticism and socially prescribed roles in European and American culture. Cataldi's analysis reveals that Beauvoir viewed frigidity as a "symbolic use that women may make of their bodies" (1999, p. 70). As a powerful bodily statement, female frigidity could, according to Beauvoir, be caused by "shame of bodily appearance … resentment of male power and privilege … fear of pregnancy … repugnance at the idea of treating, or having one's body treated, as a thing … the 'humiliation of lying beneath a man' … hygienic procedure [such as the pelvic exam]" (p. 71). Cataldi supports Beauvoir's argument that women, as an oppressed group, have few options other than to use their bodies as weapons or places of refuge.

Physicians saw the premarital pelvic exam of the 1950s and 1960s as a way for women to deal with their fear of penetration. Upon such an invasion to the body, under such pretenses, it would be understandable, according to Cataldi's argument, for a woman to experience an absence of sexual desire. In fact, "resentment over patriarchal injustices and constraints is the most common source of frigidity in women, according to Beauvoir" (p. 71). In order not to be accused of being frigid, because the word connotes such strongly negative qualities—coldness, death, stiffness, lifelessness—some women resort to faking orgasm. Faking it also allows a woman to *get it over with*, although at the same time it silences any dialogue she might have about the myth of the vaginal orgasm. It also forces her to subvert and distance herself from what may be her true sexual epicenter, the clitoral orgasm, which has been feared and decried by the male medical community. Cataldi contends that "Beauvoir contributes to the literature on this topic a social and historical approach lacking in the clinician's vision" (p. 80).

At the end of the twentieth century, studies based on classifications in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* showed sexual dysfunction as being more prevalent for women (43%) than for men (31%). Studies done since the 1950s and 1960s address this issue (no longer so commonly referred to as frigidity) as a problem that has many possible causes and cures for both men and women, in hetero- as well as homosexual relationships.

SEE ALSO *Anorgasmic; Orgasm.*

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Amy Nolan

FROTTAGE

The term *frottage*, from the French verb *frotter* (to rub), refers to sex that involves rubbing the genitals on different parts of another person's body, usually with the partners situated face to face. The practice is referred to colloquially as dry-humping.

The *frotteur*, a figure that populates sexological literature about sexual deviance, originally was characterized as a usually male paraphiliac (a person that exclusively relies on one atypical or extreme activity for sexual arousal and gratification) who enjoys rubbing covered or bared genitals against strangers in public places. Much of the literature, including the first appearance of the term *frotteurism* in the German sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886), places the *frotteur* in crowded public places where he furtively attempts to rub himself against unknowing females. Thus, the *frotteur*, like many sexual deviants, functions as a figure of modernity that haunts the urban landscape and, in that sense, bears a resemblance to the twentieth-century figure of the gay male cruiser who seeks anonymous sexual activity in public spaces such as parks, alleys, and subways.

However, in its more common and contemporary sense the act of frottage is articulated most deliberately in the realm of consensual male-male sex. Frottage, or frotting, can be a sex act in itself or can be a form of foreplay. To its participants this practice may represent a safe-sex alternative to anal penetration and oral sex and explicitly refers to genital-genital rubbing or the rubbing of a penis between the thighs, in the armpits, or on the chest of a partner.

Gay male slang offers a long list of synonyms for the activity that points to the range of meaning frottage can take on in a sexual encounter or in gay male sexual culture. Also known, especially in personal ads or online, as "cock2cock," "dick2dick," and "bone2bone," frottage highlights the significance of the phallus in male-male sex. The colloquial *frot*, a noun that refers to the act used in frottage-centered gay male scenes, is meant to celebrate frottage as a superlative form of gay male sexual activity that emphasizes mutuality, symmetry, equality, and normative masculinity. Other slang terms, such as the metaphoric "sword fighting," "penis fencing," and "cock knocking," lend a more playful edge to the act. Additional nicknames are a gesture to homosocial spaces that may hint at tongue-in-cheek speculation about the origins of the activity, such as the "Princeton rub," the "Ivy League rub," and "Oxford style." With the references to upper-class sport and the interweaving of nostalgia for an aristocratic pre-gay world, those epithets speak to the "buddy-buddy" nuances and notions of "manly" sophistication or sexual supremacy that some men who have sex with other men may employ in their understanding of gay sex. Related sexual activities include sex wrestling, in which men engage in naked wrestling and rubbing, and cock combat, in which partners "bump dicks" to see who can make the other ejaculate first.

With regard to female-female sex, frottage more frequently is called tribadism, a term appropriated from the ancient Greek world that has come to be used to describe this specific sexual practice but also refers to lesbian sexuality in general. In medieval Islam the Arabic term for rubbing became synonymous with lesbianism.

SEE ALSO *Cruising; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Tribadism, Modern.*

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Emma Crandall

FUNDAMENTALISM

The multiplicity of religious fundamentalisms makes a generic application of the term *fundamentalism* difficult. The word has been applied to minority movements in nearly every global religious tradition, although it originated within American Protestantism as a category of theological self-designation. Modern scholarship suggests that continued use of the term overly simplifies the international array of religious movements to which it has been applied and that the category should be deleted from the academic lexicon. However, eschewal of the word among academics would do little to alter its popularity in public media as a religious designation. For journalists the term denotes a reactionary and conservative theology.

DEFINITION AND USE OF THE TERM

This general usage requires detailed analysis. What does it mean to be reactionary? What defines a conservative theology? In this entry fundamentalism is evaluated in such general terms, and then a focus on individual religious traditions provides an opportunity to see where fundamentalisms have been found in particular sects. Throughout this analysis it is important to keep in mind that fundamentalism originated in a particularly Christian and solely American context. It has been applied in other areas by scholars eager to explain a broad swath of subsequent religious revivals even though none of those movements are linked historically. Fundamentalism is a comparative category, binding traditions and people otherwise unconnected by geography, genealogy, or practice. As with all comparative categories, fundamentalism obscures as much as it reveals, reducing some complexities and highlighting certain commonalities.

At the most general level fundamentalism emerged in European and North American scholarship as a shorthand referent for any movement in which beleaguered believers attempt to preserve their distinctive identity as faithful adherents through articulate opposition to modernity. Fundamentalism is thus a rhetorical act of corporate self-preservation. In this vein the American sociologists Jeffrey Hadden and Anson Shupe designate fundamentalism as "a proclamation of reclaimed authority over a sacred tradition which is to be reinstated as an antidote for a society that has strayed from its cultural moorings" (Hadden and Shupe 1989, p. 110). Inevitably, then, fundamentalisms emerge at moments of perceived economic or political instability.

Fundamentalism therefore includes an elaborately described, encroaching enemy. Sometimes the enemy is the perceived secularization of an increasingly decadent society; at other times it is the expanding involvement of women in the public sphere. Regardless of the specific object of antagonism, a necessary component of a fundamentalist discourse is the perception of societal transition from bad to worse, from a romanticized remembrance of order to a nearly apocalyptic designation of disorder. This explains why fundamentalisms have been identified in highly industrialized as well as developing nations. The prerequisite for fundamentalism is thus not a certain level of modernity but a certain psychology of chaos. In a purported maelstrom of economics, shifting gender relationships, and political upheaval, fundamentalism is a language of clarity, a reclamation of reinstated order after an imagined or real destabilization.

Fundamentalist language is oppositional and dualistic, ordering the world against instability with a sharply defined morality. The source of that reification is a particular scriptural text or set of scriptural interpretations advocated vociferously as the primary fortification against the imagined enemy. Islamic studies scholar Bruce Lawrence focused on this scholastic side of fundamentalism in his definition of fundamentalism as "the affirmation of religious authority as holistic and absolute, admitting of neither criticism nor reduction" (Lawrence

1989, p. 27). This religious authority is determined by a cohort of designated leaders, almost always male, that offers a closed interpretation of Scripture. Although many fundamentalisms experience success as populist movements, they always begin from authoritarian scholasticism accompanying an identifiable sacred text, not from a popular groundswell. For there to be a fundamentalism, there must be a scholarly designation of *the fundamentals*. Those fundamentals are described as eternal, unchanging, and located in divinely inspired Scriptures.

SEPARATION FROM MODERNITY

From that scholastic genesis fundamentalist ideas become fundamentalist movements as groups of self-styled true believers cohere around and deploy the language of fundamentals. Religious studies scholars have argued that the fortification of this recast religious community is the primary practice of fundamentalists. Separation from encroaching modernity forces fundamentalists into an enclave. In that narrowed epistemic and social world, protecting uniformity of belief and maintaining the purity of practice become driving principles. Committed practitioners participate in a vast subculture of activities that are meant to provide viable alternatives to existing modern institutions, including retail centers, educational venues, and militant outfits designed to maintain the sovereignty of the enclave.

Because of their isolationism and discursive antagonism to the dominant culture, fundamentalists often have been described as antimodern. Newer scholarship has countered that profile by emphasizing the consistent use of popular media, new technologies, and academic platforms to propagate and refine fundamentalisms. Fundamentalism cannot be wholly antimodern if it incorporates the newest devices to televise and disseminate the fundamentals. In addition to the antimodern designation, fundamentalism has been conflated with reactionary cultural nativism. Again, such a perspective fails to acknowledge the racial diversity and political variety under the auspices of self-proclaimed fundamentalist movements.

Perhaps the only accurate criticism directed toward fundamentalists is that of being misogynist. Across cultures, fundamentalists have divided the genders by machismo and motherhood, with women primarily assigned to the latter occupation. An idealized family unit propagates the fundamentalist enclave, with each member of the family fulfilling a position determined by nostalgia and unhistorical remembrance. As a result the reproductive and economic status of women has dominated the political agenda of fundamentalists. One scholar labeled this *gender inerrancy*, referring to the nonnegotiable designation of gender roles and performance standards inscribed by fundamentalist theology. This inerrancy is not without interpretive latitude, however; the gender messages are practiced more messily than such a dichotomous view suggests. For many fundamentalist women the limits imposed by inerrancy offer liberating pathways within a suffocating postfeminist topography.

CROSS-CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES

Fundamentalism remains a generic category only insofar as it possesses interpretive mobility. In this description three definitive cross-cultural attributes have been posited: scriptural reclamation, social isolationism, and gender chauvinism. Emphasis has been placed on the diversity of economic, political, and historical structures that may surround emergent fundamentalisms. The only constants in fundamentalism are the transportable discourse of sacred texts, the fear of an external threat to a predetermined social cohort, and a didactic definition of gendered occupation. Beyond those linguistic determinants, fundamentalisms are not fundamentalisms. For example, many journalists collapse religious revivals, revitalization movements, and fundamentalism into a single form of fundamentalism. However, fundamentalism should be distinguishable by the particular rhetorical tones that are emphasized here. Within specific traditions, however, even further specificity can be brought to the category of fundamentalism.

PROTESTANTISM

Historians of religion point to the first decades of the American twentieth century when looking for an initiating incident in the history of fundamentalism. Three events pressed this category into the American imagination: the publication of *The Fundamentals* (1910–1915), a series of denominational splinterings, and the 1925 Tennessee trial of John Scopes, a young high school science teacher, for teaching evolution.

The publication of *The Fundamentals* codified the scholastic position. Biblical criticism that was supported by archaeological evidence worried many Christians. They believed that the rise of secular academic knowledge might erode the epistemological sway of the Scriptures. As a comprehensive response to that intellectual threat, *The Fundamentals* was the brainchild of Lyman Stewart (1840–1923), founder of the Union Oil Company of California. Stewart designed *The Fundamentals* as a series of ninety articles by sixty-four authors reinscribing *the fundamentals of the Christian faith*. Moderate in tone, the articles avoided political topics, focusing on a grounded defense of the Scriptures through careful rebuttals of contemporary scholarship. Approximately a third of the essays guarded the Bible against the new criticism, arguing that the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament were without inconsistency. Another third of the essays discussed foundational theological questions such as the meaning of the Trinity and the role of sin. The remaining pamphlets were diverse, addressing everything from the modern *heresies* (such as Christian Science, Roman Catholicism in the United States, and Mormonism) to missionary ambitions. Any definition of fundamentalism that relies on *The Fundamentals* would emphasize the scholastic bent of the movement, a scrupulous scholarly effort to reconcile Christianity with the new criticism.

Alongside the publication of *The Fundamentals*, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) adopted *five fundamentals* in 1910. Those fundamentals included an affirmation of scriptural inerrancy, the deity and virgin birth of Jesus, and the atonement, physical resurrection, and miraculous powers of Christ. Subsequent to that Presbyterian announcement, several denominations, including the Presbyterians (both North and South), the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions, and the Disciples of Christ, would splinter into *modernist* and *fundamentalist* camps.

The majority of Protestant adherents could accept the biblical orthodoxy of *The Fundamentals* but found the pessimistic separatism of fundamentalism too divisive. The more militant fundamentalists broke from their home denominations, founding either new congregations or interdenominational fundamentalist organizations. Thus, rather than being an intellectual subset within American Protestantism as a whole, fundamentalists quickly became defined by their belligerent separatism. Significant to those disputes was the explicit deployment of the descriptor *fundamentalist* by Curtis Lee Laws (1868–1946), the editor of the Baptist *Watchman-Examiner*. In a 1920 article Laws argued that the fundamentalist was a Christian prepared to "do battle royal for the Fundamentals" (Marty and Appleby 1991, p. 2). Militancy had become a determining metaphor for Protestant fundamentalism.

Conservative discourse climaxed in the 1920s when fundamentalism simultaneously reached the peak of its public presence and the denouement of its denominational sway. The Scopes trial offered a national advertisement for fundamentalist anti-intellectualism rather than a showcase for the scholarly prowess of *The Fundamentals*. Moreover, it created a battleground for fundamentalists eager to translate military metaphors into an entrenched reaction to modernist intellectual arrogance.

The stakes of the case were simple: Between 1923 and 1925 four southern states tried to ban the teaching of evolution in public schools. In 1925 Tennessee joined that effort by passing the Butler Act, which made it illegal "to teach any theory that denies the Story of Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animal" (Tenn. HB 185, 1925). Many prominent Tennesseans were uncomfortable with that antievolution position. A Dayton druggist met with Scopes to discuss tactics of resistance to the Butler Act. They knew that the American Civil Liberties Union had offered to support any Tennessee teacher willing to defy the statute. Together, Scopes and the druggist decided to challenge the constitutionality of the law.

After the arrest was carried out, the prominent defense attorney Clarence Darrow (1857–1938) took Scopes's case, with William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925), a leading Presbyterian layman and three-time presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket, serving as the prosecutor. Although Bryan was an articulate expositor of scholastic fundamentalism, the town embodied many of the worst caricatures of American rural anti-intellectualism. That spirit, rather than Bryan's elegant condemnations of social Darwinism, became the public face of fundamentalism. Despite Bryan's successful prosecution of Scopes, the acerbic and mocking indictments of journalists such as H. L. Mencken (1880–1956) defined fundamentalism in American culture for decades to come.

After those sectarian splits and debates over creationism, Protestant fundamentalists retrenched. Some left the movement, forming a conservative wing of American evangelicalism. Others, such as Bob Jones (1883–1968) and J. Frank Norris (1877–1952), adopted an increasingly sectarian stance and established educational institutions to propagate their theological outlook. After the internationally renowned evangelist Billy Graham (b. 1918) accepted the sponsorship of the ecumenical Protestant Council in 1957, the majority of Protestants focused on collaborative rather than separatist efforts.

That continued to be the trend until the public return of separatist fundamentalism in the late 1970s under the auspices of Jerry Falwell's (b. 1933) Moral Majority. That manifestation of Protestant belief focused on the failures of American culture and national policy, casting American culture in the role of the enemy. Instead of Scripture, ministers such as Falwell appealed to romanticized visions of the American past in which patriotism, Christian commitment, and family stability purportedly were assured. Although the Moral Majority never represented a statistical majority within American Christianity, its political consequences were far reaching. Through the subsequent decades Falwell's dedication to Christian conservatism in American politics could be discerned in vitriolic public disputes over family planning, scientific research, and public morality.

Falwell's version of conservative Protestantism has been the public face of U.S. fundamentalism. However, within evangelical enclaves other versions of political participation and self-identity have been popularized. For example, in the Women's Aglow Fellowship, Pentecostal women challenge simple generalizations about fundamentalist gender dynamics. The largest women's evangelical organ-

Anti-Evolution League Book Sale. *An Anti-Evolution League holds a books sales at the opening of the Scopes "Monkey" Trial in which biology teacher John T. Scopes is being prosecuted for teaching evolution in his class.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

ization in the world, Women's Aglow is an international interdenominational group of women who meet outside the formal church structure for prayer, communal worship, and therapeutic testimony. Rather than imagining fundamentalist politics as misogynist activism, the work of Women's Aglow shows how the theological language of conservative Protestantism offers women intimate, productive relationships with God. Cast within the separate spheres mentality of fundamentalist gender relations, such organizations show the feminist discursive possibilities provided by a literalist reading of Scripture.

ISLAM

In Protestantism the history of fundamentalism can be seen as a line of descent, with a genealogy from *The Fundamentals* to Falwell. Abroad, among other religious traditions, the emergence of fundamentalisms cannot be described that clearly. Islamic fundamentalisms have emerged in Egypt, Nigeria, Iraq, and the West Bank, among many other places. The range of catalysts is as diverse as the landscapes that have produced those movements, including the experience of colonialism and its aftermath as well as opposition to emergent forms of global governance and economic imperialism.

Again and again Islamic fundamentalism movements (often described as Islamist movements or Islamism) mirror the themes described at the beginning of this entry. In particular, Islamism includes the anointing of a new intellectual class that replaces the traditional religious leaders, or *ulama*. When local leaders responded ineptly to the deterioration of public services in Upper Egypt and overcrowding in Cairo, that paved the way for the Muslim Brotherhood to ascend to national prominence in theological and political circles. Similarly, the unsuccessful secular management of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) led the resident refugee population to cohere around

Hamas, an Islamic movement that defines itself as the righteous inheritor of Palestinian leadership. In the Egyptian and Palestinian instances as well as others, the established Islamic authorities are replaced by a more strident voice that advocates theological clarity over and above reformist caution.

Islamist ideology therefore is defined by two *fundamentals*: the conviction that Islamic law, or *sharia*, is the only valid system for regulating human life, and the idea that a true and faithful Muslim society can be achieved only through an Islamic state. The emphasis on nation-state formation separates Islamism from the formulation of fundamentalism described above. For Islamists political formation is an extension of the enclave culture embedded within fundamentalist discourse. Pan-Islamic unity has always been elusive, however, and so Islamisms compete with one another for members. Fluidity of membership between specific national cohorts is definitive, particularly because the pool of participants is, as in the American example, quite homogeneous. Radical Islamist groups are populated largely by young male, urban, educated, lower-class to middle-class Muslims, men longing for membership in a society directed toward a purposeful response to a modernity that is imagined to be increasingly secular and disturbingly decadent. Whereas in Protestant fundamentalism that political aspiration has been sequestered by a milder conservatism, the definitive attribute of Islamism has been the creation of enclaves bent on remaking their worlds, not merely escaping from them.

Those remade worlds are dictated by strict interpretations of *sharia*. Many Muslim countries differentiate between women and men on issues of property ownership, marriage rights, dress, and educational opportunities. Muslim fundamentalist movements base those differentiating legal codes on the belief that the laws of *sharia* demonstrate divine differentiation between the sexes. Because the majority of *sharia* was encoded before the modern period, those laws represent cultural restrictions that dominated pre-Islamic Arabia. From honor killings to the wearing of veils, women in more traditional Islamic cultures often are prescribed roles that make them subservient to their husbands, brothers, and sons. However, for many Muslim women, dressing modestly and participating in separate spheres of influence are a source of power offered to them by God through a strict reading of Scripture.

JUDAISM

Observers of Judaism have been hesitant to deploy the term fundamentalism. One historian has noted that fundamentalism normally is associated with a total rejection of pluralism and some form of textual inerrancy. In principle both themes are disputed within any practice of Judaism. However, the term fundamentalism has been used to describe contemporary ultra-Orthodox descendants from the Hasidic communities of Eastern Europe as well as Israelis who oppose the return of occupied territory on biblical grounds. Included in the latter cohort are Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful) and others referred to as the *haredim leumiyium* (nationalist Orthodox) who redefined Jewish national renewal in strictly religious rather than economic or political terms. Between those two cadres—the ultra-Orthodox and the nationalist Orthodox—one can see two contrasting forms of fundamentalist enclave building: one is characterized by a privatized enclave culture and the other by a publicly militarized fundamentalist expression.

The overarching goal of any Jewish fundamentalism, as with the Muslim and Protestant fundamentalisms described above, is to offer an articulate alternative to a threatening, dominant cultural paradigm. For Jewish advocates of conservative renewal, the threat is articulated largely in terms of Jewish compromise and assimilation, not as a secular decadence or a scholastic critique. Protestant fundamentalists illustrate academic anxiety, and Islamists are emblematic of postcolonial nation-state formation; Jewish fundamentalists differ from those groups in their construction of an assimilative ethnic identity as the primary enemy.

For Protestants and Islamists the enemy is outside the fold; for Jews the enemy is within Judaism. For example, many Israeli settlements have arisen not from anxiety about Palestinian encroachment but from fear of Israeli compromise. This was the case with the formation of Rachelim, a settlement on the West Bank founded by women mourning the death of Rachel Drouk, a settler and Gush Emunim member who was killed in a Palestinian attack in 1991. Drouk died en route to protest the beginning of peace negotiations in Madrid under a banner that read "You don't sell out your mother" (Brink and Mencher 1997). The intonation of Drouk's plotted protest (don't compromise your mother's sacrifice) and the subsequent act of mourning that created a new settlement focused on a fear of Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, of Jewish assimilation to secular political compromise. Rachelim was a militarist response to predicted acquiescence.

The emergence of Rachelim points to an additional complexity offered by Jewish fundamentalisms: a militarist role for women. That position also is provided within parallel Islamic movements that allow women to participate in the sacrificial acts of holy war, or *jihad*. Rachelim is one symbolic instance of the ways women complicate the subordinate domesticity inscribed by Orthodox renewal. Using scriptural interpretations of female mourning rituals, the women responding to Drouk's death applied *the fundamentals* to a new social order that included their organizational ascent while still cohering to scriptural prescriptions. Although the dominating discourse of fundamentalism is gender chauvinism, emphasis on textual inerrancy offers rhetorical space for insurrectionist interpretations that seek power within the verses.

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

Hinduism and Buddhism are neither monotheistic nor condoned by singular sacred texts. As a result their conscription into fundamentalist ranks is discursively difficult. Nevertheless, scholars have discerned in both predominantly Buddhist and predominantly Hindu societies family resemblances that match the conclusions of the Fundamentalism Project directed and edited by Martin E. Marty and Scott Appleby and operated out of the University of Chicago from 1988 to 1995. That research concluded that fundamentalists understand truth to be revealed and unified, envision themselves as a part of a cosmic struggle, demonize their opposition, are led disproportionately by males, and seek to overturn the accepted distribution of power.

Therefore, fundamentalisms may be found even in religious cultures that lack a redacted scriptural source. Whether this system of *family resemblance* will survive the next decades of scholarship is problematic; some question the utility of the term fundamentalism in traditions such as Hinduism and Buddhism, which resist theological reduction. Those critics advocate "revitalization movements" as a more accurate descriptor of the inchoate conservatisms that emerge from non-Christian religious bodies (Smith 1996, pp. 402–403).

On the Indian subcontinent, for instance, Hindu nationalism (referred to as *Hindutva*, or Hinduness) often is termed a *revival* of Hinduism because it promotes a nationalist identity that is based on a redacted description of the ideal Hindu. The central belief of Hindutva is that a Hindu is anyone who considers India to be his or her spiritual and political homeland and that a renewed commitment to that identity is necessary if India is to salvage itself from regional, sectarian, and caste divisions. As with Protestant and Islamic fundamentalisms, Hindutva includes massive gatherings where people meet on open ground to share an enclave worship experience. Unlike the Protestant fundamentalist paradigm, Hindutva always has been paired with an explicit political purpose, and for a ten year period (1988–1998) mass campaigns and electoral victories brought Hindu revivalist leaders to media attention worldwide.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) form the organizational triumvirate of Hindu fundamentalism commonly known as the *sangh parivar*. Throughout RSS and BJP literature women are made analogous to Hindu goddesses, defined and celebrated as dutiful and self-sacrificing, the *matri shakti*. An example of how this played out in public politics is the expulsion of Uma Bharati (b. 1959) from the BJP in 2004. A high-profile member of parliament, Bharati was alleged to have had a romantic relationship with another BJP member. Media energy focused entirely on the quest for proof of Bharati's chastity rather than on the lasciviousness of the man with whom she had the affair. Thus, Bharati's involvement in politics and *sangh parivar* suggests the liberating options for women within Hindutva; however, women can participate only so long as they cohere to *matri shakti*. It is women, not men, who must be chaste and pure and who must, like the goddess Sita, go to great lengths to prove their purity.

Theravada Buddhism also has produced strands of religious nationalism with complex gender consequences. Uneven economic development, an authoritarian drift in governance, and the ascendance of a *dharmishta* society (a state of chauvinist justice premised on Buddhist principles) have combined to encourage militant groups with intensely nationalist foci in countries in southern Asia. In his analysis of Sri Lankan fundamentalist culture, Donald Swearer (b. 1934) explains the theological shift that has occurred: "In the classical tradition, Buddhist values informed the traditional Sinhalese culture through the retelling of moral legends and fables … in Buddhist fundamentalism, the subtleties and nuanced variations are lost" (Marty and Appleby 1991, p. 649).

A matter of particular dispute in Sri Lanka is whether women can commit to monastic orders, whether they can be fully ordained *Bhikkhuni*. In the Theravada tradition many believe that this monastic lineage became extinct in the eleventh century. Although other countries have reopened such female orders, the success of Buddhist fundamentalism in Sri Lanka has led to an affirmation of that extinction and an exclusion of women from institutional Buddhist involvement. Buddhist fundamentalisms therefore mirror other global fundamentalisms in their homogenization of a movement to a core scholastic interpretation around which a separatist identity can be designated.

If the Buddhist and Hindu examples are so well assimilated into preexistent fundamentalist theory, new definitions of religion may have to emerge to explain how those previously inchoate movements achieve nearly monotheistic clarity in response to the multiple economic, political, and social transitions of the modern period.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Hinduism; Islam; Judaism; Protestantism.*

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Kathryn Lofton

FUNERARY CUSTOMS, NON-WESTERN

It is often taken as a truism that sex and death are everywhere connected. The ethnographic record does not bear this out. In all the amazing variety of funerary customs worldwide, there are some that emphasize themes of sexuality and renewed fecundity and others that do not. As an example of the latter, the practice among the hunting and gathering San of the Kalahari Desert in Botswana is, or was, to simply abandon a campsite immediately after someone died. Male or female, the corpse was simply left where it lay. Before it had time to decompose it was usually consumed by predators. It is difficult in this ritual—if ritual it may be called—to detect any trace of gender differentiation.

At the other extreme there are complex, extended rites in which sex is associated with death in ways that are difficult for a Westerner to grasp. A missionary working among the Bestsileo of Madagascar in the early twentieth century was shocked to find that the funerals he witnessed were little more than orgies, climaxing in the moment of horror when, he was told, a man might copulate with his own mother. It should be noted that his informants did not say that men actually did copulate with their mothers; rather, they wanted to emphasize the riotous nature of sexuality on these occasions, such that everyday social roles were pushed aside. Among the neighboring Bara people, the sexes are segregated during the days of a funeral. In one house women wail over the corpse, while in another the kinsmen formally receive the condolences of visitors. At night, however, men and women interact in ways normally considered scandalous. They join in energetic and provocative dances, with couples dropping out frequently to go off together into the savannah. Bara say that these rites generate *faha*, or vitality, without which it would be impossible to contain the ravages of death or to reproduce new lives. Months or years later a second festival, requiring lavish supplies of food and rum to entertain guests from far and wide, culminates in the rehousing of the dry bones of the deceased among those of his or her ancestors. At this event the proper relationship between the living and the dead is restored, and consequently there is no call for unusual sexual activity.

By contrast, Chinese funerals do not emphasize revitalization through the union of male and female but, rather, the removal of pollution by their separation. A heavily patriarchal ideology associates the decomposition of corpses with a female yin element, which must be shed in order to release the yang element symbolized by ancestral bones. These bones are stored in temples celebrating the continuity of patrilineal descent groups. The role of women in absorbing pollution is revealed in many ritual details, such as sweeping their unbound hair along the coffin. Their reward for this service is that they are consigned in the afterlife to a lake of blood until released by offerings made by their sons. It has been argued that this understanding of death, made explicit in written texts, coexists with a subversive alternative that reflects women's experiences with their own bodies and with the biological processes of birth and death, but there has so far been little research on this issue.

Another configuration of male and female in funerary rites emphasizes the relationships between groups rather than genders. Among the Bororo of Brazil, for example, it is not possible for a man to be buried without the assistance of his wife's kinsmen. Villages are laid out in a circle comprising several descent groups. Marriage within groups is prohibited, and people look for their spouses among the groups on the opposite side of the central dancing ground. Clearly, no group can reproduce itself without the cooperation of their marriage partners, and every major ritual expresses a mutual interdependence that goes far beyond biology. For instance, a child's name comes not from his father but from his mother's brother. Again, no one can impersonate the spirits that belong to his or her own group in the most solemn rites; instead, he or she must find a friend across the village, and there is no greater honor than to be asked to perform this function. In these circumstances it is easy to see why death rites are every bit as much an intergroup affair as is marriage. Moreover, gender becomes ritually contextualized. When a group acts as wife takers, they all take on a male aspect, regardless of gender. But on the next occasion they may be wife givers, and then they just as readily adopt, en masse, a female role.

Marriage alliances do not everywhere produce such harmony, however. On the island of Dobu, off the eastern tip of New Guinea, deaths are attributed to witchcraft. Each small village lives in fear of magical attack by evildoers in nearby villages, but it is into just these villages that men marry. Couples must move back and forth between the villages of husband and wife in alternate years, and each is received with deep distrust by their in-laws. If either dies the other will immediately be accused of sorcery. Only the close kin of the deceased are allowed at the funeral, and after suffering isolation and privation; the surviving spouse is sent home, never to return.

These examples give some idea of the variety of ways in which sex and gender figure in mortuary rites and show that no generalization about them is universally valid. They are chosen from the vast archive assembled by a century of ethnographic research, particularly on religions that stood apart from the handful of world religions. But even when peoples share formal doctrines concerning the significance of death, their funerary customs may vary widely. This finding serves to demonstrate that such rites are usually more concerned with relations among the living than the fate of the dead.

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FUNERARY CUSTOMS, WESTERN

Insofar as the West was historically coterminous with Christendom, the iconography of death is apparent. The female part in it is that of Mary, mourning at the foot of the cross. For centuries women played no other role than mourning in funerals, and all the ritual specialists involved were male. It is only recently that there have been women priests or ministers, and still only in Protestant churches. Even as late as 2007, undertakers in the United States are invariably male, even though their premises have been domesticated as funeral parlors and their role medicalized as grief councilors. The male management of death is consistent with the premise, self-evident to Westerners, that death is the polar opposite of birth. This goes some way in explaining why themes of sexuality and regeneration are so alien to funerary customs in the West as opposed to other parts of the world. Life is given and taken away by God, and no human activity can evade his will. If sexual mores were relaxed in the face of death, as had occurred during epidemics in medieval Europe, this could only be taken as a sign of despair by those anticipating divine judgment.

In the nineteenth century changes occurred in funerary customs and eschatologies that had been stable for centuries as a correlate of broader religious transformations. Several factors were involved. First, the place of priests and ministers at the center of communal life was undermined by urban migration and industrialization. This was most pronounced in the United States, where the absence of an established church left clerics without secure positions. The reaction was an intensification of moral rhetoric at events such as tent revival meetings. Preachers emphasized Christian values of meekness and reverence, comforting to those displaced and disempowered by rapid economic change.

Second, what has been described as the feminization of religion was also evident in the increased participation of middle-class women, who were losing their status as productive members of the households. Many turned their energies toward causes such as temperance and missions to the poor. Faced with congregations largely made up of women, ministers increasingly emphasized the values of family life and the civilizing influence of homemakers. Finally, these trends produced an outpouring of inspirational books and leaflets appealing to sentiment rather than dogma.

So-called consolation literature was a major genre in this outpouring, and it created a novel eschatology. Best sellers such as *Our Children in Heaven* (1868), *Angel Whispers* (1870), and *Beyond the Gates* (1883) described in striking detail an afterlife that was a more comfortable continuation of life on earth. Accounts covered menus, pastimes, courtship, and even child care. Images of dead infants became fashionable icons of innocence, and as photography became more widely accessible, parents who had never thought to have pictures taken of their children alive traveled long distances to do so if and when they died. Queen Victoria (1819–1901) had a sort of shrine lined with photographs of dead infants, which would not have seemed odd at a time when the empire was ruled by a matriarch permanently in widow's weeds. For those who could afford them, funerals became ever more grand, with elaborate glass-sided hearses trailing black damask and accompanied by solemn attendants in black suits and top hats. The same era saw the rise of the rural cemetery movement, which replaced crowded graveyards beside parish churches with acres of carefully tended lawns dotted with mausoleums in architectural styles from mock Egyptian to Gothic.

In Europe this romantic era was swept away by the horrors of World War I (1914–1918), which produced cemeteries of a very different kind: row upon row of identical crosses marching across the landscape of northern France. Nothing could console a whole generation of mourners, and the monuments they created—the Cenotaph in Whitehall and the grave of the unknown warrior in Westminster Abbey—recorded only emptiness and loss. In the United States the Civil War (1861–1865) had resulted in similar segregated, all-male cemeteries, but the result in terms of funerary customs was a technological innovation. Freelance undertakers collected corpses from the battlefields and embalmed them by draining arteries and refilling them with formalin. When relatives arrived weeks or months later, they could recover the corpse for burial on payment of a fee. The body of assassinated President Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) was also embalmed, and it was viewed by thousands of reverent northerners as it traveled in stages back to his birthplace by train. Postcards showing the deceased president served as a focus of mourning in many homes. Subsequently, the practice of embalming became general, allowing an increasingly mobile population time to assemble for family funerals and to view the corpse before burial. It also brought into existence what is often referred to as the funeral industry, with its exclusively male professionals.

Surprisingly, there is little variation in funerary customs across the United States between different ethnic or even different religious backgrounds. Consequently, the procedures of embalming and viewing must be regarded as a specifically American culture trait, an example of what has been called the civil religion. In part this uniformity may be attributed to the lobbying and marketing techniques of the funeral directors' associations, but it also reflects American concepts of the proper life. The carefully restored corpse provides an icon of health and vigor, preserved to the very moment of death. In contrast to other things American, embalming has not spread across the Atlantic. Instead, European deathways have become ever more simple, especially in contrast to the pomp of Victorian times. No doubt this reflects an increasingly secular society but also a more skeptical view of the chances of a life without suffering.

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FURRIES

The word *furries* is an identity-based term that is embraced by people who enjoy anthropomorphic (animals endowed with human traits) art, online animal role-playing, and/or dressing up in cartoon animal costumes. The furry subculture is a well-organized and wide-ranging phenomenon that cohered in the early 1980s in the United States. All furries have an interest in anthropomorphics which may manifest itself as a hobby or as a central aspect of lifestyle and identity. For instance, some furries simply may have a strong interest in cartoon animals and comics, whereas others integrate their animal-focused interests into their erotic life.

Furries have their own animal-focused art, conferences, and language. Sometimes called Furspeak, the vocabulary is a mixture of technological terms, puns, and onomatopoeic words that classify furry activities, feelings, and personalities. "Fursuiters" are furries who don full-body animal costumes that reflect an individual's "inner animal" or speak more broadly to the spiritual bond a furry shares with a specific animal. Foxes, bears, lions, cats, and tigers are popular personal "totems" adopted by furries. "Scritching" is an act of scratching or cuddling between furries that shows affection but also may function as a "mating call" or provide evidence that a furry is feeling "yiffy," or ready for sex. "Furverts" are people who are sexually attracted to mascots and others dressed up in furry costumes. Online activity takes place in furry MUCKs (multi-user chat kingdoms) where furries invent characters (''fursonas'') and live out their sexual and anthropomorphic fantasies in virtual space. ''Plushophiles,'' or ''plushies,'' are furries who feel an erotic attraction to stuffed animals and may engage in sexual activity with their collections.

The furry subculture is a descendant of science fiction, fantasy, and comic fandom, and the term is said to have been coined at a 1970s science fiction conference to describe an anthropomorphic strand of fantasy art. Because much of the organizing and interaction that takes place among furries occurs in virtual environments or at regional and international conferences, furries have been compared to Trekkies: fans involved in the subculture surrounding the *Star Trek* television series and films. Like Trekkies, furries identify with one another through mutual interest—their shared fandom—and thus represent an identity category founded on likes or taste rather than on supposedly intrinsic qualities. Although a large number of furries are gay or bisexual men, as a basis for sexual identification the term *furry* complicates understandings of sexual orientation that are based on a gendered object choice.

Many, if not most, furries are connected to the world of technology. They may work as ''techs'' or be computer or comics ''geeks'' who have considerable knowledge about anthropomorphism in world mythology, animated *Disney* films, or Japanese *kemono*, a traditional method of character design that has been used widely in video games and anime. Some furries identify so strongly with their animal totems that they reportedly feel body, or species, dysmorphia (a furry term used to describe a psychological condition of chronic revulsion to one's body or body image caused by feeling more animal than human). Some affluent furries have elected to have cosmetic surgery to alter their bodies and faces so that they resemble those inner selves more closely.

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Emma Crandall

G

G.I. JOE

G.I. Joe is a fictional military character that has become the basis for a series of comic books and action figure toys targeted at young boys, primarily in the United States. The overt masculinity of the figures, coupled with their military theme, has made them acceptable male analogs to girls' dolls, and they were the first action figure-type toy successfully marketed. The name originally referred to a comic strip created by David Breger in 1942, which was published in military newspapers. In this incarnation, it was a generic term used to indicate an average soldier, rather than a name of a specific character. The term was quickly adopted for general use, even becoming the title of a 1945 Oscar-nominated film about the military journalist Ernie Pyle, who covered World War II on the front lines.

In 1964, the Hasbro toy company issued its first series of G.I. Joe action figures. The figures were twelve inches in height, making them smaller than traditional dolls for girls, and were capable of more fully articulated movement. The original series included members of the various branches of the U.S. armed services with individual names, but in later versions a single G.I. Joe was manufactured, making the name apply to both a line of toys as well as the primary figure in that line. G.I. Joe was initially successful, but quickly fell victim to the growing anti-Vietnam sentiment in the United States, making military toys less popular overall. In 1969 the line was rebranded "G.I. Joe Adventurer" and included various action-themed professions (e.g., Adventurer, Aquaman, Astronaut) in place of the older armed services branches. This line also included an African-American G.I. Joe. The first non-Caucasian figure had been produced in 1965, but used the same Caucasian-featured mold as the regular figure in darker plastic.

The toys were articulated at most of their major joints, accomplished through elastic threads connected to an inner frame that held the various limbs together. They were marketed (along the lines of Mattel's Barbie line for girls) with a variety of accessories and vehicles that could be purchased along with the dolls. Unlike Barbie, the variety of alternate clothing choices were never that great; some clothing could be added or changed, but the primary customization was expected to be weaponry or tools. Nonetheless, G.I. Joe's clothing could be removed, and the lack of representative genitalia became an unexpected focus of fascination.

In 1982, the G.I. Joe line was revived in its military profession under the name "G.I. Joe: A Real American Hero." This line was reduced in scale to the 3.75 inch-size popularized in the 1970s by the original Star Wars® action figures. This format was much less articulated, making for less realistic movement, and the clothing was usually molded onto the figure. There were also fewer possibilities for accessories; the business model had moved from using a basic figure with accessories to encouraging children to buy multiple pre-dressed and accessorized figures. The model was successful, and G.I. Joe became even more popular than in its earlier format.

The G.I. Joe line has since branched out beyond action figures to include comic books, animated television shows, and other formats. The figures originated as moderately lifelike representations of actual military persons, but over time have become less realistic and more fantastical, transforming into something closer to fictional superheroes. At

A G.I. Joe Toy. AP IMAGES.

the same time, their strict version of masculinity has become hyperbolic. The toys have always reflected the attitude toward the military current in the United States, but their attitude toward representative masculinity has become increasingly stylized.

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Brian D. Holcomb

GALEN
129–199

Galen, the most prolific ancient writer on medicine, studied at Pergamum, Smyrna, Corinth, and Alexandria. He first practiced in Smyrna as a physician to gladiators and later went to Rome, where he gave public lectures on medicine. He left Rome after four years and returned to Pergamum but soon became physician to Commodus, the son of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and traveled in imperial circles for much of the rest of his life.

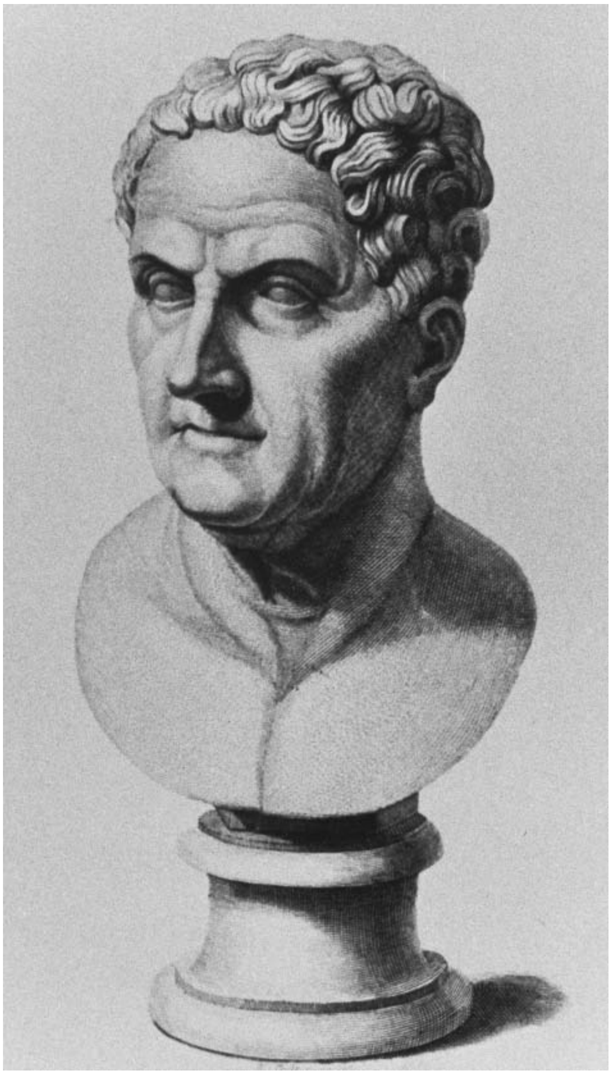
GALEN'S WORKS

Galen was a prolific author who never quit writing or dictating. It is estimated that he wrote about four hundred works, although many of them have been lost. Remaining in Latin are eighty-three books that can be attributed to him, nineteen of doubtful attribution, and fifteen commentaries on Hippocratic texts. Many other texts have survived in Arabic translations. Nevertheless, much of Galen's work has been lost, though many of the treatises attributed to Galen were not written by him and some of those works appeared during his lifetime. He was a brilliant diagnostician but was not particularly good at prognosis. He wrote not only on medicine but also on philosophy and on philology and grammar.

The enormous range of Galen's works made him the dominant medical figure in late antiquity and in the medieval period. He wrote in Greek, but translations into Latin were made during his lifetime. His works were also was translated into Syriac and Arabic. An open challenge to many of his ideas took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when his anatomy was shown to be erroneous, along with much of his physiology, which held that the liver is the starting point of blood.

THEORY OF DISEASE AND TREATMENT

Galen distinguished two fundamental kinds of diseases. The first category was diseases that are simple or elementary, such as inflammation and abnormal composition of the blood considered in relation to the tissues involved. The second type was organic disease, that is, conditions classified according to diseases of different organs and susceptible to changes in position, intensity, and duration. Some of the errors Galen made, such as his support of the theory that the right kind of pus is essential to healing, were accepted until the nineteenth century. He also believed in *contraria contrariis,* or the treatment of opposites; for example, heat should be applied to diseases caused by cold and vice versa. His medicine was founded on a localistic pathology rather than a general one, and his treatments were analytic and were systematized in rigid forms. His ideas on treatment are based more on a theory of structure and form (morphology) and biological syntheses than on detailed case studies. As a result his theory of medicine is filled with hypotheses. He had a somewhat inflated view of himself, claiming that he did as much for medicine as the emperor Trajan had done for



Galen. A bust of Galen. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

the Roman Empire and that he alone had pointed out the true method of treating diseases.

GALEN ON SEX AND GENDER

In dealing with issues of sex and gender, Galen, following Hippocrates, believed in the bicornate uterus (with two hornlike projections), holding that male babies are formed on the right side and females on the left side. This meant that males are superior and females are inferior. He also subscribed to the two-seed doctrine, holding that although both the male and female seeds have coagulative power and receptive capacity for coagulation, one is stronger in the male and the other in the female. Like Aristotle, he thought that the semen supplies the form, whereas the female supplies the substance (i.e., menstrual blood) needed for the growth of the embryo. The male is the active force, whereas the female is passive, merely supplying material for the semen to work on.

Galen taught that the womb wishes to be pregnant and that problems will result if a woman is not regularly pregnant. This is the case because women have a secretion similar to male semen that is produced in the uterus, and retention of this substance leads to the spoiling and corruption of the blood, which in turn leads to a cooling of the body and eventually to an irritation of the nerves, producing hysteria. Galen felt the solution for women who were unable to conceive or have regular intercourse was masturbation. To do this, a woman was advised to apply warm substances to her pudenda and then use digital manipulation:

> Following the warmth of the remedies and arising from the touch of the genital organs required by the treatment there followed twitching accompanied at the same time by pain and pleasure after which she emitted turbid and abundant sperm. Thus it seem to me that the retention of sperm impregnated with evil essences had—in causing damage throughout the body—a much greater power than that of the retention of the menses.
>
> *(Cresbron 1909, p. 44)*

Galen also recognized that a similar danger existed in males and that the retention of sperm had a much more noxious influence on the male than did the retention of the menses on the female. However, he did not mention male masturbation as a solution, probably because he believed there was no need to do so as it was practiced so widely.

GALEN IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Many of the treatments Galen advocated have been abandoned. Still, he had great influence on the development of medicine. Currently the only complete edition of Galen's work is a Greek text with a Latin translation (Kühn 1964–1965). There is no complete translation of the works in a modern language, although some individual works have been translated into English and other languages (Nutton 1979). Despite his often erroneous assumptions, for many generations Galen was regarded as all-knowing. His position in medicine is similar to that of Aristotle in philosophy.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome; Aristotle; Body, Theories of; Hippocrates; Medicine, Ancient.*

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Vern L. Bullough

GANG RAPE

SEE *Rape.*

GANYMEDE

Ancient authors from Homer to Virgil and Ovid recount the myth of Ganymede, an adolescent Trojan prince so handsome that Jupiter descended as an eagle, swept him up to Olympus, and made him his cupbearer and (implicitly or explicitly) bedfellow. As the sole male among the god's amours and the only one honored with immortality, Ganymede offered a justification of pederasty, which was widely evoked in literature and art well into modern times. But early writers developed two opposing interpretations: For Theognis the abduction was motivated by physical desire, whereas Xenophon refined sexual union into spiritual allegory, signifying the uplifting rapture of divine love. Plato acknowledged both associations, and they persisted, in dynamic tension, through dramatic variations in the myth's popularity, interpretation, and representation, which correlated with shifting attitudes toward homoeroticism.

Among the Greeks, who encouraged adults' educational love for youths, myth valorized custom: Ganymede's abduction was depicted in the temple of Olympian Zeus and painted on pottery as courting gifts for boys. The less public-spirited Romans depicted him in bawdy epigrams and brothel frescoes, but also on sarcophagi, symbolizing the soul borne heavenward after death. When Christianity, which proscribed homosexuality, inherited both traditions, it translated Ganymede's heavenly aspect into Christian language, while condemning his erotic dimension in those same terms. Didactic texts such as the fourteenth-century *Moralized Ovid* denounce Jupiter's passion as unnatural lust, and a twelfth-century Romanesque carving at Vézelay, France, depicts it as a warning against clerical abuse of boys. But at least for those who could read Latin, the positive erotic aspect was never lost: Twelfth-century clergy celebrated their Ganymedes in poems from humorous to exalted, and in misogynistic debates over which sex makes better lovers.

The Renaissance, heir to both medieval and ancient traditions, continued to treat the myth across the same range of conflicting modes. Neoplatonist philosophers, aiming to reconcile paganism and Christianity, read Ganymede as an allegory of divine love: Humanists such as Angelo Ambrogini (known as Politian; 1454–1494), himself homosexual, cited the youth in similarly elevated terms, in a catalog of ideal classical male couples, and his pupil Michelangelo drew the mythic pair to confess his own chaste love for a younger man. But to more earthy or satirical observers, from the sculptor Benvenuto Cellini to moral propagandists, the name alluded unfavorably to widespread contemporary sodomy.

Though the subject succumbed to Counter-Reformation strictures, it briefly regained popularity in eighteenth-century Neoclassicism. Johann Winckelmann (1717–1768) spearheaded this movement partly in pursuit of historical precedents for his own male desire; as a practical joke, friends forged a pseudo-antique fresco of Jupiter kissing Ganymede for him to "unearth." Mythic subjects again declined throughout the nineteenth century, but Ganymede's sexual meaning was generally understood as late as 1907, in a German press cartoon lampooning a government scandal. Although gay subcultures of the later twentieth century gained freedom to address male desire, antiquity had lost its venerable exemplarity and pederasty no longer mirrored contemporary sexual patterns, limiting the myth to sporadic media illustrations and popular novels.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome.*

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James M. Saslow

GARLAND, JUDY
1922–1969

Judy Garland, born Frances Ethel Gumm on June 10, 1922, in Grand Rapids, Minnesota, was a child movie star who later gained fame as an adult actress and singer. She died of a drug overdose at the age of forty-seven in London, England, on June 22, 1969, and is buried in New York. She had a devoted fan base and was, at times, the most popular entertainer in the United States. Whereas critics have argued over whether she had great technical skill as a singer, she is recognized as one of the premiere musical stylists of the twentieth century, with a voice, emotional quality, and musical phrasing that are unique. Her life was quite troubled, both professionally and romantically, in contrast to her usually polished performances. Her ability to persevere professionally while dealing with a turbulent life in a public manner made her seem fallible and familiar. This contrasts with other stars who cultivated an image of perfection, making them admirable and loved but not accessible in the same way that Garland was.

Garland was born into a vaudeville family, and performed on stage as a child before the family moved to California for possible film work. In 1935 she signed with Metro-Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) and was asked to sing the popular song ''You Made Me Love You'' to Clark Gable (1901–1960) at a birthday event. The effect of the pubescent Garland singing a love song to one of Hollywood's biggest male stars was a hit, and it was later filmed (with Garland singing to a photograph) for 1937's *Broadway Melody of 1938*. She was very popular but was in competition with Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), a singer of the same age also under contract with MGM. Whereas Durbin had a classically trained soprano voice, Garland sang in a more casual, popular style and had a lower range. Durbin was also more traditionally beautiful, whereas Garland tended towards plumpness and was considered cute rather than beautiful. Her appeal would often be based upon the undeniable sexiness of her nontraditional voice and appearance. The way that she embodied the appeal of the nonnormative is often cited as the basis for her devoted homosexual fan base.

In 1937 and 1938 Garland had minor roles in many films, and also starred in *Love Finds Andy Hardy* and *Babes in Arms* with Mickey Rooney (b. 1920). Rooney was an established star and the pairing of the two made for some of the most memorable and successful films of the era. Although the two were sometimes cast as a romantic couple, the Andy Hardy series saw Garland as his best friend, leaving Rooney to chase after starlets like Lana Turner (1920–1995). Garland would rise to romantic female lead roles, but always had a girl-next-door appeal instead of the raw sexuality of some of her colleagues.

Garland's first major hit was 1939's *The Wizard of Oz*, in which she played Dorothy Gale and sang ''Over the Rainbow,'' one of the most popular Hollywood songs of all time. It was the first time that she had carried a film on her own, and the studio originally tried to get Shirley Temple (b. 1928) for the role out of concern that Garland was not up to the task. Garland performed

Judy Garland. **ERIC CARPENTER/JOHN KOBAL FOUNDATION/ GETTY IMAGES.**

expertly and the film was a huge success, even earning Garland her only Academy Award, a miniature statuette for Outstanding Performance by a Juvenile (given the year before to Durbin). While this was a major professional success for Garland, this was also the period that saw Garland's personal life in decline. Her father had died in 1935 leaving her to be raised by an overbearing mother and a movie studio. To keep Garland at peak performance ability, she was prescribed a series of amphetamines, as well as depressants to allow her to counter their effects. This combination, along with weight control drugs, led to her lifelong struggle with drug addiction.

At the age of nineteen, Garland married songwriter David Rose, twelve years her senior. Many biographers assert that she did love Rose but was most interested in minimizing her mother's influence in her life. The studio was furious that she had married, afraid she would tarnish her virginal image. Records indicate that she may have had an abortion during this short marriage at the insistence of her mother and the film studio. Rose and Garland divorced in 1945, the year she married director Vincente Minnelli (1903–1986). The two met while working on the 1944 musical film *Meet Me in St. Louis*, in which Garland sang ''The Trolley Song'' and ''Have Yourself a Merry Little Christmas.'' The film was a huge success and marked Garland's move into roles suited to her actual age rather than her usual child roles. Garland and Minnelli were married until 1951 and had one daughter, singer and actress Liza Minnelli, in 1946. Vincente Minnelli was a known bisexual and the first of Garland's many relationships with bisexual or homosexual men.

Garland's drug use took a toll on her work and her health, leading to a nervous breakdown and a suicide attempt in 1947. She was eventually fired from MGM in 1950 during the filming of *Annie Get Your Gun* and replaced by actress Betty Hutton (1921–2007). In 1952 Garland married Sid Luft (1959–2005), who became her manager and engineered her return to fame. He arranged for her to perform at the legendary vaudeville venue Palace Theater in New York, betting that she could transfer her on-screen likeability into live performance. She set a box office record, playing for nineteen sold-out weeks. Based on this success Luft convinced Warner Brothers to finance her 1954 film *A Star Is Born*, a popular and critical success that brought Garland an Academy Award nomination as Best Actress. Disputes with the studio over editing and distribution of the film precluded any further film deals until 1961, and Garland made only a few films between then and her death. Garland and Luft had two children, performer Lorna Luft (b. 1952) and photographer Joey Luft (b. 1955).

Garland continued to perform in concert and in television specials throughout the 1950s and 1960s, these appearances producing the bulk of her income. Her finances were badly mishandled by Luft, and when they separated in 1964, he left her almost penniless. Her greatest success during this period of her life was *The Judy Garland Show*, a weekly program in 1963–1964 that paired Garland with other singers of the day, including Lena Horne (b. 1917), Frank Sinatra (1915–1998), Dean Martin (1917–1995), Ethel Merman (1908–1984), and a very young Barbra Streisand (b. 1942). The show was a popular and critical success but was canceled after only one season. The most famous moment from the series was her rendition of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" in tribute to her friend, President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963), following his assassination in November of 1963. The final years of her life were spent in concert tours, including an engagement at the London Palladium with her teenage daughter Liza, and as a personality on talk shows hosted by other stars. Her health was in serious decline, as were her finances, and she made a series of poor relationship choices in an effort to find stability. From 1965–1966 she was married to Mark Herron (1928–1996), although her divorce from Luft was not yet final, and she married Mickey Deans (1934–2003) in 1969, just three months before her death. Herron was a homosexual and some sources have claimed the same of Deans.

When Garland died in June 1969, there was an immediate reaction from her fans, including thousands of people who clogged the streets of New York during her funeral as they tried to catch a glimpse of the service. More than 22,000 people attended her funeral, and it is estimated that half were gay men. Her popularity with homosexual men had been noted publicly as early as the 1950s, and a large part of the audiences at her concerts were gay men. The specific reason for her emergence as a gay icon is not known, but it was clear even during her life that her life and career were especially valued among the homosexual community. The date of her funeral, June 27, 1969, was the day before the beginning of the Stonewall Riots, usually thought of as the start of the gay rights movement. Although no specific connection between the two events is known, legend holds that drag queens at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village, rebelled against the usual police raids that day out of grief over Garland's death. Garland's connection with drag queens was also unusually close; impersonation of Garland is a standard feature of many drag performances. In homage to her *Wizard of Oz* character, gay men are sometimes referred to as *friends of Dorothy*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

GAY

What does the term *gay* designate? Is it an identity, an orientation, a preference, a lifestyle? Some scientists, as well as many people who self-identify as gay, insist that there must be a genetic component to sexual orientation. But what are those who claim to have discovered a "gay" gene—or brain—measuring, and how do they determine who "counts" as gay?

THE ORIGINS OF GAY IDENTITY

Most historians of sexuality argue that what people call gay identity is a relatively recent phenomenon. Although people have engaged in homosexual behavior for all of known history, the category of the homosexual is a modern one that initially was specific to nineteenth-century Western culture. In Michel Foucault's (1988) widely discussed formulation, before the nineteenth century the sodomite was a "temporary aberration" in that, on the one hand, any human being potentially could engage in the "sin" of homosexuality and on the other hand, sodomy was a hopelessly confused collection of forbidden acts. The sodomite was thus neither a specific category of person with a distinct identity nor someone who engaged in specific sexual behaviors.

In the late nineteenth century, however, a number of institutions in the West—the law, medicine, the church, and even literature—produced congruent ways of conceptualizing the relationship between sexuality and the self that made possible the "birth" of homosexual and heterosexual identities. Sexuality became a privileged register of human experience, the locus of the "truth" of the subject. Rather than being an activity, sexuality was transposed into an identity that shaped every aspect of a person, including moral character, sensibility, personality, and anatomy.

The new science of sexuality produced various categories of sexual subjects, some defined by their sexual aim and others by their choice of a sexual object. Object choice, however, became the chief means by which people were assigned sexual identities. In the case of homosexuality in particular, there was what Foucault termed a "transposition" of sodomy "onto a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphrodism of the soul" (Foucault 1988, p. 43). Gender "inversion" thus was tied to homosexuality to such an extent that even today, in some contexts, cross-gender identification is equated with a homosexual object choice.

As Foucault insists, the creation of this homosexual personage made possible not only "a strong advance of social controls into this area of 'perversity'" but also "a 'reverse discourse'" by which homosexuality "began to speak on its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturality' be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified" (Foucault 1988, p. 101). Having become subjects of discourses of homosexuality, homosexual subjects began to recognize themselves as the product of those discourses, which provided them with a means of making sense of their "illicit" desires.

By the middle of the twentieth century, however, many self-identified homosexuals were rejecting this identity in favor of a new term: *gay*. Free of the pathological connotations of sexological discourse, that term placed less emphasis on the purely sexual aspects of homosexual identity. Referring to both men and women, its use accompanied changes in the way some people conceived of sexuality and its relationship to politics. According to Steven Seidman, new thinking about homosexual identity that was produced in the wake of the 1969 Stonewall riots "contested the notion of homosexuality as a segment of humanity; repudiated the idea of homosexuality as symptomatic of psychic or social inferiority; and rejected a politics of assimilation" (Seidman 1993, p. 111). The Stonewall riots were a series of confrontations between New York City police and patrons of a Greenwich Village bar that has come to symbolize the struggle for contemporary lesbian, gay, and transgender rights. "The new "gay" thinking argued that sexual desire was much more fluid and mobile than the idea of a separate, distinct, and stable homosexual identity that was defined primarily by object choice allowed. In light of the myriad ways in which people experience sexual desire and its relationship to gender, the term *homosexual* seemed to falsify the lived reality of sex.

As more and more subjects began to identify themselves as gay, however, the most visible and vocal proponents of that new identity category retained only the second position of the three outlined by Seidman. In light of the ways in which sexuality continued to be conceptualized by the dominant culture as an identity, many gay people were convinced that in fact they did constitute a separate segment of humanity, one defined primarily by a homosexual object choice. Although they recognized this identity as "unique," they saw it as legitimate and deserving of state protection.

Sexual orientation thus began to be conceptualized along the lines of an ethnic identity. Like their counterparts in civil rights struggles, gay people organized politically around that identity, demanding the same rights and privileges as heterosexuals, adopting a logic of "we're just like everyone else—except that we're gay—and so we should be free of discrimination in housing and employment, free to marry, free to join the military." How did this happen? Was it simply a ruse of history or the result of the economic and social organization of Western culture?

CAPITALISM AND GAY IDENTITY

The relationship of capitalism to gay identity is complicated and contradictory. According to John D'Emilio (1992), the capitalist wage labor system increasingly has allowed some subjects in the West "to call themselves gay, to see themselves as part of a community of similar men and women, and to organize politically on the basis of that identity" (D'Emilio 1992, p. 5). Specifically, the expansion of capital and the spread of wage labor in the nineteenth century drew men and women out of self-sufficient household economies and into wage work.

Accompanying that expansion of the institution of wage labor was an alteration of the meaning of sexuality. Freed by wage labor from the obligations of procreation, sexuality became "a means of establishing intimacy, promoting happiness, and experiencing pleasure" (D'Emilio 1992, p. 7). No longer tied to the family as an economic unit and able to imagine sexuality outside the demands of procreation, an increasing number of nineteenth-century subjects were able to "organize a personal life around their erotic/emotional attraction to their own sex" (D'Emilio 1992, p. 7). The increase in jobs in urban areas in particular made it possible for communities of like-minded individuals to coalesce around those emerging identities. Those individuals developed shared forms of style in dress, behavior, and language that strengthened their sense of being unique and made it possible for them to locate one another in a cultural and social environment that still was largely hostile to overt homosexuality.

Although capitalism weakened the family unit as a self-sufficient economic entity, it continued—and continues—to rely on families to reproduce the next generation of laborers. Capitalism continues to invest in the family as the chief site of emotional fulfillment, ensuring that sexuality does not remain an end in itself. (The desire of gay couples to have children, for example, thus needs to be historicized as at least in some respects an attempt by capitalism to make a productive use of gay sexuality.)

Like D'Emilio, Rosemary Hennessy (2000) offers an analysis of the relationship of gay identity to capitalism. Hennessy, however, ties the emergence of separate and distinct heterosexual and homosexual identities in the late nineteenth century to a factor not discussed by D'Emilio: the capitalist recruiting of women as desiring subjects. According to Hennessy, the appeal of capitalism to women as consumers—the result of historical changes in the relations of production, including the spread of wage labor and technological developments that increased production and opened up new consumer markets—was at odds with Victorian gender hierarchies and their conception of men as "active sexual agents" and women as "passive or passionless sexual recipients" (Hennessy 2000, p. 99). For women to recognize themselves as desiring subjects, a paradigmatic shift in the construction of sexuality had to occur: the shift "to sexual object choice as the defining feature of identity" (Hennessy 2000, p. 101). Faced with the contradictory pressures of producing women as consumers and maintaining a gendered division of labor, capitalism instituted a heteronormativity that posited "a 'natural' equation between sex (male and female) and gender (masculine and feminine)" (Hennessy 2000, p. 100) at the same time that it instituted both heterosexual and homosexual identities, with the latter being simply the perverse other of the former. According to Hennessy, the category of the homosexual was an attempt by science to "explain and to tame disruptions of the gender system (Hennessy 2000, p. 100): disruptions potentially unleashed by the uncoupling of sex and gender that the production of females as desiring subjects threatened.

Like gender and racial/ethnic identity, gay identity is exploited by capitalism to produce workers whose labor is valued differently. Although gender is the primary way in which labor is differentiated under capitalism (women's biology allegedly renders their labor less free and of less value than men's), as processes of commodification have accelerated and spread around the world, the demand has arisen for an even more finely hierarchized division of labor.

This does not imply that there is always an exact fit between, say, one's sexual identity and one's place in the division of labor. The qualitative differentiation of labor value must be flexible enough to allow for fluctuations in the labor market. The ideology of meritocracy assures that at least some members of cultural minorities will find themselves in privileged positions both as "buffers" between the rulers and the ruled (managers of the workforce) and as token examples of success that help prevent wholesale rebellion. Nonetheless, it is a historical fact that "certain areas of work, e.g. gender typed 'feminine' and/or service work, less free and lower paid, are more accessible to and tolerant of sexual minorities" (Evans 1993, p. 40). Also pertinent here is the fact that capitalism attempts to justify its coding of people into the division of labor through recourse to a naïve biologism that exaggerates physiological differences between individuals of different status groups to maintain a hierarchy. For this reason alone, one should be suspicious of attempts to locate the origin of homosexuality in human biology.

COMMODIFICATION AND GAY IDENTITY

Civil rights struggles such as gay liberation both acknowledge and attempt to redress this production of the gay subject's labor as devalued, for rights-based struggles assume that all labor is of equal value and that all subjects should be able to rely on the state to guarantee them equal citizenship. There is a contradiction at the heart of civil rights struggles, for the fact that identity categories exist ensures their continued use as markers of a person's position in a hierarchized division of labor. To organize around an identity, it is necessarily to reinscribe the validity of that identity.

As David T. Evans has argued, sexual difference does not work in quite the same way as gender or ethnicity in that "it is not overt but has to be declared or exposed, but mainstream market pressures supported by legal judgments discourage revelation and exposure in both production and consumption relations" (Evans 1993, p. 40). These comments, as well as Hennessy's, indicate that gay people in so-called First World economies in particular are not only producers but consumers as well. Gay identity increasingly is experienced as a commodity for consumption. The freeing of sexuality from the obligations of procreation has made it increasingly available for commodification. One of the forms this commodification of sexuality has taken is the marketing of gay identity. The transition from homosexual to gay may be figured as occurring in precisely the historical period in which sexual subjects increasingly were perceiving themselves as consumers rather than producers, a result of the shift in the First World from industrial manufacturing to service-based economies.

As Evans argues, " As consumers we are [according to capitalist ideology] unique individuals with needs, identities, and lifestyles which we express through our purchase of appropriate commodities. If therefore our sexual identities are our imperative, inescapable and the deepest reality with which it is our duty to come to terms, then we must come to terms with sexuality ... as commodities" (Evans 1993, p. 45). As a result, gay subjects who purchase goods marketed to them as gay consumers are likely to feel "more" gay than their nonpurchasing brothers and sisters. Similarly, they are likely to feel that they are acting against their own political interests if they do not purchase appropriately gay-ed commodities owing to the fact that there is a naïve tendency in the United States in particular to equate increased visibility in the market with increased political equality and power.

INTERNATIONAL GAY IDENTITY

As capitalism has extended its reach over the globe, so has gay identity. Western ways of organizing the relationship of the self to sex and gender have spread to non-Western nations, where they have been adopted, adapted, creolized, and transformed. Although some non-Western political regimes have instituted harshly repressive responses to public manifestations of gay identity, those regimes often are located in cultures that have a long history of tolerating homoeroticism. In analyzing this situation, one must keep in mind that the rejection of gay identity cannot be disentangled easily from the fact that any public display of overt sexuality is frowned upon in some non-Western cultures as immodest and the ways in which, in rejecting gay identity, such regimes sometimes are attempting to resist Western influence in general.

This is not to apologize for the brutal conditions under which some sexual subjects live. With the spread of capitalism comes the spread of Western epistemologies, and so non-Western subjects are coming to recognize themselves as gay and to experience as gay subjects the mental, emotional, and physical repression of their desires. However, in attempting to understand and combat the violations of human rights that occur as a result of government-sanctioned homophobia, it is important to recall that the stigmatizing of gay identity and/or homosexuality per se is often part of a larger strategy of resistance to globalization.

FROM GAY TO QUEER

Starting in the late twentieth century there has been an increasing rejection of gay identity among some subjects in favor of the term *queer*—ironically, for some of the same reasons that the term *homosexual* was rejected some thirty years earlier. That is, the term *gay* is thought to be too likely to reinscribe an absolute binary division between homo- and heterosexualities and to be accommodating to a politics of assimilation. *Queer* also is thought to be inclusive of women in a way that *gay* has proved historically not to have been and to be more open to the violating of gender norms. (In an effort to free itself of the pathologizing stigma of earlier sexological discourse, first homosexual culture and then gay culture sometimes stigmatized "effeminate" men and "butch" women as victims of false consciousness.)

Additionally, the term *queer* represents an attempt to name a variety of resistances to regimes of the normal, not only the binary organization of sexuality and gender. There is also some concern that gay identity as it has been commodified under capitalism increasingly has reflected the economic and political interests of white middle-class subjects. Like the term *gay* before it, however and, ironically, for some of the same reasons, the term *queer* has proved to be available for commodification to the extent that, in the media in particular, it often simply designates a hipper version of gay.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Defined; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Queer.*

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John Champagne

GAY BATHS

SEE *Baths, Public: III. West, Middle Ages–Present.*

GAY MARRIAGE

SEE *Marriage.*

GAZE

The gaze or gazing has several different meanings, all associated with the sets of gendered and sexualized relationships often implicit in scenes of viewing. Gazing may be a simple intellectual exercise of the senses, a form of entertainment, the central activity in sexual scenarios, a constituent of psychical formation, or a mode of control and discipline. Gazing may produce sexual pleasure through seeing, being seen, or producing discipline and control. Gazing requires and also produces sets of relationships between the one who looks and the image or object being seen, which themselves have become inscribed in art, especially as fine art has historically become more personal and commercial. Gazing as a form of surveillance represents sets of power relationships between those being scrutinized and those who watch. The relations linked to gazing have also become a part of the psychological mechanisms for self-realization, identification, and presentation.

PRACTICES, VENUES, AND MEANINGS

To gaze is to look at something, often with concentration, curiosity, or pleasure. Simply gazing is more a practice of contemplation or fascination than it is either a manifestation of voyeurism (looking for the purposes of sexual pleasure) or a practice of surveillance or control associated with various forms of punishment. Gazing constitutes a large portion of cultural activity in modern societies. Theater, film, and television all offer themselves as spectacles to be seen, and form themselves in relation to viewers' predilections. Other venues for gazing include sports, zoos, casinos, travel and sightseeing, and even computer games. As viewers find pleasure in these entertainments, they rarely think about either how the displayed activities are actually arranged to be seen or what power relations there are between the display and the viewer. Viewers often feel they have a choice in how and what they watch, though they are equally powerless to change or often even participate in what they see. Computer games bring a measure of control to the gazer.

To gaze may well muster curiosity, sexual pleasure, and issues of power. Sexualized control scenarios tend to gender this power, especially in so far as gazing is associated with active volition, whereas the image or object to be looked at is associated with passivity and sometimes victimhood. In its connections to the activity and phallic character of looking, gazing is often associated with masculinity and looking with sexual aggressiveness. The image or object to be looked at is associated with femininity and passive objecthood. Thus, in its most extreme forms, gazing is linked both to gender stereotypes and to less traditional sexual satisfactions such as scopophilia, or pleasure in watching, and the passive/active dynamics of sadomasochism.

Voyeurism and scopophilia are most often practiced by males, sometimes in public spaces such as strip shows and pornographic films, sometimes privately as with pornographic magazines and Internet sites, and sometimes illegally and covertly as peeping toms. Often voyeuristic activities are restricted to certain areas and to adult consumers; sometimes voyeurism is a crime. Exhibitionism, or setting out one's sexual organs to be seen, is practiced by both males and females, often, though not always, as a component of sexual arousal. Males constitute the majority of those who expose their genitals to strangers; doing so constitutes the crime of indecent exposure. Sigmund Freud theorized that those who enjoy exhibitionism also wish to look, while those who look also wish to be seen.

Gazing also reflects and effects a complex distribution of power that in its sexualized form constitutes sadomasochism, or sexual pleasure derived from taking or relinquishing power. To be constrained as the object of someone else's gaze is to be in the watcher's power. The viewer may wield sadistic power in humiliating what he or she watches. At the same time, the one who offers her- or himself up to the gaze might exert a certain power in commanding the gaze as well as in delaying or withholding full view. The one who watches may be constrained from doing more than watching, experiencing a type of bondage produced by the rules of viewing. Most often what is offered for view is presented in costumes designed to constrain movement, limit access, and signal the distribution of power via leather, chains, harnesses, and masks.

POWER RELATIONS IN FINE ART AND CINEMA

Though much less obvious, similar power relations exist in fine art, where paintings and sculpture not only present an object to be viewed, but also arrange this object in ways that define how it should be viewed, inscribe within each work the point from which the art should be seen, and finally often suggest that viewers themselves are being regarded by the work. Fine art paintings represent a network of gazes. Some of these gazes are overt such as painted subjects who are looking at something or someone, also in the painting, which or who is glancing at something beyond the frame of the painting, or returning the gaze of those who are looking at the painting itself. The network of gazes also includes gazes that are implied from the angles in which the painted subjects are rendered, or the operation of perspective, which points back to the point of view from which a painting's perspective originated. This network can also be extended to include enframed sets of gazes, such as when the subjects of a painting are themselves looking at another painting, or when film characters are looking at paintings or at another film or television.

This network of gazes not only reflects the system of ocular angles necessary to produce and reproduce spatial relations—the relative positions of gazer and the objects of the gaze. It also enacts the same kinds of power relations between the ones who look and those who are the objects of the gaze. In fine art, especially as it became more secular during the Renaissance, if a female was the subject of a painting and hence the object of a gaze, the way the woman was rendered in the painting inscribed a particularly gendered way of looking. Female objects were rendered specifically to be pleasing to looking males, a relationship referred to as the "male gaze." As the subjects of paintings became more sexualized, the gendering of the looking gaze became more obviously masculine. The conventions of painting nude women as they have changed through history and styles of art are conventions that reflect the ideals of a heterosexualized viewing scenario in which males gaze at females.

These same power relations transferred from painting to cinema in the twentieth century. Cinema, which like photography uses a lens that reproduces a version of conventional Renaissance perspective relations that center the viewer, also reproduces the gendered network of gazing male and female object. Feminist film theorists of the 1970s and 1980s, such as Laura Mulvey, Jacqueline Rose, and Teresa de Lauretis, described not only the ways this network of gazing works to reproduce gender relations in film, but also the ways cinema tends to elide and/or naturalize the power relations of both gazing and gender. Some film theorists also posed the question of what kinds of art and film might be produced if gender/power relations were altered or reversed. What might happen if women were imagined to be the gazers?

LACAN'S THEORIES

The psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1978) employed the network of power relations attached to the acts of gazing in his theories of how individuals became conscious of themselves as mobile, desiring beings. Using the analogy of an infant gazing in a mirror, Lacan accounted for how individuals make a transition from being babies who are immobile and inseparable from their environment to being individuals who are separate. The "mirror stage," Lacan discerned, matched the act of gazing with a moment of recognizing that other, separate beings exist. For Lacan, the gaze does not disappear, but continues to operate as a part of what constitutes individual psychic development and consciousness. The gaze is the sense that one is being seen. It is the feeling that someone is watching, a sense that often curbs behaviors and forces responsibility. In addition, individuals also see themselves seeing themselves—watch themselves as if from outside. Thus, the gaze plays a large role in Lacan's notion of the dynamic relationships that constitute individuals.

SURVEILLANCE

This gaze, which operates psychically, has increasingly become a reality as European and North American societies employ camera technologies to observe public behaviors. The surveillance feared by George Orwell in *1984* (1949), and described by the cultural historian and theorist Michel Foucault (1977), exists in early-twenty-first-century systems of cameras set to record the comings and goings of subway riders, lawbreakers at traffic intersections, and convenience store shoppers. Credit agencies track bank activity and credit purchases, grocery discount cards record the food people buy, and marketers and information agencies collect information about many aspects of peoples' lives that were formerly considered to be private. This institutional gaze arguably prevents crimes or enables more rapid law enforcement, but it also provides a psychological curb on peoples' behaviors. If people psychically sense that they are being seen, in reality they are being seen. People are the object of many gazes.

SEE ALSO *Film, Gender and Eroticism: I. History; Gender, Theories of.*

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GENDER CONFUSION

Gender confusion is a nonclinical term that refers to an individual's feeling of not identifying with his or her assigned gender. In popular and scientific discourse, this term has been associated with diagnostic categories for transgendered and transsexual individuals, such as *gender dysphoria* or *gender identity disorder*. Gender confusion may also be used to describe behavior that is a symptom of these conditions. More generally, gender confusion refers to children, adolescents, or adults who either consciously or unconsciously do not present, behave, or identify as strictly male or female. In addition to being used to describe an individual with trans, androgynous, or indeterminate gender, the term can also refer to the reaction such a person might provoke in a social context. In this latter sense gender confusion describes the uncertainty some people feel when confronted with a gendered reality that disrupts the male–female gender binary.

THE ROOTS OF GENDER CONFUSION

As with scientific studies on the *causes* of homosexuality, studies have not produced sufficient evidence for why some people do not identify with the gender that has been assigned to them. The use of the word *confusion* in relation to this phenomenon is both apropos and misleading. Gender *is* a confusing and complicated construct, but those who exhibit gender confusion may not actually be confused about what gender they are. The polarized gender binary likely produces widespread confusion because women and men rarely identify with every aspect of feminine and masculine stereotypes and roles. Nevertheless, the term names behavior that blurs the line between male and female and carries a connotation that being confused about one's gender is abnormal. Ironically, those who identify as transgender or transsexual or are categorized as such rarely discuss confusion. In fact, most trans individuals feel that they were *trapped in the wrong body* from a young age and describe their condition as having *always existed* (Ames 2005). In other words there is little doubt or confusion for them about which gender they actually are. From this perspective gender confusion is instead a social term that polices the borders of gender and relegates nonnormative genders as immature, undeveloped, or deviant genders.

THE CULTURAL TERRAIN OF GENDER CONFUSION

Although some cultures are more tolerant about gender expression and variation (a typical example is the American Indian *two-spirit* who embodies a fusion of masculinity and femininity), cross-culturally, those who do not fit into normative gender categories are tormented and discriminated against. Gender confusion can result in assault, rape, and discrimination for the person who does not conform to gendered expectations. Gender confusion, and the homophobic and transphobic violence sometimes directed at it, can be tied to what feminist and queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985) has called *homosexual panic*—the pervasive anxieties in modern European and North American culture that surround nonnormative sexuality and gender. Cultural manifestations of gender confusion can be found in childhood exploration and play, eroticization in fashion advertisements and styles, and backlash against people whose genders do not conform to social standards.

Cross-gender identification in children has been well documented; however, the frequency of this behavior and the ultimate social implications of it are uncertain (Zucker 1985, Bradley 1985). Controversial claims regarding a direct correlation between childhood gender confusion (or cross-gender identification in children) and homosexuality or transsexuality have never been confirmed. Classic examples of gender confusion are the young boy who plays dress-up and the young girl who plays with cars and footballs. These behaviors are viewed as reparable and, increasingly, as ordinary. In a revealing double standard gender disorders are typically diagnosed when girls make claims of being anatomically male but when boys make any insinuation that they prefer feminine behavior and activities or would rather not have a penis (Sedgwick 1991). Many scholars with radical positions cite the psychological obsession with gender confusion—especially in its manifestation as *gender identity disorder in childhood*, which is in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* (*DSM-IV*)—as merely a shift in the continued pathologization of homosexuality.

Pat, a character in the popular television show *Saturday Night Live* (SNL), is a humorous, if simplified, manifestation of gender confusion both as an ambiguous gender status and as a reaction felt by people when confronted by androgynous or gender-bending individuals. In these skits *SNL* performer Julia Sweeney dresses as an unattractive, androgynous person who consistently deflects the efforts of celebrity guests to discover Pat's gender in indirect ways. In preparing for the character Sweeney attempts to drop all gender-coded behavior, movement, and affect, and the skits satirize gender's elusive power and society's extremely regulated gender codes.

A particularly infamous social site of gender confusion is the gender-segregated bathroom. For transgendered individuals as well as women who have short hair or men who have long hair, confusion in the bathroom can be comical, frustrating, or dangerous. The segregation of bathrooms, a convention implemented globally to a range of degrees, is representative of the polarizing dichotomy of gender and the social expectation that individuals must fit themselves (in this case, literally) into one of these two distinct boxes. For individuals who do not identify as male or female, who may be transitioning from one gender to another, or who simply do not exhibit the stereotypical characteristics of one gender, navigating this seemingly simple space entails much anxiety, safeguarding, and fortitude.

A final cultural manifestation of gender confusion is presented in the context of global militarism and reveals how racialized encodings of gender can produce a different kind of gender confusion. The scholar Zillah Eisenstein (2004) cites the use of *gender confusion* as a tactic of torture that was used at Abu Ghraib, a five-compound prison just outside Baghdad run by American soldiers after the former Iraqi government was ousted from power. The rape and torture of Muslim men in the prison at the hands of white American female soldiers represents an ultimate *humiliation* because the men were treated as women—the men's genders were essentially *confused* by these acts. In Eisenstein's take on the scandal, the fact that the abusers were white women further confuses because the women inflict the type of abuse and cruelty that is usually directed at them. Swapping genders with the men, the women, as decoys of this masculinist endeavor, perpetuate a racist imperialism while obscuring its patriarchal origins.

SEE ALSO *Gender Dysphoria; Transgender.*

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GENDER DYSPHORIA

Gender dysphoria is a technical term for the sense that one's body and one's true gender do not match. In clinical settings the term is used to diagnose chronic symptoms of physical and mental discomfort, uncertainty, and depression about one's gender, also known as gender anxiety. Gender dysphoria is most often understood as a state that exists somewhere between gender confusion, where one might not know one's gender, and transsexuality, where one transitions with sex reassignment surgery to the anatomical body one feels most comfortable occupying. Not all gender dysphorics are transsexuals, and many choose to live as the sex they believe themselves to be without the aid of sex reassignment surgery.

Gender dysphoria is often linked with gender identity disorder, which is the official name given it by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* (*DSM-IV* 1994), the manual of pathological psychic disorders first published by the American Psychiatric Association in 1952. While the *DSM-I* (1952) and *DSM-II* (1968) mentioned only transvestism, *DSM-III* (1980) classified the gender identity disorders—including transsexualism and childhood gender identity disorder—as psychosexual disorders arising out of the incongruity between a person's anatomic sex and what many clinicians now term "psychological" sex, that is, the gender a person identifies as his or his own. The *DSM-IV* simplified the group into a single category, gender identity disorder, and eliminated transsexualism.

Diagnosing gender dysphoria entails emphasizing physical and psychological symptoms and deemphasizing social or political critique. The *DSM-IV* underscores that there must be evidence of a strong and persistent cross-gender identification, defined as either the desire to be the other sex or the belief that one really is the other sex already. Gender dysphorics must be uncomfortable wearing so-called sex-appropriate clothing, and they also should enjoy "opposite sex" activities and interests.

Gender dysphorics are often uncomfortable with their genitals or biological secondary sex characteristics, such as breasts, hair, or voice. They may desire hormones, surgery, or both in order to make their anatomical and biological sex correlate. The *DSM-IV* emphasizes that this discomfort has to be more than the desire to have the perceived social status of the other sex. Dysphorics bear the burden of convincing medical professionals that their condition is real: Their gender anxiety must be acute, significant, and obvious, and it should make normal everyday social, sexual, and occupational functioning difficult.

Because gender dysphoria is a medical diagnosis of a psychological disorder, it defines its sufferers as mentally ill patients requiring treatment by medical professionals. Responding to this, some intellectuals and gender activists object to the term, viewing it as a way for parents and doctors to manage the potential homosexuality of children. They suggest that gender dysphoria pathologizes the healthy and sensible objections many people have to the oppressive roles and norms of the sex-gender system. In this view, gender dysphoria is more accurately described as a version of the gender discomfort many, if not most, people experience on a daily basis. Those who share this view might question how many people are truly comfortable in their gender, or with the idea of a binary gender system. They might wonder how can the feeling of physical incommensurability with one's ideal gender be pathologized when so many people admit their everyday difficulty living up to feminine and masculine norms.

On the other side of the question are those in favor of access to the care and resources provided by a medical diagnosis. They point out that the availability of surgery requires the creation of a category of subjects whose request for sex reassignment can be seen as legitimate. They maintain that in order to create this category and make surgical "correction" available, these subjects have to be pathologized, thus defining the parameters of a sickness that medical technology can reasonably cure. They argue that while the pathologization of gender dysphoria stigmatizes those who experience extreme levels of discomfort with their social and sexual gender roles, it also allows more people access to sex reassignment than if such surgery was viewed as elective rather than as the necessary treatment of a medical condition.

Treatment now involves not only providing counseling and access to hormones and surgery but also understanding gender variance as a naturally occurring human condition, with an emphasis on addressing the discomfort and anxiety of gender dysphoria by viewing gender-variant people as members of families and social networks that also need to participate in the therapeutic process. Those on both sides of the question agree that a growing acceptance of the principle of gender variance by medical professionals and society as a whole is good for those suffering from gender dysphoria as well as for those who want to provide the best standards of medical and psychological care.

SEE ALSO *Gender Confusion; Transgender.*

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Jaime Hovey

GENDER IDENTITY

Both sociologists and psychologists define gender identity as the differing cultural and social roles that men and women inhabit, as well as the ways in which individuals experience those roles, both internally and in terms of the ways they present themselves to the world through their manner of dress, behavior, physical comportment, and so forth. Both distinguish between a person's biological sex (male or female) and gender identity (masculine or feminine). This suggests that biology is in some sense prior to gender identity and has a historical immutability that the latter lacks. Some feminist biologists, however, have challenged even this distinction, arguing that anatomical differences between the sexes are the result of historically specific conceptualizations of the body, such that even something as apparently "objective" and "neutral" as biology must be recognized as the product of cultural, social, and historical factors. In other words, biology approaches the body with certain assumptions about gender—that the sexes constitute complementary opposites, for example—exaggerating whatever physiological differences may exist between male and female. Transgender advocates offer a related claim, arguing that the designation of two sexes is itself arbitrary, given the reality of human biological variation.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Focusing on cultural and social institutions, sociologists examine the strategies individuals who feel a lack of congruency between their gender identity and their biological sex develop to negotiate a world often hostile to those who display "inappropriately" gendered behaviors, as well as the ways in which societies are more or less tolerant of gender identity variation and deviance. The implication is that culture offers subjects a limited number of gendered positions from which they might choose. In their emphasis on choice and self-creation, sociological analyses do not always provide a way to account for the fact that the relationship of individual subjects to gendered identities is often complicated and contradictory. For example, some subjects are read as inappropriately gendered by their society despite their own often desperate attempts to "pass" as sufficiently "male" or "female." Are such subjects choosing to be gender outlaws, or is choice too simplistic a means to explain how subjects acquire and negotiate gender identity?

Psychology traditionally focuses on the family's role in the production of gender norms. With its pretensions to being a medical science, it typically argues that there is some biological component to gender identity, and it pathologizes gender nonconformity to a certain degree. For example, since its third edition (1980), *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* has contained an entry on "gender identity disorder of childhood."

The problem with sociological and psychological accounts of gender is that they often ignore the role subjugation plays in the developing of human subjectivity. If being a subject requires one to submit to—rather than simply select from—preexisting cultural categories and norms, gender identity is not something that a person simply chooses. Rather, as subjects, humans are always already gendered through a process that began even before birth and continues even after death. Psychoanalysis—rather than psychology—provides one theory of how the production of gendered subjects occurs.

FREUD'S PSYCHOANALYTIC ACCOUNT

Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic account of gender identity has proven extremely useful for feminist analyses of gender in particular. In psychoanalytic terms, gender identity refers to the place that the small human animal is required to take up as either male or female if it is to become a subject. It is something enjoined upon the subject, something to which the subject must accede. Freud's radical insight was his insistence that humans are not born gendered but are made so by sociocultural processes and practices of representation—the family being a microcosm of the larger society—and that this transition from ungendered animal to gendered subject is a perilous one, fraught with difficulties that continue to haunt humans throughout their lifetimes, and never ultimately accomplished in some final sense. Every person has both a "negative" and "positive" Oedipus complex, for example, and those early identifications with members of the opposite sex do not simply disappear once one has taken up one's appropriate place as either male or female. While, in keeping with his era, Freud argued that gender identity was bound up with sexual object choice (see below), he also insisted that all human subjects have made homosexual object choices at the level of the unconscious. Thus, in Freud, there is always something in the subject that is *resistant* to gender identity. This suggests that each person acts, both consciously and unconsciously, in congruence with *and* in opposition to the gendered places he or she has been assigned by culture and history, and that what constitutes "normal" gender identity is to a great extent arbitrary.

MARXIST FEMINIST ARGUMENTS

Marxist feminists argue that a relationship exists between gender discrimination and capitalism. Capitalism depends upon a hierarchical division of labor, gender providing one of the means whereby human subjects are coded into the hierarchy. Under capitalism, people typically live in resource-pooling units called households. Over the course of history, households have been transformed from independent economic units to units composed of at least one person who works outside the household for wages. This wage laborer is generally dependent upon others in the household, who perform subsistence work and household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and the providing of child care. Gender ensures that at least one member of these "semiproletarian" households will feel compelled to engage in this necessary but unremunerated labor. Socialized to believe that it is their duty and destiny to perform this household labor, female subjects make it possible for entrepreneurs to pay lower wages than they would otherwise have to, should wage workers be required to pay for household services from their own income. The fact that this household labor is unremunerated ensures that it will always be considered inferior, regardless of the importance of housework to the economy. This devaluation of women's labor in the household, shorn up by ideologies that link women's biology to their (alleged) inability or unsuitability to perform certain tasks, carries over into the workplace, justifying the lower wages women are paid in comparison with their male counterparts.

THE LINK BETWEEN GENDER IDENTITY AND SEXUALITY

In the West, at least since the late nineteenth century, gender identity has been intertwined with sexuality such that men who exhibit stereotypically feminine traits are in some contexts assumed to be gay, and woman who exhibit masculine traits, lesbian. This collapsing of gender identification with object choice served capitalism in a number of different ways, shoring up the family as a reproductive unit at a time when capitalism itself threatened to free sexuality from the obligations of procreation. A number of different factors—the increase in the demand for wage labor and the dissolution of the family as an independent economic unit that this demand produced; the transformation of the family from an economic unit to what John D'Emilio has called "the place where our need for stable, intimate human relationships is satisfied" (1992, p. 11); the increased productive capacities of capitalism; the demand for new markets that this increase required, and its accompanying pursuit of women as consumers—all threatened to unleash a genderless sexual desire that, taken to its logical conclusion, would interrupt the reproduction of the next generation of workers, the devaluing of women's labor, and the production of semiproletarian households. Because if households, anchored to the ideology of the family yet freed from the obligations of procreation, could be composed of any combination of desiring males and females, there would no longer be any justifiable link between gender and position in the division of labor, and no biological imperative to reproduce the workforce.

Faced with these possibilities, capitalism relinked gender and sexuality through what Rosemary Hennessy has called "a new (heterogender) ideology of sexual identity" (2000, p. 101). This new ideology divided human subjects into two categories—heterosexual and homosexual. These two categories were defined by the fact that their gender lined up with their sexual object choice, either "appropriately," in the case of heterosexuals (masculine males desiring feminine females), or "perversely," in the case of homosexuals (masculine males desiring feminine males, masculine males desiring masculine males, feminine males desiring feminine males, feminine females desiring masculine females, etc.). Either way, compulsory heterosexuality served to shore up the household—if not the family—as composed of one (male) person whose job it was to engage in wage labor and one (female) whose job it was to provide the unremunerated labor that made it possible for the wage laborer to return to work each day.

As capitalism has continued its relentless commodification of everything, it has produced a number of attempts to keep in abeyance the crises of gender identities it has itself provoked. Legislation to reaffirm marriage as the union of one man and one woman, demands by gay and lesbian people for the right to marry, attempts both to encourage and discourage gay and lesbian adoption—all can be perceived as resulting from the contradictory demands of a capitalism that has to balance, for example, its need for female unremunerated labor with its desire for female consumers, or its freeing of sexuality from the obligations of procreation with the demand to reproduce the workforce.

SEE ALSO *Gender Confusion.*

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GENDER ROLES

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

Gender roles are sets of culturally defined behaviors such as masculinity and femininity. In most cultures this binary division of gender is roughly associated with biological sex—male or female. There is much variation within the categories of the masculine and the feminine, both in terms of the possible presentations of gender and the tasks deemed appropriate to each gender. There is also great variation in the degree of relation between gender and sex within and among cultures. Some cultures understand gender as only loosely linked to biology, while others, including the United States, assume gender is an effect of and flows naturally from biological sex.

Gender roles seem to reflect the biological roles of reproduction as well as degrees of relative physical strength and other perceived qualities such as the ability to nurture, intelligence, and aggression. In the context of reproduction, gender roles seem both natural and essential; that is, the qualities attributed to appropriate gender presentations are understood as an effect of a person's biological sex. The essential character of gender roles as well as their binary division unfortunately has the effect of reducing human capabilities to artificial sets of complementary traits in which some, generally belonging to masculinity, are valued, and others, usually belonging to femininity, are devalued. The structural binarism of gender roles produces an artificial opposition in the qualities imagined to belong to each gender. If males are smart, females must be less smart. If males are strong, females are weak. This binary system sustains the oppression of women as an inferior class of beings and keeps most people from realizing their full potential. Gender roles neither represent the way most people combine traits from both genders nor provide a realistic picture of the capabilities of males and females in cultures no longer dependent on physical strength or divisions of domestic labor.

The qualities and behaviors considered appropriate to each gender change through history and from culture to culture. What is permitted in modern Western cultures seems comparatively less repressive and oppositional than the range of behaviors that were permitted to males and females in Western cultures one hundred years ago. More liberal cultures in general permit a broader range of deviation from gender norms, whereas more conservative cultures restrict and police gender behaviors.

Attention to gender roles as an object of study began at the end of the nineteenth century, as sexologists such as Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) and psychoanalysts such as Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) became interested in sex and particularly in patients whose desires seemed to deviate from normative gender roles. As it became evident that sexual desires were not always heterosexual, analysts questioned the ways individuals positioned themselves in relation to gender. If, for example, one explained homosexual desires as incidents of a person of one sex inhabiting the body of another (called sexual inversion), how did such an inversion come about? Breaking apart what had seemed to be a natural alignment among sex, body, gender role, and sexual desires brought each of these categories into question. Psychoanalysis, psychology, biology, and sociology have all been disciplines brought to bear on the questions of where gender comes from, how individuals adopt their gender (is it nature or an effect of nurture?), and what gender normalcy might mean in a species with wide variation. In addition feminists have also raised the social and economic disadvantage based on gender as well as how inevitable gender traits really are.

The number of different disciplines involved in studying gender roles has produced a complex and sometimes confusing set of terms for the number of slightly different phenomena that constitute gender and gender roles. A *sex role* is sometimes a synonym for a gender role or it may refer specifically to a reproductive role such as maternity. It may also refer to which biological sex someone has chosen to be. That choice usually, but not always, correlates with genital morphology. The term *sexual identity* refers to how individuals understand themselves as biological males or females, but it is also sometimes used to describe how individuals understand their sexual desires as heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, autosexual, or celibate. *Sexual preference* and *sexual orientation* are other terms for the direction of sexual desires. *Gender presentation* refers to how people choose to present themselves despite what category of sex they have determined they belong to. *Gender* or *sex role stereotypes* refer to the models of behavior considered to be right and normative in the context of a given society. *Gender identity*, finally, refers to an individual's sense of themselves as masculine or feminine, or perhaps as neither or both.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity; Gender Stereotype; Gender, Theories of; Sex.*

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II. HISTORY

From the 1960s onward, the rise of feminism and feminist scholarship initiated investigations into the histories of women whose living conditions and experiences were overwhelmingly disregarded in mainstream histories that emphasized prominent male figures and government politics. Charting the changes in women's domestic roles and working conditions, these primarily women-focused studies attempted to understand how social institutions of the past led to contemporary social, political, and economic inequalities between the sexes. Increasingly, historians have engaged the social histories of both women and men, shifting the focus to gendered interactions and calling attention to the instability and flexibility of gender as a concept. Even the discipline of history itself has become a subject of study as a "cultural institution endorsing and announcing constructions of gender" (Scott 1998, p. 9).

In the late 1950s, sexologist John Money (1921–2006) coined the term *gender roles* to mark a distinction between behaviors related to one's biological sex and those related to social practices and individual gender identity. The notion that masculine roles and feminine roles, while related to biological sex, are not determined by the differences in male and female genitalia had a significant impact both on the historical interpretation of social orderings and on understandings of traditional gender roles. In the 1970s feminist scholars such as Gayle Rubin (b. 1949) drew connections between economic, familial, and psychic forces that culturally construct gender based on notions of sexual difference. Calling attention to the ways gender has acquired a false appearance of fixity through social institutions, historian Joan Wallach Scott argued in the 1980s that discourses of power such as those of fundamentalist religious groups have "forcibly linked their practice to a restoration of women's supposedly more authentic 'traditional' role, when in fact there is little historical precedent for the unquestioned performance of such a role" (1998, p. 43). Late twentieth-century historical studies of gender have demonstrated that over time the social institutions and discourses, which define gender roles, change and gender roles may vary greatly across cultures and even within a society's socioeconomic and multiethnic strata.

The malleability of gender and gender roles can be found in historical studies of societies that recognized more than two genders, such as the Mohave Native American Indians. The Mohave of the American Southwest, from the precolonial era up to the late nineteenth century, recognized four gender norms: male; female; male-cross-gender (*berdache*), who was socially feminine; and female-cross-gender, who was socially masculine. Significantly in this structure, the female-cross-gender category is not synonymous with the contemporary classification of lesbian, and for a Mohave female to sexually desire another female was considered nonnormative.

According to Evelyn Blackwood, "the cross-gender role arose from the particular conditions of kinship and gender in these tribes. The egalitarian relations of the sexes were predicated on the cooperation of autonomous individuals who had control of their productive activities" (1984, p. 32). A female-cross-gender often came into her role in childhood by avoiding the female duties of food preparation, basket weaving, and the making of clothes. She would instead display an interest in male duties such as hunting and weapon-making. Within the Mohave's egalitarian kinship system, living with kin established lineage or familial reproduction. For instance, since a female-cross-gender could only marry a female, their children must come either via adoption or via the wife coming to marriage with children already. The children, regardless of how they came to the couple, would be recognized as belonging within their household's lineage. The Mohave was not the only Native American society to recognize more than two genders, for evidence of cross-gender roles has been found in over thirty Native American tribes.

In contrast to egalitarian kinship systems, patriarchal social systems have predominated through much of world history. Patriarchal systems attempt to restrict gender roles to a binary order based on sexual reproduction. Maintaining a hierarchy wherein men dominate women, patriarchy regulates sexual reproduction by patronymic codes and laws, establishing and ensuring paternity, so that property or political power might be passed on through male offspring. Most scholars agree that inequalities between men and women increase when societies shift modes of production from hunting and gathering, to agriculture, to machine industry. As agricultural societies produced surpluses and their populations grew, their governments expanded and gender inequalities increased. In patriarchal social orders, men assumed a dominant position in the society and pressed "women to become more purely domestic in function, more dependent on the family and more decorative" (Stearns 2000, p. 2). Women could then be defined primarily according to their relation to men; moreover, depending on the society and era, women were, or still are, kept from property ownership and active political participation.

Religious and philosophical institutions have played a significant part in delineating gender roles and establishing patriarchal social orders. Western cultural traditions based on biblical and Greek, particularly Aristotelian, thought pronounced women to be categorically inferior to men (Wiesner-Hanks 2001). Likewise, in South and East Asia, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam (to varying degrees) maintained the subordination of women to men for ordering familial and social structures. It is important to note, however, that most scholars view the "development of patriarchy as a complicated process, involving everything that is normally considered part of 'civilization': property ownership, plow agriculture, the bureaucratic state, writing, hereditary aristocracies" alongside the development of organized religions and philosophies (Wiesner-Hanks 2001, p. 17).

The complexities of patriarchy can be viewed in histories accounting contact between cultures wherein role changes, however minor, become more pronounced. Peter Stearns (2000) demonstrates in his cross-cultural history of gender roles that—over the past few thousand years—trade, colonial conquest, and, currently, international organizations invariably altered established ideas about the roles of men and women. For instance, the spread of Buddhism from India to China from the fourth century to the ninth century CE gradually expanded the image of woman and her duties in China's Confucian-style family. Whereas both Buddhism and Confucianism asserted female inferiority, Buddhism's claims that enlightenment was neither male nor female and that a woman had the spiritual potential to be holy offered greater social status to women and a spiritual egalitarianism previously absent from Confucian doctrines. Additionally, Buddhist monasteries offered alternatives to marriage for young Chinese women and men seeking a spiritual path. For married women, Buddhism provided opportunities for activities outside home or family. Women formed clubs to study sutras, supplying them with a means to become holy leaders. If Buddhism appeared to have affected gender roles by offering women, as well as men, access to political power and life outside of marriage, Buddhism could not, overall, "slow the standard tendency in agricultural civilization to a further deterioration" or subordination of women to men (Stearns 2000, p. 36).

Gender roles are always in flux—being inscribed, reinscribed, or resisted. Historians of American culture have suggested the following four major classifications to discuss dominant trends and shifting gender roles in the United States: paternalism in the colonial era; separate spheres in the Victorian era; companionate marriage from the 1920s to the 1950s; and quasi-egalitarianism beginning in the 1960s (Pleck 1991). It should be noted, however, that these categories mark only the dominant and predominantly white, middle-class, Anglo-American ideals of gender roles. Social groups such as immigrants, Native Americans, slaves, homosexuals, the working-class, and a myriad of other individuals who sought to express themselves alternatively to the norm often did not live according to these dominant gender ideals, negotiating, instead, gender roles suited to their particular socioeconomic circumstances or desires.

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III. CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDING

Gender roles, as well as people's expectations of and attitudes toward them, are different among different cultures and societies and also change over time within cultures. This idea supports the view that gender roles are not "natural" or fixed and stable as a binary opposition, as biological sex is. To what extent separate gender roles function strongly in a culture differs among various societies but, on the whole, the more prescriptive a culture is in relation to gender roles, the more masculine and feminine gender roles are defined in opposition to one another.

People are taught gender roles through socialization from infancy. In early years children learn through the gender role divisions they see in their own family circle. Later other institutions, such as school, the judicial system, and the media, influence individuals' perceptions of gender roles and work to encourage the internalization of what are considered appropriate roles. Some examples of the means by which individuals are socialized toward traditional roles are the toys they are encouraged to play with (dolls or trucks), the clothes that they are dressed in (pink or blue; dresses or shorts), the kinds of behavior for which they are praised or reprimanded (sharing or taking initiative; playing rough or being timid), and the kind of careers they are counseled to consider. Influences such as textbooks and advertising introduce people to gender role models that are often engaged in particular gendered activities. For example, in commercials toys are often targeted at either girls or boys, and in an ad for laundry detergent, boys may be shown having fun and getting dirty whereas girls are shown helping their mother with the housework.

Examples of traditional feminine and masculine roles also exist in relation to work and social behavior. Many cultures are similar in terms of what roles are expected. The most prevalent assumption about gender roles is that femininity is linked with motherhood and nurturing, highlighting the link to biology. It is widely assumed that women have a "maternal instinct," which makes it natural for them to want children and want to be primary in caring for them. This becomes expanded to caring in general, so that many jobs traditionally associated with the feminine role are in areas such as education, health care, and social work, as well as homemaking. Men's roles traditionally take them outside the home. Masculine work, in accordance with masculine roles, is expected to support the family and carry responsibility and is more likely to involve physically demanding labor. Examples in the past have been technical work, management, and the military. Such divisions are often damaging to individuals, as they restrict the choices of women and men both by prescribing attitudes regarding social relations toward being a parent and choices in one's professional life.

Different kinds of societies have traditionally held, and still hold, different gender patterns. As Julia Wood (2005), working in communication studies, states, "in foraging or hunter-gatherer societies, there is the least gender division, and therefore, the greatest equality between men and women" (p. 49). Through horticultural, pastoral, and agrarian societies, gender relations are increasingly less equal, and "finally, industrial-capitalist societies distinguish clearly between the genders and confer different values on men and women" (p. 49). Religious beliefs also strongly influence attitudes toward the function of gender roles. Most fundamentalist religions prescribe greater separation between feminine and masculine roles, usually relegating women to a subordinate position.

The *International Handbook on Gender Roles* lists ways in which women are being denied equality, autonomy, or mental and physical integrity. "Female infanticide, suttee, genital mutilation, prostitution, child marriage, polygamy, arranged marriages, wife-selling, and prohibitions against birth control and abortion" are mentioned as practices following from the relegation of women to inferior roles (Adler 1993, p. x). Nancy Felipe Russo, a professor of psychology and women's studies, states in the foreword: "Underlying these laws and practices are gender roles and stereotypes that reinforce traditional norms, values, and socialization patterns that rely on a view of women as different from and inferior to men. Women continue to be expected to find their central fulfillment as mothers and wives and are subordinated to men by social, economic, legal, and religious institutions" (p. x).

As Xiaoling Shu (2004) argues, legislation, education, and control for women over their own fertility are all instrumental to positive change with regard to gender roles for women. However, advances in these areas are no guarantee of equality: in numerous nations where laws exist to protect women against various forms of discrimination in the workplace or politics, practice shows a continuation of adherence to traditional gender roles. Also, whereas in many cultures girls now have almost equal access to education as compared to boys, education for girls is often only seen as a means of ensuring them a better marriage, as Barbara Mensch and colleagues observe (2003). The *International Handbook of Gender Roles* shows that, although on the whole attitudes have become more relaxed in most Western as well as many non-Western countries, gender roles are still quite rigidly prescribed worldwide, and though the adherence to suitable roles is generally required of both men and women, gender roles are much more restrictive to women because of the traditional devaluation or trivialization of gender roles associated with femininity.

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IV. FEMINIST AND GAY/LESBIAN PERSPECTIVES

Gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals historically have challenged hegemonic gender roles. Gender and sexuality are linked inextricably, and a person's gender presentation has been assumed to indicate that person's sexual identity. In their complex relationship to ideas about gender and sexuality, gays and lesbians in the United States have defied conventions regarding both issues. Misconceptions about gender presentation and sexual identity dictate the ways in which the heteronormative culture reacts to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals. For example, if a person who presents with traditional feminine traits is biologically male, the assumption is that that person is homosexual. Similarly, women who display traditional masculine characteristics are assumed to be lesbians. Queer culture has played with gender roles for a variety of reasons, particularly to challenge conventions and find a safe place for the expression of one's gender and sexual identities.

During the gay liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s, for example, gay men "created subcultures in major cities that facilitated greater personal experimentation," particularly with gender, by using terms such as *top*, *bottom*, *pansy*, and *fairy* (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 30). Those different gender presentations challenged traditional male gender roles and masculinity. Drag queens also challenge gender roles and gender presentation by wearing women's clothing, displaying traditional feminine characteristics, and/or impersonating gay icons such as Judy Garland and Liza Minnelli. A drag queen can be defined as a male-to-female "transvestite who employs dramatic clothes, make-up, and mannerisms, often for other people's appreciation" (Feminism and Women's Studies 2006).

Similarly, lesbians historically have challenged traditional ideas about femininity through butch and femme gender presentations. In the early twentieth century, for example, women who wore pants, smoked in public, or learned to drive were known as "mannish women," and later, butch dykes "reject[ed] the constraints and limitations of femininity" (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 29). In contrast, femme women presented a hyperbolic form of femininity. The butch and femme gender presentations came under assault during the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s when "lesbian feminists combined their critique of gender and sexuality by rejecting participation in the patriarchy"; that stance resulted in the rejection of the "butch/femme gender expressions in lesbian relationships in favor of more androgyny" (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 30).

The reconsideration of gender identities became a focal point for feminists in the 1960s and 1970s, and that debate remained critical in the context of later feminist concerns. The delineation of gender identities within the lesbian community continues to evolve. This is evident in the number of gender presentations, including stone butch, stone femme, boi, high femme, daddy/grrl, and mommy/boy ("Gender Terms and Linguistics" 2005). Butch and femme gender presentations are still present, and lesbians have entered the performative realm of gender with the increasing presence of drag kings. Like drag queens, drag kings embody camp; they present traditional masculine characteristics in an effort to challenge conventional notions of femininity.

Transgenderism, "the decision and ability to change from the gender to which one has been assigned at birth to another chosen gender, complicates gay–straight and masculine–feminine binaries" (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 31). *Transgender* is also an inclusive term for *transsexual* ("One who switches physical sexes. Primary sex change is accomplished by surgery") and *transvestite* ("One who mainly cross dresses for pleasure in the appearance and sensation") (Feminism and Women's Studies 2006). Being transgender often means struggling against cultural assumptions that suggest that transgender individuals are sexually perverse or psychological unstable.

This is evident in the response of the medical field to transsexualism in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM). As recently as 1980 transsexualism was considered a "heterogeneous disorder" that was described as a "persistent sense of discomfort and inappropriateness about one's anatomic sex and a persistent wish to be rid of one's genitals and to live as a member of the other sex" (Shneer and Aviv 2006, p. 39). Transsexualism is linked to and categorized as a gender identity disorder (GID), which the most recent version of the DSM, the *DSM-IV-TR*, considers a psychological illness. There have been numerous petitions by medical and nonmedical professionals to remove transsexualism from the DSM.

Transgender individuals typically fall into two categories—male-to-female (MTF) and female-to-male (FTM)—that define their transition. Some MTF and FTM individuals undergo sexual, or gender, reassignment surgery, which includes hormone replacement therapy, and others remain as they are. Transgender individuals more recently have begun to utilize a variety of labels to self-identify, including "third-gender, two-spirit, both genders, neither gender, or intersexed" and argue for "their right to live without or outside gender categories that our society has attempted to make compulsory and universal" (Califia-Rice 2003. p. 245). Sexual identity varies as widely among transgender individuals as it does among nontransgender people; sexual identity thus is explicitly different from transgenderism. Transgender individuals represent a dynamic challenge to conventional gender roles and presentations.

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GENDER STEREOTYPE

A gender stereotype is a predetermined set of attitudes and behaviors that is believed to be typical of all men or women. Stereotypes about gender assume that there are in fact only two genders: male and female. They also assume that all men and women are heterosexual and that gender is determined by or related to a person's sexuality. Gender and gender stereotypes are connected to a sense of identity (as something intrinsic to oneself), sexual practice (the actions one takes on the basis of that identity), and sexual desire (the gender to which one is attracted whether or not that attraction is acted on). In light of the prevalence of the nuclear family in most Western societies, the roles of the father and the mother are also key determinants of gender identity because the child stereotypically identifies with one parent and sees the other as a model for a future partner.

THE NATURE OF GENDER STEREOTYPES

The fact that there are only two acknowledged genders reveals that masculinity and femininity are conceived of as being in opposition to each other. This conceptualization is found in the Chinese notion of yin and yang, in which the feminine and masculine elements naturally complement and harmonize with each other to produce a complete whole. Similarly, men and women are expected to exhibit oppositional characteristics that, taken together, produce a complete vision of sexuality and heterosexuality. Marriage is stereotypically expected of all individuals. Most fictional narratives (movies and novels often end with either marriage or death) point to the common belief that the two opposites belong together to create harmony.

This idea of opposites has resulted in gender stereotypes that are an exaggeration of the real physical, social, and psychological differences between the sexes. Feminine traits include being emotional, submissive, weak, cooperative, artistic, and home-focused; masculine traits include being rational, unemotional, aggressive, competitive, strong, scientifically or mathematically skilled, and career-focused. In many cultures masculine traits traditionally have been valued as superior to feminine ones.

These stereotypes are problematic because they do not take into consideration the real diversity of genders and sexualities in the human population. In fact, gender differences exist much more along a continuum of subtle differences that result in combinations of feminine and masculine characteristics in every individual rather than as a binary opposition between the two genders. Because everyone falls short of achieving an ideal gender role, it is easy to criticize individuals for being less than manly or ladylike, and the English language is full of discriminatory words that insult people who do not adhere to these stereotypes (e.g., tomboy and sissy). Those names are used commonly among adolescents, a population in which gender identities and sexualities are in a natural state of flux and transition, to chastise fellow adolescents for not exhibiting typical masculine or feminine behavior as they mature physically, sexually, and emotionally. With the growing presence of feminism and the increasing acceptance of homosexuality in many cultures, these stereotypes have been challenged and revealed to be false ideals that can be damaging to a person's sense of identity.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON AND CHALLENGES TO GENDER STEREOTYPES

At the turn of the twentieth century findings in anthropology and psychology revealed that gender is much more fluid and socially determined than previously indicated by essentialist and biological notions of gender, which believe that all gendered traits originate from physical differences between men and women. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) the psychologist Sigmund Freud noted that gender is both linked to biological and psychological elements of individual identity and socially constructed by the forces of family relationships. Within the nuclear family a young child must identify with the same-sex parent and then desire the opposite-sex parent to achieve gender identity and sexuality.

Social theorists who followed Freud, such as Michel Foucault in the 1970s, found that gender and sexuality also are constructed by social, economic, and political forces. In *The History of Sexuality* (1978) Foucault revealed that the Victorian era of European society utilized a number of institutions (including the church, the government, and the medical profession) to regulate the discourse around sexuality and gender so that previous cultural and sexual practices such as bisexuality became acknowledged not as one among a variety of sexual practices but as aberrations from a presumed normal heterosexuality. Although Foucault's work focuses on sexuality, the notion that gender is determined by a person's sexual practice means that gender identities were configured in a conservative and oppositional or binary manner.

Judith Butler, a feminist theorist writing in the 1990s, added to these conversations by arguing that there is no true gender in any person; instead one's gender is performed constantly through actions and in line with various cultural conversations about ideal gender identity and sexuality. Thus, a person's gender may be in flux throughout that person's life, and it is performed constantly through both sexual actions and cultural interactions with others. Instead of imagining an essential woman defined by the maternal body, as some feminists in the mid-twentieth century did, Butler believes that there is no essential femininity or masculinity: "There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (Butler 1990, p. 33). Thus, a drag queen performs femininity in much the same way a heterosexual woman does: She acts and presents herself as feminine to a watchful audience instead of unthinkingly demonstrating a biological essence at the core of her identity.

For many feminists one of the essential tasks in challenging gender stereotypes was to attack the assumption that women are defined by their biological ability to bear children. Maintaining the belief that womanhood and femininity are defined by maternity reinforces the stereotype that the female gender is innately nurturing, self-sacrificing, family-oriented, and so forth, whereas men are naturally promiscuous, career-driven, and so forth. In an effort to celebrate the feminine the critic Julia Kristeva's writing of the 1970s argues that the maternal body is a powerful site of feminine, sensory knowledge that exists outside the controlling forces of society found in patriarchal language. Although her intention was to offer possibilities of disrupting patriarchal systems of dominance, Kristeva has been critiqued for praising the other side of the masculine-feminine binary instead of rejecting the oppositional dynamic. Butler, following the work of Monique Wittig, offers the notion of lesbians as individuals who challenge the binary model of gender, arguing that if lesbians do not participate in heterosexual relations and motherhood, they offer an alternative gender that is associated with women's bodies but is not stereotypically feminine. A similar dynamic is found in homosexual men because they too challenge heterosexual notions of masculinity and sexuality.

Lee Edelman (1994) argues that male homosexuality is represented in heterosexual narratives of film, literature, and popular culture as a singular identity category that defines all gay men by their sexuality, negating other differences of gender and identity within the population. Gay sexuality thus becomes a site that catches all the nonnormative depictions of sexuality and gender and reinforces the notion that there is a normal form of sexuality. Edelman argues that an increasing diversity of representations of homosexuals will help undermine those limiting stereotypes.

The field of masculinity studies, which follows on feminist ideas that gender is socially constructed, focuses on and identifies the unattainable ideal of masculinity as it is found in American society in particular. Michael Kimmel (1996) notes that in the United States one cult of masculinity can be traced back to 1832, when Henry Clay described the American "self-made man," establishing masculinity as something tied to ambition, career, income, and nationalism. This masculine role model was exhibited by captains of industry in the late nineteenth century such as Andrew Carnegie. During World War II, when many American men were in the armed forces, women were recruited as workers in factories and other industries; however, that departure from traditional gender stereotypes was corrected by the 1950s cult of domesticity that portrayed women as domestic goddesses and men as strong providers in the workforce. Besides the workplace, other areas of culture that help create and regulate a specific notion of masculinity include sports, the military, and schools. In addition, masculinity, as well as femininity, also has come to be defined in terms of race, age, and socioeconomic class. Thus, an old man or woman seems less masculine or feminine than a younger one, an impoverished man is less of a "man" than one who earns a good income, and so forth.

The notion of gender as constantly changing within a range of possibilities instead of one of two predetermined identity categories is particularly useful when applied to those who suffer from gender dysphoria, a state of conflict between one's biological sex and one's gender identity, those who are born intersexed and medically rendered either male or female, and those who become transsexuals. All these individuals reveal a disparity between one's physical sex and the sense of gender identity with which a person feels comfortable. Thus, a woman born with all the female reproductive organs may feel more comfortable as a man and eventually may take steps to become a physical man through surgery and hormone treatments. Such individuals demonstrate that there are more than two biological sexes, as one in five thousand infants are born as hermaphrodites or intersexuals and about one in a thousand people carry more than two sex chromosomes, resulting in not just the male XY or the female XX combination but also in variants such as XXY and XXX. Because there are more than two biological sexes, it follows that there are more than two genders in the diverse human population.

SEE ALSO *Gender Roles: I. Overview; Intersex.*

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GENDER STUDIES

Gender studies is a field of inquiry that explores the ways femininity and masculinity are an integral part of the ways people think about social organizations and institutions, dispositions of power, interpersonal relationships, and understandings of identity, sexuality, and subjectivity. An enlargement of what was initially known as "women's studies," gender studies identifies, analyzes, and often critiques the disparate effects of patriarchal organizations on women and men. Gender studies also often includes studies of sexuality associated with the work of feminist scholars and activists, as well as gay and lesbian scholars of sexuality. Since the mid-1990s it has also undertaken issues of transgender, intersexuality, and transsexuality.

The focus of gender studies ranges from political institutions and philosophy to issues of family, domesticity, and labor to literature, art, sports, film, and other aspects of popular culture. Gender scholars may use any number of disciplinary approaches from the empirical studies of sociology, biology, and anthropology to the more abstract arguments of law and philosophy to the humanities' analyses of various modes of representation. Gender scholars might study the ways gender functions as an asymmetrical system in which masculine subjects depend upon and oppress feminine subjects. They may consider the ways both genders are disadvantaged by social organizations that privilege one gender over the other, or they may look specifically at the cultures that form around one gender or another such as feminism, male bonding, maternity, or gay male culture. They might explore the relations between gender and sexuality or how transgender and transsexuality reaffirm or bring into question the gender system itself.

Gender studies often envisions itself as an involved and activist discipline whose mission is to help identify, analyze, and correct social inequities both locally and globally. It often does not limit itself strictly to the academic, but sees its mission as helping those oppressed by gender disparities correct their circumstances both on a local level and as a participant in political policy discussions. Issues that affect women and to some smaller degree men—such as child care and custody, reproductive rights, health issues, labor and employment, and education—are often the focus of gender studies scholars, and their studies may translate into community or even global action. Insofar as specific gender studies programs are also involved with issues of sexuality, they may also advocate for nondiscrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender presentation, or transsexual status. As a politicized discipline, gender studies also pays attention to the power relations inherent in its own organization and especially the ways gender studies itself benefits and suffers from an official status.

The term *gender studies* emerged as an alternate title for such studies after several decades of thinking of inquiries about gender as involving primarily women. As women's studies programs discerned that gender involved sets of interdependent relationships between masculinity and femininity, they spawned an interest in issues of masculinity both on the part of feminist scholars and more traditional male scholars. As the relations and distinctions between gender and sexuality became more prominent, women's studies programs became more interested in issues of sexuality. As women's studies increasingly became an integral part of university curriculums, programs began to reconceive themselves as a discipline focused on a broader notion of gender rather than only on women. Adopting the rubric "gender studies" enlarges the scope of the field, but it also loses reference to women's issues as the animating spirit of gender inquiry.

THE HISTORY OF GENDER STUDIES

The history of gender studies begins with the history of feminist critiques of the position and status of women. In the early 1970s in the wake of protests against the war in Vietnam and continued pressure for civil rights reform, feminist scholars began pressuring universities to initiate and support special units for the interdisciplinary study of women. Making women visible as a legitimate area of study was a part of both a political and an intellectual impetus to make public the ways assumptions about sex, gender, and patriarchal institutions produce systematic inequities through a range of ideas and material conditions—from the ways people think about life to what people expect from individuals based on their sex.

When women's studies programs first began, the programs often saw their missions not only as intellectual and social but also as intrinsically feminist. Many programs concentrated on improving the range of library materials, recognizing important contributions by women, and developing an interdisciplinary mode of study based on sex and focusing on women. In addition, such programs often felt responsible for providing help for struggling women and supporting campus women's centers, women's leadership programs, and the widespread visibility of women and women's issues as the subject of legitimate academic study.

As women's studies programs became more widely accepted and integrated units in colleges and universities, they continued to develop their interdisciplinary approach to studies of women, but in securing academic respectability, they often left more social and activist functions to other units or to the community. At the same time, women's studies scholars began to recognize that oppressions based on sex were a part of a larger system of sex (the biological categories of male or female) combined with gender (the social categories of masculine and feminine). Some scholars realized that it was difficult to understand the status of women without understanding the way the entire sex/gender system operates.

At the same time that some women's studies scholars were beginning to study both the sex/gender system and masculinity itself—especially the ways masculinity is represented in popular culture—male scholars, who were not necessarily associated with women's studies programs, began to develop the vaguely parallel area of study known as "men's studies." Partly attributable to backlash, partly an interest spurred by women's studies, men's studies focused on an interdisciplinary study of how men behave and are represented. Although men's studies for the most part never became a separate part of university programs, it established itself as a legitimate area of interdisciplinary study.

In the late 1980s and 1990s increasing interest in gays and lesbians came both from the more public nature of demands for lesbian and gay rights and from the observation that studies of sex and gender inevitably address issues of sexuality because people tend to understand sexuality in terms of the gender of participants. Heterosexual couples consist of a male and a female, while homosexual couples consist of a male and a male or a female and a female. Although feminist political movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s were uncertain about their relation to the many lesbians who participated in feminist activities, by the 1980s lesbian issues and concerns were becoming a more central part of the domain of established women's studies programs. Scholars studying explicitly gay male phenomena, however, did not become integral parts of men's studies, but instead began their own gay studies agendas.

By the 1990s, then, the disparate endeavors of women's studies, men's studies, and gay studies began to combine forces and interest, usually under the leadership of established women's studies programs, especially as those programs increasingly recognized the systemic and interdependent character of sex and gender. By the mid-1990s, women's studies programs began renaming themselves "gender studies" programs to reflect a more inclusive program of study, including sexuality, transgender, and transsexuality. Although women scholars sometimes disagreed with this change of rubric because it loses any reference to the feminist impetus and approaches by which women's studies was first founded and defined, the title was more palatable to many who saw women's studies as an organization that reflected a specific stage in intellectual history, which had in many ways surpassed itself.

By 2006 there were more than fifty gender studies or women's and gender studies programs in the United States. The majority of these programs were organized as interdisciplinary major or minor study programs. Fewer institutions had established academic departments or units in gender studies.

THE SUBJECT OF GENDER STUDIES

Gender studies examines the entire gender system—the means by which cultures, societies, political organizations, and ways of thinking both produce and depend upon an asymmetrical, binary notion of gender. Gender is a sociocultural category rather than a naturally occurring phenomenon. Societies define, incorporate, and police divisions of people roughly based on an imaginary version of what appears to be a "natural" difference. The interpretation of this binary difference as natural is based on the appearance of differences between biological sexes (female, male). Although biological differences cover a great range of possibilities, including intersexuality, cultures interpret biological differences within a rigidly binary scheme, one that is so rigid that children who do not conform to the average appearance of boy or girl are often forced to comply through dress, behaviors, or even surgery.

The sociocultural gender system refers to sets of identities, positions, and behaviors imagined to align with either femininity or masculinity. Although different cultures understand the relation between biology and culture differently, all Western cultures presume that there is some link between biology, expected behavior, social and kinship roles, and gender. The ways biological sex and social gender interact to produce complex systems is called a "sex/gender system." The sex/gender system as it works in any given culture is usually asymmetrical, meaning that one sex/gender or the other enjoys rights, privileges, and controls that depend upon the oppression, suppression, and repression of members of the other gender. In patriarchal systems based on maintaining the fiction of paternal primacy, males generally gain primacy at the expense of females.

Even in more purposefully egalitarian systems, genders are often defined in obverse terms of one another. For example, if males are understood to be strong and wise, females are weak and silly. If females are seen as nurturing and soft, males are seen as distanced and hard. Tensions about sex/gender differences persist as insults (e.g., dumb blond jokes, which are rarely about blond men), rationales for limiting rights or assigning roles (e.g., a woman could not be president because she has periods, women should care for children), or overt pretexts for self-definition (e.g., to be a male is not to be girlie, to be a female is not to be masculine).

Gender studies not only interrogates the inequities of gender in society but also looks at the ways this system has been integrated throughout culture in such institutions as the law and medicine; in science; through literature, popular culture, language, and media; and even in philosophy. As a system, gender also involves other kinds of socially recognized differences such as race, age, ethnicity, and ability and the ways sex/gender systems interact with, help produce and support, or even rationalize other disparate treatments and inequitable systems such as racial discrimination or various people's understandings of what might constitute a disability.

Perhaps the most immediate effect of the sex/gender system is sociocultural understandings of sexuality and sex/gender identities. Sexuality is so intrinsically linked to gender that it is impossible to study sexuality without taking the sex/gender system into account. Studies of gender most often assume specific sexual roles attached to each gender. One of the central insights of any study of sexuality from the work of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) on is that sexual desires are innately bisexual. The alignment of femininity with sexual receptivity or passivity and masculinity with sexual aggressivity occurs as the combined effect of socialization and psychical development, abetted by such biological factors as the action of hormones. Genders define sexuality insofar as individuals understand sexuality according to the relation between the gender of the one who desires and the gender of the one desired. Heterosexuals desire an object of the other gender. Homosexuals desire an object of the same gender. Bisexuals desire both.

As the institutional heir to women's studies, gender studies, then, addresses the inequities occurring within and between genders and sexualities. It defines the ways the sex/gender system is integrated within systems of thought such as science and philosophy; the ways it is represented in literature, film, language, and popular culture; and the ways it organizes social behaviors and institutions. Gender studies scholars might ask, for example, how the rights of women have changed, how assumptions about gender are inflected by race or age, or why there is violence against homosexual men. It might define feminist theories of aesthetics, or look at how lesbians fare in non-Western cultures. It might track the history of a sexual subculture (such as transvestites) or make available the experiences of intersex or transsexual individuals.

METHODS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF GENDER STUDIES

Gender studies may be approached through individual disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, or art history, or it may involve interdisciplinary strategies. Gender studies, though organized around sets of issues and questions centered on gender and sexuality, often uses conventional methods and assumptions from either the social sciences (sociology, anthropology, psychology) or the humanities (literature, art, music, film). For both the social and the "hard" sciences such as biology or physics, these include empirical methods of showing various sex/gender functions and inequities. Scientists consider their approach to gender to be objective and based on data collected in controlled experiments. Science tends to assume that words and people mean what they say.

Humanist scholars engage in a more abstract philosophical and language-based examination of sex/gender focused on various aspects of representation (such as images of woman and gender or the gender bias of underlying assumptions in the arts, literature, film, theater, and culture broadly speaking). Humanists investigate the ways structures, organizations, ideologies, and representations are anything but transparent, exploring the various ways both cultural material and the ways of thinking about such material already depend upon assumptions about gender and sexuality.

Gender studies, however, often perceives itself as interdisciplinary. Although science and the humanities seem to represent opposing methodologies with conflicting assumptions, gender studies has often combined the two, seeing that neither in itself can account for the complex difficulties presented by the pervasive gender asymmetries underwriting human cultures. Studies of gender bias in scientific writing, for example, combine scientific knowledge with analyses of rhetoric. Legal scholars often employ sociological ideas to understand the gender bias of legislation. Humanists may employ psychological insights as a way to understand gender relations in a novel or film.

In addition, gender studies often questions the possible "objectivity" of either science or humanism, suggesting that what is regarded as objective or universal veils the privileges of patriarchal organizations and male speakers. Challenging notions of objectivity, neutrality, or universality, gender studies combines objective approaches with experiential strategies, balancing the empirical with the subjective, receptivity with authority, and the power of discourse with the irresistible evidence of material existence. This has resulted not only in expanding disciplinary inquiry and questioning traditional assumptions, but also in the combination of personal, group, and contextualized representations of research both in the rhetoric and style of communication and in challenges to the universality of any kind of "truth."

The practice of examining the ways sex/gender systems affect and are affected in and through culture, science, philosophy, and law began, like gender studies itself did, with feminist interrogations of the inequities of patriarchy. Although such early feminist thinkers as Mary Wollstonecraft, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Susan B. Anthony discussed the uneven and oppressive effects of patriarchal systems on women in general, Virginia Woolf's famous *A Room of One's Own* (1929) begins what might properly be called a gender study, particularly for those who contend that gender inequalities are the effect of larger systems, including capitalism and patriarchy. Woolf continues her exploration of gender oppressions as the effect of larger systems in *Three Guineas* (1938), in which she analyzes the relations among privilege and material conditions that are naturalized by gender myths.

Perhaps the most famous and thorough precursor to gender studies is the work of the French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, particularly her influential inquiry into the bases of women's oppression, *The Second Sex* (1949). Although like Woolf, de Beauvoir focuses on the status of women, she exposes the ways gender oppression are linked to larger economic, social, and ideological systems in everything from Marxism to psychoanalysis.

Feminist scholars of the 1970s and early 1980s continued to focus more specifically on the accomplishments of women and the reasons for their oppression. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's famous study of the roles of women in English fiction, *The Madwoman in the Attic* (1979; 2nd ed., 2000), established a basis for beginning to see the systematic effects of how gender is represented and the roles various gender representations play in Western versions of society. Feminist psychoanalytic critics began to study the ways psychoanalysis understands the ways people understand themselves to be one gender or another. In the mid-1980s, feminist scholars such as Michele Wallace and Robyn Wiegman began to focus on how masculinity is also a category produced by the sex/gender system. In addition many scholars began to outline the ways such categories as race, ethnicity, class, and age interact to produce and sustain a range of gender roles, ideas, inequities, and asymmetries. The work, for example, of the critics Gayatri Spivak and Gloria Anzaldúa and the author Toni Morrison began to expose the systematic nature of sex/gender oppressions.

Lesbian and gay male scholars also began to investigate the intersections between gender, sexuality, and other cultural categories. Lesbian thinkers such as Marilyn Frye continued and expanded upon feminist thinking into realms of sexuality. Scholars of male homosexuality such as Eve Sedgwick began to show the ways that gender and sexual systems intersect and help to produce the disparate treatment of gays and lesbians under the law as well as in many cultural institutions. Informed by and depending upon the insights of feminism, scholars of sexuality such as Judith Butler, Teresa de Lauretis, and Michael Warner analyzed the gendered and sexual presuppositions by which heterosexuality continues its dominance. Others, inspired by feminist and gay and lesbian studies examinations of the systems, ideas, and institutions by which sex and gender interact, devised a program of "men's studies," focusing on the ways maleness and masculinity are represented, treated, and limited within the same sex/gender system.

In the mid-1990s issues of transgender and transsexuality emerged as topics of study with the work of Leslie Feinberg, Sandy Stone, Kate Bornstein, and Judith Halberstam. Cheryl Chase and Howard Devore's attention to the plight of intersexuals also opened up an important set of questions around the inevitability of binary gender and the relation between biological sex and cultural gender systems, especially in relation to the ways in which the medical profession complied with gender norms as an unquestioned way of "treating" intersexual infants. Anne Fausto-Sterling brought even the naturalness of binary sexes into question in her work on science. Studies of drag queens and drag kings provided a focus on a broader range of social gender practices, while gay male studies questioned the relation between cultural repression and gay sexual practices.

Scholarly insights were often aided by contemporaneous activist programs such as the continued activities of feminist organizations and the series of demonstrations and interventions devised by such gay and lesbian groups as ACT UP and Queer Nation. Political activities such as these required not only a savvy analysis of the sex/gender system but also a keen appreciation of the power of timing, representation, and the media.

THE FUTURE OF GENDER STUDIES

Because gender systems are an aspect of society and culture, they are always in flux as are the paradigms and assumptions by which gender is understood. Just as gender studies emerged from women's studies as an outcome of precisely the kinds of insights women's studies began to have about the pervasive character of gender as a system, so gender studies begins to approach ways to understand how genders may not be binary at all, how individuals come to undertake multiple genders, and finally how flexible and mobile gender is for everyone.

At the same time, like women's studies, gender studies continues an involvement in issues of social justice and advocacy. One topic of study is in fact how political and social interventions can be made more effectively in changing political environments. In the face of increasing globalization, gender studies is also undertaking a formulation of ways to understand the interrelation of gender and the multiple cultural systems in which gender is organized and treated differently. Gender studies has begun to focus on the effects of gene research and biotechnology as these relate to and affect reproductive practices, the environment, medical care, family formations, and the law. Finally, it also has begun to investigate the relation between information technologies, issues of privacy, and sexuality and gender in the virtual public sphere. As the circumstances of living alter, so does the realm of issues with which gender studies becomes involved.

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Judith Roof

GENDER, THEORIES OF

Traditionally gender has been used primarily as a grammatical term. Gender aspects constitute a subclass within a grammatical class (noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb) of a language that is partly arbitrary but also partly based on distinguishable characteristics (shape, social rank, manner of existence, or sex) and that determines agreement with and selection of other words or grammatical forms. In the second half of the twentieth century, largely through the rise of second-wave feminism, gender entered into everyday language either as a synonym of sex—serving to distinguish individuals on the basis of their reproductive capacities into male or female—or, in contrast, to set off precisely such organic or biological sex differences from the socioculturally acquired roles and positions that differentiate men from women in a given society. Whereas in some contexts the distinction between sex as biological fact and gender as social acquisition is useful, it is by no means widely observed, and considerable variation in usage occurs at all levels.

Most twenty-first-century dictionaries define gender as the condition of being female or male (or sex), but also include the behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits typically associated with one sex into its meanings. To further confound the various uses to which the term can be put, gender may additionally refer to an individual's sexual identity, especially in relation to society or culture. The confusion about its specific reference, and the occasional convergence or sliding into one another of its various meanings, cannot merely be reduced to linguistic issues. The multiplicity of meaning embodied by the notion of gender also points up the complex interrelations among its variously constitutive components, that is, those of sex, gender, and sexuality, as lived phenomena and as analytical concepts. It furthermore reflects the divergent ways in which these interrelated concepts have been diversely, and often contradictorily, theorized both in and outside feminist discourse.

ANALYTICAL ORIGINS

Although the term gender as synonym for sex has a history that goes back to the fifteenth century, prior to the 1960s it was rarely used in nongrammatical contexts. As an analytic term with reference to sex-related categories, gender was introduced into contemporary critical thought by way of sexological science. In 1955 psychologist and sexologist John Money proposed the concept of a gender role to "signify all those things that a person says or does to disclose himself or herself as having the status of boy or man, girl or woman, respectively" (Haig 2004, p. 91), including but not being restricted to aspects of sexuality, in the sense of eroticism. According to Money gender role is acquired in early childhood and may differ from a person's sex. Psychoanalyst Robert Stoller extended the distinction between biological sex and social gender by introducing the notion of gender identity, a term used to define "one's sense of being a member of a particular sex," as distinct from the "overt [gendered] behavior one displays in society" (Haig 2004, p. 93). Although Money himself believed that gender role was particularly resistant to change, it was precisely the possibility to separate off innate aspects of sex from learned or acquired gender roles, and hence for refuting the Freudian idea that *anatomy is destiny*, which rendered the notion of gender attractive to feminists, and apparently helpful in their attempts to challenge the normative hierarchy of sexual relations.

FEMINIST VIEWS AND GENDER THEORY

Whereas there is no ultimate feminist consensus about the meaning of gender, its varying usages share one thing in common, and that is the explicit rejection of the belief in gender as a natural phenomenon. A natural, and still widely spread, common sense attitude to gender assumes that differences between men and women are biologically—or genetically—given; that gender is invariant; that there are two and only two genders standing in opposition to each other; that genitals and reproductive capacities form the defining aspects of gender; that the male/female dichotomy is a fixed structure that cannot be modified and that determines the kind of lives people can live; and that all individuals can—and, indeed, must—be classified as either masculine or feminine, or else enter into the realm of pathology. Against such naturalist assumptions about maleness and femaleness, and about the determinations of (in)appropriately gendered selves, feminists in the early 1970s introduced the term gender in order to call into question any universalist claims about what it is to *be* a man or a woman. By the end of the 1980s, the use of the term gender was not only widely adopted, but had also given rise to a variety of usages, and concomitant contestations of its meaning.

Early second-wave feminist scholars used gender to reject biological determinism by presenting evidence of the historically and culturally varied ways in which femininity and masculinity may be expressed and understood. As Mary Hawkesworth (1997) points out, the term has subsequently been used to a wide range of effects, for instance, to analyze the social organization of gender relations; to explore the ways in which body, sex, and sexuality acquire and produce meaning; to explain the unequal social benefits of biological differences; to demonstrate the operations of social power in the lives of individuals; to illuminate the structure of the psyche; and to account for individual identity and social intelligibility. Depending on their ideological and theoretical commitments, different scholars furthermore use gender in strikingly different ways. Some regard it as an attribute of individuals, as interpersonal relation, or as a mode of social organization. Others emphasize the gendered aspects of social status, sex roles, and sexual stereotypes. Yet others consider gender a structure of consciousness, as internalized ideology, or as performative practice. The processes of gender—that is, the ways in which human beings come to be split into male and female kinds and gradually acquire their gendered (sense of) selves—have additionally been traced to divergent sources: From a product of socialization or disciplinary practices, to an effect of language, a mode of perception, or a structural feature of labor and power relations, gender has been variously discussed as a multifaceted phenomenon whose causes, purposes, and origins are neither as clear cut nor as easily identifiable as the still pervasively influential beliefs constituting the natural attitude suggest.

LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY MODELS

Within the expanding domain of gender theory, three aspects are commonly understood to operate simultaneously and in interconnected manners. First, gender is a feature of subjectivity, that is to say, people conceive of and recognize themselves in gendered terms, both individually and collectively. Second, gender functions as a social variable, structuring the ways in which different kinds of people—classified in, among others, the binary terms of sex difference—tend to assume different social positions and pursue different and largely preordained life courses within a multiply stratified sociocultural realm. Third, gender designates the cultural representations and significations of what it is to be (classified as) a man or a woman. Within the terms of this overall conceptual agreement, it is possible to trace a number of broadly defined schools of thought that have variously dominated theoretical debates on gender during the two final decades of the twentieth century and that continue to exert their influence in critical cultural studies and the social sciences in the early twenty-first century. A provisional distinction can be made between naturalist, social constructionist, and postmodernist approaches to gender on the understanding that considerable overlap exists among these general categories, and furthermore, that such labels can only serve as umbrella terms for realms of thought that can be further differentiated into a great many distinct theoretical models.

The noted predominance of natural attitudes toward gender can be directly connected to the prestige and authority that have generally been attributed to the modern sciences in the European and North American world since their emergence in the eighteenth century. The so-called nature–nurture debate (a shorthand term for discussions about the relative importance of an individual's innate qualities versus personal experiences in determining or causing differences in physical and behavioral traits), receiving new impetus by recent developments in genetic and sociobiological research, has inevitably played a role in contemporary theories of gender. Still, the most significant differences in conceptualization within gender and sexuality studies have evolved from social constructionist and postmodernist trends in critical thought.

The introduction of the term gender in 1970s European and North American feminism in the first place served to liberate women from their marginalized and oppressed position in society and to expose the idea of natural gender as a male-biased ruse that served to keep women in their subordinate place on the basis of their reproductive capacities. Giving credence to Simone de Beauvoir's (1908–1986) famous dictum, "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (1989, p. 267), gender could be employed as an emancipatory tool that would ultimately allow women equal access to positions of power in society that had hitherto been the privilege of men. If gender is a social and not a natural phenomenon, there is no intrinsic reason why women should be confined to the margins of culture on the grounds of their essential difference from men. With gaining equality as their central aim, early second-wave feminists thus used theories of gender to be assimilated into a social landscape in which biological sex differences would no longer count against their viability in relation to a *universal* standard of humanity.

GENDER DIFFERENCE THEORIES

By the early 1980s a focus on group difference, that is, on a singular identity aspect or subjective category, came to prevail within various projects of critical sociocultural analysis in the European and North American academy. In feminist thought gender became the organizing term for a theoretical and political critique of heteropatriarchal social relations and was used to highlight the additional value and validity of a marginalized, in this case, feminine, perspective. Rather than attempting to include women in a gender-neutral universe in which all people are considered the same, proponents of gender difference theory defend an alternative worldview that not only recognizes but actually foregrounds gender difference as a positive value and as an "antidote to the androcentric organization of society" (Beasley 2005, p. 21). The insistence on the specific positioning of women in society in this context does not necessarily mean that gender becomes renaturalized, or that gender differences are conceived as essential or intrinsic. Especially within the branch of feminist thought known as *sexual difference* thinking, the controlling idea is that gender identities have no meaning or significance in and of themselves, but that *the feminine* represents in cultural terms *difference* from the masculine norm. As Australian political scientist Chris Beasley maintains, "gender (Feminine and Masculine) is here not so much about the actual characteristics of men and women as the exemplary symbolic register for power and hierarchy in society" (Beasley 2005, p. 21).

Gender difference theories find various equivalents in critical sexuality studies in which a strong focus on lesbian/gay identities equally led to the highlighting and privileging of marginalized perspectives that were suggested to offer more enlightening insights into the operations of heteropatriarchal culture and its underlying system of power relations. It is nonetheless partly as the result of critiques from lesbians, as well as from nonwhite feminist women, that gender difference theories came most severely under attack. Challenging its focus on the singular difference of gender, defined in term of the masculine/feminine dichotomy, lesbians and women of color, from the mid 1980s onward, began to challenge any form of gender theorizing that involved the suppression of other differences, such as differences of sexuality and racial, ethnic, and cultural differences. According to these critics gender categories necessarily function differently within different sociocultural locations and are, moreover, always complexly inflected with racial, ethnic, and sexual meanings. Instead of merely adding such differences, however, to any overarching mode of gender analysis, later scholars dealing with sexuality, as well as race, ethnicity, and imperialism, seek to understand the ways in which gender and other differences operate in mutually constitutive ways. As no aspect of any person's gendered self can be detached from other aspects of her/his subjectivity and social positionality, such theorists recognize that gender, in its various forms and permutations, is always race, as well as sexually and socially, specific.

EVOLVING THEORIES OF GENDER INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The recognition of the mutually constitutive character of multiple differences in the processes by which people acquire their gendered selves is equally central to theories of gender moving beyond the equality versus difference debate and that can be situated within the paradigm of social constructionism, a more general trend of critical thought that became significant in the course of the 1980s. Social constructionist theorists of gender do not regard difference as something that is an intrinsic part or essential aspect of identity/subjectivity, but, instead, the product of power relations. Adopting a view on power inspired by the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault (1926–1984), they see power as both an oppressive and limiting structure, and as the generating force of meaning and knowledge. Criticizing any notion of identity as fixed or authentic, social constructionists deny the existence of a preexisting core to the self and, instead, assert that identities are made (differently) by the structuring operations of power and knowledge systems, a process in which discursive power is seen to play a preeminent role. Their equivocal position in relation to human essence entails that such theorists reject the emphasis on or highlighting of group identities, be they defined in terms of gender, sexuality, or any other aspect of differentiation. They do not, however, go so far as to reject identity categories as a whole. Acknowledging the potential sedimentation and stability of such categories over time, social constructionist thinkers continue to pay attention to the concrete operations and functions of multiple identity categories in historically and culturally specific material realities.

The most radical theories of gender have come out of postmodern schools of thought that came to predominate both feminist and critical sexuality studies in the 1990s and 2000s. With an overall focus on the multiplicity and instability of differences, postmodern theorists of gender resist any notion of firm or fixed identity categories. On the contrary their major aim is to fundamentally destabilize and denaturalize the notion of identity itself, whether conceived in group or individual terms. Generally, but by no means exclusively, inspired by such queer thinkers as Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, postmodernists propound a largely discursive account of gender construction, emphasizing differences among and within all human beings. The central issue, however, is not the multiple nature or mutually constitutive aspects of categories of difference but, rather, the questioning of the status of differences as such. Conceiving of human beings as the products of both material and discursive power, postmodernist thinkers reject the idea of a self lying behind the expressions and performance of differentiated identities, regarding gender as no more and no less than an obligatory masquerade. Following Friedrich Nietzsche's adage that "'the doer' is merely a fiction added to the deed" (1995), they deny the possibility and existence of a prior, true, or authentic self underneath the embodied practices of gender. Seeing power as a multiple, constitutive force that operates in a variety of ways to produce what subsequently comes to be seen as an interior core or preexisting identity, postmodernists conceive of gender as no more than the effect of power and, as such, as a performative act that ostensibly calls into being what it is supposed to express. Formulated in thoroughly antiessentialist terms, postmodern notions of gender not only deny any ulterior truth behind identity, they also implicitly reject the supposition of subjective agency on which the initial distinction between biological sex and cultural gender was founded.

Indeed, the widespread acceptance in feminist discourse from the 1980s onward of the concept of gender as a technical term for the socially constructed aspects of femininity and masculinity—as distinct from biologically determined differences between men and women—has, paradoxically, led to a more general adoption of gender as a simple synonym for that from which it was supposed to mark itself off. This is partly the result of the fact that it has proved difficult to maintain such a distinction, especially in situations in which processes of gender appeared to involve an interaction between biology and culture. Another reason the conceptual distinction between the two terms has become increasingly blurred might be that, given the relative semantic indeterminacy of gender, scholars who were not so familiar with the divergent emphases in feminist debates about its meanings "interpreted gender as a simple synonym for sex and adopted it as such in their own writings" (Haig 2004, p. 94). In postmodern theories of gender, the deconstruction of the sex/gender distinction is not, however, so much the result of explanatory inadequacy or simple confusion but a deliberate attempt to call into question the presumed naturalness of not only the categories of gender and sexuality but also those of sex and the sexed body.

Following Butler's cautionary observation that "'being' a sex or a gender is fundamentally impossible" (Butler 1990, p. 19), postmodernist thinkers understand gender not as a noun or a set of attributes of a previously sexed, presocial body but, instead, as a series of acts, repeated over time, that constitutes the corporeal identity that it purports to be. Instead of seeing the sexed body as a text upon which culture inscribes its gendered meanings, Butler defines gender as the process that constructs the internal coherence of sex, (hetero)sexual desire, and (hetero)sexual practice in the subject: "Gender is the discursive/cultural means by which 'sexed nature' or 'natural sex' is produced and established as 'prediscursive,' prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts" (Butler 1990, p. 7). The stylized repetition of gender-inflected actions, words, and gestures through time gradually gives the actor the feeling of naturalness of the body and of heterosexuality that is required in modern societies.

Functioning as a regulatory regime, gender in Butler's work becomes the causal force of (what is presumed to be natural) sex, so that what was believed to be sex in earlier modes of gender theory, in postmodern discourses is established as the product of the operations of gender. Within this framework gender itself is conceived as the effect of power structures, organized in institutions, practices, and discourses that regulate and establish its various shapes and meanings. The most important sites at which gender itself is produced, according to Butler, are the mutually reinforcing systems of, on the one hand, *phallogocentrism*, a neologism coined by French philosopher Jacques Derrida referring to the perceived tendency of European and North American thought to locate the center of any text or discourse within the *logos*—Greek for word, reason, or spirit—and the phallus, a representation of the male genitalia, and, on the other hand, compulsory heterosexuality. The taboo against homosexuality thus ultimately comes to account for the naturalization of the body in gendered terms, whereas gender, as the repetition of a series of stylized acts, simultaneously becomes the cultural force that generates the belief in the naturalness of heterosexuality. As the central organizing principle of gender, heterosexuality in Butler's thought constitutes the *epistemic regime* that drives the division of humans into male and female, and that structures our understanding of the body as biological.

Although Butler has acquired a central position in contemporary gender theory, her work has neither been unquestionably adopted nor remained unchallenged. Especially with regard to the political efficacy of her model—which leaves little, if any, room for the contestation of existing gender regimes—as well as the place of the body in her work, this extreme form of antiessentialist and antihumanist theorizing has urged other thinkers to point up the need to "supplement her account with insights from psychoanalytic and materialist theorists" of gender, and to "attempt to weave these strands together in … discussions of sexuality, the body, transgendering, and the politics of identity" (Alsop et al. 2002, p.7). Nonetheless, the influence of Butler's performative model of gender supplemented with the destabilization of the links between sex and gender by queer theorists has opened up possibilities for such multiple and indeterminate sex/gender/sexual positionings that subsequent theories of gender cannot but result in the further deconstruction of what were for a long time believed to be stable, universal facts of nature.

SEE ALSO *Body, Theories of; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Sexuality.*

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renée c. hoogland

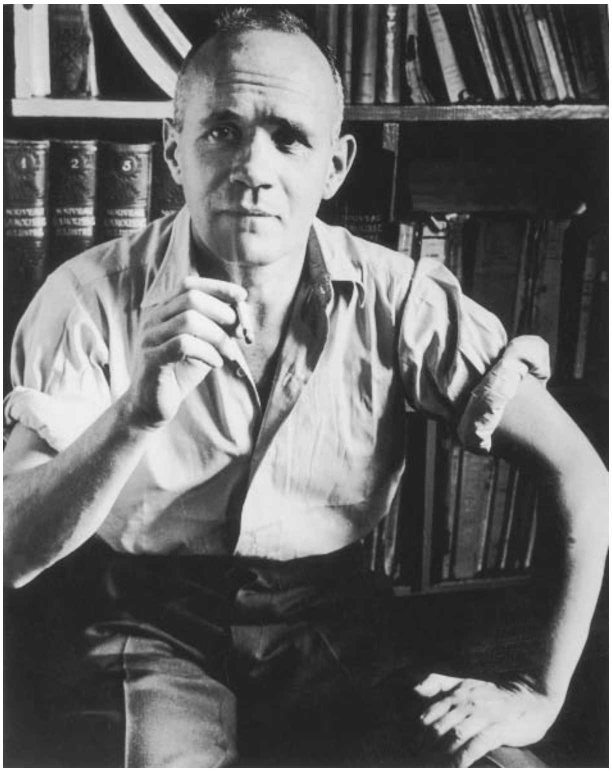
GENET, JEAN
1910–1986

Jean Genet was one of the most important literary figures of the twentieth century, and one of the most important writers of works dealing with gender and homosexuality. His creative life can be divided roughly into three periods: 1940 through 1949; 1950 through 1966; and 1967 through 1986. The first period is dominated by his five novels, in which Genet creates mythical universes of male characters with homoerotic desires. The hero(ine) of Genet's first novel, *Our Lady of the Flowers* (1944), is one of literature's most famous transgendered characters. This character, whose birth name was Lou Culafroy, adopts the name Divine, and vacillates throughout the novel between masculine and feminine gender identities. The narrator of the novel insists that there is no real, true gender for Divine, that his or her gender is constantly in flux, and is contingent on her state of mind and her surroundings. Thus, Divine's gender is performative in a way that author Judith Butler would describe more than forty years later.

Genet's second novel, *Miracle of the Rose* (1946), is the tale of a young convict's journeys through reformatories and prisons. It describes in great detail the complex homoerotic situations that occur in prison—another groundbreaking theme. Genet's third novel, *Funeral Rites* (1949), set during World War II (1939–1945), is also his most controversial. In it, he valorizes the virility of the conquering German army, and revels in France's ignominious capitulation. As with *Miracle of the Rose*, the novel deals with the presence of homoeroticism in exclusively male environments—this time the world of the soldier.

Genet's fourth novel is his least autobiographical, most traditional narrative. It is perhaps for this reason that it is Genet's only novel to be transferred to the cinema, in the form of Rainer Werner Fassbinder's (1945–1982) well-known 1982 film *Querelle*. The novel of the same name, which was published in 1947, is the story of the sexual adventures of the sailor Querelle, who accepts the fact that he is attracted to men, but struggles throughout the novel with implications of this attraction—above all what it means to be called a *pédé* (a faggot). Genet's first four novels show a wide range of possible subject positions for men who desire men, which ultimately undermines the reductive notion that the term *homosexual* is a useful ontological category.

Genet's last novel, *The Thief's Journal* (1949), is a fictionalized retelling of his life as a vagabond wandering Europe in the 1930s. In it, Genet explores the questions of what it means to be a writer and a homosexual. It is here that Genet most explicitly states his ethos: He stands for everything that is antithetical to the French state. Instead of the French national ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, Genet values homosexuality, crime, and betrayal. More than just effecting a simple inversion of bourgeois French mores, all of Genet's works investigate how values are created, and the tension at work between all binaries. Genet always takes up the less valued element of pairs such as black and white, gay and straight, and masculine and feminine in order to first invert, then ultimately flatten the hierarchy imposed on them by French language and culture.



Jean Genet. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

The beginning of Genet's second creative period is marked by the 1952 publication of his complete works to date, with an introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980). Sartre's introduction would expand into a 600-page work, *Saint Genet: Comedian and Martyr*, and quickly be recognized as one of the most important works ever written by one writer about another. In it, Sartre performs an existential psychoanalysis of Genet, intending to find the root cause of Genet's homosexuality. The exhaustive examination of Genet's life is rumored to have stopped Genet in his tracks, unsure what more there was left for him to do in the realm of the novel. His answer was to return to the theater.

He had already had success with his 1946 play, *The Maids*, which was loosely based on the famous 1933 murder by the Papin sisters of the woman who employed them as maids. In their rehearsals of their plot to kill their mistress, Claire and Solange work through issues of class and gender, with an undercurrent of lesbian eroticism running through their relationship. In his next play, *The Balcony* (1956), Genet examines the power of the erotic relationships enacted through role-playing in a brothel. In his last two plays, *The Blacks* (1958) and

The Screens (1963 [1961]), Genet focuses on relationships of power between colonizer and colonized, and also between men and women, specifically showing how these relationships are enacted through language. In all of his theatrical work, Genet investigates the constructed nature of reality, and the notion that our means of understanding the world in which we live is always subjective.

Genet's last period of work (after 1967) was largely devoted to occasional pieces defending first the Black Panther Party, then the Palestinian cause, which would be the subject of his last book, *Un Chant d'amour*. Curiously, though he wrote copiously about other minority groups, Genet never wrote essays devoted to gay, lesbian, or transsexual rights. Genet never had an interest in assimilation; he was a solitary figure, who believed that the human condition was also a solitary one. He never had a desire to be a part of any group or identity, and no interest in arguing to make queer people part of the mainstream. In this way, he lived his life true to the existential principles that underlie the modern formulation of queer sensibility: resist definition, constantly evolve, provoke, and challenge the status quo.

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Drew Jones

GENETICS AND GENDER

The words *gene* and *gender* both come from the same Greek word *genos*, meaning birth, origin, race, species, or class. Genes are the ordered bits of chemical information composed of DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) that direct all of the bodily processes from the conception and development of an organism to the processes necessary to sustain life. Genes are located on chromosomes in every cell in the body. Human bodies have twenty-three paired chromosomes in cell nuclei. How the two chromosomes in each pair work together defines the kinds of traits (eye color, skin tone, hair type, body shape, metabolism, muscle type) individuals may have and contribute to or even cause potential weaknesses (heart disease, arthritis, cancer) individuals may experience through their lives. There is also DNA in other parts of cells called *mitochondria*, which are energy-producing "organelles" in each cell.

Genes are passed from parents to children in the gametes (eggs and sperm) that join to make new beings. Although human body cells typically reproduce themselves by a process called *mitosis* in which the cell divides and replicates its full quota of twenty-three chromosome pairs, germ cells—which are the cells involved in reproduction—are produced by a process called *meiosis* in which each germ cell receives only one side of each of the cell's twenty-three pairs of chromosomes. In human reproduction, each parent contributes a gamete, or germ cell, produced through meiosis. The mother contributes an egg that is a complete cell with one-half of each of the twenty-three chromosome pairs. The father contributes a sperm that consists of twenty-three half chromosomes contained in a nucleus-like head with a tail. The twenty-three single chromosomes from one gamete then pair up with the twenty-three single chromosomes from the other gamete to form a new full set of twenty-three chromosome pairs.

The twenty-third pair of chromosomes determines an individual's sex (maleness or femaleness). This chromosome comes in two versions: an X chromosome and a Y chromosome. If an individual has two X chromosomes, then, assuming a normal fetal development, that individual will be female with female genitals and reproductive organs (vagina, uterus, ovaries). If an individual has an X chromosome and a Y chromosome, then, assuming a normal fetal development, that individual will be male with male genitals and reproductive organs (prostate, testes).

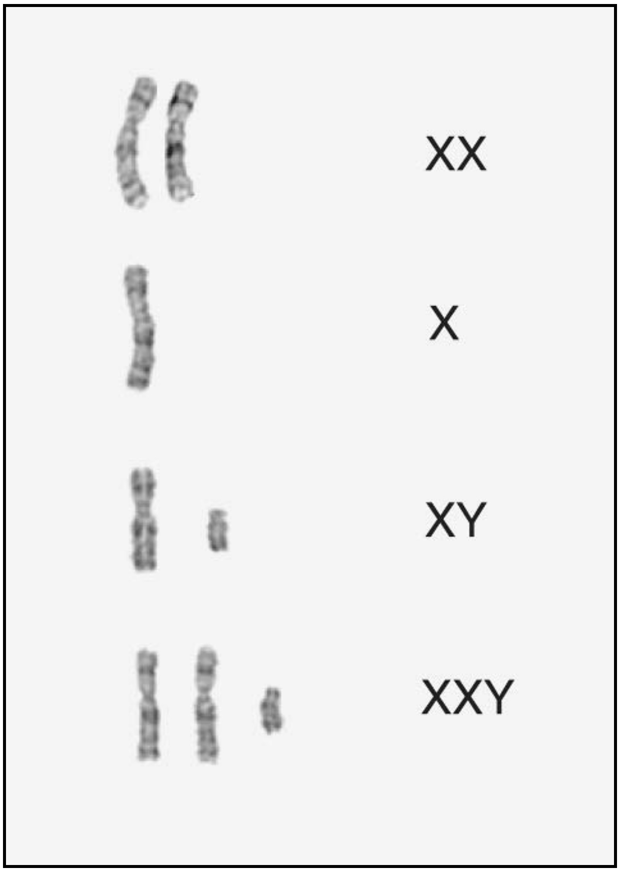
Because females have only the X chromosome in pair 23, when they produce germ cells through meiosis, their gametes will have only an X chromosome. Because males have both an X and a Y chromosome in that pair, they will produce sperm with either an X chromosome or a Y chromosome. The type of chromosome contained in the sperm, then, will determine the sex of any new individual in combination with the female's X. This means that all Y chromosomes come from fathers. Because the mother's egg is a complete cell, new individuals will inherit mitochondrial DNA only from the mother.

In other species, sex is sometimes determined in ways other than through sex chromosomes. Many insects, such as grasshoppers and roaches, have only an X chromosome. Females have two X chromosomes and males have only one. In birds, butterflies, and some fish, the sex of offspring is determined by the female rather than the male contribution. Females have the sex genotype of ZW, while males have the sex genotype of ZZ. Bees and ants have no sex chromosomes at all. In these species if an egg is fertilized, it becomes a female. If it is unfertilized, it may develop into a male.

SEX CHROMOSOME VARIATIONS

Occasionally during meiosis, there is an error in the splitting of the chromosomes present in future germ cells. Sometimes there is an extra copy of a chromosome so that there are three chromosomes where there should be two (XYY instead of XY, for example). The presence of three chromosomes is called a trisomy, and trisomies often cause problems. Down syndrome, for example, has a trisomy in chromosome 21. Sometimes there is no copy of a sex chromosome, which results in a fetus with only one chromosome 23. Most errors of this sort do not produce viable fetuses. Because trisomies in the sex chromosome tend to cause less severe problems, more fetuses with trisomies and other abnormalities in the sex chromosomes survive.

Having too many or not enough sex chromosomes results in a variety of syndromes and abnormalities. In females, the absence of one X chromosome results in Turner syndrome. Most females with an XO genotype do not survive. Those who do are often mosaics, that is, their genotype varies between XO and XX. This syndrome is relatively rare, occurring in only 1 in 3,000 to 1 in 5,000 births. If these females survive, they tend to be short in stature, with webbed necks, out-turned elbows, high-arched palates, and small jaws. They are prone to thyroid disease, and they may suffer slight mental retardation. They are sterile, as they do not develop normal ovaries nor do they ovulate. They do not develop normal secondary sex characteristics, having small, widely spaced breasts. Girls with Turner syndrome can be treated for its symptoms. Human growth hormone may help them grow taller, and estrogen replacement at puberty will begin menstruation and promote the growth of more normal breasts.



Sex Chromosomes. *Sex chromosomes showing different complements associated with different phenotypes: 1: two X chromosomes, normal female; 2: an X and a Y, normal male; 3: one X chromosome, a Turner syndrome female; 4: two X and one Y, a Klinefelter male.* ILLUSTRATION BY ARGOSY PUBLISHING. THE GALE GROUP.

Females who inherit an extra X chromosome are called metafemales or triple-X females. Their genotype is XXX, but can be XXXX or even XXXXX. Metafemales are usually the children of older mothers, and the incidence of this is approximately 1 in 1,000 births. Metafemales do not look much different from XX females. They are fertile, but are generally taller and more slender than their XX counterparts, with longer legs. They may have low intelligence, have learning difficulties, or be perceived as slow learners because of their height when they are young, since they are often perceived to be older than they actually are.

Males with chromosome abnormalities generally suffer either from Klinefelter syndrome or Jacob syndrome (also called XYY syndrome). In Klinefelter syndrome, a male inherits an extra X chromosome, making his genotype XXY or even XXXY, XXXXY, or XY/XXY mosaic (a mixture of genotypes). One of the most common chromosomal abnormalities (1 in 500 to 1 in 1,000 births), Klinefelter syndrome may pass almost unnoticed, or may be expressed as effeminacy accompanied by severe mental retardation, depending on the number of X chromosomes present. Males with Klinefelter syndrome produce very small amounts of testosterone and as a result have small testes and prostate and are nearly sterile. They often have high voices, little body hair, and a more effeminate body shape, and may develop breasts. They are also, like metafemales, taller than average, but they may also be heavier. They have learning difficulties when young, especially with language, but can usually function easily in society, especially if they are treated with testosterone at puberty. Males with Klinefelter syndrome have normal sexual function, can have erections and ejaculate, but may evince less interest in sex. They have a slightly higher likelihood of developing diabetes and osteoporosis.

Although males with XXXXY genotypes have been understood as a variant of Klinefelter syndrome, this genotype is increasingly recognized as its own genetic condition. XXXXY males are characterized by small gonads, micro penis, mental deficiency, speech impairments, hyperextensive joints, low birth weight, and other skeletal anomalies.

Another variant of Klinefelter syndrome now treated as distinct is XXYY syndrome. These boys, with the genotype XXYY, display a range of characteristics including taller than average height, learning disabilities, speech and language impairment, flat feet, scoliosis, delayed sexual development, low testosterone, and developmental delays. Rarer than Klinefelter syndrome, XXYY syndrome occurs in only 1 out every 17,000 births.

Males with an extra Y chromosome have Jacob syndrome, sometimes called XYY syndrome. These boys have an XYY genotype and appear normal. Occurring in between 1 and 900 to 1 in 2,000 births, XYY syndrome boys tend to be taller than average, with high levels of testosterone, acne, and poor coordination. They are fertile and have normal sexual function. There are some claims that XYY males are more disposed to aggressivity and violence. Defense lawyers have attempted to use the genotype as a defense for criminal behavior, but unsuccessfully.

HERMAPHRODITISM AND INTERSEXUALITY

Occasionally, but very rarely, errors in germ cell production result in a fetus with both XX and XY genotypes simultaneously. The presence of both genotypes in the body causes the development of both male and female sex organs. Externally, the fetus may develop a penis, but testes are usually underdeveloped and undescended. Often the external genitalia are ambiguous, with fused labia, a clitoris that looks like a penis, a penis that is underdeveloped, or a vaginal opening without a complete vagina. Ovaries, vagina, and uterus will develop internally but may consist of an ovary on one side and a testis on the other, or a testis or ovary on one side and an ovo-testis (a mixture of ovary and testicle) on the other. Until recently most doctors thought that the external genitalia of intersexuals needed to conform to one sex or another. In addition to surgeries necessary to correct life-threatening conditions, doctors often performed more cosmetic corrections that would make hermaphrodites conform to one sex.

Genes other than those comprising the twenty-third pair of chromosomes can affect the sexual development of embryos, making them appear to be a sex different than that indicated by their genotype. Androgen insensitivity syndrome (AIS), for example, is a condition in which XY fetuses that have begun at the eighth week to develop testes, do not continue to develop normal male genitalia because their body tissues cannot use the androgens their testes produce. A genetically male individual will have the appearance of a female. AIS is caused by a faulty androgen receptor gene located on the X chromosome. The syndrome is thus passed onto genetically male children by the mother.

There are two forms of AIS: complete and partial. In complete AIS the body's tissues are completely insensitive to androgens, and the body develops as a female without internal sexual organs. In partial AIS some tissues are sensitive to androgen, but in varying degrees. Individuals with partial AIS have a range of external genitalia from normal male external genitalia and infertility to genitals that appear to be female with an enlarged clitoris or even genitals that appear to be completely female. AIS comes with a higher risk of cancer affecting especially the unformed testicular tissue still in the body. This tissue is generally removed at an early age to prevent further problems.

Another genetic disorder, congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH), encompasses several different conditions in which the steroid cortisol is not produced, causing the overproduction of other steroids. Female fetuses with this recessive trait produce too many steroids and often develop genitals that appear to be male, with large clitorises or even penises. Such females are often mistaken for boys at birth. Girls with CAH often have low rates of fertility.

SEX-LINKED DISORDERS

The X and Y chromosomes of pair 23 are not of equal size, though together they are responsible for most sex-based characteristics. The X chromosome is much larger than the Y and has more genes. The genes located on chromosome 23 manage the development of genitals and gonads, the timing of puberty, the production of sex hormones, and the appearance of secondary sex characteristics. Their management of these processes, however, does not come only from direct instruction, but also as an effect of being or not being paired with another gene on the pairing chromosome (X with X, X with Y). Because the Y chromosome is much shorter than the X chromosome, portions of the X chromosome have no correlative gene on the Y. This means that certain traits, such as color blindness, hemophilia, Duchenne muscular dystrophy, and fragile X syndrome—the genes for which are located on the X chromosome—have no corresponding version on the shorter Y. Thus, these traits are exhibited primarily by male children and are inherited from the mother. In some disorders, females are also affected, but often not as severely because they have another copy of the X gene that may still function. The X chromosome is linked to more than three hundred diseases, more than any other chromosome, including not only sex-linked conditions, but also disorders such as cleft palate and chronic granulomatous disease; it may also contain the genes for longevity.

Color blindness occurs because the gene for normal color vision occurs on the X chromosome. If XN stands for the gene for normal vision and Xn stands for the gene for color blindness, then a male with the genotype XnY would be color blind, while a male with the genotype XNY would have normal vision. A female with the genotype XNXn would have normal vision but would be a carrier of the color-blindness trait. Females can inherit color blindness, but only if their fathers are color blind and their mothers are carriers. The genotype of a color-blind female would be XnXn.

People with hemophilia, called hemophiliacs, lack the blood-clotting factor VIII. As with color blindness, women carry the recessive gene on the X chromosome and so are rarely affected by the condition themselves, unless they inherit two versions of the gene, one from a hemophiliac father. Queen Victoria was a carrier of this recessive gene, so her sons had a 50/50 chance of having hemophilia. One of Victoria's sons and three of her grandsons were hemophiliacs, and two daughters were carriers.

Duchenne muscular dystrophy is a condition in which males lack the gene for producing a key muscle protein called dystrophin. This gene, too, is located on the X chromosome. Males with Duchenne muscular dystrophy are afflicted by a weakening of the muscles and a loss of coordination, dying in early adulthood. This condition occurs in approximately in 1 in every 3,500 births.

Fragile X syndrome involves a mutation in a gene for producing a protein necessary for proper cell, especially brain cell, development and functioning. This gene, located on the X chromosome, generally affects intelligence in male children, though females with one copy of the gene will also have reduced mental capacity. Those with fragile X syndrome often have large ears, long faces, and some problems with emotion and behavior. The mutation causing fragile X syndrome occurs in the number of repeated sequences that tell a gene when to turn on and turn off. Fragile X syndrome involves a larger than normal number of repeats, which slows down or prevents the operation of the gene.

GENES AND GENDERED BEHAVIOR

Some researchers believe that genes influence the development of the brain differently in females and males. They attribute certain traits that have come to be understood as gender stereotypes to differences in brain structure and function. Thus, for example, having more precocious linguistic abilities or having the ability to gauge spatial relations may not be an effect of children being nurtured as girls or boys, but may be hard-wired into the structures of differently sexed brains. Some of the evidence that suggests that genderings are genetic comes from the experiences of intersexed babies who are reassigned a sex opposite to that of their genotype. As these children grow older, they often wish to become the other sex, even though they have most often never been told about their genotypes.

Within the last ten years research on the sex chromosomes has shown that there is a substantial difference in the way as many as three hundred genes on the X chromosome are activated between males and females. Scientists suggest that males and females may differ by as much as 2 percent of their genome. This difference is greater than the difference between humans and chimpanzees.

Other researchers attribute differences in brain function and sex identifications to the actions of hormones during fetal development. These researchers point to the ways genetic males and females will manifest abilities linked to the other sex and will often prefer cross-gendered behaviors. Some of the evidence that suggests that hormones are also influential comes from the range of behaviors and identifications genetically and somatically normal people seem to display.

Ideas about the genetic or hormonal basis for gender differences contravene earlier ideas that gender was learned through culture or nurture. The early-twenty-first-century consensus seems to be that sex and gender are formed through a complex interaction of genes, hormones, and nurture that generally aligns genotypes with bodies and with behaviors that comply with normative gender concepts.

DIFFERENCES WITHIN SEXES

Genes do not, however, affect only differences between the sexes. They also seem to produce a range of differences within both women and men. The large number of variations in the distribution of genes on the X chromosome produces a wide range of differences among women themselves. Researchers have also discovered that, although generally in women one copy of the genes on the X chromosome is turned off, in some women more genes are still activated on both copies, producing even more variation. These variations may account for differences in the ways women react to drugs or their vulnerability to disease. They may also account for differences in preferences, activities, and degrees of feminization, although these qualities are also determined at least in part by the cultural models and opportunities available.

Both Y chromosomes and the mitochondrial DNA passed from mothers to children also enable scientists to trace different groups of people. Y chromosomes, passed only from fathers to sons, change little, and these changes tend to accompany surnames. Only the gradual accumulation of mutations differentiates separate groups of males. By looking at Y chromosomes, researchers have been able to trace the movements of groups of people across continents and through history. They have also posited the existence of a "Y-chromosomal Adam" as a forefather of most living beings.

The mitochondrial DNA passed on by mothers also is only altered by the slow accumulation of mutations. Some researchers have posited the existence of an originary mother figure, called "Mitochondrial Eve" or sometimes "African Eve," supporting the idea that all humans emerged from a single African ancestor. Mitochondrial Eve is much older than Y-chromosomal Adam. Both figures are disputed hypotheses.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity.*

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GENIES

SEE *Jinn.*

GENITALIA, AS APOTROPAIC

The term *apotropaic genitals* refers to instances in which exhibitions or representations of female or male genitals are deployed to fend off evil. The adjective *apotropaic* comes from the Greek *apotrope*, meaning "to turn away." The category of apotropaic genitals is part of a larger set of practices called apotropaic magic that consists of rituals and other symbols or mythologized practices that are believed to turn away evil. Apotropaic symbols other than genitals include objects such as horseshoes (for good luck); protective amulets in Japan; the "evil eye" in Greece, Turkey, and Arab countries; mirrors to deflect evil; crucifixes; garlic; and silver bullets.

FEMALE GENITALIA

Many cultures around the world have used genitals, representations of genitals, or symbols of genitals in ritual practices to fend off evil or inclement weather, in architecture to keep evil away, and in wars as a defensive strategy. Linked in many cultures to childbirth and creation, female genitalia are potently apotropaic, though they may have dangerous effects as well. In ancient Greece a woman exposing her genitals was believed to drive away devils, evil spirits, and ill-willed deities; scare attacking troops; keep dangerous animals at bay; and calm the elements, including whirlwinds and lightning. Both Pliny and Plutarch described instances of soldierly flight in the face of exposed female genitals, and Plutarch wrote accounts of women calming storms and defeating massed enemies. The folklore of Catalonia includes references to the ways in which female genitals can calm the sea. Fishermen's wives made a practice of exposing themselves to the waves before each fishing trip. Italians and people from India also believed in such apotropaic powers, and Russian folklore includes stories about how women exposing their genitals scared away bears. In Russia as well as the rest of Europe towns were protected from evil by a ritual in which women plowed a symbolic furrow around the town.

Female genital shapes also adorn or align with the structure of buildings as a way of warding off evil. In the Micronesian island nation of Palau the gables of village meeting houses display wooden sculptures of nude women exposing their genitals. The construction of those figures is accomplished by specialists who are assigned the ritual task of producing the figures in accordance with rules that guarantee the efficacy of their protective powers. The archlike shape of female genitals made them a symbol of welcome and fecundity while they simultaneously performed their apotropaic function.

In Ireland, England, and Switzerland church builders placed stone statues of squatting women in the keystone spot of the arch for the door or an important window of the church. Possibly left over from previous practices of goddess worship, those statues often depicted the women with their legs apart, holding their vulvas open with their hands. In Ireland the practice of using figures called *Sheelagh-na-gig* was widespread. As in the gable figures of Palau, their function was to ward off evil.

Instances of apotropaic female genitals also make an appearance in literature. François Rabelais wrote a story about how the Devil was routed by an old woman's exhibition of herself. A fable of La Fontaine recounts how a young woman defeats the Devil and saves her town by lifting her skirt.

MALE GENITALIA

Symbols and figures of male genitals also serve apotropiac functions, warding off evil and fending off aggression. In ancient Greece phalli were carved above doorways to protect homes, and phallic sculptures appeared throughout Greece. The island of Delos, reputed to be the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, was famous for its statutes of phalli. Throughout the Mediterranean region both Greeks and Romans used phallic figures to protect valuable resources such as grain cisterns. The apotropaic qualities of the phallus derive from the ways in which it represents the idea of strength and manliness evoked to protect communities and their assets.

Ancient Japan looked to a group of gods called the *Sahe no Kami*, or preventive gods, to protect believers against beings from the underworld. The preventive gods were presented as giant phalli that were erected along highways, at the ends of bridges, and at crossroads to impede the passage of evil beings. The phalli became the protectors of travelers who would pray to them for safe passage and offer them rice and hemp. Recently the phalli were taken down to avoid offending Western travelers who associated them with obscenity. Though they are not consciously regarded as apotropaic, the city of Amsterdam is bedecked with thousands of roadside phalli that mark roads and protect pedestrians.

Perhaps the most frequently used contemporary apotropaic phallic symbol is the gesture popularly referred to as "the finger." Although often used as a signal of anger, disdain, and even disgust, the finger and its many variations are also apotropiac, warding off threats, responding to aggression, and serving as a warning.

A more complicated version of the finger, the sign of the "horns," is produced by extending the index finger and little finger. This is also an apotropaic figuration of the phallus, though in a less directly evident manner. The sign of the horn refers simultaneously to the prowess of a bull (fecund masculinity) and to the horns that signify that a man has been cuckolded (his wife has had sexual relations with another man). The display of the fingers as horns wards off cuckolding while celebrating masculine empowerment. More recently it came to signify the rock-on rebel spirit of bikers, rock fans, and extreme sports enthusiasts. Phallic versions of the horn also adorn the necks of young men who wear them to proclaim their virility and ward off evil.

Although contemporary apotropaic devices may be less obviously genital, they still exist and are used to protect wearers and citizens. Devices such as crystals, evil eyes, and rabbits' feet combine luck with protection in ways that recall the genital origins of some of those devices.

SEE ALSO *Folklore.*

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GENITALS, FEMALE

Though the female genitals (or genitalia) are often narrowly defined as only those tissues and organs involved in reproduction that are visible on the outside of the body (the external or primary genitalia), broader definitions include internal (or secondary) sex organs as well. Some definitions include the breasts (mammary tissue) within the scope of female genitals because of their function in lactation following childbirth. External genitalia includes the vulva (pudendum); the labia (Latin for lips) majora and minora; the clitoris (a small and highly sensitive organ composed of erectile tissue that engorges with blood and grows larger upon sexual arousal); the clitoral hood (or prepuce); the mons pubis; and the urethra (the tube that carries urine out of the body). The internal genitalia consist of the ovaries (female gonads); fallopian tubes (or oviducts, uterine tube, or salpinges); uterus (or womb); Skene's glands; Bartholin's glands; and the vagina (or birth canal).

PHYSIOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE INTERNAL FEMALE GENITALS

The internal genitals are located within the female pelvis between the bladder and the rectum. The uterus and vagina are situated in the midline of the lower abdomen. One of a pair of ovaries lies on either side of the uterus and connects to it by way of the fallopian tubes. These internal organs are supported by ligaments (notably the broad ligament).

The ovaries are a pair of small, almond-shaped glands with a puckered uneven surface. They are analogous to the testes in males in that they are the sex organ responsible for producing the gametes (or sex cells—the ovum in women and the sperm in men whose union, known as fertilization, is a necessary step for human reproduction). The broad ligament holds the ovary in the pelvis. This ligament is attached to the peritoneum, a membrane that separates the pelvic region from the abdominal organs. Two other ligaments support the ovaries: the suspensory ligaments which attach the ovary to the lateral wall of the pelvic region and the ovarian ligaments which attach it to the top part of the uterus. Veins, arteries, and nerves that supply the ovary travel through the suspensory ligament. The outer layer of the ovaries is made up of a dense connective tissue that contains the ovarian follicles, each of which encloses an oocyte (or egg, the cell that eventually becomes the ovum). Female infants are born with all the oocytes the body will use in a lifetime. These begin developing by dividing at the subcellular level (through meiosis) but will not complete the process until ovulation begins after puberty. These immature (or primary) oocytes and their surrounding tissues (granulosa cells) make up the primary follicle. At birth the ovaries contains roughly 1 million primary follicles. From then until puberty, that number falls to about 300,000 to 400,000. Of this number, only about 400 will continue the maturation process and be released from the ovary during a process called ovulation. All remaining follicles will eventually degenerate.

During childhood the ovaries remain inactive until the age of nine or ten when the anterior pituitary gland in the brain begins secreting hormones that initiate puberty. This is associated with the growth of the ovaries, which then begin secreting feminizing hormones (notably estrogens and progesterones). The dramatic increase in these hormones stimulates the growth and function of the primary sexual characteristics (including the ovaries, fallopian tubes, uterus, and vagina) as well as the secondary sexual characteristics (such as hair distribution and breast development). The external genitalia including the vulva and labia majora and minora also grow to mature size.

After puberty, fluctuations in hormone levels from the anterior pituitary cause one ovarian follicle each month to develop and a consequent increase in hormone secretion by the cells surrounding the follicle. This increase in turn causes the follicle to grow larger until changes in hormonal stimulation cause it to blister and rupture resulting in ovulation. What remains of the follicle becomes the corpus luteum, which secretes hormones that will support a pregnancy (should it occur) through the first three months (after which time its function is replaced by the placenta—a large gland that grows at the site of embryo implantation in the uterus). If no pregnancy occurs, the corpus luteum degenerates causing a subsequent drop in the level of hormones formerly secreted by the now-degenerating tissue. This triggers the start of menstruation—the sloughing of the inner (or endometrial) lining of the uterus. This cycle of hormonal fluctuation, ovulation, and menstruation continues on average every twenty-eight days until menopause (around the age of fifty) when the ovaries stop producing enough hormones to sustain the reproductive cycle.

After ovulation, the oocyte is released into the pelvic cavity adjacent to the end of the fallopian tube. The ovarian end of the tube flairs out, and its opening is fringed by long thin fimbriae that surround the surface of the ovary. Cilia on the fimbriae propel the ovulated oocyte into the fallopian tube where fertilization may occur if sperm is present. (Tubal ligation by surgically cutting away or tying off a portion of the fallopian tubes is an elective method of birth control, which works by preventing the sperm from reaching the egg.) After fertilization, the newly formed embryo continues through the fallopian tube to the uterus. Unfertilized ova also continue through to the uterus where they are expelled with the menstrual fluids.

The uterus is the major reproductive organ in females. In its mature and nonpregnant state, it is roughly the size and shape of a pear—with its upper and larger, rounded end (or body) connected to the fallopian tubes (at the uterine fundus), and its lower aspect, or the cervix, located at the bottom and opening into the vagina. The uterus is composed of three main layers: an outer (or serous) layer made of peritoneal tissue; a middle muscular layer (the myometrium); and an inner endometrium. The uterus' primary function is to provide a protective and nourishing environment for the fertilized ovum. Blood vessels from the endometrium specifically supply the placenta that in turn supports the embryo, which later develops into a fetus. It does this by going through cyclic changes that help improve the chances that an embryo will successfully implant in the lining of the uterine cavity. The inner two linings of the uterus undergo profound changes during the menstrual cycle due to the effects of the hormones estrogen and progesterone. Estrogen stimulates the rapid growth of both the myometrium and endometrium. Progesterone then stimulates the endometrial layer to thicken with an increased supply of blood vessels and to begin secreting a sugar-like substance in order to provide a hospitable and nourishing environment for the implantation of the embryo.

Beneath the uterus is the vagina, a three to four inch fibro-muscular tube that attaches to the lower part of the uterus and extends to the vulvar opening. Its opening is often covered by a thin layer of tissue, the hymen, which generally stretches or tears during a female's first sexual intercourse (coitus), through the use of tampons, or as a result of trauma. The vagina is the female sex organ for intercourse in that it allows the entry of the penis that, when ejaculation occurs, provides a conduit for the sperm to travel up through the uterus and into the fallopian tubes to fertilize the ovum. The vaginal walls are much thinner than those of the uterus, and they are lined with mucous membranes that moisten and provide lubrication for the act of intercourse. The vagina also provides a canal through which the infant travels from the uterus to the outside during childbirth. When pregnancy does not occur, the pathway allows the monthly menstrual flow to exit the body. Though the vaginal walls are usually collapsed upon themselves, the outer muscular layer readily expands to allow the penis to enter into the vaginal canal. These muscles are capable of stretching enough to allow the passage of a full-term infant during childbirth. The presence of estrogen makes the lining of the vagina more resilient to trauma and better able to avoid infection. Inside the anterior (or frontal) aspect of the vaginal wall behind the pubic bone is an area of spongy and highly sensitive tissue known as the Gräfenberg spot (or G-spot, for the German doctor who identified it) that can be a source of sexual arousal when stroked or stimulated. It is associated with the Skene's glands, which open near the vestibule (the space into which the vagina and urethra open) near the urethra. These glands are homologous to the prostate gland in males and may be the source of a female ejaculate (though there is controversy in the medical community about the existence of both the G-spot and female ejaculation).

Another pair of glands, the Bartholin glands, is located just within the entrance and on either side of the vagina. These glands produce a waxy substance that may contribute to vaginal lubrication and may also produce pheromones (natural chemicals emitted to attract members of the same species).

PHYSIOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE EXTERNAL FEMALE GENITALS

The vulva is the external and visible part of the female genitalia that lies at the opening of the vagina. It is composed of the vestibule and its associated tissues and structures. The vulvar opening is lined by two thin, skin folds called the labia minora. These inner folds run longitudinally along the vaginal opening and meet at its anterior aspect to form a hood that covers the clitoris. Masters and Johnson (1966) point out that the clitoris is the only organ in humans whose sole purpose is to provide erotic pleasure). The inner labia also meet at the bottom of the vestibule at the fourchette, which is next to the anus. The tissue between the anal opening and the vagina is called the perineum. This tissue is often surgically cut (in an episiotomy) during vaginal childbirth to help prevent tearing during the birth process. Next to the labia minor lie the outermost folds, the labia majora. These are generally larger in size and are usually covered with pubic hair. The labia minora may naturally be completely contained within the folds of the labia majora, or they may extend below. Labiaplasty is a controversial procedure where women surgically alter the appearance of the labia to make them appear more like an "aesthetic ideal."

The mons pubis is a soft mound of flesh made of fatty tissue and located just over the pubic bone. The function of this tissue is to protect the bone beneath it. Like the labia majora, it is usually covered with pubic hair.

The urethra in females functions only to transport urine from the bladder to outside the body. It is located in the vulva between the opening of the vagina and the clitoris. Because it is so close to the anogenital area, the incidence of urinary tract infections (UTI or cystitis) is common in females.

DISEASES OF THE FEMALE GENITALS

Adhesive disease is a condition that is usually the result of an inflammatory process, such as pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) or other intra-abdominal inflammations (such as Crohn's Disease or those resulting post-surgically). Other common causes are endometriosis or history of recurrent ovarian cyst ruptures. Symptoms may include pelvic pain; dysmenorrhea (painful periods); infertility; painful intercourse; and (in severe forms) bowel or urinary obstructions. Treatment is difficult because adhesions often reform after surgical excision.

Benign ovarian cysts are a common gynecologic condition that is generally ovulatory in nature (such as a hemorrhagic [or bleeding] corpus leuteum). Symptoms may include abdominal pain, nausea, vomiting, low-grade fever, and abnormal uterine bleeding. The condition is usually self-limiting with symptoms going away in a day or two. In more persistent cases, it can be treated with hormonal suppression (i.e., birth control pills or Depo-Provera) or surgical excision of the cysts.

Cervical cancer is one of the most common cancers of the reproductive system. The predominate risk factor for contracting this disease is infection with the human papilloma virus (HPV), a sexually transmitted disease (STD). In some women, infection progresses to cervical dysplasia (pre-cancerous cell change). From there it can develop into invasive cancer. The vast majority of cervical dysplasia is diagnosed and treated prior to becoming invasive. Cervical dysplasia is diagnosed during routine Pap tests and further identified with a colposcopy-directed biopsy. Treatment includes cryotherapy (freezing), thermal ablation (burning), or surgical excision. The risk of cervical cancer increases with the number of sexual partners. Consistent and proper use of latex condoms offers only limited protection against developing HPV. A vaccine is available for young girls who have not yet had sex and for young women, even if they are sexually active, to convey immunity against HPV.

Ectopic pregnancy is a condition where the embryo implants outside the uterine cavity. Most commonly this occurs in the fallopian tube (tubal pregnancy), but it can also implant in the cervix, ovary, or abdominal cavity. Because these other sites cannot accommodate the growth of a fetus, left untreated, the site of implantation will eventually rupture and cause intra-abdominal bleeding (very rarely ectopic pregnancies in the abdomen progress to full term and must be delivered by Caesarian section—surgical removal of the baby through an incision in the abdomen). Treatment consists either of medication such as methotrexate (which causes regression of the embryonic tissue) or surgery to excise the ectopic pregnancy (with or without tubal preservation). Up until the end of the nineteenth century, ruptured ectopic pregnancy was a significant cause for the high mortality rate of pregnancy.

Endometriosis is a common condition where endometrial cells (which normally line the uterine cavity) are present in the abdominal/pelvic cavity and other areas of the body. This occurs mostly by regurgitation of menstrual fluid out of the fallopian tubes with subsequent implantation of the endometrial cells in the abdominal cavity. The main treatment is hormonal suppression or surgical excision (with or without removal of the ovaries). A family history of endometriosis is the main risk factor for developing the disease.

Infections may affect all areas of the female genitalia, but most gynecologic infections are limited to the vagina. These may consist of yeast, bacterial, as well as other STDs such as PID, chlamydia, gonorrhea, HPV, and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Depending on the causative agent, symptoms may be mild or severe (possibly leading to infertility), and treatments may vary. The most reliable method for prevention of all STDs is abstinence or limiting sexual activity to monogamous, long-term relationships with partners who have been tested and are free of infection. Consistent and correct use of latex condoms may help to prevent the transmission of many STDs but is ineffective in others.

Ovarian cancer is the ninth most common cancer in women and the fifth leading cause of cancer death. Benign disease (which does not spread beyond the ovaries) may be successfully treated by removing the affected ovary (oophorectomy). In more serious cases, surgery to remove the ovaries, fallopian tubes, and the uterus and/or debulking by removing tumors that have spread to other organs (such as the kidneys) is followed by chemotherapy and/or radiation therapy as indicated.

Primary infertility is a condition defined by a one year period during which unprotected intercourse does not result in pregnancy. Common causes are tubal damage or occlusion due to infection, endometriosis, and adhesion, among others. Problems may also arise due to ovulation irregularities (as with hormonal insufficiency), structural abnormalities (such as fibroid in the uterus or congenital defects), and cervical mucous incompatibility (where a woman builds up antibodies to her partner's sperm). Most common infertility problems can be successfully treated with current infertility technology including in-vitro fertilization (IVF) or drug therapy.

Uterine fibroids are not uncommon in women in general, but are more prevalent in African-American women. They may cause dysfunctional uterine bleeding (non-menstrual), pelvic pain, and (to a lesser degree) infertility, miscarriage, and cancer. Treatment includes surgical excision, hormonal suppression, and in some cases vascular embolization (blocking the uterine blood flow to the fibroid to make it shrink).

Vaginal cancer is a less common form of malignancy. Risk factors include age (it is more common in women sixty years and older); exposure to diethylstilbestrol (DES, a hormone that was prescribed between 1940 and 1971 to women with an increased risk of miscarriage); HIV or HPV infection; prior cervical cancer; and smoking. Treatment usually consists of surgery, radiation, and, possibly, chemotherapy in advanced cases.

SEE ALSO *Clitoris; Uterus; Vagina.*

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GENITALS, MALE

The male genitals (or genitalia) are those parts of the body or organs involved in reproduction. The genitals may include only those external, visible parts (primary genitalia) such as the penis or the scrotum, or they may also include the internal reproductive structures and organs (secondary genitalia) such as the testes, prostate, and urethra. Male genitalia consist of those organs and tissues that function to produce sperm (the male sex cell) and to transport it so that it can come in contact with the female egg (ovum). Their successful union (or fertilization) is what allows humans to reproduce.

PHYSIOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF MALE GENITALIA

The scrotum is the sac that contains the testes (an essential organ in the production of sex hormones and sperm—the male sex cell). It is divided into two compartments—each of which holds one of the pair of testes—by a connective tissue septum. The scrotum is visible externally and consists of skin covering a layer of smooth muscle (the dartos muscle which contracts in cold temperature and causes the skin of the scrotum to become firm and wrinkled). The scrotum functions to help maintain the testes at an optimum temperature for sperm production. Abdominal cremaster muscles cause the scrotum to contract nearer to the body raising the temperature of the testes. During relaxation or warm weather, these muscles relax and allow the scrotum to relax as well and become loose and thin which lets the testes descend further from the body and thus lowers their internal temperature. This is significant because spermatogenesis (the production of sperm) may not occur if the temperature of the organ is either too warm or too cold.

The testes (singular testis) or testicles are two ovoid glands about four–five centimeters (cm) long (also known as gonads) found in males. The left testicle is usually located about one cm lower than the right one. They are both suspended external to the body in the scrotal sac and supported by the spermatic cords (a collection of testicular blood vessels and nerves and ducts). Testes are analogous to the ovaries in females in that both are involved in the production of the reproductive cells (sperm in males) and the secretion of sex hormones (testosterone in males) which stimulate primary sexual characteristics (e.g., sex organs) and secondary sexual characteristics (including distribution of hair growth and body physique). The testes are formed during embryonic development and descend into the scrotal sac near the end of pregnancy or shortly after birth. Though present in a newborn, they are small and nonfunctional until puberty (around ten to fourteen years of age). Until then, secondary sexual characteristics are absent.

At puberty, the hypothalamus (in the brain) secretes a hormone which in turn stimulates the anterior pituitary gland to begin producing hormones that stimulate the production of testosterone (the primary masculinizing hormone) in the testes. This hormone is secreted from the interstitial cells (or cells of Leydig) which are present just after birth but absent during childhood. During puberty, these interstitial cells begin producing large quantities of testosterone which stimulates the growth of the primary and secondary sexual organs and tissue. During this time, the penis, testes, scrotal sac, and other internal and external genitalia begin to grow and function.

The mature testes are enclosed by a white fibrous capsule (the tunica albuginea) which radiates into the testes dividing it into 200 to 250 cone-shaped lobules which contain the seminiferous tubules, the site of spermatogenesis. At puberty, hormonal signals initiate the growth of the seminiferous tubules and the subsequent production of sperm. Microscopically each of the tubules is surrounded by clusters of the interstitial cells. Germ cells (precursors to sperm) and Sertoli cells (which nourish the germ cells and probably produce hormones as well) are located within the seminiferous tubules. It is at this site that the spermatogonia (an early stage of sperm development) undergo division to become primary spermatocytes which continue to divide to produce secondary spermatocytes. Further divisions produce spermatids which eventually become the sperm cells (spermatozoa).

The sperm cells then travel from the seminiferous tubules through a series of ducts that allow the sex cells to mature and ultimately exit the body during ejaculation. The sperm first travels through the rete testes (a tubular network connected to the seminiferous tubules), which then exits the testes by way of the efferent ductules. From there, the sperm enters the epididymis (a tightly coiled and narrow tube posterior to the testes) where it continues to mature. The vas deferens (or ductus deferens) is a duct that is a continuation of the epididymis and travels from the scrotal sac (where it can be palpated as a movable cord—one for each testes) to the pelvic cavity. Smooth muscle in the walls of the duct propels the sperm from the epididymis through the vas deferens. Sperm may remain in the vas deferens (depending on the frequency of ejaculation) over a month with no loss of viability or fertility (a vasectomy—cutting the vas deferens in the scrotal sac—prevents conception by interrupting the path that sperm must follow to reach the outside of the body).

As it continues along its path, the vas deferens becomes associated with the spermatic cord (the testicular artery and veins, lymph vessels, testicular nerves, and cremaster muscle). The cord travels through the inguinal canal to the prostate gland. There, the end of the vas deferens increases in diameter and becomes the ampulla (named for the flask-like shape) of the ductus deferens. Next to each ampulla and connected by a short duct is the seminal vesicle. These sac-shaped glands were erroneously thought to store the sperm until ejaculation (and hence the name), but later it was discovered that these structures' function is to secrete large quantities of fructose, prostaglandins, and fibrinogen (to provide nourishment for the sperm and to facilitate fertilization) which contribute to the volume of the ejaculated semen (about 30%). The two ducts come together to form the ejaculatory ducts which are two short tubes that that pass through the prostate, a doughnut-shaped gland about the size of a walnut that lies directly beneath the bladder and in front of the rectum. The gland secretes an alkaline fluid into the urethra that protects the sperm from the acid environments of the male urethra and the female vagina (whose acidic environment would otherwise kill the sperm). Additional alkaline fluid is secreted by the Cowper (or bulbourethral) glands, which are located just below the prostate. Sperm leaves the vas deferens with the newly accumulated seminal fluids and continues through the urethra where it ultimately is expelled from the body.

The male urethra is a small tube about eight inches long that extends from the base of the bladder, through the prostate, and through the shaft of the penis. The male urethra is made up of three sections (the prostatic, the membranous, and the cavernous) and contains glands that secrete a mucus substance. The urethral tube exits the body at the urinary meatus at the distal end of the penis.

The male urethra serves dual purposes. It provides a pathway for both urine and seminal fluid to exit the body, though it does not allow the fluids to exit at the same time. When seminal fluid passes into the urethra, the urinary sphincter muscles automatically contract and prevent urine from passing into the tube.

The penis is the external male reproductive organ. Internally the penis contains three columns of erectile tissue which, upon sexual stimulation, engorge with blood causing the penis to grow in length and firmness resulting in an erection. The two columns on the sides and underside of the (non-aroused) penis are the corpora cavernosa, and a third and narrower column travels along the front and central aspect of the penis and is called the corpus spongiosum and includes the end of the penis (the glans penis). The urethra passes through this corpus spongiosum, through the glans, and opens at the external urethral orifice.

The penis is covered with skin that is loosely attached along its shaft and more tightly just below the glans. A well-developed network of sensory and nerve receptors is located just below the skin. A thinner layer of skin covers the glans making it particularly sensitive to stimulation. The foreskin (or prepuce), a loose fold of skin, covers the glans penis. The surgical removal of the foreskin (circumcision) is commonly performed in many cultures for religious and cultural reasons.

SEXUAL FUNCTION

Male genitalia functions ultimately for reproduction. For that to occur, the male sperm must be exposed to and fertilize the ovum. To this end, coitus (sexual intercourse or copulation) must occur. The penis must become erect. This is accomplished by a parasympathetic reflex that is initiated by sexual stimulation (tactile, visual, and/or mental). When aroused, the arteries in the penis dilate and flood the corpus cavernosum and spongiosum. This compresses the veins and prevents the blood from leaving the penis causing it to enlarge and become firm.

Emission is the reflex movement of the sperm and other secretions (from the prostate and other glands) from the vas deferens to the prostatic urethra (the portion nearest to the prostate). Ejaculation, another reflex, follows as a result of continued sexual arousal. This is associated with increased heart rate and blood pressure, hyperventilation, dilation of skin blood vessels, and intense sexual excitement. Ejaculation marks the climax or orgasm in males.

DISEASES OF THE MALE GENITALS

Cryptorchidism (or undescended testicles) is a condition where one or both testes fail to descend into the scrotum. Usually the testicles drop down at the end of pregnancy or shortly after birth. If they do not, the affected testis is unable to produce sperm and is functionally sterile. This is because it remains exposed to a higher internal body temperature compared to that of the scrotal sac. The condition is easily diagnosed at birth by palpating the scrotum and is treated by the administration of testosterone (or other hormones), which may allow the testis to descend. Alternatively surgery may be performed.

Another condition that may develop is an inguinal hernia. The inguinal canal narrows after the testes descend but creates a weak spot in the abdominal wall. If the inguinal canal ruptures (or enlarges), a hernia (a loop of intestine that protrudes through the abdominal wall) may develop causing pain and, in severe cases, a cutting off of the intestine. The condition can be corrected surgically.

Elective (or nontherapeutic) circumcision is a contested practice whereby the foreskin (or prepuce) is surgically removed on newborn males. It is done for religious purposes (as in Jewish or Islamic faith) or for sociocultural and/or aesthetic reasons. At debate is whether the risks of routine circumcision are worth any potential benefits of the procedure. The most common risks of circumcision include bleeding or infection. Though these effects are usually mild, in rare cases they may result in excessive blood loss or sepsis (systemic infection). Less common risks include adhesions between the remaining foreskin and the glans or urinary retention. Removal of too much tissue may result in phimosis (a tightening of the foreskin that prevents it from being drawn back from the glans). Alternatively too little of the prepuce may be removed and thereby fail to achieve the aesthetic appearance intended. Serious side effects from the procedure are extremely rare, but may include partial amputation of the glans penis, fistulas, meningitis, and (rarer yet) death. Benefits include a reduced incidence of urinary tract infections in male infants, a decrease in the incidence of penile cancer in adults, and possibly a decrease in the susceptibility to certain sexually transmitted diseases including human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Despite the benefits, the American Medical Association (AMA) does not recommend routine elective circumcisions.

Hypogonadism may result when there is an absence of testosterone (or other male hormones) due to the failure of the testes to develop or a genetic lack of androgen (male hormone) receptor sites. The result is that male organs and tissues fail to develop and instead, normal female sex organs and tissues grow in their place. In rare cases, hypogonadism may be caused by the genetic lack of gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH) secreted by the hypothalamus and may result in hypothalamic eunuchism (or Fröhlich's syndrome). This is frequently associated with a hypothalamic disorder causing a person to overeat leading to obesity.

Impotence (the failure to achieve or sustain an erection) may be caused by multiple factors including physiological (such as low testosterone levels or diabetes which damages blood vessels necessary to elicit a penile response) or psychological. The condition may be treated by administration of erectile dysfunction drugs (such as Viagra©, Levitra©, or Cialis©) or male hormones. Medical grade vacuum pumps improve erectile function in some men. Surgical penile implants may be indicated in severe cases.

Prostate enlargement commonly develops as men grow older. If it grows large enough, the prostate closes off the urethra (which passes through the prostate) making urination difficult or impossible. Urine retention may result. If other treatments fail, prostatectomy (or the surgical removal of the prostate) can cure the condition. The prostate can enlarge for many reasons including infections and tumors, both benign and cancerous. Prostate cancer is the most common form of cancer found in American males and the third highest cause of cancer death in men. Though one in six American men will develop the disease, only one in thirty-four will die of it (American Cancer Society, "All about Prostate Cancer"). Depending on the aggressiveness of the cancer, treatment can range from keeping a watchful eye on the tumor's progression to drug therapy, radiation, and/or surgery.

Sexually transmitted diseases (such as syphilis) may lead to the loss of fertility by damaging the tissues necessary for the production of sperm or male hormones. Further the presence of a sexually transmitted infection makes one more susceptible to acquiring HIV/AIDS, if exposed. Men with HIV have a slight increased risk of developing testicular cancer. Condylomata (or genital warts) varying in size between microscopic and as much as an inch in diameter may appear on the external genitals. Untreated, these benign growths may be readily passed between sexual partners.

Steroids (or synthetic androgens) use by athletes may result in a negative-feedback effect on the hypothalamus and anterior pituitary. This in turn decreases the hormones that normally stimulate the testes. As a result, the testes may atrophy and cause sterility.

Tumors, both cancerous and benign, may grow in the male reproductive tissue and organs such as the prostate, and more rarely the testicles and the penis. Testicular cancer predominately affects young men and is one of the most curable cancers (with only 1 in 5,000 males dying of this form of carcinoma in their lifetime according the American Cancer Society, "All about Testicular Cancer." Undescended testis (cryptorchidism) is one of the leading risk factors for developing testicular cancer. The condition can be treated with chemotherapy, radiation, and/or surgery. Despite the lack of conclusive studies that suggest that regular self-examination of the testes offers any defense against the outcome of the disease, many physicians recommend men perform manual self-checks monthly. Penile cancers are extremely rare. They may range in severity from very slow growing tumors to aggressive melanomas which may spread to other parts of the body. Treatment is through pharmacologic agents, radiation therapy, and/or surgery (often microscopic or laser surgery which is less disfiguring cosmetically and functionally than removal of the penis). Precancerous lesions and tumors may (rarely) appear on the foreskin. They are generally slow-growing and treatment will usually prevent their spread into the deeper tissues of the penis.

Tumors may rarely occur in the interstitial cells in the testes causing the organ to produce up to 100 times the normal amount of testosterone. When this condition presents in young males, the excess hormone causes the sex organs and tissues to develop prematurely as well as the bones and muscles leading to short stature due to the concurrent early fusing of the epiphysis of the long bones.

SEE ALSO *Penis.*

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Diane Sue Saylor

Artemisia Gentileschi. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

GENTILESCHI, ARTEMISIA
1593–1652

Artemisia Gentileschi, who was born in Rome on July 18, was the most accomplished Italian woman painter of the modern era. As Mary Garrard has stated, Artemisia "suffered a scholarly neglect that is almost unthinkable for an artist of her caliber" (Garrard 1989). She died in Naples in 1652.

BACKGROUND AND EARLY WORKS

Artemisia, whose father, Orazio Gentileschi, was a renowned painter, was attracted to the art of painting from an early age and was encouraged by Orazio, who introduced her to the works of Caravaggio. His mastery of the chiaroscuro style influenced Artemisia's art. Some scholars believe that she introduced Caravaggism to Florence. At age six she handled her father's colors and posed for him.

In 1609, at age sixteen, Artemisia painted her friend Tuzia, who posed for the artist with her child for the painting *Madonna and Child*. In 1610 Artemisia depicted Susanna and the Elders; she painted two other renditions of the theme in 1622 and 1649. Hers is an extraordinary interpretation of the biblical story because of its anatomical drawing, the mixture and modulation of light and shadows, the chromatic range and sensuous representation, and the markedly "human" hands. Artemisia's women have human hands that function as signs of female agency, whereas Orazio's women have feminine hands that signify female passivity (Garrard 1989).

MARRIAGE AND TRIAL

Artemisia's life and fame were marked by the events of the period 1611–1612. Her father took legal action against Agostino Tassi, accusing him of raping Artemisia repeatedly over a period of nine months. Tassi previously had been accused of raping his own wife and impregnating his sister-in-law. During the trial Artemisia accused Agostino of raping her repeatedly while promising to marry her. The transcript of the seven-month trial contains Artemisia's direct testimony: "And I scratched his face and pulled off his hair and before he put his member in me I squeezed it and tore off a piece" (author's translation).

Artemisia was subjected to humiliating accusations during the trial: She was not a virgin at the time of the sexual assault, she was a whore, and she had had an incestuous relationship with her father. She had to undergo an examination by a midwife to determine whether she had been raped recently. She was questioned under torture, and her thumbs were crushed, a torture that could have hindered her artistic production. It is noteworthy that the artist Pierre Dumonstier painted a work titled *Artemisia's Hand* (1625). Artemisia ultimately was vindicated when Tassi was found guilty and condemned to prison. The scandalous episode and the defaming publicity of the trial forced her to leave Rome for Florence in 1614, having contracted an arranged marriage with Pietro Antonio Stiattesi.

During the trial Artemisia worked on *Judith and Holofernes* (1612–1613), which clearly depicts her rage at the violence to which she was subjected. Judith's decapitation of Holofernes is an outstanding technical expression of the artist's sentiments. A gendered gaze and mode of representation can be seen in her work if this painting is compared with Caravaggio's rendition (1598–1599), or if Anton Van Dyck's *Susanna and the Elders* (1625) is compared with Artemisia's *Susanna*.

LATER LIFE AND WORK

Artemisia continued painting until her death and produced many masterpieces, the last of which, *Il Trionfo di Galatea* (1645–1650), was commissioned by Don Antonio Ruffo and executed in cooperation with Cavallino. Her admission to the prestigious Academy of Design under the sponsorship of Duke Leopold II gave her recognition as an artist. During her sojourn in Florence (1614–1620) she produced *Judith and the Maid* and *Judith Decapitating Holofernes*, among other works.

During her stay in Genoa (1621), having joined her father, Artemisia met Van Dyck and worked on a Lucrezia and a Cleopatra; the latter is an extraordinarily sensuous portrait of the queen of Egypt. Both works were attributed to Orazio for a long time although they clearly bear the mark of Artemisia's hand. During the Roman period (1622–1630) Artemisia was associated with Caravaggio's followers and painted another *Judith and the Maid with Holoferne's Head* (1625). In 1630 Artemisia moved to Naples and completed the *Autoritratto come Allegoria della Pittura* [Self Portrait as an Allegory of Painting], in which she portrays herself as a painter, an unusual practice among female painters of her time. In Naples she began an Annunciation and worked on the Cycle of the Pozzuoli Cathedral. In 1637 she joined her father again to work in London at the Royal Court on the paintings that make up the *Allegory of Peace and the Arts*. In 1641 Artemisia returned to Naples, where she died at age fifty-nine. Artemisia painted only one male portrait during her life, the *Ritratto di Gonfaloniere* [Portrait of a Papal Knight], executed in Rome in 1622.

The first critical recognition of Artemisia's artistry appeared in 1916 in an article by Roberto Longhi in which that critic affirmed that she was the only female painter in Italy who truly knew the art of painting and color, going far beyond the work of female colleagues such as Anguissola, Lavinia Fontana, and Galizia Fede. However, it was only in the 1970s that Artemisia received recognition as a great artist in books by Germaine Greer (1979), Susan Brownmiller (1975), and Mary D. Garrard (1989). The 2005–2006 exhibit "Caravaggio and His Followers in Milan" included four of Artemisia's paintings. Her life and work have inspired novels by Anna Banti (1988), the wife of the critic Roberto Longhi (1988), Alexandra Lapierre (1998), and Susan Vreeland (2002).

SEE ALSO *Art; Artists, Women; Cellini, Benvenuto; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Michelangelo.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

GIANTS

SEE *Dwarves and Giants.*

GIGOLO

A gigolo is a male who either supplies sexual or romantic services in exchange for money or other gain, or who works as a male escort or professional dancing partner. Other terms for a gigolo include *lounge lizard*, *escort*, or even *male prostitute*. The contemporary concept of a gigolo tends to focus on opportunistic gentlemen with refined manners and impeccable dress who troll for rich women who will pay handsomely for their services.

The stereotypical gigolo is a witty man dressed in impeccably designed clothing worn with flair and style. Gigolos have the ability to make and sustain entertaining and flattering conversation as they flirt shamelessly with potential clients. They also need ambition, a good support system of friends who help them promote their image as charming gentlemen, and even an elitist sense of whom to cultivate and where to hunt. Some fortune-hunting gigolos claim noble birth and display manners and breeding calculated to attract wealthy, upper-class women.

Although the term *gigolo* originally referred to males who worked as paid escorts for women, gigolos may provide sexual favors for both females and males, may be men out to marry rich women, or may simply serve as paid escorts and companions. Many gigolos can survive well only if they have multiple mistresses. They often leave a mistress as soon as the money runs out, and many enjoy a selectivity that prevents them from working for women they find distasteful.

Payment to gigolos is often subtle and indirect. Their dates give them money to pay for drinks or settle restaurant bills, assuming the gigolo will pocket the change. They receive gifts of jewelry, plane tickets, vacations, clothing, and automobiles. Their female clients pay for entertainments and also perhaps give them access to a bank account or other money.

ORIGINS OF THE TERM

The word gigolo comes from the French dance halls of the mid-nineteenth century, which employed or tolerated a dance hall pickup girl called a "gigolette." The term *gigolette* was derived from the combination of two meanings for the French word, "*gigue*" meaning "thigh, and "*gigue*" meaning jig or a type of dance. The "gigolo" referred to the pickup girl's boyfriend, her steady.

The origins of the term in both dancing and sex define the special character of the gigolo. As dance halls and popular dancing, especially the tango, became the rage in France in the early twentieth century, dance halls hired professional dancing partners, often Argentineans, who could perform the tango with women clients. Irene and Vernon Castle brought the tango to the United States around 1912 and with it the need for professional partners. World War I interrupted the dance hall craze, but after the war, café society renewed an interest in jazz and dance, commencing an active culture that provided a lucrative ground for professional dance partners. The Roseland Dance Hall in New York employed a cadre of male dancers called "huskies," who danced with female customers for a fee.

These male dance partners did not stick solely to dancing and provided the gist for fascination and scandal as well as a foothold for ambitious and handsome immigrants. In 1922 Edna Ferber published her novel "Gigolo," which Cecil B. DeMille made into a film starring Rod La Rocque in 1926. "Just a Gigolo" became a popular song. A young Italian immigrant named Rodolpho became such a successful dancing partner that he acceded to the rank of professional dancers, eventually going to Hollywood as Rudolf Valentino.

The dance halls were forced to close down during the Great Depression, though café society in France managed to limp along. In the 1930s Midwesterner Ted Peckham opened the Guide Escort Service in New York, which provided nonsexual male companionship for women willing to pay $10 for an evening's company. His service was successful enough to expand to London and throughout Europe, where he often established the service in a department store, which would bill and collect payment from his clients. His service was halted in 1939 by the red tape involved in New York labor laws.

PRECURSORS AND MODELS

Precursors of the gigolo go back at least to the seventeenth century with such figures as Beau Fielding, a favorite of the ladies who was of the entourage of Charles II, king of England. In eighteenth-century France, husbands who were off on exploits of their own hired professional male escorts called "chevalier servants" to amuse and guard their wives in their absence. In Italy, husbands also hired paid male escorts called "cicisbei" to accompany, entertain, and guard their wives. The nineteenth century saw the emergence of the dandy, a well-dressed and witty male figure who made a life's work of style and elitism. Beau Brummell and Count Alfred d'Orsay number among these, d'Orsay being one who married for money.

Adventurers such as d'Orsay and Count Boni de Castellane, who married the wealthy daughter of the American financier Jay Gould, provide the model for the gigolo who marries rich women for their money. Often, as in the case of these two, neither the money nor the marriage lasted. Porfirio Rubirosa (1909–1965), an embassy representative from the Dominican Republic, was another of these nuptial-seeking gigolos. Rubirosa married four times for political or monetary advantage, marrying two of the richest women in the United States, Doris Duke and Barbara Hutton. His marriages did not last, but he derived from each financial benefit enough to enable him finally to marry a woman for love.

In the early twenty-first century, references are more typically made to male escorts and prostitutes than to gigolos. Gigolos still ramble the lucrative enclaves of such fashionable resorts as Palm Beach or Saint-Tropez, but escort services providing male escorts for male and female clients list ads in newspapers and on the Internet. In the United Kingdom, male escorts advertised as nonsexual still work for a nightly fee. In the United States male escort services pander to a gay male clientele, though there are web sites offering training to would-be heterosexual gigolos and heterosexual male sex workers. Many of these sex workers offer services to both sexes. Although there are many men who are kept financially by women, including unemployed husbands, boyfriends, and pimps, the gigolo retains its aura of seedy elegance.

SEE ALSO *Prostitution.*

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Judith Roof

GIRLS, CONSTRUCTION OF

Girl is a gender assigned to female children at or before birth. Though there is generally a biological basis for the assignment, children born with both male and female genitalia are usually surgically altered and, in most cases, assigned a female gender. By the age of two, most children have developed an awareness of themselves as boys or girls and understand other people—peers and adults alike—in these same terms. From early childhood on, children evince an acute awareness of the differing appearances, dress, and behaviors of boys and girls and utilize this awareness to construct their own gender identity and to police that of others. Research conducted in elementary schools has highlighted the active role that even very young children take in constituting themselves in relation to dominant frameworks of gender, power relations, and sexuality. Identification as a girl is thus a multivalent process: Female infants and children are designated and constructed as girls by family and health professionals alike, but quite quickly become active in negotiating the terms and meanings of this identity. Although the word *girl* is strongly associated with childhood and immaturity, it is commonly used—by girls and young women themselves, young men, and older adults of both sexes—to refer to women throughout their teenage years and into adulthood.

The various historical and contemporary connotations of *girl* form a nexus around issues of power, gender, and sexuality. In its earliest English usage, *girl* referred to both male and female children and youths. By the sixteenth century, its definition had narrowed to include only females, though through at least the nineteenth century, the term was commonly used to denote any unmarried woman. In spite of its association with physical immaturity, the word girl has often been and continues to be used to refer to adult women. Such usage associates the female with childhood and invokes a gendered power relationship that, in opposition, associates adulthood with the male (Renold 2005, p. 24). This power disparity manifests as well in a sexualization of female children and an infantilization of sexually mature women. Similar negotiations of power and gender can be seen in the use of the term by an older speaker to indicate a generation gap between two adult women, or in the use of *girl* by men to refer to adult females. These negotiations are overtly sexualized in the use of phrases such as "working girls" to refer to prostitutes and rendered in terms of race, class, and power in the use of "girl" to connote a maidservant or, in pre–World War II U.S. society, a black woman.

Sociological research in elementary schools in the United States, Britain, and Australia has emphasized the complexity of children's gender negotiations. As early as preschool and kindergarten, girls are more likely to engage in gender-stereotyped play, including playing house, pretend cooking, and dress-up activities; when boys and girls play together, each is likely to select and perform a role that accords with stereotypical gender norms. In their interpretations of books that actively try to subvert gender stereotypes, even very young children have been found to rely heavily on gender stereotypes. Though many have suggested that very young children's reliance on stereotyped gender roles in their own play is a reflection of the gender roles they see at home, others have noted that even children from households with a working mother or a stay-at-home father evince an awareness of and often an adherence to more stereotypical gender norms. The situation is further complicated by the correspondence between gender and maturity that many schools demonstrate: in some preschools, the term "big girl" or "big boy" is used in opposition to "babies" to identify acceptable behaviors. Kindergarten and first-grade classrooms often continue this practice, encouraging mature behavior and attitudes by attaching approving gender identities to them. Though the use of "big boy" and "big girl" disappears by the fourth grade, teachers and administrators often make reference to adult genders (such as ladies and gentlemen) to request appropriately mature behavior. The correspondence between gender, behavior, and maturity is thus set up very early for children.

In classrooms, girls are often quieter than boys, are more likely to be rewarded for being quiet, and, when bored or disengaged, tend to withdraw rather than acting out. As a result, girls demand less, and are accorded less, class time and attention than boys. As a great deal of research has identified boys' lack of motivation and interest in reading, publishers and teachers alike tend to believe that adventure stories with highly active male protagonists are the only sort that will appeal to and engage young boys. As a result, girls are more likely to be presented with stereotypical gender roles in their school-assigned reading: male protagonists who are active, independent, problem-solvers, and weak, dependent female characters. Even books with strong, independent female characters tend to present them as anomalies whose rejection of social norms is the cause of their problems. While girls have been shown to read resistantly, finding positive female role-models and points of identification in gender-stereotyped texts, their exposure to more positive female role-models in their reading has been consistently limited by the perceived needs of boys.

Though boys and girls commonly interact a great deal in neighborhood and family settings, researchers have consistently noted the degree to which they self-select into gender-specific groups in schools. This tendency to separate by gender increases with age and peaks in early adolescence. Girls construct themselves as a group based on their difference from boys, and they police their own behavior and that of others according to group definitions of what it means to be a proper girl or boy. Playground spaces likewise tend to be divided into boy and girl sections, with girls controlling much less physical space. Much definition and negotiation of gender identities occurs through the types of contact experienced between boys' and girls' groups. Girls are often excluded from boys' games (and vice versa) on the grounds that they are girls; invading the boys space and insisting on a place in a game can be a source of power for girls, but can also jeopardize their identities as girls. The more acceptance by boys that a girl experiences, the more likely she is to face others girls' opprobrium for acting too much like a boy. Girls are more likely than boys to devote time to discussing appearance and their bodies, and this too is often conducted with reference to gender expectations. Girls tend to be highly aware of the gender implications of their clothing and makeup choices, trying to adopt a look that proclaims their individuality and fashion sense, even as it walks a line between being acceptable to other girls and attractive to boys. As girls get older, this negotiation occurs more explicitly in terms of sexual attractiveness and availability; girls often use fashion as a means of exploring sexuality and femininity, but run the risk of being judged as trashy or slutty by their peers.

Many researchers have noted the degree to which gender norming among children is really a mechanism for enforcing heterosexuality. Until adolescence, girls are most likely to spend their free time in school in same-sex groups, but these groups are usually structured around interaction with boys. As early as kindergarten, children adopt a language of boyfriends and girlfriends that pairs different members of the class together. Boys and girls who spend too much time together risk teasing by their peers, but group pressure and intermediaries also often work to bring a couple together in a relationship. Interactions between boys and girls are thus fraught with a sense of heterosexual pressure, danger, and excitement: the attraction of games where boys and girls chase and kiss one another, games of contamination (such as "cooties"), and games of invasion (where girls or boys will invade each other's spaces) hinges on a sense of heterosexual interaction as risky, exciting, and promising.

Girls are particularly likely to position themselves and one another in terms of heterosexual norms. As they grow older, girls are increasingly likely to view their bodies and appearances in terms of social ideals and consider their bodies desirable only when validated by others. As they enter adolescence, much of girls' activities center on developing a femininity based in heterosexuality. Much discussion surrounds the question of which boys and girls are dating or breaking up, and significant energy is channeled to conducting and regulating relationships with boys. Girls are also more likely than boys to be positioned according to their relationships with boys, which often dictate the status and nature of their relationships with other girls. The understanding of boy-girl friendships in terms of boyfriends and girlfriends is organized and maintained almost exclusively by girls, and in many cases schools place on girls additional responsibility for regulating appropriate sexual behavior. Boys' sexuality is often constructed as a response to natural and curious urges, while responsibility for controlling and reining in these urges is placed largely on girls.

SEE ALSO *Boys, Construction of; Femme; Gender Identity.*

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Maureen Lauder

GNOSTICISM

Gnosticism takes its name from the ancient Greek word *gnosis* ("to know" in the sense of having personal acquaintance with something or someone). It is a modern academic term that is used to refer to a religious movement that consisted of Gnostic groups that date to approximately the second through the third centuries CE and were situated throughout the Roman and Iranian empires. Gnosticism was not a unified religious tradition, but the various groups were linked through a distinctive mythology.

THE INFLUENCE OF GNOSITICISM

Gnosticism has a unique position in the study of religion. Most scholars agree that there never was a Gnostic church or a clearly defined Gnostic community. Some even have argued that Gnosticism never existed as a distinct, independent religious tradition. However, the ideas, motifs, and ethics associated with Gnosticism have had a profound effect on the development of several major religious traditions. Through its interaction with traditions as diverse as Christianity in the West and Buddhism in the East, Gnosticism has influenced the understanding of a wide array of topics related to sex and gender, including body image, sexual mores, the association of women with evil, and discussions about women's involvement in religious leadership.

THE GNOSTIC MYTH AND GNOSTIC ORIGINS

The definitive Gnostic myth is a creation story that contends that the world is a tragically corrupt product of a fallen or false god and that the original, ideal creation exists before and apart from this world in a spiritual universe ruled by the true, unknown god. According to the myth, humanity belongs to the spiritual universe but has been trapped in this world and imprisoned in physical bodies by the false god. Only those who are aware of the truth of creation and its implications will be able to escape the corrupt realm.

In addition to this distinctive myth a characteristic often associated with Gnostic groups is the belief that salvation is to be found through true knowledge (*gnosis*) of the divine and of the human condition, a dualistic worldview that leads to antimaterialism and a tendency toward the ethical extremes of asceticism (total denial) and libertinism (total indulgence). These are the defining traits of Gnosticism. However, Gnostic ideas about salvation, dualism, and ethics derive from the unique Gnostic creation story, indicating the centrality of the myth to the expression of Gnostic identity.

The Gnostic myth is also the basis for the connection of Gnosticism to other religious traditions. For example, Gnosticism is paired with Judaism because the Gnostic myth includes characters and imagery usually associated with the book of Genesis from the Hebrew Bible. The Jewish creation story appears in the Gnostic myth as the negative counterpoint to the true creation, and Yahweh, the god of Judaism, is denigrated by being equated with the myth's false god. The hostile treatment of material from Genesis suggests antagonism toward Judaism, but many scholars have interpreted it as a paradoxical proof that Gnosticism originated among a rogue sect of Jews. Kurt Rudolph (1983) has suggested that Gnosticism developed within the apocalyptic Judaism of the last centuries BCE as a religion of social protest intent on challenging cultural inequities. The repudiation of the creation of the earth and the antimaterialism embraced by the Gnostics were critiques of Roman society. According to this interpretation, Gnosticism represents a radicalization of Jewish belief.

Another theory about the origins of Gnosticism maintains that the tradition is rooted in early Christian sects, specifically the sects that were labeled heresies by the emerging Christian orthodoxy. In the history of early Christianity, Gnosticism is the foil against which official

Christian doctrine and practice was defined. The major schools of Gnosticism also constituted some of the major heretical movements within early Christianity. Denouncing Gnostics and disproving their ideas provided the Church Fathers, as the early leaders of the Christian community were known, with an opportunity to formulate official, or orthodox, Christianity.

One of the first individuals to be identified as a Gnostic heretic by the Church Fathers was Marcion. Originally a second-century Christian theologian, Marcion believed that the god of Christianity was the known god of Gnosticism and that the Jewish god was a false god. He also believed that because everything in the world, including people, was created by the false god, it was all evil. Marcion rejected worldly things and vilified sexuality, claiming that evil could only reproduce evil. In opposition to Marcion, orthodox Christianity insisted that the Christian and Jewish gods were one and the same, the world was not evil, and a more moderate approach to sexuality should be adopted. Although Marcion eventually was excommunicated, he and his followers, the Marcionites, established their own church in Armenia, which would continue to influence Christianity and other religions well into the medieval period.

Another figure who played a major role in the Gnostic heresies in the early Christian period was Valentinus, a Christian theologian from Alexandria, Egypt, who established a popular philosophical school for Christianity in the middle of the second century CE. Influenced by the Gnostic myth, Valentinus believed that the original spiritual universe of the unknown god, also known as the *pleroma*, was composed entirely of dynamic pairings of masculine and feminine principles. This cosmic ideal was lost when Sophia, one of the spiritual beings, tried to create without her masculine counterpart and produced the false (Jewish) god. The salvation of humanity relies on returning to the cosmic ideal of an androgynous masculine-feminine unity. To that end Valentinus advocated sex and marriage for the enlightened—those capable of knowing the truth of Christianity—but forbade it to those who were too materialistic to grasp the cosmic ideal. Despite Valentinus's Gnostic tendencies and excommunication for heresy, the Valentinian practice of using allegory to explain Christianity became a standard feature of Christian theology.

In the Iranian Empire the Mandaeans, an ethnic and religious community of unclear origins that made its home in the Persian Gulf, incorporated elements of Gnostic mythology—dualism and the notion of a fallen god—into their religious literature. More significantly, Mani, the founder of a religious movement known as the Manichaeans, seems to have shaped his worldview and ethics around the Gnostic myth. Manichaeism sees the world as an impure mixture of the spiritual (good) and the material (evil) created by a fallen god through a bizarre combination of sexual lust and cannibalism. The task of humankind is to help the true god defeat the fallen god by undoing the mixture of the spiritual with the material. These beliefs caused the Manichaeans to practice a strict asceticism that prohibited all forms of sexual activity, killing, and the eating of meat. Manichaeism flourished in the Persian Empire and parts of the Roman Empire during the late third century CE. Eventually it spread eastward throughout central Eurasia all the way to China, where Gnosticism and Manichaean ideas mingled and may have had an effect on Chinese Buddhism. Traces of Manichaean Gnosticism can be found in certain Buddhist sutras.

LATER INFLUENCE

Gnosticism ceased to exist as a religious movement by the fourth or fifth century CE, but Gnostic ideas have reemerged regularly to influence other religious traditions. For example, in Europe during the Middle Ages fringe Christian sects such as the Bogomils and the Cathars professed a strongly Gnostic dualism. It is believed that those groups were influenced by remnants of the Marcionites and other Gnostic communities that took refuge in Armenia during the fifth century CE. Medieval Jewish Kabbalah also is thought to have incorporated Gnostic ideas about the various dual manifestations of the divine through contact with the Marcionites and Manichaeans. Some scholars have suggested that exposure to Gnostic ideas about salvation may have helped shape the Shi'i Islamic notion of the hidden imam.

In the modern period Gnosticism has been affiliated with literary romanticism. The romantic mythology of humanity in need of salvation from a tyrannical god has some similarities to the Gnostic myth, but romanticism lacks the notion of a higher unknown god, suggesting that it is not Gnosticism in the classical sense.

RECENT DISCOVERIES

The most recent development in Gnostic studies was the 1945 discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codex in a cave in Egypt. That codex is a collection of writings dating to the first few centuries CE, many but not all of which have a Gnostic tone. Many of the works found in the Nag Hammadi previously had been known only in fragmentary form or in references from other texts. The writings include literature, poetry, mythology, and philosophical and theological tractates. They share a literary heritage with the New Testament, and this has led to the designation of the Nag Hammadi texts as the Gnostic gospels or scripture. The discovery of those texts has had a strong influence on the study of early Christianity, giving rise to speculations about alternative forms of early Christianity that harbored unorthodox attitudes about the position of women and sex or sexual behavior.

SEE ALSO *Adam and Eve.*

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Jennifer Hart

GODDESS WORSHIP

Worship of goddesses is a global phenomenon, from its beginnings in the prehistoric era up until the present day. Archaeological remains from Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic cultures suggest that goddesses were frequently worshipped at important stages of the life cycle; figurines from the Neolithic Anatolian site of Çatalhüyük depict a goddess in the three forms of a young woman, a mother giving birth, and an old woman. Other images point to a human relationship with nature, including animals and agriculture. Ancient artifacts and texts from Greece and Rome, the Near East, India, and China and Japan demonstrate that goddess worship played a central role in the development of civilizational aspects, including agriculture, regulation of fertility and procreation, protection and defense, civic identity, and spiritual and artistic expression. There is evidence that goddess worship has had a continuous presence in Asian cultures as well as in the traditions of indigenous peoples from Sub-Saharan Africa and those of Native Americans across the Americas. In contrast, goddess worship appears to have been interrupted in cultures that came to promote a single male deity; contemporary goddess worshippers in these cultures view their spiritual practices as both recovery and innovation.

In cultures in which goddess worship is part of the social fabric, such as archaic Western traditions and traditions of Asia and indigenous peoples, goddesses have public status and significance and they are worshipped by both men and women. For example, the goddess Inanna (associated with Ishtar and Astarte) of the ancient Near East (c. 3500 BCE) was the subject of elaborate genealogical mythologies and numerous large temples. She was celebrated as a queen and a patroness of the people who allocated resources, such as the fruits of nature's fertility, to them. Medieval (c. 1100 CE) legends of the bodhisattva ("being of light"; one who saves others) Kuan Yin (or Kannon or Guanyin) in East Asian Buddhism present her as an enlightened being who, as the embodiment of merciful compassion, comes to assist all those who may call on her. These legends explicitly state that gender is no obstacle to enlightenment. Kuan Yin is widely worshipped in customary Buddhist ways, such as offering pure vegetarian food and the recitation of sacred texts, especially the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, which is dedicated to her; she is also associated with divination practices. Many of the Sub-Saharan African traditions have a figure of the Grandmother at the top of their pantheon of revered ancestral spirits. The Grandmother is a caretaker for the entire community and a personal guide for each community member.

Traditions that celebrate goddesses offer opportunities for women to assume publicly constituted active religious leadership, such as the role of priestess. Generally, priestesses have a mystically inflected liturgical function. For example, in ancient Greek tradition the Pythia, or priestess, presided over the Delphic Oracle (c. eighth century BCE –393 CE). The Pythia was responsible for communicating prophecies from Apollo, and the Oracle was consulted on all significant civic occasions. Some priestesses were also associated with the arts and letters, Sappho (fl. c. 610–580 BCE), the poet of love, desire, and beauty who was a priestess of Aphrodite; and Diotima of Mantinea (fl. c. 400 BCE), the priestess who through reason taught Socrates a theory of love. The foundational text of Japanese Shinto, the *Kojiki* (c. 712 CE), describes priestesses of the sun goddess Amaterasu-ō-mi-kami; from this precedent, priestesses became an established part of the extensive retinue entrusted with making material offerings and prayers to the *kami* (deities).

Ethnographic studies provide further detail on the practices of goddess worship. For example, Hinduism in India has traditions of worshipping the independent Great Goddess (Durgā) that are grounded in tenth-century texts in praise of the Goddess. One of the most popular celebrations is the yearly Bengali Durgā Pūjā. The pūjā style of worship invokes the presence of the deity into a visible image, who is then treated as an honored guest through offerings of food and praise. The images can be iconic, such as the weapon-bearing Goddess riding on a tiger, or aniconic, such as an earthen pot. Male priests, who perform elaborate rituals to purify themselves in preparation, carry out the liturgical functions, including the invocation, material offerings, and prayer. The prayers celebrate the Goddess's generative forces (*shakti*, or sacred creative power), her power to destroy evil, her protection of humankind,

King Aigius Consulting the Pythia at Delphi. © BETTMANN/ CORBIS.

and her ability to bring social and spiritual peace to her devotees.

Women participate actively in the Durgā Pūjā; their activities are directly tied to their life cycle and marital status. Virgin girls are worshipped during the festival (*Kumārī Pūjā*) as the Goddess's creative potential; they are considered a form of the Goddess, and they are entitled to prepare uncooked food for the Goddess. Unmarried postmenarchal women, whose creative power is not yet channeled and who thus are perceived as liminal in status, may not prepare or touch any food offerings. Married women are the organizational mainstay of ritual support and are also considered a form of the Goddess. They may prepare uncooked food for the Goddess and cooked food for festival offerings to other deities; postmenopausal married women may continue this participation. Generally, widows may not touch or prepare any food offerings. There is an exception, however, for initiated widows, as initiated married women and widows are entrusted with preparing the cooked food for the Goddess. Thus, initiated women have the highest status in the ritual idiom; for the uninitiated, their life cycle and social identities determine their ritual status.

Contemporary goddess worshippers in Europe and North America have sought to foreground and revalorize the identity of women at various stages of the life cycle, innovatively building on traditional formulations. For example, Goddess feminists sacralize female biology by imagining the changing body of the Triple Goddess as Maiden, Mother, and Crone; each phase is like the waxing and waning of the moon in a dynamic, cyclical relation to the other phases. Moreover, these phases describe women's creative potential and its actualization, so that women may experience any aspect of the Goddess at any stage of their biological cycle.

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Karen Pechilis

GODDESSES, EARTH

Earth goddesses have powers that range from foundational participation in cosmogonic processes of creation to sovereignty over specific aspects of nature, especially processes of cultivation. It is a widespread tendency to connect goddesses of any type with themes of motherhood; this association is particularly pronounced with earth goddesses because of the primacy of fertility motifs in their constitutive powers.

Sam D. Gill sounded a cautionary note regarding the study of earth goddesses in his 1987 landmark study of the concept of Mother Earth and its relationship to Native American religious cultures. He argued that "Mother Earth" was a construct born from the cultural contact among Europeans, Euro-Americans, and Native Americans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, the concept was not ancient, and in fact served to obscure the diversity of and complex interrelationships among Native American traditions.

Ancient goddesses who are specifically associated with the earth include the Sumerian goddess Ki (also called Ninhursag), the Norse goddess Jord, and the Vedic goddess Prithvi of India. Their stories have as a common theme the association of the goddess with the earth as distinct from a god associated with the sky, with whom she is nevertheless related by kinship, as a sibling, or by marriage. In these types of myths, the separation of the earth and the sky is a primal cosmogonic act.

Demeter. *Goddess Demeter appears with two Putti in this seventeenth-century painting.* GETTY IMAGES.

Ancient Greek mythology seems to support a widespread scholarly theory that cosmologically inclined earth goddesses were displaced by goddesses of cultivation. For example, the goddess Gaea, whose name means "earth," was celebrated as a cosmogonic force: She parthenogenetically (without male intervention) created the sea and the sky, and it was through her daughter Rhea that the gods and goddesses originated. Other goddesses, including Demeter/Ceres, became more popular in classical literature. Demeter was endowed with bringing forth the fruits of the earth, especially grains. She taught humankind sowing and plowing and thus was the patron of cultivation and settled culture. Greek mythology also describes numerous nature goddesses, including Maia, goddess of the mountains and fields, and Artemis, goddess of the hunt and forest.

Earth goddesses can also accrue a variety of powers, rather than delegate them. For example, the powers of the Aztec (or Nahua or Mexica) goddess Cihuacoatl (whose name means "snake woman") were differently imagined over the centuries, from preconquest imagery to roles developed during the sixteenth-century contact with Europeans that have remained influential to the present. She had both universal and particular powers that had to do with the earth and yet expanded beyond it, so that as Kay A. Read (2001) notes she cannot be subsumed under the "Euro-American stereotype" of "Great Earth Mother." As envisioned in the earliest stratum of beliefs, Cihuacoatl was a matron who formed humankind out of the ground bones of a man and a woman just as a woman makes tortillas from ground maize. She also offered assistance to women in childbirth on the "battlefield" of parturition and, analogously, offered support to men on the battlefield of war. Her powers to enact creation were complemented by her powers to destroy; for example, one story relates that the goddess warned all in the marketplace that she would leave the Mexica soon and that impending doom would follow. At the time of conquest, Cihuacoatl assumed new forms appropriate to an honored yet defeated warrior; for example, she was associated with a government office that counseled the city on war and political strategy, which drew on her traditional powers but did not accord her the leadership position.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, earth goddesses, especially Gaea, have received renewed global attention in the context of neopagan and ecological movements. Many neopagans and Goddess feminists view the earth as sacred, with the encompassing power of the divine intimately connected to the earth. Rituals are performed in honor of the earth's processes, including solstice and equinox celebrations. Many people in ecological movements suggest that the impact of scientific analysis could be enhanced if it could be related to traditional cultural ideas of honoring the earth. Ecofeminists, for example, are concerned with recovering approaches toward a sustainable ecology from traditional religions, often at variance with mainstream interpretations and practices. A case in point is Vijaya Rettakudi Nagarajan's 2001 work on the *kolam* ritual in south India. While mainstream interpretations view Hindu Indian women's honoring of the earth goddess Bhudevi through ritual rice flour drawings (*kolam*) as an embedded ecology that promotes conservation-oriented religious practice, the traditional ethos is really one of "intermittent sacrality," in which the earth is honored for the given time of the ritual in the context of expected future transgressions.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Goddesses, Mother.*

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Karen Pechilis

GODDESSES, MOTHER

The *Mother Goddess* designation has both specificity and great elasticity. The specific set of characteristics to which it refers centers on earthly cycles and the biological processes of fertility, birth, and death. More generally construed, many goddesses who do not appear to exhibit such characteristics are considered *mother*; for example, the Hindu goddess Kali, who is described in classical mythology as forceful and fearsome, is called Mother in devotional prayers. Given the pervasive link between goddess and mother in many genres of descriptive literature, at this juncture a more compelling question may be whether or not there are any goddesses who are *not* linked with motherly attributes either in textual descriptions or in the minds of their devotees. Until this kind of study is undertaken, it seems advisable to attempt some classificatory distinctions among the connections between goddess and mother; for example, whether the connection is organic and physical or metaphoric and metaphysical, or perhaps both. All of the images of mother goddesses are, of course, symbolically rendered.

Examples of the organic and physical representation of mother goddesses are prehistoric figurines, such as those found across Europe from the Paleolithic Era, that emphasize the female breasts, bellies, buttocks, thighs, and pubic triangles. There has been much discussion over the significance of these images, which lack a clear context. Feminist authors and scholars have suggested that these images bear silent witness to an original matriarchy that existed before historical patriarchy was established. Other feminist scholars in recent times have questioned the historicity of such a perspective, and suggested instead that the idea of an original matriarchy may serve as an inspirational charter myth for modern goddess worshippers.

A related though much more recent example is terra cotta and stone images of Lajja Gauri that were made in central India from the second to the tenth centuries CE. There is an interesting evolution of this goddess through four forms. All of the forms share a prominent pubic triangle framed by legs positioned as though squatting. The earliest is a headless figure with a torso made of a brimming cooking pot bearing a lotus, a traditional symbol of fertile abundance; the second form has a human torso with female breasts but no arms and a lotus flower as the head; the third form is the same as the second with the inclusion of human arms bearing lotus buds; and the fourth is totally anthropomorphic. The changes in form could describe the trajectory of this mother goddess from village worship to imperially-patronized temple, lending support to the idea that images of organic mother goddesses were changed to normative standards of representation when brought into mainstream (patriarchal) worship.

Many goddesses are explicitly associated with the earth, with their powers primarily, though not exclusively, associated with fertility. For example, Demeter (Greece) is an agricultural goddess, as is the Corn Goddess (Hopi and Iroquois). Meanings of fertility could be expanded beyond agriculture, as with Gaia (Greece) and Ishtar (Babylonia), goddesses involved in cosmic creation. Fertility could also metaphorically suggest kinship or community, such as images of the Grandmother in traditional African religions and in Native American traditions, and Cybele, the Anatolian goddess worshipped in Rome as Magna Mater. Community identity also explains many of the goddesses' associations with war. Conversely, goddesses who were not originally connected with the earth could be brought into the orbit of fertility; for example, Isis (Egypt) was originally a royal goddess of wisdom who became known as a beneficial goddess of nature, and Hathor (Egypt) was a sky goddess who took on powers of fertility as a cow goddess and a tree goddess.

In the classical or classically inspired images of goddesses there is an incompatibility between metaphysical universal power and the bearing of children. Revealingly, many of the Greek goddesses associated with nature and nurture, including Artemis, Athena, and Hestia, are not represented as bearing children. The Christian Virgin Mary had a unique experience. The Great Goddess Devi in Hinduism is the Universal Mother of all, so that all members of humankind are understood to be her children. She is the supreme deity and is the subject of a complicated mythology and philosophy. It is also notable that twentieth-century Hindu female gurus, such as the internationally renowned Anandamayi Ma, tend not to have children but are known as Mother (Ma). Many contemporary goddess worshippers address this gap by asserting that the Mother Goddess is both universally powerful and present in all physical processes, including childbirth, which they celebrate in ritual practices. Motherhood in its range of meanings from fertility to creativity is celebrated in the feminist Triple Goddess of Maiden, Mother, and Crone.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Goddesses, Earth.*

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GOLDEN SHOWERS

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

GONORRHEA

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

GOUGES, OLYMPE DE
1748–1793

In one of her most famous passages, Olympe de Gouges declared that "Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum." (Landes 1988, p. 126). The French feminist pushed her way to the rostrum of pubic visibility; she ended on the scaffold, under the blade of the revolutionary guillotine.

Born as Marie Gouze, the legally recognized child of a bourgeois couple in the southern French town of Montauban, the future Olympe believed (as did others) that her true father was a minor nobleman. The young woman took from this a sense of entitlement to escape the traditional life of a provincial bourgeoisie. Married against her wishes in 1765 she effectively liberated herself after the death of her husband and took the name Olympe de Gouges.

Olympe de Gouges. KEAN COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES.

De Gouges moved to Paris where she cohabited with a well-off entrepreneur who supported her literary and social ambitions. De Gouges wrote numerous plays (some were performed) and received invitations to the most forward-looking salons.

An ardent supporter of the Revolution (which began in 1789), Citizen de Gouges remained a defender of the constitutional monarchy that was officially established in 1791. Her moderate royalist predilections seemed even to survive the unpopularity of the monarchs. De Gouges publicly offered to defend the King Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792) in his trial for treason; and her most famous treatise on women's rights was dedicated to Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) after the queen's disgrace (though before her trial and execution).

In the politics of the Revolution de Gouges worked most closely with the moderate Republicans of the Girondist movement. The more radical Jacobins were less sympathetic to women's rights and the whole symbolic world of the feminine and were not above making misogynist attacks in their polemics against the Girondists and other opponents. In July 1793, as civil war threatened to combine with foreign conflict, de Gouges publicly proposed that each French department have the right to choose its own form of government. The ruling Jacobins had recently made the unity and indivisibility of the Republic a law and any challenge to it a capital crime. Denounced almost immediately de Gouges was tried, convicted, and guillotined in November, taking her place among a growing number of Girondist and royalist victims of the Jacobin Terror.

Though she wrote plays as a means of popular political education, de Gouges's most famous work is her 1791 *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* [Declaration of the rights of woman and the female citizen] (2003), a clear reply to the French Revolution's famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen." As did her contemporary, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), de Gouges sought to extend the notion of the equality of man to women and use the universality of reason as its chief justification. The constitutional monarchy of 1791 divided French people on the basis of property between active and passive citizens and then relegated all women to the status of passive citizens. The more radical Republican constitution of 1792 only exacerbated this difference by giving political rights to all men (but only to them). Complicating the problems for women's rights advocates was the reputation of the Old Regime as a government of women, through the (much exaggerated) influence of mistresses and of *salonnières*.

De Gouges called for full political equality for women (who would have their own co-equal national assembly), equality in marriage and divorce, and the right of women to publicly name the fathers of their children. Deceiving men could also be compelled to compensate the women they had exploited, as well as support their offspring. As with other radicals of the age, de Gouges firmly condemned African slavery and any form of racial discrimination, linking this cause with that of women, who were also victims of a form of commerce.

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Allen Douglas

GRECO-ROMAN ART

The premium placed on the classical body in the European tradition makes the art of ancient Greece and Rome a crucial factor in explorations of the ways in which gendered bodies and sexual difference are conceived of and communicated visually. Whether active and muscle bound or soft and sinewy, the male bodies in post-Renaissance art and the masculinities that they express pulsate with antique energy. The female nude also is traditionally thought to have been invented by an ancient sculptor, Praxiteles (active c. 375–330 BCE), whose *Aphrodite of Knidos* is said to have inspired such devotion in its male viewer that it seduced him into having sex with the marble sculpture. This apocryphal story helps explain why the erotic attraction of that statue helped shape the female form as a male aesthetic ideal.

CRITICAL REACTIONS TO ANCIENT ART

In applying feminist and postfeminist theories to the art of Greece and Rome and to its reception, popular and scholarly literature is interrogating exactly how those bodies have worked as objects of empathy and desire for modern people, for the ancients, and for individuals as varied as the photographer Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989), the writer Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), and the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768). It is also looking beyond the classical ideal to examine Greco-Roman representations whose power lies in challenging convention, including depictions of drunken old women, hermaphrodites, dwarves, and black Africans. This scholarship has highlighted differences and similarities between modern bodies and ancient ones and has accessed differing sexual cultures and constructions of identity.

In the three-part *History of Sexuality* (1985–1986), which was published in French between 1976 and 1984, philosopher and historian Michel Foucault elucidated the ways in which the Greeks and Romans regulated and constructed their sexualities, emphasizing the gulf between ancient and modern perceptions. Foucault's evidence was mainly literary and highly selective, but the force of his conclusions was far reaching. Homosexuality did not exist in ancient Greece. The sex of one's partner was far less relevant in shaping one's identity than it is in the early twenty-first century. In Foucault's description of Rome there is a move away from male–male desire as the dominant discourse and toward the privileging of the marital relationship. However, it is the issue of control of the self that is tantamount: whether one is the giver or the recipient of pleasure.

There is much in the visual record of ancient Greece and Rome that fits Foucault's conclusions. Images of sexual intercourse that seem both graphic and pornographic to the modern viewer are common on Greek and Roman drinking vessels and on wall paintings in houses and baths in Rome and the Vesuvian area as well as in other media. The fact that representations of the phallus were displayed publicly throughout the Greek and Roman world and that boundary stones often were made in that shape strengthens the notion that people in antiquity had a very different attitude toward the display of the erect penis. At the beginning of the nineteenth century any of those artifacts that were not destroyed were locked away, for example, in the Secret Cabinet of the Archaeological Museum in Naples. A timed ticket lets visitors in, giving them a glimpse of the strangeness of its contents.

ANCIENT GREECE

In Greece the most salient icon is the image of the beautiful young boy. From the freestanding marble *kouroi* (youths) of the 650s to 500 BCE and the athletic cavalrymen on the frieze of the Parthenon in Athens (440s BCE), to the slimmer curves of Praxiteles's male bodies, to the more muscular figures made during and after the rule of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), shifting concepts of the ideal, youthful, beardless male form served to preserve that image as something to be admired and interrogated. Pots from the late archaic and early classical period (550–470 BCE) have painted scenes showing sexual encounters between men and boys. Extrapolating from those images it is a logical step for viewers of an impassive *kouros* statue or the boys on the Parthenon to imagine themselves in the active role or to map their own vulnerability onto those impersonal contours. Those imaginings bring modern people closer to what it must have meant to be a man in antiquity.

The visual record also illuminates an area that Foucault neglected: women. Pots and fourth-century Attic gravestones in particular provide a window into ancient women's otherwise poorly documented lives and into markers of status such as dress and adornment. Whereas much of the power of the *kouroi* stems from their nudity, their female equivalents, the freestanding *korai* of the same period, wear elaborate jewels and ornate dresses. In grave markers the deceased females often are shown putting on their jewelry. The point seems to be that an ancient Greek woman is only as good as her beauty. On pots, wives are shown spinning or weaving, rarely escaping the constraints of the household except to participate in a funerary ritual or fetch water from the fountain, while their men recline at the drinking party, or symposium, attended by naked boy servants, scantily clad female musicians, and courtesans, or *hetairai*.

Rather than see those respectable and less respectable categories as separate, the viewer often is prompted to blur them: For example, a drinking cup may show a symposium or a scene of wild, drunken maenads on the outside and, once the wine has been drunk, display a modestly dressed woman in the interior. The ambiguities of that juxtaposition counter the idea that all Greek women did was sit in the house and sew by revealing that both versions are shaped by male fantasy.

ANCIENT ROME

The Roman conquest of Greece brought the Romans into a complex relationship with Greek artistic production. The Etruscans, who had dominated central Italy until the expansion of Rome in the fourth century BCE, coveted Greek pots and adapted their symposium motifs for funerary contexts. Wives rather than *hetairai* were now shown reclining next to the men. In the Roman republic the visual vocabulary of the conquered gave Roman generals the material for experimentation with new ways of expressing their masculinity and weighing their worth against that of their peers. Those statues often are considered by modern scholars to be only partly successful in their combination of a recognizably Roman head with a generic Greek torso. However, what works for a model such as the Farnese *Hercules* sculpture, first conceived by Alexander's court artist Lysippus (c. 370–310 BCE), works differently in a new context. Also, the Lysippan *Hercules* was made for the Baths of Caracalla and is as Roman as any statue of a general. If they are classified as Greek at all, those bodies were unlikely to have been dismissed as vain appropriations. They underline the fact that style was more than a by-product of an object, serving instead as a powerful vehicle.

Roman attitudes to relationships and the body were different from those of the Greeks. For example, sex between adolescent and mature males, which had been viewed as something of a rite of passage in classical Athens, was condemned as unlawful. To be seen as Greek was to run the risk of being judged overly luxuriant, effeminate, and un-Roman. When Octavian (63 BCE–14 CE) became the sole ruler and assumed the name Augustus, his statues and those of his wife, Livia, blended young classical male and Aphrodite prototypes with what traditionally were viewed as more modest Roman poses (e.g., the veiling of the head) that were intended to curtail sexual activity. Any Greekness in those statues raised them above the sea of senatorial families and made them seem superhuman. Augustus lived past the age of seventy but always was depicted as youthful. Whether he was emulated or adored, eroticism was part of the charisma.

Gardens, villas, and baths gave Romans room to relax and to experiment with a wide range of identities. The images of sexual intercourse described above shared the space with sensuous sculptures of hermaphrodites who lie languidly with their genitalia semiexposed or play fight with a Pan or satyr, as well as with mosaics depicting frequently hypersexual black Africans and hunchbacks.

Although the blackness of the Africans works as a distancing device, separating them from the ideal body type, as the hump does with hunchbacks, it is not imbued with abusive discrimination. Perhaps those images fulfilled an apotropaic function, protecting viewers from the evil eye. They were also images whose very difference forced viewers to confront their own bodies. They enabled viewers to indulge their fantasies in the exotic and examine the controls governing normative practice.

In light of the changing attitudes toward the body and the increased value placed on chastity that the spread of Christianity brought with it, one of the ways in which early Christian writers defined their religion in opposition competing cults was to condemn the indecency of pagan imagery. According to the bishop Eusebius (c. 283–371 CE), the emperor Constantine (c. 272–337 CE), after making Christianity the state religion, destroyed statues of Roman gods as stories of their sexual misdemeanors fueled the charge of idolatry. In reality, far from destroying them, he sent them to his new capital of Constantinople, realizing the power of continuity.

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Caroline Vout

GREECE

SEE *Ancient Greece.*

G-SPOT

The G-spot, or Gräfenberg spot, is an area on the front wall of the vagina. Located from 2.5 to 5 centimeters inside the vagina, the G-spot, or G-crest, is a highly sensitive area that, when stimulated, produces sexual pleasure. The G-spot on the vagina is not actually a part of the vagina at all, but the place on the vagina through which an area of tissue that surrounds the urethra can be felt. This is why simply touching the vagina will not necessarily produce a response; the G-spot is stimulated by pressure applied through the vaginal wall. The area of the G-spot is about the size of a pea, but when stimulated may enlarge to the size of a walnut. The texture of the G-spot area is not as smooth as other areas in the vagina, often having a corrugated texture. Stimulating the tissue may first cause a woman to feel that she needs to urinate, though continued pressure produces pleasure and may also contribute to the expulsion of a fluid called *female ejaculate*. The more sexually aroused a woman is, the more likely she is to feel and respond to stimulation of the G-spot. The G-spot may be located in slightly different places in different women.

Although ancient cultures seem to have known about the effects of G-spot stimulation, especially when documents mention several different kinds of fluid—the red and the white—that come from women, the G-spot was brought back to the attention of sexologists by the German gynecologist Ernst Gräfenburg, for whom the area is named. In a 1950 article, Gräfenburg discussed the region as a place where stimulation produced intense orgasms and occasionally the ejaculation of a substance that was not urine. Gräfenburg's rediscovery of the spot had little effect on contemporaneous notions of female sexual capacity, especially in light of William Masters and Virginia Johnson's later findings that attributed female orgasms exclusively to the clitoris. In addition, feminist theorists suspected that claiming a vaginal site for intense sexual response was a way to force attention to the vagina as a phallic complement instead of attending to the erotic responses of women that were focused in the clitoris.

In 1978 John D. Perry and Beverly Whipple published an extensive study of the G-spot and the responses it produces. Whipple has noted that clinical uncertainty about the G-spot stemmed from the fact that physicians rarely encountered the G-spot in regular pelvic examinations because it is not located in an area normally examined or palpated. In addition, physicians are trained not to provoke a sexual response in their patients, and stimulating the G-spot produces such a response. Difficulties in locating the G-spot have also perpetuated its mystery.

One confusion about the G-spot is that it is the same as an area recently identified as the female prostate in the twentieth century, an area first discovered in 1672 by the Dutch anatomist Reinier de Graaf and only recently added to official anatomical terminology. Usually thought of as unimportant and inoperative or vestigial, the female prostate is located in the same general area as the G-spot, but is not the same tissue. The female prostate produces serotonin, and its fluids constitute a part of the liquid that comprises female ejaculate.

SEE ALSO *Genitals, Female; Orgasm.*

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Judith Roof

GTS (GIANTESS)

SEE *Dwarves and Giants.*

GUERILLA GIRLS

SEE *Artists, Women.*

GUGUM

SEE *Prostitution.*

GUILT

Guilt is considered to be an emotion secondary to doing what is perceived as wrong. Because it is a painful emotion, people try to act in a fashion to avoid guilt feelings. Guilt is classified as a negative emotion as opposed to positive emotions such as joy and happiness. Once a person experiences guilt from some perceived wrongdoing, there is usually an attempt to reduce this negative emotional state. Sexuality has been linked to guilt through the association of certain behaviors as evil or sinful. The prohibitions range from the universal taboo of incest to condemnation of masturbation, premarital or extramarital affairs, and sexual fantasies.

Throughout history cultures have institutionalized a number of methods to help individuals relieve guilt. Ancient cultures proscribed animal sacrifices or offerings of material resources. Over the course of time various forms of penitent behavior, including confession of one's sins, were developed by religious institutions to alleviate the emotion of guilt. In order to remove the guilt, individuals were asked by societies and religious institutions to complete good deeds, apologize, and endure a punishment or a penance for their sins and wrongdoings. Compliance to confess one's wrongdoings and make up for the transgressions reflected the need to remove the negative emotion of private guilt and restore self-esteem and a positive public image.

SEX GUILT

In the 1960s, Donald Mosher developed the concept of sex guilt to signify the negative emotion associated with sexual arousal. Sex guilt is defined as the expectation that a person will feel guilty if a standard of proper sexual conduct is violated. The concept was devised with the notion that individuals who were punished in their childhood for interest in sexual matters or showed any behaviors that were interpreted as sexual would show significant sex guilt as adolescents and adults. Verbal admonishments or physical punishments would eventually lead to the child internalizing the message that sex is bad, dirty, or sinful. Consequently, those individuals showing curiosity, interest, or sexual arousal as an adult would have an increased likelihood of experiencing the negative emotion of sex guilt. Mosher has found that high levels of sex guilt among adults have been linked to an avoidance of sexual activities. Dennis Cannon found that females in general showed higher sex guilt than males and that this outcome was probably related to a societal tendency for parents to be more restrictive and critical of sexual matters with daughters than sons. Cannon also categorized people with sex guilt as: being devout in religious beliefs; subscribing to a higher authority; using denial to handle sexual feelings; accepting few variations in sexual behavior; following traditional gender roles; and being offended by explicit sexual material.

DEVELOPMENT OF GUILT

The interaction of guilt and sexuality was formally proposed in the theory of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939). He identified the libido as the force of the sexual instinct and included both the physiological foundations of the drive state and mental representations of sexuality. At birth, the child functions under the pleasure principle, which is defined as the innate tendency to seek pleasure and avoid pain. As a child observes or is taught that one must delay gratification or postpone pleasure, the reality principle takes over.

In Freud's theory, beginning in infancy children are influenced by the sex drive and are capable of erotic activity. The focus of the erotic activity follows a developmental pattern that moves from the oral zone to the anal zone and then to the phallic or urethral zone. In the oral stage of development from birth to eighteen months, the infant's libidinal energy has a focus on the mouth and is expressed in sucking, chewing, and biting. The libidinal energy then switches focus in the anal stage from eighteen to thirty-six months of age. Elimination and bowel control are the focus of libidinal pleasure. Next, the phallic or urethral stage takes place from three to five years of age. Erotic activity is focused on urination, the penis, vagina, and clitoris. It is during this stage that the Oedipal complex emerges, which signals the development of sexual interests toward the parent of the opposite sex and subsequent feelings of aggression and jealousy toward the same-sex parent. It is also at this time that the superego or conscience emerges as the child internalizes parental values and standards. The child now is expected to act on the reality principle and give up the Oedipal fantasies. The superego acts as a censor of behaviors, thoughts and fantasies, and elicits anxiety and guilt over sexual matters.

The psychosocial theory of Erik Erikson (1902–1994) reduced the importance of the libido in development and focused on the social interactions experienced by a child. His stage theory is based upon the epigenetic principle, which means the development unfolds in a sequential and orderly fashion. For Erikson, the relationship between guilt and sexuality occurs during the third stage of development between the ages of three to five years. At that time the child must resolve the conflict between initiative and guilt. During this time of their lives, children show curiosity, competitiveness, aggressiveness, and genital preoccupations. The child seeks favored status with the opposite sex parent and develops fantasized possession of that parent. This possessiveness inevitably fails and the child feels guilt and anxiety. Now the child must learn to begin to look outside of the family structure for accomplishments. The child now forms a conscience or foundation for a moral perspective that serves as a guide. If a child is severely punished at this stage for the curiosity, competitiveness, and possessiveness, the formation of initiative is inhibited and guilt becomes the central feature of the child's emotional development. Independent expression of sexuality can then elicit feelings of guilt.

DEVELOPMENT OF GUILT AND SELF-REGULATION

According to developmental psychologist Suzanne Denham, guilt develops in a child during the middle childhood period between the ages of six to nine years. The child gradually gains an appreciation of the role of personal responsibility in one's actions. The socialization process takes place as children learn through instruction, observing the actions of others, the value systems of their parents, as well as from institutions and society.

Self-regulation or the capacity to control one's actions without outside influence is a goal of socialization. The child who has been socialized monitors personal actions based upon standards that have been internalized into a conscience or ethical philosophy. In relation to sexuality, a child learns certain moral standards that help to inhibit or direct instinctual urges. As the child grows and faces temptations to act upon sexual urges, self-regulation permits the child to follow moral rules. Violation of the moral codes induces guilt and the subsequent desire to remove the negative emotional state.

In developing the codes of morality, children proceed through several phases. Between the 1980s and early 2000s, Claire Kopp identified the phases beginning with what she termed the control phase at twelve to eighteen months in which the child relies on the cues of others to indicate acceptable behaviors. The self-control phase from around eighteen months to four years of age is indicated through an ability to comply with the expectations of others during their absence. The self-regulation phase begins around four to five years of age and is marked by the capacity to use strategies and plans to direct behavior and delay gratification.

Delay of gratification is particularly important in the control of sexual urges as it permits an individual to defer sexual satisfaction or avoid sexual arousal. Guilt or the anticipation of guilt serves as a deterrent to engage in sexual behaviors or expose oneself to sexually explicit materials when they are perceived to be a violation of a moral code. Styles of parenting influence the development of guilt. Physical punishment or power assertive discipline used by caretakers leads to a low level of guilt. These children do not develop strong internal controls for their sexual urges and try to avoid being caught for any misdeeds.

GUILT AND CHANGING ATTITUDES

The National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLS) of the early 1900s found that Americans could be grouped into three distinct moral perspectives. Approximately a quarter of the population viewed sex in the recreational sense and experience little or no guilt over sexual actions. Nearly a third of the people followed a traditional moral perspective, which emphasized sexual expression within a marriage. Guilt emerged for these individuals if they engaged in extramarital relations or nontraditional sexual behaviors. The remaining members of the American society subscribed to a relational moral perspective. This perspective permited a wider range of sexuality as long as it is contained within a relationship that is longstanding and committed. This group would experience guilt when engaging in recreational or casual forms of sexuality.

The NHSLS found membership in each moral perspective was somewhat related to certain demographic characteristics. Females were more likely to be relational than males, and older individuals were most apt to be traditional in moral perspective. Increasing education levels was associated with the recreational perspective. Members of most mainstream religious affiliations adhered to a relational perspective, whereas conservative Protestants and Baptists favored a traditional perspective.

The attitudes toward sexuality and consequently the experience of guilt in the American society have been changing significantly since the early 1970s. The General Social Survey has found a steady decline in the percentage of the population who believe that sex before marriage is wrong; extramarital sex, by contrast, continues to be seen in the negative. Attitudes about sexuality in the United States and other countries were surveyed by the Gallup Organization in 1997. Moral standards varied significantly around the globe with such countries as India, Singapore, and Taiwan showing the most restrictive attitudes of the countries surveyed. Iceland, France, Germany reported the most recreational attitudes about sexuality. The secularization of Western Europe has been seen as a significant factor in the development of recreational attitudes concerning sexuality. The moral perspectives of these secular societies have limited internalized prohibitions toward sexual behavior and consequently limited the expression of sex guilt.

SEE ALSO *Honor and Shame; Penance.*

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Frank Prerost

GYNAECEUM

The portion of an ancient Greek home designated as women's quarters was called the *gynaeceum* (a term that is the Latinate form of ancient Greek *gunaikon* (or *gunaikonitis*). The *gynaeceum* is associated particularly with the classical period (c. 500–323 BCE) and with Athens. It was distinct from the *andron* (or *andronitis*, "men's room"), the most public room in the house where all-male social gatherings called *symposia* were held. The only women allowed at these parties were courtesans hired for the evening.

The interpretation of the significance of the *gynaeceum* is closely tied to scholarly understanding of gender relations in ancient Greece. For example, modern descriptions of *gynaecea* as universally dark, unclean spaces where women did their work underline the notion of the low status of women in Athenian society. Artistic representations of women on classical Greek vases, however, show them engaging in a range of activities, such as weaving and child care, as well as more leisurely pastimes such as reading, visiting with other women, attending to their toilette, and playing games. It appears that some Greek women could enjoy a level of luxury and interaction with other women.

Another debated aspect of the *gynaeceum* is how isolated it was from the rest of the household. The *gynaeceum* has long been thought to function like a harem or seraglio, that is, as an area set aside for the segregation of female family members, perhaps even secluding them from their male relatives. This reflects the idea that ancient Greek society was rigidly divided along gender lines and is based largely on literary evidence, the most important of which is a passage from a speech, "On the Murder of Eratosthenes," written by Lysias, a professional speechwriter in late-fifth-century Athens. Here Euphiletos, who was defending himself against the charge of murdering his wife's lover, explains that his modest home had two stories of equal size, the upper reserved for the *gynaeceum*, the lower for the men's quarters. After his wife gave birth, he moved upstairs and she downstairs so that she could more easily wash the child; having access to the street allowed Euphiletos's wife to meet her lover more easily. Extrapolating from this statement and others, scholars have assumed that the standard Greek home had its public rooms on the ground floor, while women were relegated to the upper floor, which was separated from the lower level by a staircase and a locked door.

Archaeological excavation of a large number of private homes in Athens, Olynthus, and elsewhere in the Greek world, however, does not support this interpretation. First, there is rarely evidence to indicate that a home had a second floor. Furthermore, the rooms in an average Greek house were versatile, meaning they could be used for any number of purposes; it is almost impossible to identify any room as reserved for traditionally feminine activities such as weaving or even cooking. In fact, the only readily identifiable room in most Greek houses is the *andron*, marked out by more expensive decoration and by the inclusion of permanent bases for the reclining couches required for proper *symposia*. Whether or not homes had second stories, economic necessity would suggest that only the very wealthiest families could afford rooms dedicated to a single purpose. In smaller homes, women may have withdrawn to more remote areas of the house only when visitors came to call. In sum, though the distinction between male and female space was important conceptually to the ancient Greeks, it does not seem to have affected the planning of the Greek house.

In light of this, scholars have proposed other interpretations of the *gynaeceum* that reflect a more nuanced understanding of male and female social spheres in ancient Greek society. At the broadest level, because women were strongly associated with domestic life (indeed, classical vase paintings portray women almost exclusively in interior settings) while men were linked to wider civic involvement, it is possible that the *gynaeceum* was in reality all interior spaces of the house other than the *andron*, including the interior courtyard where cooking and washing must have taken place. A more refined interpretation, put forward most forcefully by Lisa C. Nevett (1995, 1999) and since taken up by others, is that the *gynaeceum* refers to the family areas of a home that were off-limits to a male visitor, rather than to a portion of a man's own home that he was forbidden to enter. In other words, the separation of the sexes was probably accomplished by providing specific areas for male guests rather than by isolating the women of the household.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Family; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Harems; Marriage.*

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Celia E. Schultz

GYPSY ROSE LEE

1914–1970

Gypsy Rose Lee (Rose Louise Hovick), who was born on February 9 in Seattle, was a successful burlesque performer whose life and relationship with her domineering stage mother, Rose Hovick, became the story for the musical *Gypsy*. Her humor and cleverness transformed burlesque into a more mainstream phenomenon, at least to the extent to which a burlesque performer could become a legitimate media figure. She died of lung cancer in Los Angeles on April 26.

Forced onto the vaudeville stage as a young child in an act with her younger sister June, Louise (as she was called in the act) worked in the chorus. Having left their salesman father, the Hovick family act known as Baby June and Her Farmboys toured the country on the sputtering vaudeville circuit. Looking toward the only type of traveling show that could still be successful, Rose turned the girls' act into a more risqué group called Rose Louise and her Hollywood Blonds. Working finally in burlesque houses, Rose turned the illness of another burlesque performer into Louise's big chance, as she volunteered her daughter as that performer's replacement.

Taking the name Gypsy Rose Lee, Louise began a long career as a performer. Her wit, humor, and intelligence transformed a striptease act into something more substantial and respectable, and she even appeared at high society functions. Her personality and talent made her one of the most popular burlesque performers of her time. The depression and the closing of many theaters that hosted live shows encouraged Gypsy Rose to shift her performances to the movies. She appeared in several films, including *Ali Baba Goes to Town* (1937), often cast as an exotic dancer or a burlesque performer but never achieving the success for which she had hoped. She became a mystery writer specializing in a genre she dubbed "the burlesque mystery" novel, publishing *The G-String Murders* in 1941. The book became the film *Lady of Burlesque* (1943) starring Barbara Stanwyck. Gypsy Rose Lee also published articles in *The New Yorker* and *Harper's*.

Her most successful writing venture came with the publication of her autobiography, *Gypsy*, in 1957 after her mother's death in 1954. A best-seller that focused on Gypsy's vaudeville years with her mother, the memoir became the stage musical *Gypsy*, with a book by Arthur Laurents, music by Jule Stein, and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim. The show premiered in 1959 with Ethel Merman as Mama Rose. The show became a film in 1962 with Rosalind Russell as Mama Rose.

Gypsy Rose Lee's romantic life followed the pattern of her career. Married briefly three times, she also had affairs with the producer Mike Todd and the director

Gypsy Rose Lee. *Gypsy Rose Lee transformed burlesque into a more mainstream phenomenon.* FREDERIC LEWIS/GETTY IMAGES.

Otto Preminger. Her son, Erik, was fathered by Preminger while she was married to William Kirkland.

In her later years Gypsy Rose Lee became a show business "personality" whose roots in vaudeville and burlesque made her a living symbol of a kind of entertainment whose day was past. She continued to appear in movies, including the 1966 *The Trouble with Angels* starring Rosalind Russell and Hayley Mills and the 1969 *The Over-the-Hill-Gang*. She also hosted a television talk show in 1965.

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Judith Roof

H

HAIR

"Where there's hair, there's pleasure," notes the African-American writer Alice Walker, and such pleasure is inherently bound up with dynamics of sexuality, gender, and power. The fetishization of hair—head, facial, pubic, and other—crosses boundaries of time and place and often signals the making or marking of particular cultural boundaries as well, such as between a primitive and animalistic *nature* versus a refined and domesticated *civilization* or between fecundity, fertility, and sexual allure and their counterparts, asceticism, death, and detachment. Hair has likewise featured in gendered battles over class, ethnic, religious, and national boundaries throughout recorded history.

Practices associated with hair encode binary gender distinctions in most cultures, although different cultures assign similar phenomena, such as mandatory hair length, covering, or binding, or opposing gender categories. Traditional Muslim and Jewish practice, for example, calls for the covering of a woman's—though not a man's—hair during much of adult life, whereas traditional Asian cultures tended to relegate everyday hair covering exclusively to adult men. By the same token, long hair on contemporary European and North American men signals a countercultural stance against gender conventions in those nations; before such conventions gained hegemony in Korea, by contrast, long, uncut (albeit tightly bound) hair signified deep familial respect, whereas cropped male hair betokened abject shame and dishonor. Among the Masai people of Kenya and Tanzania, the women shave their heads; swinging tresses in that society are relegated to male warriors. The Christian savior Jesus is almost universally depicted with long, loose hair, notwithstanding the fact that Christian scriptures term *shameful* both long hair on men and short hair on women.

Body and facial hair are apt to be even more strongly and consistently gendered across cultures. Facial hair on women (eyebrows occasionally excepted) is almost universally taboo, and the removal of much or all body hair is widespread among women, especially the elite, in many contemporary societies. The nonremoval of leg and underarm hair by women, although unremarkable in some cultures, commonly elicits disgust, particularly in North America and some European countries, and functions, along with *butch* or *crew cut* hairstyles, in popular iconography of feminists and/or lesbians. Male depilation of body hair is practiced in some cultures but is anathema in others. Male facial hair runs the gamut from compulsory (among Sikhs, Confucians, and some subgroups of Muslims and Jews, for example) to prohibited or severely circumscribed (under many military codes and other such regimes), to restricted to particular age or status groups (elders, for instance, as opposed to youth). Pubic hair (with notable exceptions) is strikingly absent from the great majority of nude images—both male and female—from ancient Hindu, Mediterranean, and African sculpture to Medieval and European Renaissance painting, to postmodern Japanese comic books. In actual practice, retention of pubic hair appears common to all sexes in European and North American societies, whereas its removal (by one or more sexes) appears equally common in many Middle Eastern, Turkish, South Asian, and African societies.

Perhaps more so than any other symbolic medium, hair displays the nexus of sexuality with spirituality in its supernatural associations with powers of creation and destruction; life and death. The most powerful and elemental of ancient

Delilah Cutting Off Samson's Hair. © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS.

goddesses—Kali, the destroyer and transformer; Isis, creatrix and resurrector; and Gaea and Oshun, life-giving earth and water—are depicted with vibrant, unbound hair, as are Draupadi and Medusa in their manifestations as both victim and avenger of sexual violation. Many myths, such as those of Samson and Nisus, link male hair with virility and its loss with devastating weakness. Hair figures in an infinite variety of rituals associated with fertility and conception, birth, coming of age, mating, giving birth, killing, dying, mourning, and burial.

In the contemporary human realm, hair's entanglement with sexual desire and ultimate values is as well illustrated by Hindu and Buddhist ascetic practices as it is by corporate marketing strategies of the global economy. Shaving of the head has, for millennia, accompanied vows of celibacy and nonattachment to possessions and passions by Buddhist monks and nuns. Among Hindu ascetics, such renunciation or redirection of passions is often expressed through long, unkempt, matted locks of hair. In European and North American popular culture, both head shaving and dreadlocks, along with countless other hairdos, come and go as personal fashion statements at the same time that *sexy* hair—usually long, glossy, and highly styled—is enlisted in the marketing of a vast array of consumer goods. These latter practices are emblematic of the individualism and materialism that have come to characterize post-Enlightenment culture. Hence, objectification of hair and its association with ego, sex, pleasure, and worldliness finds equal and opposite expression in age-old religious traditions of asceticism and modern, secular capitalism.

Hair is invariably and deeply ensnarled in politics, such that sexualized, gendered hair practices commonly serve as flash points in the negotiation of public identities within and among various cultures. Ongoing battles over Islamic veiling of women exemplify this phenomenon on a broad scale, whereas hair politics in African-American communities are an equally intense, if more localized, manifestation of the same. In both cases community convention and personal choice (or its lack) are entwined in a complex web of racialized, ethnic/nationalist discourses with historical roots in colonialist and anticolonialist projects. Hair comes to bear the symbolic and often physical freight of competing and interlocking oppressions as well as complicated expressions of resistance and affirmation. The presence or absence of the *hijab* (some manner of scarf or veil) in Muslim majority and minority societies, like *Afro* or *natural* versus *relaxed* hairstyles in black communities, are highly gendered elements of larger identity formulations played out on the heads and in the daily lives of countless women.

Whether short or long, present or absent, dyed, bleached, curled, straightened, plaited, teased, spiked, bound and covered, or loose and unhampered, hair is a mode of human expression that carries as many messages and meanings as there are ways to treat it. These meanings vary across cultures and through time, but they are always and everywhere enmeshed, like hair itself, in constructions of gender, sex, sexuality, and power.

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Cynthia M. Baker

HALL, RADCLYFFE
1880–1943

Marguerite Radclyffe Hall, born on August 12, 1880, in Bournemouth, England, is best known for *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), the first English novel to focus on female homosexuality. Hall had an unhappy childhood but inherited a fortune that ensured her independence. After several lesbian affairs she settled down, at age twenty-eight, with fifty-two-year-old Mabel Batten. Known to friends as John and Ladye, they considered themselves married. Batten introduced Hall to Catholicism, and Hall converted in 1912. In 1915 Hall, who had published six books of poems and begun writing fiction, fell in love with Batten's cousin, twenty-eight-year-old Una Troubridge, who was married to a man twenty-five years her senior. When Batten died in 1916, the guilt-ridden pair began years of séances through which they claimed to communicate with her. Hall and Troubridge lived together until Hall's death in London on October 7, 1943. In her last years she fell in love with a Russian emigrant, Evguenia Souline, which damaged but did not destroy her relationship with Troubridge.

Hall was a highly successful novelist, publishing *The Unlit Lamp* and *The Forge* in 1924, *A Saturday Life* in 1925, and *Adam's Breed*, which won the Prix Femina-Vie Heureuse and the James Tait Black Memorial Prize, in 1926. She and Troubridge became well-known figures among the literati and also in homosexual circles in London and Paris; photos and caricatures of Hall, in stylish manlike attire, appeared regularly in fashionable magazines.

Hall had discreetly addressed the subject of women's attraction to women in her first novel, *The Unlit Lamp*; she said that she decided to write *The Well* from a sense of duty, in defense of the defenseless. She knew she was jeopardizing her career—her homosexual colleagues, such as Noël Coward, Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster, Somerset Maugham, Katherine Mansfield, and even the flamboyant Lytton Strachey and Vita Sackville-West, wrote about homosexuality only indirectly in works published during their lifetime.

The Well, dedicated to "our three selves" (Batten, Troubridge, and herself), tells the story of Stephen Gordon, a noble, upright Christian woman, who, from childhood, feels and acts like a boy. After an affair with a married woman, Stephen is exiled from home. She becomes a famous novelist, and fights heroically in World War I, during which she falls in love with Mary Llewellyn. They settle down in Paris and make many homosexual friends. Among the characters based on Hall's contemporaries is Valerie Seymour, based on the American expatriate lesbian writer Natalie Barney. Their rejection by the mainstream world, however, depresses Mary, who becomes attracted to Stephen's friend Martin. Realizing that Mary would marry Martin, but for her loyalty to Stephen, Stephen pretends to have an affair so that Mary will feel free to leave with Martin, which she does. The novel ends with Stephen dedicating her talent to oppressed homosexuals, and crying out to God to acknowledge and defend his homosexual children.

Refused by three publishers, *The Well* was published by Jonathan Cape, with a preface by the sexologist Havelock Ellis, whose model of homosexuality as inversion Hall had adopted. For a month the book was favorably reviewed; then, James Douglas, editor of the *Sunday Express*, wrote an editorial titled "A Book That Must Be Suppressed," traducing it for purveying moral poison. The book became an overnight bestseller, and the British government's home secretary ordered its withdrawal. Several celebrities, including Forster and Woolf, protested this censorship. Cape transferred publication to Paris and imported copies into Britain.

The British government then prosecuted *The Well* under the Obscene Publications Act of 1857. Refusing to hear expert witnesses in its favor, including doctors, clergymen, and novelists, Judge Chartres Biron banned the book as an obscene *libel* (from Latin *libellus*, a little book). A huge public controversy followed during which

Hall and her work were caricatured and parodied. But *The Well* became an instant success around the world. The Society for the Suppression of Vice tried unsuccessfully to get it banned in the United States, and it is Hall's only novel to have remained continuously in print. The ban in England was lifted in 1949.

The Well was condemned because it represented homosexuals as worthy people, innately inverted through no fault of their own, and deserving sympathy and respect. Until then most fiction had depicted them as criminal perverts who ended up either dying or converting to heterosexuality. *The Well* brought to life a range of homosexuals, male and female, from different classes, races, religions, and professions, all unjustly persecuted but surviving and contributing to society.

Following the rise of lesbian feminism in the 1970s, many critics have condemned *The Well* for depicting Stephen as a self-hating lesbian who masochistically sacrifices her own happiness by driving Mary into Martin's arms. Others argue that *The Well* is written in the style of Victorian social realism, drawing both on well-established tragic conventions and on Biblical language to elevate its protagonist and evoke readers' empathy for her as a victim of injustice. Either way *The Well* remains an undisputed lesbian classic, the work that paved the way for subsequent explicit lesbian writing.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Gender Identity; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Literature: I. Overview; Literature: V. Lesbian, Creative; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Passing (Woman).*

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HARASSMENT, SEXUAL

Sexual harassment is primarily a legal construct in the United States. It is defined as a form of workplace sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a form of sex discrimination in the school setting under Title IX of that act.

TYPES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Workers are protected against two types of sexual harassment: quid pro quo and a harassing environment. Quid pro quo harassment was the first type to be recognized legally. This type of harassment generally includes unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other sexually related verbal or physical conduct when submission to such conduct is made a term or condition of employment, explicitly or implicitly, or submission to or rejection of the conduct is used as the basis for an employment decision. It is considered an egregious abuse of power by a supervisor who has control of the job benefit involved, and because of its seriousness, an organization generally is held strictly liable for a single incident because it gave the supervisor that power and control. However the advance or request must have been unwelcome for liability to ensue. If the relationship is voluntary, it is not considered harassment.

The second type of harassment, recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court in the landmark case *Meritor Savings Bank* v. *Vinson* in 1986, is a sexually harassing environment. This involves conduct that has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. Unlike quid pro quo harassment, which can be committed only by someone with authority over an employee, a harassing environment can be created by coworkers or a supervisor. It usually requires a series of incidents to reach the level of severity needed for a claim. The range of behaviors that can create a harassing environment is large. Pin-up posters, obscene jokes, demeaning comments, leering, and sexist cartoons, if sufficiently severe and pervasive, can create a hostile, intimidating, or offensive environment. The courts use a reasonable person or victim standard to determine whether the behavior was sufficiently severe.

PUBLICITY AND ENFORCEMENT

The 1991 Senate confirmation hearings concerning Clarence Thomas's nomination for the Supreme Court was a watershed event for sexual harassment because of the publicity and attention it brought to the issue and the anger created by the treatment by the senators. Publicity greatly increased awareness of the issue and generated greater intolerance of harassment among women. Additionally, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which made proving harassment easier and increased awards for damages, resulted in large numbers of sexual harassment lawsuits being brought successfully against employers. That led employers to adopt measures that can help insulate them from lawsuits. If an employer educates its employees about harassment, sets up a meaningful complaint system, investigates complaints in a timely manner, and takes appropriate action against the harasser when harassment is found, the employer can escape legal liability for a sexually harassing environment. The employee must use an employer's procedures, if reasonable, before bringing a claim.

In quid pro quo cases it is difficult to prove whether a relationship is voluntary. Thus a large number of employers ban supervisors from having a sexually oriented relationship with anyone they supervise. Other employers may require only that the relationship be revealed and require the employees involved to sign a statement that it is voluntary.

Although federal law protects employees from harassment on the basis of gender, it does not protect them from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Thus homosexuals who are harassed because of their orientation have no remedy unless they are in one of the states, counties, or municipalities that bar discrimination against homosexuals. In *Oncale* v. *Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.* (1998), the Supreme Court allowed a man to sue his male coworkers for harassing behavior that was based on his perceived unmasculinity.

Sexual harassment in schools has a shorter legal history and generally is recognized, reported, and litigated less frequently. For example a 2006 study of students on college campuses suggested that two-thirds of college students have encountered sexual behavior that was unwanted and unwelcome. However, most did not report it. Despite its lower level of recognition, most schools now have some rules designed to forestall or deal with sexual harassment.

EFFECTS OF AND PROTECTION FROM SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Victims of sexual harassment can suffer in many ways. However there is no single impact of sexual harassment, and its symptomatology is determined multiply. It is considered a workplace stressor that is related to increased odds of illness, injury, accidents, and assault as well as decreased morale, loss of concentration, absenteeism, loss of confidence, and leaving a job. How strongly and in what way an individual reacts depend on a complex combination of personal variables, including the victim's perceptions and appraisals of the experience. Nevertheless evidence suggests that negative effects are exhibited by victims whether or not they perceive themselves as harassed. Similarly, high-level sexual assault is not a prerequisite for psychological or physical trauma. Research shows that repeated low-level sexual harassment has significant consequences for a woman. Sexual harassment also has been shown to have an ambient demoralizing effect. Employees witnessing workplace harassment viewed the workplace as less desirable than did nonobservers, even though the observers were not the target of the harassment.

Victimization produces immediate effects, which are categorized as a generalized distress response, or state of shock, including symptoms of emotional numbing, anxiety, depression, and repeated reexperiencing of the trauma through dreams or waking images. Physical symptoms can include gastrointestinal problems, jaw tightening, tooth grinding, dizziness, nausea, diarrhea, tics, muscle spasms, weight loss, weight gain, increased perspiration, cold feet and hands, loss of appetite, binge eating, decreased libido, delayed recovery from illness, sleep disruption, increased respiratory or urinary tract infections, recurrences of chronic illness, ulcers, irritable bowel syndrome, migraines, eczema, and urticaria. Negative long-term effects such as dealing with the repercussions of sexual harassment alone or with health and/or mental health services have been documented as late as two years after the initial victimization. Victims have been found to be more likely than nonvictims to have future problems with depression, alcohol and drug use and abuse, generalized anxiety, obsessive-compulsive disorder, suicide, self-harm, panic, somatization, schizophrenia, and posttraumatic stress disorder. Sexual harassment is estimated to cost employers millions of dollars per year in lost productivity, increased absenteeism, increased hiring and training costs, and medical and insurance costs.

Protection from workplace harassment is not unique to the United States, although the protection tends to encompass more behaviors in the United States. European Union countries, Australia, Japan, and Canada, among other countries, extend protection, although the remedies vary. Developing countries generally do not address the issue.

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Terry Morehead Dworkin

HARD-CORE PORNOGRAPHY

SEE *Pornography.*

HAREMS

The harem is central to western popular perceptions of women and sexuality in Middle Eastern societies. In this context, it is often incorrectly perceived as a glorified brothel where a Muslim ruler or grandee keeps numerous women to slake his sexual desires. While some modern-day minor princes in the Persian Gulf and the Pacific Rim do maintain such establishments, the harem has historically been a far more complex institution geared toward family reproduction and preservation. A classic example of gendered space, it extended, under a variety of names, to Europe and Asia.

DEFINITION

The word harem derives from the Arabic *harim*, referring to a place that is off limits, sacred, and/or taboo. Accordingly a residential harem is an interior space off limits to persons who do not belong to the household. In private residences and royal palaces alike, it is occupied by women and young children. However, the palace of a Muslim royal family in the medieval and early modern eras contained both a female harem and a male inner sanctum, accessible only to members of the family and personal aides. Behind such spatial arrangements, which were common to royal palaces throughout Asia in the Byzantine Empire, and in parts of Africa, lay the notion that a ruler demonstrates power through seclusion and inaccessibility rather than public visibility. Most Western European courts contained separate women's quarters, as well, although the degree of seclusion was generally not as pronounced.

Residents of the female harem included the ruler's mother, unmarried daughters and sisters, and wives. Islamic law permits a man to take up to four wives provided he can treat them all equally, although opinions differ as to what constitutes equal treatment. To these wives were added numerous concubines, usually slaves imported from non-Muslim lands and converted to Islam. A large staff of celibate female attendants, many of them slaves of the ruler's wives and mother, performed chores ranging from bookkeeping to washing clothes.

FUNCTIONS

Contrary to popular stereotypes, the premodern harem was not a den of iniquity but resembled a separate female household run by the ruler's or householder's consort. In a royal palace, the harem regulated dynastic reproduction by supplying the ruler with women of reproductive age while providing a space for the rearing of progeny. A hierarchy prevailed, with the ruler's first wife, favorite concubine, or mother playing a major role in choosing other women for the harem and determining the ruler's access to sexual partners. The ruler could not enter the harem whenever he liked but ordinarily required the permission of the female household's head. Children, both male and female, were raised and educated within the harem until their teenage years; princes were then often sent to govern provinces whereas princesses were prepared for marriage, often to high officials or foreign rulers.

A harem in a private home or in the residence of a subordinate government official replicated the ruler's harem on a smaller scale, although it was not a major arena for reproductive politics. It could, however, serve as a political and economic safe haven. If the male household head ran afoul of a political rival, he might hide in the harem or deposit part of his wealth there. While an enemy might ransack the public areas of the house, he would usually

Arabi Pasha and His Harem, Egypt, c. 1880. © BETTMAN/CORBIS.

refrain from violating the harem. As for a wife's property, under Islamic law, it remained hers throughout her life.

HISTORY

The tradition of a secluded quarter for royal women dates to antiquity in the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean. The concept was well-established in the Byzantine and Sasanian (Iranian) empires, which ruled the region at the time of Islam's advent in the early seventh century CE. In Iran, in fact, such quarters date back to the Achaemenid Empire (c. 550–330 BCE). Elite women in the Byzantine Empire lived in restricted quarters, were served by eunuchs, and apparently veiled their faces during their rare public appearances. Far less is known about Sasanian harems apart from the fact that Byzantine and Sasanian chronicles alike mention thousands of wives, concubines, and female entertainers living in specially designated quarters of the Sasanian royal palaces.

The early Muslims probably adopted the harem institution from these prototypes after they began to conquer the territories of these two empires during the 630s. The harem remained largely an institution of the elite; for the lower and even the middle classes, it was economically unfeasible.

The first Islamic rulers known to have instituted a royal harem were the Abbasids (750–1258), who ruled the Middle East and North Africa from Baghdad. All subsequent Islamic polities before the twentieth century followed their example. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and Iran's Qajar dynasty in the early twentieth century, however, the royal harem became a historical memory, although numerous conservative Muslim royal and elite households continue to maintain separate women's quarters. The closest contemporary analog to the Middle Eastern royal harem were the *hougong*, or inner quarters, of China's Qing dynasty. These were separate palaces for imperial concubines, as well as their female staff and eunuchs, located behind the palaces that served as private quarters for the emperor. This institution, however, came to an end with the Qing Empire in 1911.

Evidence on the structure and functions of the royal harem is most abundant for the Ottoman Empire. The sultan's harem was installed in Istanbul's Topkapı Palace during the reign of Süleyman I (1520–1566). By the end of the sixteenth century, it occupied an enormous complex on the western side of the palace; although figures are imprecise, its population at the time totaled perhaps 400, guarded by a nearly equivalent number of largely African eunuchs. Following Süleyman I's death, sultans no longer married but relied entirely on concubines to sustain the dynasty. In the early seventeenth century, the Ottomans abandoned the practice of sending princes to govern provinces, along with the custom whereby the new sultan had all his brothers killed. Ottoman princes now resided in a special suite of rooms known as the *cage* at the rear of the harem complex until they either took the throne or died. In this milieu, their mothers and the harem eunuchs were the chief influences on their education and attitudes.

EUNUCHS

The use of eunuchs, castrated male slaves, as harem guardians is seemingly as old and as widespread as the harem institution itself. Again the early Muslims would have adopted the practice from the Byzantines and Sasanians. The rationale for the custom went well beyond the alleged effects of emasculation on the male sexual drive. A eunuch could not found a family that would compete with the ruler for his loyalty, nor could he bequeath his wealth; when he died, the state confiscated it. Since all eunuchs in Islamic societies were imported slaves, they likewise lacked ties to the surrounding community. In theory, these qualities rendered the eunuch unfailingly loyal and trustworthy.

While the Byzantine and Chinese courts employed eunuch harem guardians who were ethnically similar to the harem residents, the Abbasids apparently set a precedent in employing eastern African eunuchs; meanwhile, eunuchs from Central Asia and Eastern Europe attended to the emperor's inner sanctum. This model was adopted to varying degrees by most Islamic empires, up to and including the Ottoman Empire. A variety of complex ethnoregional issues underlay this division of labor; it was not a simple matter of racial prejudice. The customs of the kingdom of Ethiopia may also have played a role that has thus far been ignored.

HAREM INTRIGUE

Inevitably the royal harem became an arena of political competition, giving rise to the misogynistic stereotype of *harem intrigue*. Competition was particularly fierce among wives or concubines who gave birth to sons. In an attempt to ensure her son's accession to the throne, a wife or concubine occasionally took measures against her rivals, even to the extent of having them killed. The mother of a daughter likewise sought a prestigious marriage for her child and might try to facilitate her son-in-law's professional advancement, as when Süleyman I's wife conspired with her daughter and son-in-law to have the grand vizier executed so that the son-in-law could succeed him. The chief harem eunuch served as a conduit of information into and out of the harem; thus, the ruler's consort or mother might ally with him to influence imperial appointments and policy.

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Although reliable accounts of earlier harems are rare, the Ottoman harem is described in the reports of numerous European diplomats, few of whom ever gained access to it. Many of these are imbued with misogynistic prejudices, as are depictions by Orientalist painters such as Eugène Delacroix (1798–1868). However a handful of accounts by female visitors, notably Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), provide a more balanced perspective. Ottoman statesmen wrote of imperial women with some degree of respect, but their opinions of the harem eunuchs varied from admiring to contemptuous, often depending on the political factions to which they belonged. Ottoman religious functionaries took a more misogynistic view of the harem women's influence.

Among modern-day secondary sources, N. M. Penzer's *The Harem* (1936) echoes certain of the misogynistic attitudes of the European diplomats, depicting the Ottoman harem as irremediably decadent. Turkish historians began to grapple with the Ottoman harem in the 1950s; though grounded in institutional history, their studies typically treat the influence of harem women as an obstacle to modernity and progress. Investigations of Muslim women that emerged from the women's studies movement, beginning in the 1970s, give a more sympathetic and nuanced picture of the harem, while Leslie Peirce's landmark *The Imperial Harem* (1993) is the first work fully to contextualize the harem as part of the Ottoman political system. Creditable recent studies likewise analyze the inner quarters of imperial China and palace eunuchs in the Byzantine and Mughal empires.

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Jane Hathaway

HARLEM RENAISSANCE

The Harlem (New Negro) Renaissance was an African-American cultural movement between the World War I (1914–1919) and World War II (1939–1945) that saw a flourishing of black literature, drama, dance, art, and music. Shaped by a multiplicity of beliefs and motives, the Harlem Renaissance was a complex and often contradictory movement that was unified by a shared sense of racial self-determination and self-definition. With institutional support from black journals such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's *Crisis* and the Urban League's *Opportunity* and white philanthropists and publishing houses, the Renaissance encouraged literary and artistic works that would reshape notions of blackness in American popular consciousness and counter dominant stereotypes of black inferiority.

Poet and Critic Jessie Redmon Fauset. © CORBIS.

A MIDDLE-CLASS MOVEMENT

Harlem Renaissance leaders envisioned an educated, middle-class cultural vanguard that would lead the race in the twentieth century and bring about social change. The most exceptional and educated fraction of the race, those the black national leader W. E. B. DuBois (1868–1963) called the *Talented Tenth*, were called upon to set an example for the rest of the race by producing morally and racially validating art and demonstrating high cultural achievement to the rest of the nation. This vision of the movement privileged middle-class norms and advocated a politics of respectability that insisted on *positive representations* of black life: exemplary racial characters who exhibited middle-class aspirations and proper sexual and gender comportment. Yet at the same time, this guiding ideology was constantly challenged by writers who produced literature that reflected the experiences and values of the black working classes and those others left out of the talented tenth's normalizing program, including sexual and gender dissidents. The Harlem Renaissance thus constituted a field where the very meanings of blackness were contested in the literary public sphere.

WOMEN WRITERS OF THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE

Most of the prominent women writers of the Renaissance came from the educated middle classes, and their literature reflected their worldview. Jessie Redmon Fauset, for example, published a number of poems, essays, and novels during the Renaissance. Each of her four novels (*There is Confusion*, 1924; *Plum Bun: A Novel without a Moral*, 1929; *The Chinaberry Tree: A Novel of American Life*, 1931; and *Comedy: American Style*, 1933) depicts professional men and women of Negro society as they struggle against race prejudice. Highly conventional in style, they primarily advanced the politics of respectability and substantiated middle-class values. The novelist Nella Larsen similarly set her two novels, *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929), in the environments of the educated black elite, though her depictions are more critical of normative constructions of gender, race, and class than are Fauset's. Focusing more on self-alienation than on self-determination, Larsen's novels draw from the author's experiences as a biracial woman to explore how the color line limited black women's subjectivities. The poet and playwright Georgia Douglas Johnson was the only woman poet of the movement to publish her own poetry collections (*The Hearts of a Woman and Other Poems*, 1918; *Bronze: A Collection of Verse*, 1922; and *An Autumn Love Cycle*, 1928). The role of women in the literary public sphere was expanded by a number of other poets, playwrights, and short story writers, including Marita O. Bonner, Anne Spenser, Helene Johnson Alice Dunbar-Nelson, and Angelina Weld Grimké.

In addition to their literary work, many of those women played a central role in shaping the direction of the Harlem Renaissance. As the literary editor of *Crisis* magazine, Fauset was an important mentor to aspiring writers. Georgia Douglas Johnson also mentored new writers and hosted a well-known literary salon at her Washington, DC, home that provided creative support and literary networking between Harlem and Washington. The poet Gwendolyn Bennett's regular column in *Opportunity*, "Ebony Flute," chronicled and publicized the literary works of younger writers. Through such contributions middle-class women were able to influence emerging work and guide the Renaissance to reflect the values of the Talented Tenth. Although their literary works often enforced racialized class, gender, and sexual norms, they also challenged existing stereotypes by enunciating the experiences and desires of a black economic and social class that rarely was represented in popular or literary culture.

CHALLENGES TO MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES

A number of other artists challenged those racial, sexual, and gender norms in their work and repudiated the elitism of the Talented Tenth. Drawing from blues culture, folk culture, and black working-class culture, writers such as Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Zora Neale Hurston, Wallace Thurman, and Richard Bruce Nugent were praised for their racial consciousness, but their refusal to affirm the values of the black middle-class and the patriarchal order of family in their prose and poetry—not to mention their personal lives—earned them dissaprobation and criticism. Hurston, one of the most significant artists of the movement, took up the practices of the rural folk rather than the black bourgeoisie, in her writings. A novelist, essayist, dramatist, and anthropologist, Hurston spent much of the Renaissance years traveling through the South, Haiti, and Jamaica, documenting folk cultures. In addition to numerous stories and plays, she published two collections of folk tales (*Mules and Men*, 1935; *Tell My Horse*, 1938), several novels (including *Jonah's Vine Gourd*, 1934, and *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, 1937), and an autobiography (*Dust Tracks on a Dirt Road*, 1942). Writers such as McKay, Thurman, and Nugent, meanwhile, all wrote works with significant queer content that explored the less respectable terrain of the urban underworld.

Although the individual poems, novels, and short stories of those writers articulated new possibilities of black masculinity, femininity, and sexuality in the public sphere, their collective rebellion of this *other* Harlem Renaissance can be seen best in the avant-garde literary journal *Fire!!* (1926), which was edited collaboratively by Thurman, Hughes, Nugent, Hurston, Bennett, Aaron Douglas, and John Davis. *Fire!!* offered a counterpoint to the literary politics espoused by magazines such as *Crisis* and *Opportunity*. Although only one issue was published, it included fiction about prostitution, internalized color prejudice, and homosexuality and poetic and prose explorations of folk and blues culture. The importance of blues and jazz to those writers requires that they be considered in relation to blues performers such as Mamie Smith, Bessie Smith, and Ethel Waters. In songs about extramarital relationships, domestic disillusionment, bisexuality and lesbian relations, and women's social oppression, blues performers articulated working-class black women's experiences and enunciated queer possibilities.

Many of the contributions of women and sexual minorities to the Harlem Renaissance were overlooked, minimized, or forgotten in the decades after the movement. The recovery of those histories, begun in the 1970s by black feminist scholars and writers, continues to be performed. For example, lesbian feminist critics have read queer meanings in the works of women authors such as Grimké and Larsen, and Hughes's poetry has been taken up by queer critics to explore the construction of black sexuality. Similarly, as films such as the black British filmmaker Isaac Julien's *Looking for Langston* (1989) and the African-American filmmaker Rodney Evans's *Brother to Brother* (2004) demonstrate, the Harlem Renaissance remains an important resource for cotemporary queer of color history and identity formation in the United States and Europe.

SEE ALSO *Blues; Gender Identity; Jazz; Literature: I. Overview; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Shane Vogel

HATE CRIMES

The expanding definition of hate crimes often changes to include violations against specific groups based on race, sexuality, creed, and national origin and now protects persons with physical and mental disabilities in addition to the elderly. The history of antibias crime law begins with post-Civil War restrictions against groups such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Although not termed *hate-crime laws*, these federal codes attempted to prevent and punish crimes motivated by racial hatred. An overview of hate-crime legislation, culminating in the civil rights era and garnering governmental support in the 1980s, provides a history of state and federal involvement in cataloging, preventing, and prosecuting hate crimes in America. Some of the more visible hate crimes, such as lynching and antigay violence, are examined more thoroughly in this entry. In addition, specific hate crimes, with names, dates, and descriptions, serve to catalog the range of crimes perpetrated against people based on group association. Finally, a summary of the debate between lawmakers and legal scholars outlines the opposition to hate-crime legislation on the grounds that it invalidates the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

To begin, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), an organization created to fight anti-Semitism and racism, was the first to create hate-crime legislation in 1981. This legislation, while directed to anti-Jewish crimes, also covers hate crimes committed against any minority group. Every state except Indiana, Georgia, South Carolina, and Wyoming has enacted hate-crime laws that address crimes based on race, gender, or sexual orientation. Typically, the punishment for hate crimes is an enhanced sentence or increase in jail time. Hate crime laws also hold parents responsible for hate crimes their children perpetrate and allow for punitive damages for vandalism of churches, cemeteries, schools, religious centers, and community centers.

Congress passed the Hate Crimes Statistic Act on April 23, 1990, requiring the attorney general of the United States to compile statistics about hate crimes, or crimes committed because of bias or prejudice against a person because of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or religion. In conjunction with local and state law agencies, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) provided data to the Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR), which in turn created a database for recording and analyzing hate-crime statistics. The UCR's first publication of their findings, *Hate Crime Statistics, 1990: A Sourcebook*, contained data from eleven states but did not succeed in offering uniform data. By 1992 the UCR, in conjunction with law enforcement officials, developed their own means of collecting data, generating a comprehensive collection of hate-crime statistics. In 2004 more than 17,000 law enforcement agencies in all fifty states offered the UCR information and statistics on hate crimes. The collaborative efforts of the FBI, law enforcement agencies, and the UCR provides valuable information on the types and numbers of hate crimes being perpetrated in each state. The statistics not only help law officials track hate crimes but also provide valuable information to activist and advocacy groups who in turn educate communities, mobilize support, and lobby for hate-crime legislation.

HISTORY OF HATE-CRIME LEGISLATION

Early legislation that seeks to punish hate crimes can be traced to the close of the Civil War (1861–1865) and was created to combat renegade groups such as the KKK and their mob law. The first United States Federal Code made it unlawful to conspire against citizens with the aim of depriving them of their constitutional rights, but issues of race, religion, sexual orientation, or national origin are never mentioned:

> If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate an inhabitant of an State, Territory, or District in the free exercise of enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same; or If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with the intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured; They shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both; and if death results from the acts committed in violation of this section or if such acts include kidnapping or an attempt to kidnap, aggravated sexual abuse or an attempt to commit aggravated sexual abuse, or an attempt to kill, they shall be fined under this title or imprisoned for an term of years or for life, or both, or may be sentenced to death.

(18 U.S.C Section 241)

Hate Crime Statistics

Year	Total Hate Crimes	Driven by Victim's Sexual Orientation
1995	7,947	1,019
1996	8,759	1,016
1997	8,049	1,102
1998	7,755	1,260
1999	7,876	1,317
2000	8,063	1,299
2001	9,730	1,299
2002	7,462	1,244
2003	7,484	1,239
2004	7,649	1,406

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation. Available online at http://www.fbi.gov/hq/cid/civilrights/hate.htm.

Hate Crime Statistics 1995-2004. THOMSON GALE.

Not until decades later, when the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was enacted, would race become a factor in hate-crime legislation. Because the federal government was under constant pressure during the civil rights era to ensure and defend the rights of black Americans, the Civil Rights Act was created not only to ensure voting rights and access to juries, but also to protect students who attended public universities, safeguard travelers using public transportation or interstate highways, and desegregate restaurants, theaters, motels, and other public facilities where countless hate crimes occurred.

The Hate Crime Statistics Act outlines the specific responsibilities of law enforcement agencies in regards to hate-crime statistics. Agencies must compile statistics from crimes that manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. This information must be summarized and published by the FBI in January of every year. The benefits of the act, according to the ADL, is that law enforcement agencies can trace certain patterns of hate crimes, anticipating new ones and bolstering authority in cities where hate crimes are most prevalent. The ADL also believes that publishing a report of hate crimes will make victims more apt to report crimes that happen to them.

In 1994 the Violence against Women Act confirmed that persons within the United States shall have the right to be free from crimes of violence motivated by gender. As part of this act rape crisis centers and domestic violence shelters received support and sentencing for crimes against women that included punitive and compensatory settlements.

Although rape is not considered a hate crime, some prosecutors and women's rights organizations, such as Hadassah, are lobbying to expand the definition to encompass sexual crimes against women. Those interested in reclassifying rape as a hate crime argue that the term *sexual crime* implies passion when, in fact, rape is about power and hatred of women. Certain cases of multiple or violent rapes have been tried as hate crimes in an effort to obtain lengthier prison sentences. Opponents of the reclassification argue that men accused of rape should not receive enhanced prison sentences simply because they target someone of a protected group.

LYNCHING

The term *lynching* is typically used to describe renegade punishments performed without the law's consent. Acting outside of justice in the role of judge and jury, lynch mobs arbitrarily deliver sentences and dispense violent retribution with little or no consideration of factual evidence or eyewitness testimony. Lynching black males for the alleged crime of raping white women became a widespread practice at the close of the Civil War during the period of Reconstruction. When Southern men were far away fighting the war, leaving their wives alone with scores of black males, the crime of rape was scarcely reported. But after slavery was abolished and black males were given citizenship, their free presence threatened the bedrock of white supremacy, and the accusation of rape was a common occurrence in many Southern towns. This racial threat, originating after emancipation, is linked to competition in the job market, infiltration of political spheres, and initiation of sexual relationships with white females. The Tuskegee Institute's records state that 3,446 African Americans were lynched from 1882 to 1968 and that 23.5 percent of these victims were lynched for supposedly raping white women. In almost every instance the crime of rape was never tried in a court of law; instead, violent crowds, in league with law enforcement officials, took matters in their own hands and wrestled prisoners from jail cells to administer mob justice.

The history of lynching, recorded in *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (2000) by Hilton Als, Jon Lewis, and Leon Litwak, shows a disturbing connection between violent punishment and eroticism, specifically voyeurism. This collection of photographic images is perhaps the most abject record of torture and punishment in America, offering visual evidence of eroticism, or more specifically, impressions of magnetism, fascination, attraction, fetishism, and desire. In the countless photographs of black males with their genitals exposed or mutilated, one must wonder how this form of punishment assumed such a sexualized nature. In lynching photographs of white males or Hispanic males included in the collection, only one photograph shows a man with his pants ripped from his body. In sharp contrast many photographs of African-American males

Signs Protesting Against Gays. *Vigils and protests as the trial for the killers of gay student Matthew Shepard begins.* © ADAM MASTOON/CORBIS.

reveal exposed upper or lower bodies, and some victims are stripped completely naked for a group of white onlookers. Many spectators took *souvenirs* from the bodies such as bone fragments, hair strands, and articles of clothing. The souvenirs once covering the genitals of young black males were turned into fetish objects as the crowd of fascinated onlookers took visual reminder of the lifeless naked bodies. These photographic records seem to verify that ritualized lynching fulfilled a sexual desire for the white voyeur. Black men are shown with their genitals mutilated or completely severed from their bodies, with a bloodied sheet covering the wounds. The practice of lynching black males, in combination with photographic evidence, bears witness to the psychosexual pathologies of white spectators and reveals a fascination with eroticized scenes of torture and death.

ANTIGAY VIOLENCE

Before 1990 and the passing of the Hate Crime Statistics Act, federal and state law simply ignored the problem of antigay violence. Only in the last few decades have violent crimes against lesbians and gays been referred to as hate crimes. In 1986 the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice met to discuss antigay violence. At that meeting psychologists, physicians, sociologists, and other members of the medical community compiled evidence of antigay violence and shared testimony revealing a systemic national antigay sentiment that pervaded schools, churches, courtrooms, and other public spaces. In 1984 the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force compiled statistics from about 1,500 gay males and more than 650 lesbians to gather data on antigay violence. Nineteen percent of the participants described being physically assaulted as a result of their sexual orientation; 44 percent suffered verbal threats of violence, and 92 percent of those threatened admitted to persistent harassment.

When comparing governmental and law-enforcement statistics of antigay violence to those collected from private agencies, a striking trend is obvious; the figures reported from law enforcement agencies are drastically lower than those of advocacy groups and nonprofit agencies. Groups such as the National Coalition of Antiviolence Programs reported 2,212 crimes against gay men in 1995, whereas the FBI estimated only 1,266 offenses, pointing to either a gross miscalculation or a great deal of underreporting. Because lodging a formal complaint requires a police report with identification of the victim, some gays and lesbians choose to remain anonymous rather than call attention to their sexual orientation. In some cases homosexuals would rather suffer antigay violence than disclose sexual orientation to family members and the larger community.

Historically, the relationship between law officials and homosexuals has been volatile, culminating in a massive protest staged by gays, lesbians, and transvestites in 1969 called the Stonewall Riots or Stonewall Rebellion. In June 1969 police raided the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, a popular gay bar that served liquor without a license. Police and more than 1,000 protesters clashed in the streets, marking the first of many protests staged by gays and lesbians in the days to come. Most credit the Stonewall Riots as the beginning of the gay rights movement, the mobilization and organized protest rallies signaling a united front against homophobia and antigay violence. Gay Pride Week—typically held during the last week in June and marked by parades, costumes, marches, and rallies—celebrates gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and transvestite lifestyles while also commemorating the events at Stonewall and the struggle for gay rights.

SPECIFIC HATE CRIMES

What follows is a list and description of some of the more notable, or well-known, hate crimes that occurred in the United States between the years 1955 and 2006:

August 28, 1955: Emmett Till (b. 1941), an African-American male, disappeared from a small town in Mississippi while visiting relatives. Till, a native of Chicago, allegedly whistled at a white woman outside of a grocery store, infuriating the white citizens who witnessed the event. Allegedly, the white woman's husband and brother-in-law kidnapped Till from his family's home, beat him to death, tied a heavy metal fan blade around his neck, and threw his body in the Tallahatchie River. Till was only fourteen years old at the time of his death and his mother asked for an open casket so that the world could see what they did to her child. The trial gained national attention, with both accused men acquitted of the crime by a jury of all-white males. Many argue that Till's brutal murder generated a great deal of momentum for the civil rights movement.

June 12, 1963: Famed civil rights leader Medgar Evers (b. 1925) was shot and killed at his home in Jackson, Mississippi. The sniper shot Evers in his driveway, though Evers was able to crawl to his front steps before collapsing and later dying at a local hospital. Byron De La Beckwith (1920–2001), a KKK member, was charged with the murder, but two Jackson juries deadlocked on the decision to convict. It would be thirty years later, on February 5, 1994, when Beckwith would finally be convicted of Evers's death; he spent the rest of his life in prison. The film *Ghosts of Mississippi* (1996) tells the story of Beckwith's final trial and conviction.

June 21, 1964: Three civil rights workers were arrested for allegedly speeding in Philidelphia, Mississippi. Micheal Schwerner (b. 1939), James Chaney (b. 1943), and Andrew Goodman (b. 1943) were part of the Freedom Riders, a group of college students protesting segregation in the South. After the three men spent the day in jail, police officers released them in the evening, ignoring their requests to stay at the facility until morning. Waiting in the dark were several KKK members who systematically shot each man on a country road and hid their bodies in an earthen dam. The case pointed to a conspiracy between Klan members and police officials, and the trials reflected the segregationist leanings of judges and juries. Most of the men responsible for the attack escaped any punishment, and the strictest prison sentence for the murderers was six years. The motion picture *Mississippi Burning* (1988) chronicles the FBI search for the missing boys.

April 4, 1968: A sniper in Memphis, Tennessee, fatally shot Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. (b. 1929) as he prepared for a scheduled demonstration. Riots broke out across the entire country in a wave of violence that left forty-six people dead, 2,600 injured, and 21,270 in prison. In the wake of mob violence estimated damage from vandalism and arson was more than $45 million.

October 19, 1973: A group of militant black Muslims called the Death Angels attacked two white victims, Richard and Quinta Hague, with machetes in San Francisco, California. Quinta Hague died from the attack and her husband was severely injured. By killing white men and women the Death Angels *earned their wings* and became prominent members of the gang. After six months and fourteen deaths, the Death Angels' killing spree finally ceased.

August 19, 1980: Notorious member of the KKK and American Nazi Party, Joseph Paul Franklin, shot two black joggers in Salt Lake City, Utah. The victims, David Martin (age twenty) and Theodore Fields (age eighteen), were allegedly shot for running beside two white women. Franklin was also charged with bombing the Beth Shalom synagogue in 1977 and in May 1980 of attempting to assassinate Vernon Jordan (b. 1935), the once National Urban League director. Franklin only targeted interracial couples or Jews and before his capture was responsible for killing twenty-one people.

August 7, 1998: James Byrd, a forty-nine-year-old African American, was dragged to death by two white supremacist members of the Aryan Nation. On an asphalt street in Jasper, Texas, Byrd was chained to a pickup truck and dragged for almost two miles. The men purportedly told Byrd: "We're starting the *Turner Diaries* early." A revered text amongst neo-Nazis, *The Turner Diaries* encourages the slaying of African Americans and Jews. One of the murderers, John William King (age twenty-four), was convicted of the murder and sentenced to death.

October 6, 1998: Matthew Shepard (b. 1976) left a local college bar in Laramie, Wyoming, with two men who claimed, as did Shepard, to be gay. After driving to a deserted rural area, the two men tied Shepard to a fence, severely beat him, and left him for dead. Almost eighteen hours later Shepard was discovered by a cyclist who found him unconscious and suffering from hypothermia. Shepard remained in a coma for five days before dying from massive head trauma that made it impossible for doctors to operate. In response to their son's death, the Shepard family created the Matthew Shepard Foundation to encourage diversity and support education and tolerance.

Friday July 28, 2006: Naveed Afzal Haq, a Muslim American claiming to be angry with Israel, walked into a Jewish community center in Seattle, Washington, and opened fire, killing one woman and wounding five others.

Critics of hate-crime legislation argue that people charged with hate crimes are essentially punished for holding certain opinions, something that tramples on the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution. Even though the First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech, some forms of personal expression, such as libel, obscenities, and language that either provokes violence or causes injury, are not sanctioned under the First Amendment. How to interpret whether some forms of hate speech fall under the protection of the First Amendment has some lawmakers uncertain. Legislators also cite the Fourteenth Amendment, which delineates equal protection under the law, as proof that enhanced penalty laws are unconstitutional.

Under the Fourteenth Amendment, each individual tried in court for a crime must be treated in the same manner as others tried for similar crimes. If a person charged with murder is given an enhanced penalty for a hate crime, critics argue that punishments are not assigned consistently or in line with equal protection. In addition, some argue that victims of hate crimes receive increased protection under the law simply because they meet the criteria of a protected group.

Susan Gellman, attorney in the Ohio public defender's office, writing in the *UCLA Law Review*, makes clear the positions of legal scholars against hate-crime laws:

> Those who oppose ethnic intimidation laws, or at least who question them most vigorously, do not disagree that bigotry (and certainly bigotry-related crime) is a serious problem. On the contrary, they are also from the ranks of the most civil rights-conscious thinkers and activists. These critics focus on threats to constitutional liberties under the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Their concerns are that these laws tread dangerously close to criminalization of speech and thought, that they impermissibly distinguish among people based on their beliefs, and that they are frequently too vaguely drafted to provide adequate notice of prohibited conduct.
>
> *(1991, 30: pp. 333–396)*

Although critics argue that hate-crime legislation might infringe on the rights of citizens and turn law enforcement officials into a thought police, many believe that strict deterrents—jail time, restitution for families, and community service, for instance—make perpetrators of hate crimes aware of the penalties for their actions.

SEE ALSO *Homophobia; Rape; Shepard, Matthew Wayne.*

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Melissa Fore

HELOISE AND ABELARD

Although Heloise (c. 1101–1163) and Peter Abelard (1079–c. 1143) had distinguished careers in the medieval Church, they are best known for their intense and dramatic love affair. The events of that affair are recorded in a series of letters they wrote between 1130 and 1134 in which they recount the course of a relationship that occurred more than a decade earlier. Those letters, which were composed in Latin prose, offer a remarkable account of their affair between 1116 and 1119, and in them Heloise employs the rhetorical practices of medieval letter writing to express masochistic forms of desire.

THE LOVE AFFAIR: 1116–1119

In a letter written to a friend in 1130 that came to be known as the *History of His Misfortunes*, Abelard describes how he became disenchanted with the celibate life of a cleric that he had led up that point and set out in 1116 to make Heloise his lover. At that point Heloise was approximately fifteen years old and lived in the home of her uncle, Fulbert of Chartres, a canon. Part of Heloise's attraction for Abelard was her reputation—even at that age—for learning, an unusual achievement for women in the twelfth century. Abelard notes that because Heloise, unlike most women, knew how to read and write Latin, their love affair would be facilitated through the exchange of letters; as Abelard puts it: "[W]hen apart, we would be allowed to be present through written mediators, and to write many things more audaciously than we could speak them." Abelard proposes that they can express and enact desire more boldly in writing than in person; he does not consider their textual relationship—enacted through the exchange of letters—to be secondary to their physical relationship.

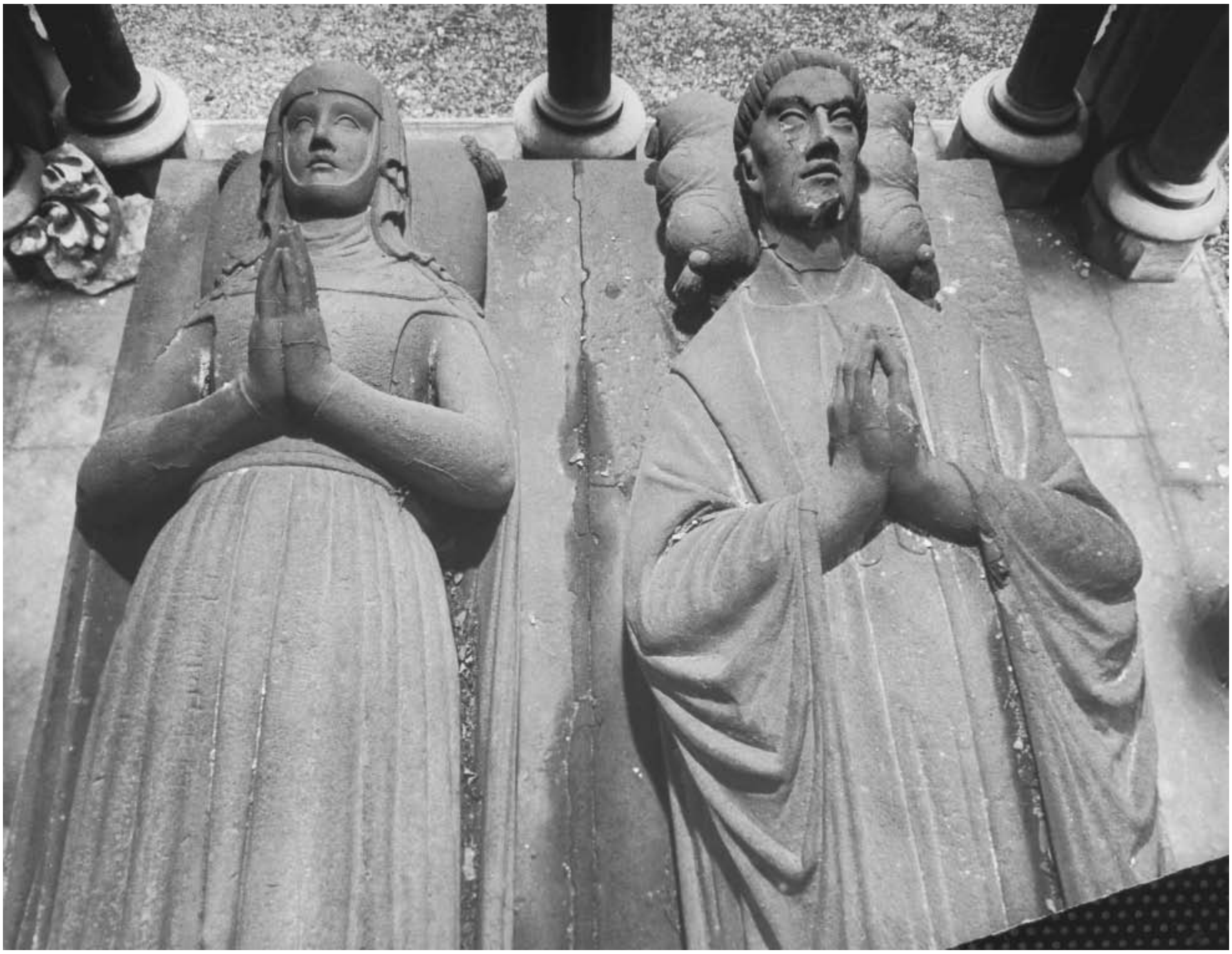
Abelard persuaded Fulbert to appoint him to be Heloise's tutor; in that position Abelard would enjoy proximity to Heloise and be empowered to give her private lessons and punish her physically if he deemed it necessary. As Abelard tells it he and Heloise quickly became sexually involved. Part of their relationship involved a level of physical violence under the cover of pedagogical violence. Abelard states: "[I]ndeed, to attract less suspicion, I sometimes gave her blows, but out of love, not fury, out of kindness, not anger—blows that surpassed the sweetness of all ointment." Both Abelard and Heloise suggest that erotic violence was a significant component of their passionate affair.

Abelard and Heloise managed to keep their relationship a secret from Fulbert until Heloise became pregnant, at which time Abelard sent her to Brittany to be cared for by his sister until their son was born. To placate Fulbert, who felt strongly that Abelard had wronged him, Abelard offered to marry Heloise as long as the marriage was kept secret. Fulbert agreed, and although Heloise was reluctant to marry and thus compromise Abelard's career in the Church, they secretly married. Their clandestine marriage failed to satisfy Fulbert, and in revenge for the wrong Abelard had done to him in seducing his niece, he had Abelard castrated. Abelard and Heloise both entered religious orders at that point. Though Heloise thrived as a nun and eventually became a highly respected and influential abbess, she never ceased to love or desire Abelard.

THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS: 1130–1134

Although Abelard and Heloise refer to letters they composed during their love affair, the letters that definitely can be attributed to them all date from a later period after they had entered religious life. Those letters enact the form of textual desire that may have supplemented their physical performance of sexuality at the beginning of the affair and that became the sole means for them to enact their erotic desires after Abelard's castration had caused their separation.

Both Abelard and Heloise consider verbal abuse more painful than physical abuse, and the letters they exchange repeat the erotic violence of their affair. Heloise's letters verbally perform masochistic desires in the face of Abelard's indifference toward her after his castration. For Heloise, Abelard's *History of His Misfortunes* situates her as an abject lover, and in her first letter to him she exquisitely describes her suffering. Like the physical violence she experienced from Abelard as his student lover, the rhetorical violence of his letters allows her to create an identity as a lover who experiences Abelard's indifference as a form of pleasure. In response to the implicit violence of Abelard's rhetorical indifference, Heloise develops a language of suffering and pain that is self-consciously aware of its status as performance. Abelard responds to Heloise by sending her a letter in which he addresses her as a religious authority and ignores her emotional and erotic investment in him.



Tomb of Heloise and Abelard Pere Lachaise Cemetary in Paris, France. NAT FARBMAN/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

Although Heloise's first letter was shaped by her insistent pleas for a response from Abelard that would recognize her, as she puts it, as his slave, her second letter expands on her erotic desires: She sees herself as the cause of Abelard's sufferings and states a desire to be the one who suffers. She reiterates her need for recognition as the submissive partner in their relationship and insists that Abelard not praise her. This letter dwells on pain and pleasure as well as her memories of pleasure: "[S]o sweet were the pleasures of lovers to me that they cannot displease me nor be loosened from memory. To whatever place I turn, always they put themselves before my eyes with their desires nor do they spare me their illusions in sleep . . . so that I do all things in those places with you." Although this passage often is interpreted as an example of Heloise's repression, Heloise here describes an autoerotic experience, not a repressed form of desire.

Heloise's letters perform a sexuality shaped by the submissive and even masochistic role she played in the affair: The letters Abelard and Heloise exchange textually enact forms of dominance and submission. Heloise's extraordinary skill in Latin prose and brilliant reputation in Latin scholarship enabled her to use letters as an erotic performance through which she could take pleasure in her subjection to Abelard.

SEE ALSO *Canon, Revising the; Castration; Domination; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Manliness; Middle Ages; Monasticism.*

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Marilynn Desmond

HEPATITIS

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

HERA

SEE *Ancient Greece; Ancient Rome; Goedess Worship.*

HERMAPHRODITE

Hermaphrodite refers to a being, human or otherwise, that possesses both female and male sexual organs. In humans that being is distinct from the *androgyne*, who may not have a double set of distinctly opposed sexual organs but whose overall physical appearance is so ambiguous that it makes sexual identification impossible. In contrast, the hermaphrodite may develop one set of sexual traits more than the other and pass for either male or female.

The term *hermaphrodite* derives from the Greek mythic tale eventually set down sometime between 1–8 CE by Ovid as *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*. In this tale the adolescent son of Hermes and Aphrodite comes across a fountain that belongs to the nymph Salmacis. Upon seeing the boy the nymph falls in love with him and asks him to either marry her or to love her in secret. He rebuffs her so she pretends to leave him alone but hides behind a bush. When he takes off his clothes she cannot contain herself and runs back to him. She holds him fast with her entire body and begs the gods to clip him to her like this forever. The gods grant her wish and so "they grew one body, one face, one pair of arms and legs (...) so two became nor boy nor girl,/neither yet both within a single body" (Ovid 1958 [1–8 CE], p. 122).

Alongside mythic literary renderings as in Ovid, European philosophical, medical, and legal conceptions of the hermaphrodite, from antiquity to the premodern era, can be traced back to two contrasting theories of dual-sexed beings: one originating with the Hippocratic writers and the other with Aristotle. The Hippocratic, or gender-spectrum, model conceived sexual identities along a continuum from ultramale to ultrafemale beings. In this view both maternal and paternal seeds could contribute maleness or femaleness. Sexual identity resulted from a combination of factors, including which seed dominated and whether it was implanted on the male or female side of the uterus. Along the spectrum of sexual determination, the hermaphrodite occupied the precise, and perfectly ambiguous, middle of that range.

In contrast, for the Aristotelian or gender-dichotomy model, no such ambiguity existed at the level of the organism. Beings were fundamentally either male or female. Sexual identity was determined by the heat of the heart, and any indeterminacy was strictly superficial. Aristotelians conceived of hermaphroditism as a deformity localized at the genitalia, a result of excess maternal matter that formed an additional sexual organ, according to Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park (1996).

Whereas the Hippocratic model has the potential to challenge the social and sexual order with various possibilities for sexual identity, the Aristotelian model tends to reinforce this order. Furthermore, the Aristotelian insistence on *true* and singular gender also laid the groundwork for later conceptions of the hermaphrodite as dissembler and deceiver, constructions that were critical to social and legal controversies of the premodern era.

THE MIDDLE AGES

Although medieval medical discourse through the twelfth century tended to be Hippocratic, the resurgence of Aristotelian texts in the thirteenth century complicated physicians' views (Daston and Park 1996). For instance, Albertus Magnus, a friar and German philosopher in the late thirteenth century, betrays his uncertainties when he claims that the "complexion of the heart" should determine sexual dominance, but immediately acknowledges that there are times when this complexion "is so intermediate that it is hardly possible to determine which sex should prevail" (1996, p. 121).

Despite medicine's difficulties in determining sexual identity in some hermaphrodites, medieval law still expected a person to adhere to the sexual identity he or she had been assigned at birth. Transgressing this law was not only morally condemnable but also a criminal act, for, as Peter de Chandler (d. 1197) argued in *Verbum abbreviatum*, sexual alternation could be seen as a "sign of sodomy" (Miri Rubin 1994, p.103–104).

Other discourse on the hermaphrodite cited by Miri Rubin (1994) included reworkings of Ovid's—interpretations that ranged from cautionary tales to young men regarding excess in worldly pleasure, to images of harmony and mutually beneficial contributions, to Christological allegories of Christ Hermaphrodite fusing with the nymph, Humanity, in the pool of the Virgin Mary.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Whereas the debate over the nature of the hermaphrodite in the early modern period seems to settle on the Aristotelian model, albeit with moments of Hippocratic resurgence, late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century discourse became increasingly sexually and morally charged, shifting from determining the nature of hermaphrodites to considering them *preternatural* (wondrous creatures worthy of discussion in medical treatises such as those published by Ambroise Paré in 1550, Jacques Duval in 1612, and Jean Riolan in 1614), *unnatural* (as sodomites were considered), or *artificial* (changing sex or having same-sex relations with the aid of devices) (Daston and Park 1996). Thus, hermaphrodites were subjected to more severe scrutiny and condemnation. Not only were the births and marriages of dual-sexed persons noted on the local town registries, but their livelihoods and, in fact, their lives were threatened when allegations of sodomy hovered over them.

This was the case for Marie le Marcis, who was accused of sodomy in 1601 for abandoning female dress and changing her name to Marin, with the intention of marrying a woman. She was saved from being hanged and burned when Jacques Duval testified that Marie/Marin possessed a male organ that "emerged from her/his vagina only when aroused" (Daston and Park 1996, p.124). Another case was that of Marguerite Malaure, a maidservant who, in 1686, had been identified as a "predominantly male hermaphrodite." (Daston and Park 1996, p. 125). She was forced to take male dress and the name of Arnauld Malaure, thus losing her livelihood. Marguerite was jailed when she tried to reassume her female identity, and it was not until she beseeched the king that she was ultimately reinstated as a woman.

What modern scholars have identified as an increased fascination with hermaphrodites in the early seventeenth century may have been a reaction to the political and religious turmoil affecting France in the second half of the sixteenth century. In addition to the above-mentioned medical treatises, a sudden flow of political pamphlets and literary satire on the part of religious extremists demonized Catherine de Medici (1519–1589) and her sons Charles IX (1550–1574) and Henri III (1551–1589) for their behavior at court. Some portrayed Catherine as a virago, Charles as a king castrated by his mother, and Henri as a sodomite. All of these seem to reflect a desire to reestablish the order of sexual dichotomy at court as well as in the nation. However, this desire may have been complicated by the resurgence of the works of Sextus Empiricus (second and possibly third centuries CE), such as his *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, which was translated by Henri Estienne in 1562. As Kathleen P. Long (2006) suggests, the revival of Sextus's ideas on suspending judgment about reality initiated a phase of questioning of fundamental truths that pervaded much of the epistemological thought of the late sixteenth century and is reflected in satirical texts such as that of Thomas Artus's *Description de l'Isle des Hermaphrodites, Nouvellement Découverte* [Description of the island of Hermaphrodites, newly discovered] (1695 [1605]).

Published sixteen years after the death of Henri III, infamous for cross-dressing, Artus's text sets up a realm populated by men who dress as women. Despite its title the focus of the text is on their accouterment: dress, hairstyle, makeup, gestures, speech, and even the laws by which they constitute and identify themselves. The absence of direct references to these men's anatomies indicates that, to the author, hermaphrodites are not the product of nature but are the result of counterfeit appearance and performativity (Long. 2006). To the extent that these markers are also those of the transvestite, sodomite, and of any deviant behavior; Artus's text may read as a conservative satire of Henri III's court and an attempt to denounce boundary transgressions that threatened the fabric of the social order. Nevertheless, contemporary readings note carnivalesque potential in the fact that, in the text, gender is not grounded in anatomy but rather oriented around language and performativity and thus vulnerable to the play of signification. For instance, the section titled "Articles of Faith of the Hermaphrodites" declares that "from now on and forever we abolish those names of father, mother, brother, sisters, and others, and only want to use those of Monsieur, Madame, and others of similar honor, according to the customs of the countries" (Artus 1695, p. 68). Here and elsewhere the text signals the disruption of social hierarchies and traditional familial relations. Moreover, gender roles, such as Madame and Monsieur are put on and taken off as easily as clothing: "each one may dress according to his/her whims, as long as it is done bravely, superbly, and with no other distinction or consideration for his/her rank or privilege … because on this Island, the clothes make the monk, and not the other way around" (Artus 1695, p. 88). Artus's text is indicative of the pyrrhonic crisis that began with the revival of Sextus. In this brief period, prior to the Enlightenment (1600–1800) quest for singular scientific certainty, the hermaphrodite became emblematic of a perpetual undecidability that resonates with postmodern relativity and the principle of uncertainty.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Body, Theories of; Gender, Theories of; One-Sex Theory.*

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HERPES

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

HERRENFRAGE

The term *Herrenfrage* (the question of men) was coined by historian Jo Ann McNamara as a counterpoint to the better-known *Frauenfrage* (the question of women) to express a crisis of masculinity in the Christian West at the end of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Expanding populations created new conditions, especially in urban centers, where the high status of the warrior class diminished and a higher premium was placed on learning, creating new professionals with high stakes in the leadership of all Church institutions. A campaign waged to extirpate marriage among secular priests and impose celibacy throughout the clergy met fierce resistance. The 1074 Roman Synod proclaimed the degeneracy of Nicolaite (married) priests, but that same year, the Paris synod rejected clerical celibacy as contrary to reason and human nature (Dalarun 2006). Bernard of Tiron (1046–1117), preaching celibacy in Normandy, was almost killed at the instigation of the wives of the priests (Dalarun 2006). McNamara observed that monastic orders rejected the presence of women among the monks, as women in clerical texts of all types were depicted as polluting, aggressive, and dangerous. Whereas *Frauenfrage* refers to the sudden "surplus" of women in Christendom, as a result of enforced clerical celibacy turning many women out on the street, and of the mobilizations of large numbers of men for the Crusades, *Herrenfrage* refers to male efforts to reshape threatened masculinity. For McNamara, "the newly celibate clerical hierarchy reshaped the gender system to assure male domination of every aspect of the new public sphere" (1994, p. 11).

The Aristotelian model of gender and the sexed body posited maleness at the core of the human person and defined women as an accidental deviation or defective male. But women would then be justified in returning to "natural maleness" by shedding all their "womanly" functions, in particular, having sex with men and conforming to the imperative of procreation. Some medieval women could thus "renounce" their inferior status as women, and, acquiring a "manly" status, could rule, lead troops, or be included in the praying order. In the early eleventh century, women still had opportunities within the Church; women ruled convents while secular canonesses of cathedral chapters shared the functions of male canons, except for sacramental activity. In the early Middle Ages, celibacy was the purview of women as a virtue of sexual abstinence leading to sainthood. Now, men were claiming celibacy as their own. As monks rose in the clerical hierarchy and the monastic orders were clericized with the co-option of monks into ordained priesthood, nuns were disqualified from access to higher orders of learning, and, beginning in 1059, then in the 1120s, canonesses were attacked and chapters dissolved (McNamara 1994).

Yet some saw sexual renunciation as a means to free all, men and women, from traditional gender roles. The number of women hermits, anchoresses, and recluses multiplied, including repentant prostitutes and abandoned priest's wives. For men, abstinence was a way out of the burdens and corruption of government (McNamara 1994). Hermann of Tournai, regarding women adopting the Cistercian rule, said women were fit for the hardest ascetic practices and manual labor, and in 1131 young women gathered around Gilbert of Sempringham (c. 1083–1189) to cultivate a piece of land so unyielding that monks had abandoned it (McNamara 1994).

The Breton priest Robert of Arbrissel (c. 1047–1117) renounced his former sins, became an apostle for celibacy and purity (Dalarun 2006), and, in 1095, went "to the desert" in the forest of Craon, at the Anjou-Brittany border, to implement his own doctrine of ministering to women, including the most destitute (Dalarun 2006). He formed a mixed monastic community at Fontevraud where men and women were separated by walls, and women became leaders, ruling over men (Venarde 2003). He also spearheaded a bold syneisactic experiment in which a mixed community lived side by side. This term refers to women and men living chastely together for religious purposes, or more precisely, cohabitating to test their chastity (Ranft 1997, p. 1445). As Duby puts it, "at night the men slept on one side, the women on the other, and the leader in between, presiding over an exercise in self-control that had spread to France from Britain." This was a community "in which men slept near women in order to defy the lusts of the flesh" (Duby 1983, p. 157). However, Robert was fiercely attacked and had to desist. A letter to him from Bishop Marbod of Rennes lambastes him for underestimating the evil of women and the power of lust, for taking pleasure in women's company, and for committing the cardinal sin—pride (Venarde 2003).

Church authorities reinstated the idea of man's "raging uncontrollable lust" against women (McNamara 1994, pp. 15–16), whom Marbod characterized as poisonous snakes (Venarde 2003). Around 1136, Bernard equated syneisactism with heresy: he could not prove wrongdoing on the part of pious women and men, but declared himself scandalized and thus that these men and women were "heretics subverting the Church through scandal." Men began deserting the cause of women in droves, leaving syneisactic communities they had founded, shutting down mixed orders under stricter claustration, and enforcing the gender order (McNamara 1994). Thus, when the lady Ermengarde (c. 1067–1147), daughter of Foulques Rechin (or Fulk IV of Anjou), repudiated by William of Aquitaine (1071–1126), was married again to the count of Nantes, she tried to leave him and take refuge in Fontevraud, seeking an annulment of the marriage. It was denied, and Robert had to return her to her husband, with admonishments to "accept her lot in life, her 'order' as a wife and mother" (Duby 1983, p. 159). Thus, by the middle of the twelfth century, gender and male dominance were, for the time being, reconfigured and shored up.

SEE ALSO *Gender Roles: II. History; Gender Stereotype; Gender, Theories of; Middle Ages.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

HETEROSEXUALITY

Heterosexuality is a sexual identity in which sexual and erotic desires are directed exclusively toward members of the opposite sex. The term *heterosexuality* emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in the context of the rapidly expanding field of sexology: the medical, psychological, and social study of sex. The origin of the term is closely linked to the pathologizing of sex that occurred during that period; the concept of heterosexuality came into being largely to distinguish the *perversion* of homosexuality (also known as sexual inversion or the contrary sexual instinct) from other-directed sexuality. In its early usage the word heterosexuality often was allied with notions of perversion both by its close association with abnormal sexuality and by its frequent use to denote *unnatural*, or nonprocreative, sexual inclinations. By the 1889 publication of Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, along with its influential 1892 English translation, however, heterosexual often was used also to connote *normal* sexuality, thus setting up a heteronormative understanding of human sexuality that persists today.

Although the term heterosexuality has been dated with some precision; tracing the concept of heterosexuality in the genealogy of human sexuality has been much more difficult. Because heterosexual union requires the coming together of two differently sexed biological bodies and because human procreation depends on the mating of those bodies, the study of heterosexuality has been complicated by the tendency to consider heterosexuality a natural biological fact rather than a cultural or historical construction.

Beginning in the 1970s, most notably with Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1976), gay and lesbian historians began interrogating the *naturalness* of human heterosexual desire, often as part of a project of recuperating an alternative queer history. Foucault's argument that human sexuality is a culturally constructed concept that emerged from the discourse of the nineteenth century was crucial to the project of rethinking heterosexuality as a cultural specific rather than a biological fact. Debates raged, however, about whether sexuality is completely constructed or whether modern sexual identities were visible in other forms in earlier epochs. Thus social constructionists argued that before the emergence of homosexuality and heterosexuality in the nineteenth century, sex was understood in terms of the type of sexual act performed rather than in terms of sexual identity. A sodomite in earlier times was a person who committed a criminal sexual act; after the nineteenth century a sodomite was a person whose very identity was bound up in an exclusive desire for sexual relations with other men.

Researchers with a more essentialist outlook argued that although homosexuality might have been understood differently, identifiable subcultures of men who had sex with other men and who constructed their sexual identities around certain types of clothing, manners, and behaviors have existed throughout history. Those cultures, according to some, prove the prior existence of identities (such as homosexuality and heterosexuality) structured around the choice of sexual object.

Social constructionists have critiqued more essentialist theories on the grounds that they unfairly impose a modern understanding of sexuality on a sometimes remote past. Social constructionism, however, has been criticized for its tendency to regard the physical body as a blank slate on which culturally specific notions of biology, sex, and gender are constructed. In some cases this has led to a modified social constructionism that envisions the physical body as limiting the possibilities for social constructions of sexuality.

In the 1980s and 1990s many studies of sexuality concerned its imbrications in constructions of gender and gender relations. For feminist and queer scholars the ways in which heterosexuality structures, informs, and legitimates genders norms has been problematic and thus has been a focus of attention. Until recently those studies tended to focus on challenges to heteronormativity, such as alternative sexualities and the explosion of gender norms. Increasing attention, however, has been paid to the question of heterosexuality itself. Recent scholars have begun to examine the means by which the assumption of heterosexuality has rendered it monolithic and invisible. Those scholars have studied the degree to which the heterosexual ideal underlies social structures and institutions, public policy, power structures, and matrices of personal identity.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Sexuality in Antiquity The prevalence of male sexual relationships in ancient Greece and Rome has been held up as evidence for the long history of homosexuality. Some researchers have highlighted the ways in which certain subcultures constructed a social identity that was based on a sexual object, arguing that such subcultures are proof of Greek and Roman analogues to the modern notion of homosexuality. Others, however, have contended that same-sex relationships in antiquity were conducted as a performance of social dominance: What was important was not the choice of sexual partner but the act that was performed. Penetration was understood as an assertion of power that was performed by an adult male citizen. To be penetrated was the purview of women, slaves, and adolescents because it connoted a passivity that was at odds with ideas of citizenship. Sexuality thus was understood in terms of action and passivity rather than sexual difference. Sex required an active partner and a passive one rather than a male and a female.

This understanding of sexuality is mirrored by ancient conceptions of gender difference. Rather than being possessors of radically different bodies and sexual organs, men and women were thought to have similar bodies in different stages of development. A woman's body was not substantially different from a man's—merely less developed. Because gender was conceived as essentially undifferentiated, it mattered little what kind of body a citizen had sex with, only whether a sexual act was a fitting assertion of the powers of an active citizen. Sex in antiquity produced not heterosexuals and homosexuals but citizens and noncitizens.

There is some historical evidence for a category of effeminate men in antiquity that preferred the passive position. Some historians have argued that the existence of such groups refutes the contention that Greek and Roman cultures had no concept of exclusive same-sex desire that correlates to the modern notion of homosexuality. Opponents have argued, however, that such men took both active and passive roles in sex and that social intolerance reflected their flouting of gender norms rather than the choice of a sexual partner.

Christian Sex In both Christian and pagan cultures the early centuries of Christianity saw a rise in the importance of sexual austerity. In contrast to the understanding of sex as a means of asserting social dominance in the classical period, sex in late antiquity became a means of relating to the self. Thus Roman society saw an increased focus on self-control and the ill effects of overindulgence. That concern was mirrored in early Christian society, which placed great emphasis on self-control and the regulation of sex. Christian theology regarded sexual desire as a manifestation of evil and the primary site of sinful temptation; overcoming sexual desire thus became central to transcending the material world and attaining the world of the spirit.

Christian faith thus idealized celibacy and chastity and regarded marriage as a second-best alternative for those who were unable to remain chaste. Appropriate sexual behavior within the confines of marriage thus became a primary site of the regulation of sexuality by the Christian Church. In Greek and Roman societies of antiquity, sex between men was regarded as an improvement over nature. Adolescent boys were considered to express an ideal of youth and beauty, and to copulate with a young man was thus an idealized form of sexual behavior that was enabled by a civilization's advances over nature. By the year 1000, however, in the Christian Church nature had come to serve as a legitimating mechanism, a touchstone that helped determine whether a sexual act was sanctioned by God and nature or was perverse and unnatural. In that purview natural sex was construed as procreative; unnatural sex was sex done solely for pleasure or without a chance of procreation. Certain forms of heterosexual sex thus were condoned by the Church, whereas masturbation, anal sex, and homosexual sex were deemed to be unnatural and therefore sinful.

The act of confession and penitential handbooks were used to aid the Church in its regulation of sexuality. Parishioners were encouraged to name and describe their sins of the flesh, providing a discursive framework for the regulation of sex. In tandem with the religious regulation of sex, however, there was a flourishing literary culture of romance and seduction that encouraged a more liberal view of sexuality. Despite the proscriptive nature of Church guidelines for an ideal marriage, historical evidence suggests that premarital sex, adultery, concubinage, and prostitution flourished and that in secular culture, sex and sexual desire were considered normal.

Because of the emphasis of the Church on nature as a legitimating mechanism for sexual desire, heterosexual vaginal sex—the only sort that could result in procreation—within the bonds of marriage was the only type of sanctioned sexual activity. There is some disagreement, however, about whether that emphasis on heterosexual sex correlates to the conception of heterosexuality as it is understood in the early twenty-first century. Some historians have interpreted the existence of an early Christian framework for acknowledging exclusive male unions as evidence for a medieval homosexual culture. Evidence suggests, however, that this was one of many ways in which the early Christian Church tolerated and accommodated the social and sexual mores of lay society even as it officially encouraged sexual renunciation. By the end of the first millennium CE, the Church had consolidated its hold on the religious and social life of Europe. Attitudes toward women had taken the form of a binary opposition in which women were idealized as the Virgin Mary or viewed as corrupters of the flesh. In either case sex between men and women was always fraught, and homosocial male friendships were encouraged as an ideal form of intimacy.

By the early Renaissance the regulation of sodomy had become a matter of increased concern to both Church and secular authorities. The term *sodomy*, which previously had connoted unnatural sexual acts of any variety, increasingly was applied to sex between men, and legal documents suggest that there was widespread practice of sodomy in certain regions in Europe. Some scholars have argued that the increased concern with regulating sodomitical behaviors and the sometimes widespread prosecution of men for those actions suggest the existence of communities of men structured around a homosexual identity. Others, however, contend that such men routinely engaged in sex with both men and women; this suggests that a sexual identity structured around exclusive desire for a particular sex had not arisen.

The Creation of Heterosexuality With the rise of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, religious communities began to rethink the relationship between sex and marriage. Protestants differentiated themselves from the Catholic Church, in part by insisting on marital sex as a natural and normal part of marriage. Sexual intimacy was considered desirable in a marriage because it strengthened and solidified the relationship between a man and a woman. Although sexual renunciation no longer was considered necessary to spiritual enlightenment, Protestant churches continued to exercise regulatory influence over the types of sexuality permitted in a spiritually correct marriage.

In the eighteenth century the single-body notion of gender that had been prevalent throughout the Middle Ages was replaced by the notion that men and women are biologically different. The prevailing idea of sex as an act between passive and active partners thus was replaced by the notion of sex as an act occurring between males and females; sex was redefined as the mating of difference rather than sameness. In tandem with that biological reconceptualization of gender difference, women's roles in the eighteenth century were undergoing a certain amount of redefinition. Women increasingly were vocal on the subject of their political rights and were beginning to demand inclusion in the rising democratization of Western European societies. In response, social norms reflected an increased emphasis on the domestic and childbearing responsibilities of women, duties that appeared to be legitimated by new understandings of biological gender difference.

The eighteenth century saw an increase in fertility rates after centuries of relative stability. Although the reasons for increased fertility were various, some scholars have suggested that in societies that increasingly were extending political power beyond the bounds of the nobility and the upper classes, the ability to define women in terms of their difference from men provided a scientific, biological justification for their exclusion from political participation and their relegation to the domestic sphere.

The eighteenth century also saw the cementing of the notion that sodomites preferred sex exclusively with men as well as the belief that those men were necessarily effeminate. By the end of the seventeenth century a group of men who arguably could be considered a third gender had appeared. Those men, known as *mollies*, adopted mannerisms and styles of dress that marked them as effeminate in the public eye. Public concern with and prosecution of sodomites—a term used almost exclusively to refer to sex between men—rose sharply in that period, and mollies, who were visibly different, were scrutinized and condemned.

The degree to which mollies constituted a definable subculture created around a sexual identity has been discussed by scholars who argue that sodomy was an accepted sexual activity among the upper classes. Nonetheless, sodomy increasingly was policed during that period, and men who dressed and behaved effeminately often were persecuted as sodomites, creating a link between effeminate behavior and sodomy. That construction of male sexuality encouraged the expression of proper masculinity to coalesce around the exclusive sexual preference for women. In place of centuries of relative tolerance of sexual interest in both genders, the eighteenth century saw the rise of an emphasis on sexual desire directed exclusively toward one gender or the other. What the nineteenth century would term heterosexuality thus arose in response to the link established between disrupted gender norms and exclusive same-sex desire.

In the Victorian era of the nineteenth century, family life increasingly was conceived of in terms of two interdependent spheres. The private sphere was the realm of female domesticity and was understood as the moral training ground for children and the primary source of emotional and domestic support for the male head of the household, who sallied forth into the public sphere of business and politics. In contrast to an earlier Protestant emphasis on the importance of sex to a harmonious marriage, bourgeois Victorians were schooled in the importance of self-control, moral rectitude, and sexual restraint.

Sexuality in that period was highly gendered. Men were thought to be driven by a natural animal appetite and sexual instinct that had to be controlled rigidly by the man and tamed by his wife. In contrast women often were thought to be passionless and devoid of interest in sexual pleasure. Even among dissenters who contended that women did experience passion, the nature of that passion conformed to the gender norms of the period: Male sexual desire was forceful and active and required constant vigilance and mastery; female passion was thought to be gentle, nurturing, and passive and often was referred to as a passion for motherhood and family. Properly masculine behavior thus was characterized by mastery of the sexual instinct, whereas femininity required reticence and decorum with regard to sexual matters.

Victorian sex increasingly was thought of in medical and biological terms, and that period saw a marked increase in public discourse about appropriate sexual behavior. Some doctors believed that sexual energy is finite and cautioned against sexual behaviors, such as masturbation, that might deplete it. In a culture that valued thrift and self-control, masturbation was viewed as licentious, wasteful behavior. Much literature was published on the dangers of masturbation and infant and childhood sexuality, which were believed to sap the nervous system. Doctors and charlatans alike prescribed elaborate remedies for spermatorrhea, or the excessive loss of semen, which was characterized by impotence, lethargy, and frailty of the nervous system. In women masturbation was believed to worsen natural nervous tendencies and undermine interest in bearing children.

Coupled with medical discourse surrounding the anxieties of proper sexuality, the Victorian era saw pervasive prostitution, venereal disease, and pornography. Although those social problems attracted the attention of social reformers and public policy makers who wished to contain sexual expression in its proper place and modality within the family, prostitution and pornography often were regarded as a necessary evil. Because men were believed to possess an overwhelming animal sexual instinct and because the Victorian marriage was designed to control rather than allow the expression of that instinct, many considered it inevitable that a significant number of men who were unable to exercise sufficient self-restraint would resort to prostitutes to relieve their urges.

Mainstream Victorian society thus included multiple levels at which the topic of sex was addressed. Proper sexual behavior was viewed in the context of bourgeois family structure, moral restraint, and appropriate gender roles. Because the sexual passions of men and women were so distinct, appropriate sexual behavior automatically was coded as coitus between two different sexes. Rising interest in the study of perverse sexual behaviors, including homosexuality, cemented that association. The nineteenth century was marked by an interest in medical solutions to social problems such as crime, alcoholism, prostitution, and vagrancy, and the study of sexual deviancy progressed with the same interest in finding a medical solution. The rise of sexology in the nineteenth century thus was influenced by the notion that sexual perversion was a disease that required a cure.

That understanding of sexuality as pathology was crucial to the way in which heterosexuality was constructed as an identity. The interest in treating or reforming (rather than simply deterring or punishing) deviant or socially problematic populations allowed for the establishment of numerous insane asylums, prisons, orphanages, and juvenile reform schools. Scientific disciplines such as criminology, psychiatry, and sexology were born out of the availability of the inmates of those institutions as objects of study. The identity of the inmates increasingly was constructed by the institutions in which they resided and the scientists who observed them. As Foucault (1976) and others have suggested, it was the gaze of the criminologist that created people who were identified as criminals.

That equation of behavior and identity became increasingly important to sexology in the nineteenth century. Same-sex erotic behavior earlier had been seen as a sign of sexual inversion, or the display of characteristics of the opposite gender. A woman's sexual attraction to another woman thus was considered to be a sign of gender confusion because she was displaying a masculine desire for the female sex. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, the terminology of sexual inversion was replaced by that of sexual identity, such as homosexual or heterosexual. Sexual preferences increasingly were thought to be expressive of some internal essence, and the choice of sexual object or the preference for particular sexual acts thus was believed to indicate something fundamental about one's personality.

That understanding of sexuality involved a certain reconfiguration of previous understandings of same-sex friendships. Female friendships in the nineteenth century, for example, were considered by contemporaries to be both normal and desirable. Confinement to the domestic sphere enabled intense friendships among women, and letters of that period reveal the degree to which those relationships were expressed in terms of love and romantic passion consistent with Victorian romanticism. In some cases the women in those relationships lived together, conducting their domestic arrangements as though they were married. Such friendships were accepted by the friends and families of those women, regardless of whether the women occupied a traditional household or were single women living together.

Some researchers have suggested that Victorian understandings of female sexuality, which posited a passionless female whose only desire was directed toward procreation, allowed a great deal of leeway for women to explore intense female friendships without social opprobrium. Some historians have claimed that even in cases in which one member of a couple adopted more masculine clothing, sexual contact was rare. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, as discourse about sexuality began to focus on deviance and perversion, such friendships between women were viewed with increasing suspicion. As late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sexologists came to regard the mannish woman in terms of sexual identity—as a lesbian who must necessarily exhibit unnatural, voracious sexual instincts and a have corrupting influence on innocents—women's friendships became more constricted.

Heterosexuality Normalized The understanding of sexual identity in terms of object choice in the late nineteenth century was developed through an interest in defining and treating perversity, including same-sex desire, fetishes, and other sexual fixations. Those desires, however, inevitably were compared with normal sexual function, which already had been defined as male–female vaginal sex. In the early twentieth century Sigmund Freud (1989) conceived of sexual dysfunction in terms of overall mental health, advancing a theory of consciousness and human development that posited certain types of psychological disorders, such as hysteria and neurosis, as indicative of abnormal or problematic sexual development. Although Freud also focused his studies on perverse or abnormal sexual behavior, he utilized his research to help articulate a theory of normal sexual behavior.

In the 1920s and 1930s sexologists became increasingly interested in exploring normal sexual function. Criminologists, psychiatrists, and other researchers studied the connections between abnormal sexual development and a person's propensity for criminality, prostitution, delinquency, and other deviant behaviors. Queries about the sexual mores of the lower classes raised the question of whether those mores were substantially different from middle- and upper-class norms. Additionally much of the medical practice of sexology was dedicated to improving and normalizing sexual relations between married persons. Many reformers argued for the importance of education in establishing desirable sexual behavior, thus opening a discourse of sexuality that was founded on the notion that appropriate sexual activity was heterosexual and involved vaginal penetration. Studies of sexual dissatisfaction in marriage assumed the importance and centrality of vaginal intercourse, and theories of sexual pleasure espoused the necessity of the vaginal orgasm, conceiving female sexual pleasure solely in terms of vaginal stimulation. Even as sexual culture in the early twentieth century was liberalized by notions of sexual freedom and pleasure, ideas of normal sexual behavior were narrowed and increasingly assumed to be self-evident.

In the 1940s and 1950s sex research in the United States was revolutionized by the work of Alfred Kinsey (1948, 1953), who conducted interviews with an enormous sample of the American population. Kinsey's work was groundbreaking in the degree to which it demonstrated that many sexual practices that were considered morally or socially unaccepted were commonplace. Although his work placed great emphasis on the orgasm as a marker of sexual satisfaction, Kinsey denounced the vaginal orgasm as a myth. He also provided evidence that many men and women had engaged in same-sex practices at one time or another, illustrating that homosexual behavior was not confined to a deviant subclass.

Kinsey and other researchers of that period noted a widespread liberalization of sexual attitudes in men and women born after the turn of the century. The practices of dating and premarital sexual experimentation became widespread. In the 1960s and 1970s sexual liberation proceeded along multiple fronts: Young men and women adhered to an ethic of sexual pleasure and permissiveness that allowed for multiple sexual partners before or instead of marriage. The invention of the contraceptive pill and the availability of reliable contraception in the 1960s, as well as abortion reforms in the early 1970s, enabled permissive heterosexual relationships that apparently had no adverse consequences. The feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s began to examine the political nature of the private sphere, arguing that norms of sexual behavior, marriage and domesticity and child rearing had material impacts in the struggle for women's rights and equality.

The 1960s and 1970s also saw increasing political and social agitation for gay and lesbian rights. Gay and lesbian activism became highly public and involved a certain consolidation of homosexual identity. Activists asserted their right to express same-sex affection free from police harassment and social discrimination and insisted that older notions of homosexuality as a disease be overturned. Gays and lesbians often framed their arguments in terms of sexual identity, claiming that homosexuality was more than a sexual orientation; instead, it was an identity and a lifestyle with intrinsic validity and value. For some, asserting the right to a gay or lesbian lifestyle entailed an implicit rejection of heteronormative assumptions about the proper course of a life that placed great value on marriage, family, and homemaking.

In spite of the liberalization of sexual behaviors, however, such heteronormative assumptions remained largely unexamined and often difficult to discern. Early feminist criticism of the social roles of marriage and family, for example, often assumed the normality of a heterosexual union even as it critiqued the means by which that union was conducted. Movement toward a more sexually explicit cultural milieu was initiated and furthered by men's magazines such as *Playboy*, *Esquire*, and *Penthouse*, which promoted a sexually licentious bachelor culture that centered on stimulating and fulfilling heterosexual male desire. Thus, although lesbians and gay men increasingly were encouraged to form their own identities around the question of sexual orientation, heterosexuality remained an identity that necessarily existed counter to homosexual identities but was itself rarely interrogated.

THEORIES OF HETEROSEXUALITY

The gay liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s prompted an interest in exploring histories of sexuality. Early examinations of sexuality, however, tended to assume the immutability of sexual desire and object choice; sexuality often was considered a natural instinct that was historically and culturally constructed. Foucault's work on sexuality in the 1970s proved to be seminal in its understanding of sexuality as the product of power and discourse in a specific time and culture. According to Foucault (1976), sexuality was constituted in the Victorian era through a proliferation of discourses about sex; those discourses did not, as Freud later claimed, repress a natural sexuality but instead brought sexuality into being as an object of inquiry. Sexual identities, then, arose from new discourses that classified and studied sexual behavior.

That understanding, which suggested that heterosexuality is not a biological given, provided a lens for understanding the structuring of sexual relations in other cultures. Jonathan Katz (1995), for example, listed several social orders for which sexuality was not the primary structuring principle, including early Puritan society in America; for the Puritans, Katz argued, sexual behavior was understood not in terms of what gender one had sex with but according to whether the act in question had procreative potential.

Many scholars have critiqued the degree to which heterosexual norms help further patriarchal power. Kate Millett (1970) and Gayle Rubin (1975) examined the ways in which heterosexuality underpins the patriarchal power system and male dominance over women. Adrienne Rich (1980) argued that heterosexuality is a political institution that establishes and legitimates men's physical, economical, and emotional power over and access to women. Women, she claims, may have no innate preference for heterosexuality, but heterosexuality is imposed and enforced by a multitude of social, cultural, and political mechanisms that constitute heterosexuality and its institutions (marriage, motherhood, family, etc.) as natural and efface alternatives such as lesbian or women-identified households and communities.

Building on Rich's attempt to denaturalize heterosexual identity, Judith Butler (1990, 1993) utilized Foucault's notions of discourse and power to formulate a theory that accounted for both sexuality and gender. In Butler's conception gender and sexuality are always produced; heterosexuality is not a norm against which the abnormal homosexual is contrasted but instead is always being constructed by performances that establish its norms and limits. Those performances have the effect of establishing as natural something that is always constructed.

Although earlier work on sexuality often treated heterosexuality as a monolithic construction against which to examine other forms of sexuality, more recent scholarship has attempted to examine the different ways in which heterosexuality exists and functions. Some scholars have noted the degree to which heterosexual identity is taken for granted and rendered invisible even as it underpins other identities that are available to both men and women (husband, wife, mother, father, son, daughter). Other scholars have continued to examine the ways in which heteronormative assumptions underpin gender roles, family structure, social institutions, public policy, cultural forms, and sexual behavior.

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Maureen Lauder

HIERARCHY

It is well established in sociology that, since time immemorial, societies have cultivated and sustained hierarchies of power, privilege, and prestige. Before the turn of the twentieth century Max Weber (1864–1920) posited that with the development of capitalism and modernity, such hierarchies would come to be institutionalized in bureaucracies and justified by a legal-rational mind-set. Weber's description of bureaucracy, with its hierarchical chain of command, was grounded in his observation of the Prussian army, a clearly and exclusively male organization. Thus, his theory of bureaucracy, upon which all subsequent bureaucracy theory and research has been based, contains this gender bias. With the exception of the studies of grassroots, collectivist-democratic organizations that began to come to print in the late 1970s, the entire multidisciplinary field of organizational theory and behavior emanating from departments of sociology, political science, management, and public administration can be said to be an extensive elaboration of Weber's original theory of bureaucracy, which included an ideal typical exposition of its characteristic features and an explanation for its spread and permanent nature in all modern societies. The gender bias in the hundred-year study of bureaucracy and hierarchy since then emanates from its beginnings.

However, ever since the consciousness-raising groups of the 1960s and 1970s that marked the beginning of the contemporary women's movement, feminists have been developing a challenge to hierarchical relations and their manifestation in bureaucracy. Key to the feminist case against bureaucracy is an understanding of how women end up subjugated in hierarchal control structures (Ferguson 1984) and how gender-based inequities of treatment have been the outcome in both industrial and service sectors of the economy and cross-nationally. In addition, Acker (1990) has shown how bureaucracy theory itself rests on masculine images and biases and urges organizational scholars to explore these further, while searching for alternative, less hierarchal modes of organization.

The search for a way out of women's relegation to the lower rungs of organizational hierarchies has taken three tacks: First, many researchers have examined various social movement activities that have tried to achieve greater gender equality at the organizational level.

A second and rich vein of research has searched, not for how women might improve their lot in existing hierarchal structures, but for how women might create *alternative* organizations that would eliminate hierarchies of skill, influence, and privilege. In this regard, many examples have been found, and over the last decades of the twentieth century thousands of grassroots feminist enterprises were built along self-managing and democratic lines.

Based upon Kathy Ferguson's (1984) argument that feminism and bureaucracy are incompatible and on Joyce Rothschild-Whitt's (1979) conception of a collectivist-democratic form of organization that could stand as an alternative to bureaucracy, many researchers have asked whether there is an empirical connection between feminist values and collectivist-democratic organizational structures. For example, feminist beliefs were translated into egalitarian and democratic innovations in the National

Women's Studies Association studied by Robin Leidner (1991) and in the numerous feminist collectivist organizations in Quebec studied by Jennifer Beeman, et al (2005). The rape crisis centers and battered women's shelters studied by Nancy Matthews (1994) and Claire Reinelt (1994), respectively, continued to use many collectivist, anti-hierarchal practices even after they received state support for their organizations. Kathleen Iannello (1992) found many feminist organizations that are developing a process of consensus-based decision-making that she calls "modified consensus," which allows them to make decisions without hierarchy but also without the requirement of unanimous approval. Darcy Leach (2006) finds that the contemporary movement organizations in Germany *assume* a collectivist-democratic form, but still vary in terms of how they go about resolving conflicting points of view. Additionally, some of the American communes like Twin Oaks have developed some creative devices to overcome hierarchy and achieve equality in both work and gender relations (Rothschild and Tomchin 2006).

Not all studies, however, have found a direct correlation between feminist beliefs and the development of egalitarian or democratic practices. Sherryl Kleinman (1996), for example, finds that gender-based inequalities of influence persist even in a feminist health center she studied. In a study of 113 women's non-profit organizations in New York City, Rebecca Bordt (1997) challenges whether the previously asserted affinity between feminist ideology and collectivism exists, finding that organizations with an unspecified feminist ideology are more than twice as likely to be bureaucratic as collectivist. Bordt argues that most of these organizations present a hybrid, blending both professional and collectivist elements into one. Similarly, Sarah Oerton (1996) finds little reason to believe that work in flatter organizations will improve women's position in workplace hierarchies. Given the existence of these anomalous findings, more research is needed on the circumstances that can give rise to more egalitarian and less hierarchal organizational forms and on the specific effects more democratic structures may have on the material position of women and on power relations at the organizational level.

A third vein of scholarship looks at bureaucratic workplaces that are developing flatter team structures from within. Self-managing teams are spreading, particularly in engineering, manufacturing, and service enterprises. The research question is whether these new teams can bring about a new division of labor in which workplace decisions are made on an egalitarian footing, competencies are cross-trained, and tasks can be rotated and shared on a gender-equal basis.

One study of a team structure in a bank setting indicates the positive potential teams may have for cross training and thus upgrading the skills of those who previously occupied the lower rungs of the organizational hierarchy (Smith 1996). Another study of teams, also in a bank context, suggests that men in technical professions may be not very interested in learning what they see as the content of "women's work," presenting a major obstacle to egalitarian relations arising out of team work (Ollilainen and Rothschild 2001). The jury is still out on whether these new team structures within corporate settings will in fact bring more egalitarian relations to the workplace.

In sum, substantial social science research has been pursued on how to bring more egalitarian gender relations to the hierarchal organizations and institutions that dominate modern societies. Some of this research has focused on campaigns to bring more equal opportunity to conventional workplaces; other research has focused on the prospect for developing egalitarian teamwork and flatter structures within the bounds of large-scale bureaucracies. Choosing neither of these avenues, thousands of female-centered enterprises have been created around the turn of the twenty-first century, wherein the aim is to make decisions and accomplish tasks without recourse to hierarchal command structures. The edited volumes by Myra Marx Ferree and Patricia Yancey Martin (1995) and Joyce Rothschild and Celia Davies (1994) contain analyses of dozens of such organizations. Only time will tell the extent to which these pioneering organizations will prefigure the widespread development of counter-hierarchical structures in postmodern society.

SEE ALSO *Patriarchy.*

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Joyce Rothschild

HIJRĀS

*Hijrā*s constitute a religious community of sexually charged and sexually ambiguous men who dress and act like women. They are religious ascetics who are required to be celibate servants of the goddess Bahucharā Mātā. Many undergo castration, and some work as homosexual prostitutes. One of the stories told about Bahucharā Mātā is that she cut off her breasts to avoid being raped by thieves; this suggests that her male priests should castrate themselves in imitation of her act. Of equal religious significance is the fact that *hijrā*s identify with the sexually ambivalent god Śiva, who is both the great ascetic and the virile husband, particularly in his *ardhanārīśvara* form of half man–half woman and in the legend of his self-castration.

RELIGIOUS ROLE OF HIJRĀS

In many ways *hijrā*s seem to mimic *devadāsī*s: women dedicated to the temple who enact the role of divine courtesans, each of whom usually has a male patron who is her lover. As with *devadāsīs* the ritual roles of *hijrā*s center on temple festivals, births, and marriages. In the temples of Bahucharā Mātā they act as her servants, tell stories about her, and bless her worshippers. After the birth of a male child *hijrā*s visit the child's home to sing and dance, examine the child's genitals, and demand money for blessing him with fertility, prosperity, and a long life. *Hijrā*s who have lost masculinity or who represent the third sex (*tritīya prakriti*), such as hermaphrodites, transvestites, and homosexuals, seemingly are perceived as individuals who have intimate knowledge of changeable or inadequate sex organs. If the infant's genitals are ill defined or are those of a hermaphrodite, the *hijrā*s have the right to claim the baby as one of them. To the families they serve *hijrā*s embody fears about losing masculinity—they can take the child away—yet they have the power to give what they do not have: the power to create new life by blessing the fertile masculinity of the infant. They receive this power from the mother goddess Bahucharā Mātā, who is the bestower of life or death, but their powers cut both ways: They can curse as well as bless, and their curses are feared greatly.

At weddings they bless the married couple for fertility. Unlike *devadāsīs*, who go to the bride's house, *hijrā*s perform at the groom's house; like the *devadāsīs*, they attend with or without an invitation. While they sing and dance the *hijrā*s tell various family members that "you will have a son," or "you will have a grandson" (Nanda 1990, p. 4). Often the bride is not allowed to be present. *Hijrā*s are presented as a masculine concern, a concern of the patrilineal family that must have sons who will be capable of siring sons of their own. Brides are outsiders, merely the vehicles for male fertility, in that viewpoint.

HIJRĀS AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF SEXUALITY AND SPIRIT

Hijrās are connected ritually to the maintenance of patrilineal descent. It is as if having surrendered their masculine fertility, they can confer it on others, and the power of their austere asceticism is sufficient to assure male babies. Their actual or rumored homosexuality, though frowned on, increases their contact with semen, thus increasing their power to confer patrilineal fertility. Many people believe that loss of semen reduces a man's power. Male south Asian ascetics act on that belief by building up their spiritual power through celibacy. Castrated *hijrā*s cannot ejaculate even if they want to or by accident, such as nightly emission. They are ascetics par excellence, yet some are also prostitutes; they encapsulate within themselves a sexual-ascetic tension and use that power to bless or curse the fertility of others. The complexity of the sexual and religious ideas and activities that define them are ancient and reveal other aspects of south Asian concerns about the relationship of sexuality and spiritual power and the uses and abuses of fertility for secular and religious ends.

SEE ALSO *Eunuchs; Ladyboys (Kathoeys); Transsexual F to M; Transsexual M to F.*

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Serinity Young

HIMES, CHESTER
1909–1984

Chester Himes was born into a Southern, middle-class African-American family in Jefferson City, Missouri. The youngest of three sons, Himes was raised by his father, Professor Joseph Sandy Himes, who taught blacksmithing and wheelwrighting at various agricultural and mechanical colleges in the South, and his mother, Estelle Bomar Himes, a light-skinned, caste-conscious woman and professed descendent of white English nobility. Himes explained in his memoirs that his father, whom he obeyed, was "born and raised in the tradition of Southern Uncle Tom," and that his mother, whom he loved, "looked white and felt that she should have been white," instilling in him a hatred "for all manner of condescension from white people" and from "black people who accepted it." Himes enrolled in Ohio State University in 1926 to study medicine, but he was demoralized by the Jim-Crow environment, did poorly in his studies, and was promptly expelled. A self-proclaimed sensualist, Himes was drawn to the nightlife of Cleveland's black ghettoes. There his job as a janitor in a nightclub frequented by prostitutes provided a sort of sexual apprenticeship and a gateway to his brief career as hustler and petty criminal. In 1928 he was convicted of armed robbery and sentenced to twenty to twenty-five years of hard labor in the Ohio State Penitentiary, of which he did seven and a half years before being paroled.

In prison he launched his prolific career as a writer, publishing stories about criminals and prison life first in black newspapers and magazines, and then in *Esquire*. He would eventually write eighteen novels, two short-story collections, and a two-volume autobiography. Himes's first published book, *If He Hollers Let Him Go* (1945), was a loosely autobiographical social protest novel written in a naturalist mode and rooted in the crushing everydayness of institutional racism that he experienced firsthand as a Los Angeles shipyard worker during World War II. Himes's path to literary fame came on the heels of the critical failure of his second protest novel, *The Lonely Crusade* (1947), a searing critique of communist labor organizations. As Himes put it, "The whites rejected me, the blacks didn't want me. I felt like a man without a country, which in fact I was." In April 1953 he left America, joining Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and the thriving black American expatriate community in Paris. There, between 1957 and 1969, Himes wrote his "Harlem Domestic" detective novels for *La Sèrie Noire*, Marcel Duhamel's hard-boiled crime series at the prestigious French Press Gallimard. The ten-novel series transformed Himes into an international literary celebrity. After 1955 Himes only visited the United State twice, and briefly. In 1968 he settled in Spain with Leslie Packard, whom he married in the late seventies. Himes and Packard lived in Spain until his death in 1984.

Chester Himes. AP IMAGES.

Himes's sensationalistic "Harlem Domestic" series suited the expectations of his French readership perfectly. Here ontological absurdity and eroticized violence was the very existential terrain of black urban modernity, deformed by the dehumanizing pressure of America's systemic racism. With the quintessentially hard-boiled cops Coffin Ed Johnson and Grave Digger Jones as protagonists, the novels combine the familiar, stylized poses of noir masculinity with the saleable cool of urban blackness. The tight narratives are characterized by lurid sociological detail that often crosses into dreaminess and caricatural excess, highly fetishistic physical description, and a veritable catalogue of the bizarre sexual hijinks and erotic imbroglios of Harlem's black denizens.

While catering to the prurient interests of his largely white readership (invited to slum in Harlem's libidinous cityscape), Himes's detective fiction, like his social protest fiction, investigates the circumscription of sexual relations and erotic life by racist ideologies whose fraught internalization produces the self-destructive affects of his characters. The hyperbolic sangfroid of his masculine protagonists dissolves into uncertainty, frustration, and simmering self-loathing. Or, alternatively, their seeming sexual self-possession erupts in fits of misogynistic rage—scenes of stereotyped racial and sexual performance whose violently choreographed scripts and often disastrous outcomes they are powerless to avoid. Often, Himes's fascination with the sexual "perversions" of Harlem conceals a real sympathy with erotic transgression, as is evident in his portrayal of the transvestite hustler, Goldy, in *A Rage in Harlem* (1957), the first novel in the series. And the stunning finale to the series, the experimental *Blind Man with a Pistol* (1969), offers a parodic critique of the masculinist ideologies of Black Power and its shrill rhetoric of self-mastery and purity.

The spectrum of erotic life on display in Himes's work does much to gainsay his own claim in *BLACK ON BLACK* that "black protest and black heterosexuality" (Himes 1973, p. 7) were his "two chief obsessions." In fact, the 1998 publication by Norton of Himes's autobiographical prison novel, *Yesterday Will Make You Cry* (1998; first published in expurgated form as *Cast the First Stone* in 1952), has silenced those nagging critical views of Himes as a salacious naturalist trading in sexist and racist caricature, or a shrewd writer of pulp exploitation fiction. A profoundly affirmative homosexual love story between two prison inmates, the book is also a powerful *Künstlerroman* that offers a realist portrait of the artist as a young felon with strikingly modernist investments in the erotic vicissitudes of temporality and memory. Quite possibly Himes's greatest novel, *Yesterday* will likely remain at the forefront of early twenty-first century critical reinvention of Himes as a seminal figure in that transatlantic crucible of aesthetic sensibilities that helped voice the racialized experience of mid-century alienation and displacement. Between naturalism and impressionism, between urban sociological realism and an excessive, avant-garde aesthetics of caricature and grotesquerie, between surrealism and existentialism, and somewhere within that constellation of affective unease that is called *noir*, we rediscover Chester Himes, the vernacular modernist.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity; Literature: I. Overview; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Justus Nieland

HINDUISM

The history of gender and sexual ideologies in Hinduism is complex. In thinking about the topic as it relates to the ancient world, one must consider both ideal relations between gods and goddesses, ideal relations between men and women described in legal, narrative, and philosophical texts, in addition to facts on the ground about actual practices that can be discerned from these texts. In thinking about the topic in the colonial and postcolonial world, one must consider the distortions of the colonial accounts about gender and sexual practices, as well as the complexity of the postcolonial situation, where anxieties about the global status of Hinduism and its gender ideologies compete with feminist discourse, inspired by both Western and secular Indian sources.

This survey begins with what can be gleaned from the ancient world. It is widely known that the Indus Valley civilizations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, in what is now present-day Pakistan, used seals and figurines that featured women prominently. While it is impossible to ascertain without doubt whether these were goddesses, their postures and proportions suggest that the society placed a great deal of emphasis upon fertility.

The Vedic period, spanning roughly from 1500 BCE to 200 CE, includes evidence from the very oldest texts of the Vedas, and their ritual philosophical texts (the Brahmanas) as well as the ritual manuals (the Sutras). It is known that gender roles were symbolically coded in the form of sacrificial performance. Whereas many other gender ideologies in the ancient world do see women as a repository of both sexuality and fertility, the Vedic sacrificial world also involved a public assertion of the necessity of the woman's role in the working of the cosmos. No patron of a sacrifice could perform a ritual without being married and his wife being present. The model householder tended the domestic fire, and recited mantras at home that his wife was also required to recite. No sacrifice was complete without both a woman and a man present. In addition, many Vedic rituals required the sacrificer's wife to participate in some symbolic offering or in a staged dialogue.

It is also well known that in the early period, women were able to participate in the practice of renunciation and meditation, as well as in elite debates. These debates are depicted in texts called the Upanishads, where smaller schools of renunciants who had removed themselves from the bustle of society were able to practice meditation and reflect upon the power behind the sacrifice, called Brahman. These women were probably the exceptions to the rule, but worth noting nonetheless. The stories of Maitreyi and Gargi in the Upanishads show the women as thoughtful participants in the discussion about the power and nature of Brahman, who challenge husbands and rulers alike. There are also brief references to *brahmavadinis*—or women who speak about Brahman.

In addition, the Vedic world involved certain goddesses who, while not as prominent as the other male gods, were powerful agents within the sacrificial world. Agni, the god of fire, and Soma, the god of intoxicating and eloquence-inducing drink, and Indra, the warrior god, were understood as some of the main actors in the divine world during this period. In addition to minor female deities, such as the goddesses of Night and Dawn, abstract qualities, such as Medha (intelligence), and concrete ideas, such as Ida (the sacrificial offering itself), were understood as female powers.

But by far the most important female deity in the Vedas was Vac, the goddess of speech. Vac is seen as the creator of the world who inspires the sacrifice. In later texts of the Brahmanas, she is seen as the consort of the creator Prajapati. Indeed, in the numerous accounts of creation found in the early Indian texts, the symbolism of the male and female principles working in concert with each other is prominent. Sky and Earth, for instance, combine as male and female principles to create the world as we know it.

From late Vedic domestic manuals called the Grihya-sutras, women's rituals relating to menstruation, marriage, and study were described as part of the ideal life of the person who was twice-born—the three upper castes who were initiated (born again) into the study of Vedas. Marriage rituals involved a series of symbolic statements about harmony in marriage, the producing of sons, and the auspiciousness of the wife as a fertile and faithful keeper of the household. Once married, women were able to recite some mantras having to do with domestic life, and one Grihya-sutra (Ashvalayana) mentions that the older married women in the community are the ritual experts concerning marriage and fertility, and should be consulted whenever there is doubt in these matters.

While there are intriguing ways in which ancient gender representations included women's participation in the public sphere, it should not be assumed that women were understood as equal to men or having rights in the contemporary sense. Indeed, gender roles were circumscribed; men were the main performers and agents of sacrifice, and women were understood primarily as sources of auspicious fertility.

In the classical and epic period of early India (200 BCE onward), there was a gradual shift in gender ideologies. Women's roles became far more circumscribed within the domestic sphere, and their access to traditional Vedic education became far more limited. Male priests oversaw worship (*puja*) in the newly emerging temples that were replacing Vedic sacrifice; men understood this leadership as their exclusive domain. In the legal texts called the Dharma-sutras, there is evidence for a large codification of women's roles and responsibilities in the domestic sphere. In the contemporary world, the most famous passages concerning gender roles are from the laws of Manu. In it, there are several different kinds of statements about women; they are extolled as the source of great auspiciousness and reviled as uncontrollable forces that need to be curtailed at all times by men.

In addition, these legal texts show a clear patriarchal point of view in marriage. While the most auspicious kind of marriage is where the families negotiate and the woman consents, there were also forcible marriages as well as marriages of mutual consent of the partners without the participation of the families. In each of these cases, it is clear that the marriage contract could be based on either social standing or desire, but social standing was the preferred mode. Moreover, it is also clear that forcible taking of a woman was not an unthinkable option. In these early legal and later texts, it is clear that dowry was practiced among high caste Hindus, as well as patrilocal marriage. As early as the Vedas, and quite pronounced in the classical texts, the idea of a woman leaving the home to go to her husband's family was a crucial part of the life cycle of a woman.

And yet gender ideologies are not simply to be understood as patriarchal oppression. Epic heroines such as the Ramayana's Sita and the Mahabharata's Draupadi are both described as the dutiful wife who takes her husband as a god. That both heroines exemplify the wife's faithfulness and ability to undergo great suffering on behalf of her husband (or husbands) is quite sharply forgrounded. However, to understand this as simple patriarchy would be erroneous. In the Ramayana, for example, Sita explicitly argues with her husband Rama before his exile in the forest, and insists on going with him. In that passage, she makes her case as if she were an expert in dharma, citing texts and challenging his masculinity. Throughout the Mahabharata, Draupadi engages in similar argumentation. Indeed, through her use of wit, remarkably used at the height of a public humiliation, she is able to save the Pandavas, her husbands, from complete ruin. Moreover in other passages, she explains her great strength and control over the Pandavas' kingdom of Hastinapura, and this competence is part of a very complex gender ideology in which strength and mental prowess matter greatly; women's weakness and submission are only part of the equation.

During the first few centuries CE, the classical Hindu pantheon emerged, which involved: Shiva, the god who alternates between being an ascetic and being a householder; Vishnu, whose earthly forms come into being in specific cases where the world needs to be saved; and Brahma, the creator god who is somewhat removed from the daily goings-on of the universe. In the first few centuries CE, the Devi Mahatmya was formed as a significant text in this classical pantheon.

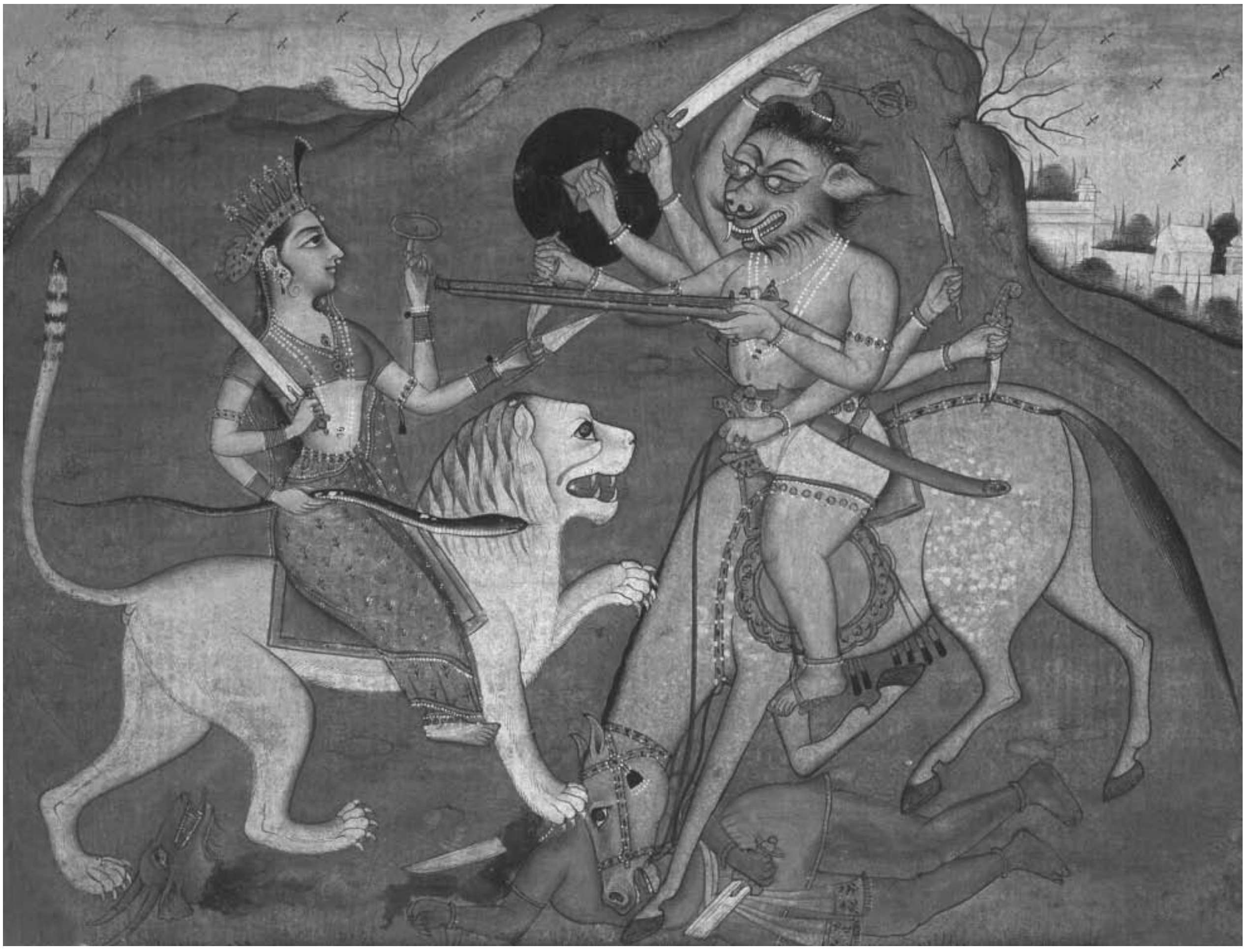
The story of the goddess in that text narrates how the buffalo demon Mahisha was tormenting the world, and none of the gods could stop him. The gods got together and emanated their very essence to create a being powerful enough to conquer the demon. As a result, the goddess was formed, and emerged seated on a lotus, with the great weapons of all the gods in her hands. She then went on to conquer the demon in battle. Some traditions say that the demon, at the moment of being killed by the goddess, became her devotee.

There are many other legends of the goddess in addition to this basic one. From her very ancient and pluralistic history, the goddess goes by many names and has many forms: Durga rides on a lion or tiger and is fierce in battle; Kali is the protectress who is also terrifying in form; Gauri is the beneficent "golden" one who is often seen as a "consort" figure to the gods. Lakshmi is also the consort of Vishnu, and is present with him as he rests between the *yuga*s, or cyclical ages of the universe. Many would argue that there is no "singular" goddess as such, but rather that she has her origins in local female deities, such as the goddess who presides over a cross roads, or at the meeting of rivers in a forest. What is more, many would see her origins in the female figurines of the Indus Valley, the civilization which existed and probably co-mingled with the Aryan one from approximately 3500–1700 BCE.

What kinds of gender ideologies do stories from the classical Hindu world represent? Some have argued that, unlike the male gods, the goddess is split in her affinities, either as a powerful virgin prone to anger, or a domesticated female consort who is more benevolent. This analysis may not truly be the case when it comes to the actual ritual worship of gods and goddesses. Frequently, the more terrifying form of Kali is understood as a protectress and a crusader against evil, whether it be the evil of illusion or the more concrete evils of attackers or demons. In addition, recent fieldwork has shown that many women as well as men identify their earthly female power with Shakti, the divine power that resides in and through the goddess. Shakti is a very pervasive idea in Indian myth and ritual. Shakti resides in men, women, animals, and plants—particularly the *tulsi* plant, which in many contemporary rural festivals is seen to the incarnation of the goddess.

There is a frequent Western misconception that shakti is equivalent to female political empowerment and the so-called liberation of women from confinement to the domestic sphere. While the concept is used even in medieval philosophical systems, it does not necessarily follow that those who worship the goddess or praise the power of Shakti automatically have some kind of protofeminist gender ideology.

It would be remiss in an article about gender ideology and Hinduism not to mention tantra, the practice in



Durga Fighting Buffalo Demon. *This thirteenth-century painting show the Hindu goddess Durga battling the buffalo demon.* © ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS.

different strands of Hinduism that became fully emergent during the classical period. Tantra inverts the established rules of sexuality, purity, and social hierarchy. Some tantric practices involve explicit sexual symbolism and sexual practice, where copulation becomes a means of union with the divine. The male and female principles are embodied in the male and female partners, and together in coitus they represent a kind of cosmic coincidence of opposites. The question of Hindu tantra has been widely controversial in the colonial and postcolonial era, where Hindu nationalists have protested what they perceive to be a practice that exists outside of the Hindu norm.

In the classical premodern period, when this ideology of the goddess was established, there is very little evidence for the large-scale empowerment of women as most would conceive it in the early twenty-first century. Certainly there is some evidence for individual holy women, whose exemplary devotion made it possible for them to be freer of certain kinds of roles. Also there is some inscriptional evidence in the medieval period for women patrons of South Indian temples. Finally, evidence exists of courtesans and temple dancers who dwelt in and near temples, and whose ritual roles in the worship of the temple gods also gave them a certain ability to own property, choose their partners, and develop abilities in the arts.

The early modern and colonial periods involved very protracted debates about women's role and gender ideologies, which continue in their postcolonial form to this day. It is important to remember, however, that while the colonial and postcolonial frames of analysis are helpful and give more data about gender than the precolonial period, precolonial forms of law themselves were not fossilized, but had their own flexibilities and forms of internal debates about gender.

The Moghul period is a good place to begin. Once they had established rulership, the Muslim emperors (between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries) tended not to interfere in Hindu practices of worship, marriage, and domestic arrangements. Some rulers even made alliances with Hindu princesses. But the British rulers and Christian missionaries engaged in a very different modality of governance, in which issues of gender played a central role.

First and foremost, debates about four different practices involving women emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: widow remarriage; child marriage; the status of *devadasis*, or temple dancers, and *sati*, or the immolation of the widow upon her husband's funeral pyre. In each of these cases, the British attempted both to make use of and undermine traditional Indian law codes. In the complexity of the colonial scene, Hindu elites, missionaries, local rulers, and British administrators all played different kinds of roles.

The issue of widow remarriage was essentially concerned with rules and regulations about whether widows were inherently polluted, and marginal to society, once their husbands died. This practice was particularly difficult for the child who had been promised to someone before puberty, and whose betrothed husband died before she reached puberty. In that case, many young girls were permanently confined to widows' homes or to lesser accommodations within the joint family system. Women gained the legal right to remarry in the 1856 Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act; one hundred years later, women gained inheritance rights through the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. In some areas of India these rights are fully utilized and realized, whereas in other parts, there are different views within communities about the roles of widows. The practice of sati spawned a large debate in the early nineteenth century between reformers and traditional Hindus, and was outlawed by the British in 1829. Extremely rare and controversial cases have occasionally surfaced in the intervening centuries.

The related issue of child marriage concerned the legal age that a girl could be betrothed, and have sexual relations with, her husband. Despite the British's attempt to present themselves as noninterfering in the arena of Hindu custom, the Age of Consent Bill was nonetheless passed in 1891, which made marriage or forced sexual relations with a woman under twelve an act of rape. While many upper caste reformists championed it, some Hindu nationalists protested this move greatly, and argued that it neither protected children nor honored the Indian male.

The debates about *devadasi*s were also intense. In the colonial period, the practice of dedicating women to temples, and hence to the god of the temple in marriage, was protested by both Hindu social reformers and missionaries alike. The colonial rulers saw such practices as a thin guise for prostitution. However, the argument for maintaining such practices was that, traditionally, women have had more choice in the matter than many suppose, and have protections, artistic prestige, and independence that many married women do not.

These and other debates within the colonial period created a lasting legacy about masculinity within the context of colonial rule. Many recent scholars have turned their attention to the idea that the Indian male was understood as effeminate by the ruling class, and the British elite more masculine, and that much anticolonial Hindu rhetoric, and anti-Western nationalist rhetoric of the early twenty-first century is bound up with an attempt to restore a lost Hindu masculinity. Relatedly, Bamkin Chandra Chatterji (1836–1894) provided a great inspiration for the nationalist movement, whereby the concept of Mother India as a goddess was fully developed. Mother India, represented by the goddess Durga on a tiger, was an ideal that was to be protected at all costs, just as the Indian, usually Hindu, woman was to be protected at all costs. Much of the vernacular debates between reformists and traditional Hindus led to ironic situations, such as the wives of great Hindu reformers obediently submitting to being educated and liberated to please their husbands. Another important dynamic in these gender debates is the gradual transformation of a liberal Hindu elite into a nationalist one, where, over the course of a century, Hindu women's freedom became identified with national freedom.

The 1960s and 1970s sparked a larger conversation between Western feminism and indigenous Indian feminism. Much of the recent protests to practices of dowry, the rare incidences of sati, and female infanticide are taken up by secular feminists and social workers. Many of these thinkers and activists make their arguments not on the grounds of women's agency and individual choice alone, but on a deeper understanding of Indian values that tend to resist the imposition of Western categories. For example, many feminists are focused on women's leadership in the local village governments in rural India. To take another example, recent feminists have argued that abuses in the practice of dowry were not simply Hindu or Indian in nature, but exacerbated by changing economies and the stresses of colonial rule as well as postcolonial sociopolitical realities.

Many colonial debates continued in new forms. The question of whether Hindus or Muslims should have separate legal codes in India has been hotly debated, and could have great impact on the inheritance rights of women overall. To take another example, the colonial debate about *devadasi*s was also taken up in the twentieth century, and the Devadasi Act was passed in 1982. The practice of temple prostitution was made illegal and punishable by fine and imprisonment. Yet the artistic forms of dance that may have originated in the temple have remained an integral part of secular and Hindu society in India and the diaspora.

While in contemporary India, social workers and women's rights groups tend to see themselves in opposition to Hindu practices, there are an increasing number of women who also write as Hindu feminists. They are attempting to reclaim much of the tradition of Shakti for contemporary empowerment of women within India as well as Hindu women more globally. In addition, there is a larger presence of the Hindu goddess in Europe and America as well as in India, and an appropriation of her by Western feminists that has made her a much more global figure.

In addition, female gurus are now taking center stage as teachers and leaders in both American and Indian Hindu communities. Finally, many more men and women are writing as openly gay and lesbian Indians, and searching for precedents within the ancient artistic and literary canons of Hindu as well as Muslim India.

In an age of Hindu diaspora, gender ideologies work themselves out in interaction with vernacular realities. The present generation of American Hindu women, for example, are concerned with the vulnerabilities of the diaspora minority community, and the ways in which gender ideologies might change as the generations pass. Feminists in India, by contrast, must focus on related, but distinct, sets of issues, where economic rights of women, abuse of dowry practices, and Hindu nationalism's views of women are much more in the forefront of political discourse. Technology provides each Hindu population much more access to the other global Hindu communities, and thus gender ideologies are shifting at a much more rapid pace. The political organization of Indian gay rights movements and movements against the discrimination of hijras, for example, have taken place as a result of active information exchange across continents.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Hijras; Kali.*

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Laurie L. Patton

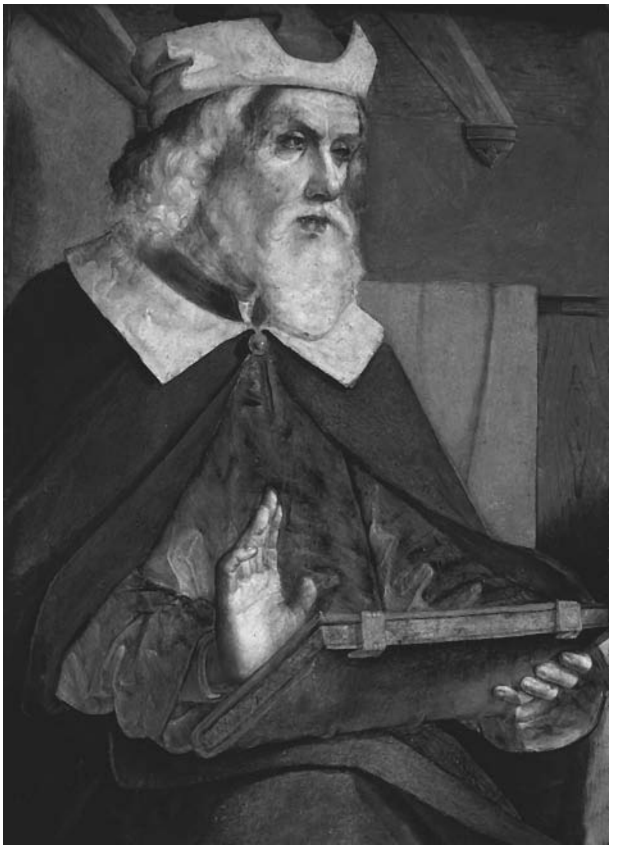
HIPPOCRATES

c. 460–370 BCE

Hippocrates of Cos was a semi legendary physician who traveled widely in Greece and gained an exceptional degree of fame. Some modern scholars, such as Ludwig

Edelstein, have held that it is a "name lacking even any accessible historical reality." Few scholars go that far, although none believe that Hippocrates wrote all the works attributed to him. Nonetheless, most authorities seem to think that the legends associated with Hippocrates are based on a real person. He certainly was the best-known physician of his time, and the writings attributed to him indicate a profound investigator and an acute observer.

Hippocrates was the head of the most flourishing medical school of his time, situated in Cos, and had many pupils. His teachings spread throughout the Greek world and beyond. He held that disease is a natural process, that symptoms are the reactions of the body to a disease, and that the chief function of the physician is to aid the natural forces of the body in overcoming disease. Both Aristotle and Plato wrote about Hippocrates, and Galen commented extensively on him. Attributed to him is the so-called Hippocratic Corpus, a collection of about sixty medical works (the number depends on the editor), the great majority of which were written in the last decades of the fifth century BCE and the first half of the fourth, when Hippocrates was believed to have lived. Some of the writings attributed to Hippocrates apparently were written after he died and some were produced before he was born, but most are contemporary with his time. Scholars believe that the collection was compiled at Alexandria in the third century BCE, a hundred years or so after his death.



Hippocrates. THE ART ARCHIVE/PALAZZO DUCALE URBINO/ DAGLI ORTI.

HIPPOCRATES'S THEORY OF DISEASE

The Hippocratic writings, also known as the Coan writings, hold that the body is formed of four elements—air, earth, water, and fire—that unite in the composition of the individual parts of the organism. As each of the four elements possesses its own particular quality—cold, hot, dry, or wet—the single parts of the organism also possess their essential qualities. The essential factor in life is heat, but because it pervades the entire body, it is essential that equilibrium be maintained by the continuous infusion of *pneuma* (vital element often translated as air). The nature of the body is made up of four humors: phlegm, blood, yellow bile, and black bile.

Generally these humors operate in harmony with one another, and the individual enjoys good health in his or her body. However, when one of the elements is in excess or in insufficient supply, the individual feels pain. Disease is caused by fluxes of indigestible humors, and cure is dependent on the restoration of equilibrium and the normal bodily properties. Air, location, climate, and season all effect disease, as do diet, the psychology of the patient, and the effect of the psyche on the organism.

The followers of the Coan school believed they had established medicine on a scientific basis, and they attacked magic relentlessly. For them medicine was a rigorous rational technique. Practitioners were advised to examine the body through the use of sight, hearing, smell, touch, taste, and reason. From this process came a synthesis that would provide the treatment. Each disease had its own nature, and no disease came without its natural cause. Hippocratic medicine held that the purpose of the medical practitioner was to help or at the least to do no harm. The ethics of a caregiver should be unquestioned. In the Hippocratic Oath, the would-be physician is instructed to swear that:

> In whatever houses I enter, I will enter to help the sick, and I will abstain from all intentional wrongdoing and harm, especially from abusing the bodies of man or woman, bond or free. And whatsoever I shall see or hear in the course of my profession in my intercourse with men, if it be what should be published abroad, I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets.
>
> *(Hippocrates, Oath)*

One of the handicaps of Hippocratic medicine was that its practitioners lacked any real knowledge of anatomy, physiology, and pathology; that knowledge began to develop only in the sixteenth century. Instead, it relied on observation, essentially founded on bedside experience, that was combined with philosophical reasoning. In a sense, with the writings of Hippocrates the development of "scientific" medicine began, to be added to gradually by others.

IDEAS ABOUT REPRODUCTION AND GENDER

Ideas about generation were derived from observations of animals mixed with speculation. The Hippocratic writers held that the uterus is always bicornate; that is, it has two hornlike projections. Males are conceived on the right side, and females on the left; this meant that males were superior and females inferior because the right side was superior to the left. In mixed twins both sides of the uterus were involved, with the female child on the left and the male on the right. There is no mention of what happens when the twins are both of the same sex, but clearly they must come from the same horn of the uterus. In single births the male fetus is in the warmest and most solid place: the right side of the womb. Males are formed earlier than females and move about earlier, although they grow more slowly later in the pregnancy. They are more solid, more passionate, and more full-blooded because the part of the womb where they take form is hotter. The writer of the Hippocratic work on conception made pregnancy a joint matter between male and female that results from a mixture of two kinds of seeds: the male semen and the vaginal secretion. Both the male and the female seeds had coagulative power and receptive capacity for coagulation, but the first was stronger in the male and the second was stronger in the female. Menstruation was considered a normal bodily function of the female and was thought to be important in procreation.

Some of the writings of the Hippocratic corpus discussed the possibility of gender change, something the Greeks reported as being common among the Scythians. According to the writers of the corpus, the Scythians lived in a region where the atmosphere is always humid and spring lasts for many months, with mists covering the land for many days. Animals are small and reproduce infrequently. Plants are scarce and vegetation is poor, yet the inhabitants are fat, although they are weak and have poor musculature. Masculine impotence was reported to be common among them. Many of those impotent men did women's work, they often spoke like women, and some, known as *anarie*s, lived as women. Those men were honored because they were believed to have elements of divinity. Other men prostrated themselves before the anaries for fear that the gods might punish them similarly. The author of the description speculated that the condition was due to the fact that the Scythians spent so much time on horseback; this caused many men to become temporarily impotent. If the impotency persisted, the men believed they had committed a sin against the gods. To expiate that sin they put on women's clothing and devoted themselves to feminine occupations. Hippocrates reported that the illness usually attacked only the most powerful and richest men, and when they changed their role, they also became powerful shamans.

The Hippocratic writers not only marked the beginning of modern medicine, they also set forth the ideas that dominated medical and philosophic thinking about sex and gender into the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO *Aristotle; Body, Theories of; Galen; Medicine, Ancient.*

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Vern L. Bullough

HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY, MODERN

To understand the important role of concepts of production and consumption in the history of women and gender one needs to look at the point of change and decipher its lasting ramifications. Before the Industrial Revolution (c. 1790) production was an integrated, undifferentiated process in which men, women, and children worked together. The exigencies of survival necessitated cooperative work among all the members of the family. The major impact of industrialization, beginning at the end of the eighteenth century but picking up speed and becoming a pervasive element in American culture in the period 1820–1920, was to separate work from life.

Karl Marx's definition of production was that which produced capital. By 1820 work was associated only with labor for wages conducted outside the household by men.

WOMEN AS PRODUCERS, CONSUMERS, AND CHOOSERS

Before industrialization the colonial housewife was valued for her contributions as a producer. However, by 1820 the housewife had been replaced by the wife and mother who was no longer seen as a producer but as a dependent and a consumer. Thus, not only did the site of material production change from in-house to out-of-house, there was also an ideological shift in terms of women's status. Women's work was devalued by 1820, and women were devalued as well.

The shift from a producer to a consumer society affected women's roles to varying degrees. For example, mid-Atlantic farmwomen between 1750 and 1850 illustrated a distinction between the history of rural women and that of urban women. Rural women participated in three areas of life: household production, market activities, and public activities such as involvement in religious organizations. They also continued to be and to be considered producers. Rural women's butter production continued to be a significant component of their roles as both women and wives-mothers. Therefore, although some women's status decreased as a result of the shift from a producer to a consumer society, rural women participated in both production and consumption. In addition, that transition in women's history did not have a significant effect on black women, free or enslaved. Black women were not involved in the ideological process that devalued women's work or in the continued valuation of farmwomen's production. Their experiences as slaves were significantly different in that they were considered not people but chattel.

The concept of production also created new opportunities for native-born New England farmwomen in the textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts. Thousands of Lowell "mill girls" seized the chance to work in the textile mills in the 1820s and 1830s to earn their own wages and experience more independence. The interdependence of the mill hands also generated female solidarity that contributed to the formation of the first female labor protests. Mill women participated in labor turnouts and later created the Ten-Hour Movement. They also organized the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association. Despite that effort, women's textile work and lives existed within a paternalistic system of boardinghouses and managers. However, the women who worked in textile mills were predominantly white and native-born. Once the influx of immigrants began in the 1850s (mostly Germans and Irish came to the industrial centers), the status of mill work decreased and native-born white women returned to the farm. Furthermore, factory work did not open opportunities for black women, and that remained the case throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

EFFECTS OF THE CULTURE OF CONSUMPTION

The concepts of production and consumption had a significant impact on women and gender. Industrialization separated the work of women from that of men (and children). The shift was not from production to consumption but from one system of production to another. Whereas women, men, and children previously had to work together to accomplish household tasks, household technology created devices that made women the sole beneficiaries of such work; significantly, those devices actually increased women's labor rather than reducing it. For example, before the creation of the vacuum cleaner, women, men, and children would haul out their rugs perhaps once per season and even children might participate in beating the rugs. With the invention of the vacuum cleaner, women as the primary housecleaners spend substantially more time on this task by doing it more frequently.

Thus, as society became more consumer-oriented, expectations for household cleanliness magnified and multiplied women's work in the process. Women's work within the home did not diminish in amount or expectations once women no longer were considered producers. The shift from a producer to a consumer society, or from one system of production to another, devalued women's work, created opportunities for employment for some women but not others, and increased women's housework rather than decreased it.

Between roughly 1880 and 1920 the culture of consumption began to affect women's lives in new ways that have had lasting ramifications for conceptions of gender. The proliferation of goods and services and the creation of the leisure industry (amusement parks, dance halls, and movie theaters) created new opportunities for immigrant working women. New jobs in factories and department stores created wage-earning possibilities. Consumption of leisure and fashion and heterosexual socializing opened up new possibilities for women in turn-of-the-century New York to experience independence from their parents and find new means of self-expression. Working women accepted treats that they otherwise could not afford (small gifts and entrance fees) from men. However, without substantive changes in the allocation of power, resources, and work, the liberating qualities of consumption were hollow. Moreover, in the dance halls an ideology was formulated that fused women's aspirations for independence and self-definition with consumption and heterosexual companionship. Thus, consumption did not foster feminist consciousness among working-class women, and social gender relations were not altered.

CONSUMPTION AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS

Consumption convinces women that consumerist choice is a substitute for power. The cultural representations of women are used to convince women that they can alter the quality of their lives significantly without making substantive changes. Simply by trying to achieve "the look" or by decorating the home according to the notions of style, they can be successful and satisfied.

Decoding women's magazines illustrates the ways in which advertising and magazine copy attempt to provide women with sufficient choices to make them think they are creating individualized selves when in fact they are subscribing to predetermined ideals. Women's magazines do not enable women to question or diversify the ideals that are presented to them for consumption. Thus, concepts of production and consumption not only have been major factors in the history of women and gender, they have continued to be influential in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

THE FABRICATION OF WOMEN

The impact of the linguistic turn on the writing of U.S. women's/gender history has been to problematize the language used to describe the history of women and question the binary opposition of biological sex. The historian Joan Kelly (1976) argued that women's history attempts to return women to history and history to women. Women cannot be studied in isolation because to study one sex necessarily entails studying the other. Furthermore, women's history does not accept the social relations between the sexes as natural but insists that they are socially constructed by and for women.

The linguistic turn questions what is meant by women, womanhood, and femininity rather than accepting their meanings as standard. It also acknowledges that those meanings shift over time, that gender itself is dynamic. Joan Scott (1996) argued that in addition to the social relations of the sexes being socially and culturally constructed, scholars of women's/gender history must reject the idea of the binary opposition of the sexes. Thus, to understand how social relations between the sexes affect women's experiences, scholars must attempt to understand the construction and reconstruction of gender. By focusing on the construction of gender it is possible to locate power. It is in language that people locate meaning. The shift from the opposition of the sexes to the construction of gender also does damage to arguments that rest on the foundation of sexual difference, that is, cultural feminism.

There are many scholars whose work has contributed to the turn of the writing of U.S. women's/gender history to a more complex understanding of the construction of womanhood and femininity. In Cynthia Russett's *Sexual Science* (1989), for example, there is a description of how the Victorian medical profession devised a theory of conservation to explain and justify the subordinate role of women. The theory rested on a Darwinian explanation that women's evolution had stopped at a certain point to enable women to reproduce, which constrained their potential but facilitated the success of the species. Victorian doctors used this, according to Russett, to protect their status as men and as doctors. The theory rationalized that women's inequality was nature-ordained and that women therefore could never be equal to men in power, position, or authority.

Similarly, Ann Douglas (1973) described how womanhood was constructed in the nineteenth century by the cultural ideology that women were ill because they were women, thus linking female gender with incapacitation. Douglas found that many women considered themselves ill to escape the burdens of the kitchen and bedroom. She also noted that women were determined to be ill because they had violated their femininity by engaging in unfeminine pursuits such as intellectual ambition and lack of selflessness. To cure women, doctors tried to return them to their so-called feminine states. Thus, the American physician Weir Mitchell devised a "rest cure" that required days in bed with no mental stimulation. Women were considered the most feminine when they were pregnant, a sign of male potency.

Scholars of women's/gender history also look to visual representations of gender as cultural sites of the construction of gender. Barbara Melosh (1991) describes how New Deal public art represented male and female forms according to social expectations and needs rather than serving as accurate reflections of women's roles. Hence, cultural representations can reflect society's constructions of gender. Melosh portrays how women in public art almost never were depicted in their roles as professionals (teachers, social workers, nurses), and in the rare cases when they were, they always were presented as being subservient to men. Furthermore, the hero images served to illustrate men's strength and capacity as wage earners and women's roles as companionate helpmates to squelch social anxieties about women's increased visibility in the labor force, their legal right as voters, and their attempts at independent lifestyles. New Deal public art illustrates the idea that gender can be created not only to reflect but also to reinforce traditional notions of what constitutes womanhood. Artists and administrators alike vetoed images that depicted too many women or were on a scale that implied strength.

The construction of gender is relational: Women's weaknesses are celebrated by society to bolster men's strengths. As Susan Brownmiller (1984) argues, the creation of feminine ideals served to make appearance, rather than ambition or accomplishment, the emblem of female desirability. Hence, women compete not for professional achievement but in their efforts to reach feminine ideals. The construction of gender is fundamental to women's/gender history scholarship, for to understand and chronicle women's experiences, historians need to dissect what makes females women, how this has influenced their status, and how scholars might propose ways to change the system of social organization for the better.

The linguistic turn also can be considered part of the movement of scholarship beyond the search for sisterhood (Hewitt 1985). Understanding the ways in which gender is constructed enables scholars to explicate the myriad ways in which womanhood and femininity have served as cultural ideals that are not representative of all women at all times.

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Keren R. McGinity

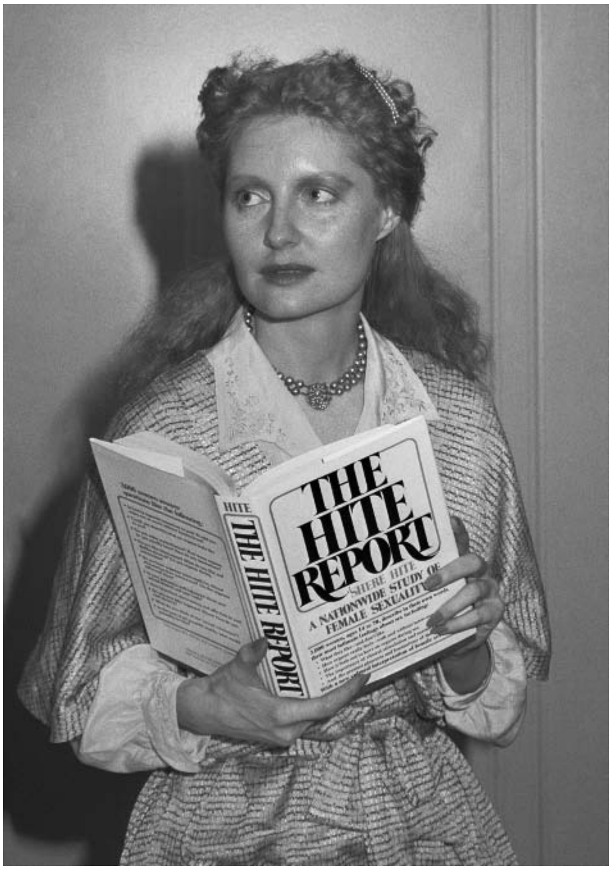
HITE REPORT

In the early to middle 1970s the feminist movement in the United States produced an increasing number of texts on female health and sexuality that were written by women. The proliferation of texts on this subject also has produced increasing numbers of works on sex and gender since the inception of the movement. Following the work of William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson and the Kinsey Report, Shere Hite conducted research in the early 1970s that culminated in *The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study on Female Sexuality* (1976).

Capitalizing on the *sexual revolution* as well as becoming a key book of the twentieth-century feminist movement, *The Hite Report*, at 478 pages, was a study whose goal was to answer sensitive questions dealing with the most intimate details of women's sexuality. Hite asked 1,844 women, ages fourteen to seventy-eight what they do and do not like about sex; how orgasm really feels, with and without intercourse; how it feels not to have an orgasm during sex; and the importance of clitoral stimulation and masturbation. Those women also were asked to name the greatest sexual pleasures and frustrations of their lives, among many other questions.

The goal of Hite's work was to challenge many accepted notions about female sexuality (such as the myth of the vaginal orgasm) and to show that attitudes must change to include the sexual stimulation that women desire. Although *The Hite Report* contains statistical analyses, the greater part of the book consists of candid anecdotes, opinions, and complaints relating to the respondents' sex lives. Book reviewers criticized Hite for lax statistical reporting: According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Hite failed to obtain demographic statistics from some of her respondents. However, the book became an instant best seller, and many women felt reassured by its frankness and honesty about sex. Hite's final assessment that women were far from sexually satisfied unsettled established opinion on the subject.

Shere Hite was born November 2, 1942, in St. Joseph, Missouri, and is a sex educator and feminist. In addition to her focus on female sexuality, Hite references theoretical, political, and psychological works associated with the feminist movement of the 1970s, such as Anne Koedt's essay "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm." Hite received a master's degree in history from the University



Shere Hite Holding a Copy of **The Hite Report.**
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of Florida in 1967. She moved to New York City and enrolled in Columbia University to work toward a doctorate in social history. Hite attributes the noncompletion of this degree to the conservative nature of Columbia at that time, and she later completed a doctorate at Nihon University, Tokyo, Japan, and another doctorate in clinical sexology at Maimonides University, North Miami Beach, Florida.

PRODUCTION OF THE *HITE REPORT*

An ongoing topic of interest for Hite has been the ways in which individuals regard sexual experience and the meaning it holds for them. She has criticized Masters and Johnson for incorporating critical approaches to sexual behavior into their research. She has criticized Masters and Johnson's argument that sufficient clitoral stimulation to achieve orgasm should be provided by thrusting during intercourse and the inference that failure to achieve orgasm in this manner is a sign of female *sexual dysfunction*. Hite's research reflects her conviction that individuals must understand the cultural and personal construction of sexual experience to make the research relevant to sexual behavior outside the laboratory.

The main motivation behind the production of *The Hite Report* was the idea that "women have never been asked how they felt about sex. Researchers, looking for statistical 'norms,' have asked all the wrong questions for all the wrong reasons—and all too often wound up *telling* women how they should feel rather than *asking* them how they do feel" (Hite 1976, p. 46). Hite conducted her research by using essay questionnaires rather than multiple-choice questions because the latter would have "implied preconceived categories of response … would have 'told' the respondent what the 'allowable' or 'normal' answers would be" (Hite 1976, p. 102). The study was replicated and confirmed in at least two other countries. *The Hite Report*—as well as two other studies, *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality* (1981) and *The Hite Report: Women and Love: A Cultural Revolution* (1987)—was translated into thirteen languages and used in courses in universities in the United States and around the world.

SCOPE AND INFLUENCE

A key revelation in Hite's 1976 report was that women felt pressure to conceal how they felt about the lack of orgasm during intercourse. Hite drew the conclusion that the traditional definition of sex is sexist and culturally linked: "Our whole society's definition of sex is sexist—sex for the overwhelming majority of people consists of foreplay, eventually followed by vaginal penetration and then by intercourse, ending eventually in male orgasm. This definition is cultural, not biological" (Hite 1976, p. 53).

In the early 1980s Hite sent out 100,000 questionnaires to explore the ways in which women were suffering in their love relationships with men. Published in 1987, *The Hite Report: Women and Love: A Cultural Revolution in Progress* provided a channel of release for women who experienced frequent degradation and ridicule by men (Wang 1993). Women wrote essays that expressed their longing for love while they engaged in heterosexual relationships in which they assumed a *caregiver* role.

The Hite Report and its follow-up texts continue to be received as landmark feminist texts. However, Hite's lack of a *scientific conclusion* remains a point of criticism by researchers in her field (Wang 1993). Although Hite used the same methodology to produce three books on female sexuality, male sexuality, and women and love, only the third book received extensive public scrutiny. Because the third *Hite Report* addressed attitudes and emotions, its credibility often was called into question. In 1999 Hite published *The Hite Report on Shere Hite: Voice of a Daughter in Exile*, a self-examination and biographical account of the sexologist's experiences.

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Amy Nolan

HOKHMA

Hokhma is the feminine personification of Wisdom found in Jewish and other ancient Near Eastern literature. She is distinct from the personifications of other abstract concepts, such as Word, Spirit, Truth, or Faithfulness, because Hokhma reaches the more fully developed status of an independent manifestation, or hypostasis, of divine wisdom. Although Hokhma is closely associated with God, she is a powerful character in her own right. In ancient Near Eastern society, and Judaism in particular, she plays the roles of creator of the world, the educator of humanity, and the savior of Israel. These theologically significant responsibilities, her close relationship with God, and relative prominence among other religious personifications have caused scholars to speculate that within Judaism, Hokhma is an expression of the feminine divine, a counterbalance to the masculinity of God.

The literature in which Hokhma appears can be divided into three categories: the canonical *Ketuvim* (Writings) of the Hebrew Bible, Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and non-Jewish ancient Near Eastern writings. Each category of literature contributes something to the overall character of Hokhma.

In the *Ketuvim*, the book of Proverbs makes the most frequent references to Hokhma. The first chapter of Proverbs recounts Hokhma's appearance as a prophet in the market of Jerusalem, preaching a message of reproach and punishment for those who fail to accept her knowledge and authority. For those who listen to her and follow her teachings she promises safety from evil. In chapter eight, Hokhma shows up again to describe herself as a force of righteousness, the creator of just leadership, and the punisher of evil. Proverbs also names Hokhma as God's first creation and claims she was the master craftsperson responsible for aiding with the rest of creation. Finally Proverbs describes a banquet thrown by Hokhma where she invites humanity to leave behind foolishness and adopt her teachings. The book of Proverbs portrays Hokhma as a formative divine figure who benevolently provides people with the knowledge they need to achieve salvation. The parallels between Hokhma's roles and behavior and those of God were clear to the Jewish reader.

Hokhma reached the height of her popularity in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Jewish literature not included in the Hebrew Bible. The book of the Wisdom of Solomon includes detailed descriptions of Hokhma that call her a lover of humanity, omnipotent, mother of all good things, giver of life and immortality to the just, and the creator of prophets. Chapter ten completely elides any distinction between Hokhma and God by retelling the story of Israel's salvation so that acts of salvation traditionally associated with the Hebrew god YHWH (Yahweh) are attributed to Hokhma. For instance Hokhma delivers Adam from sin, punishes Cain for forsaking her, guides the righteous man to safety during the flood, strengthens Abraham, rescues Lot, and uses Moses to free the Israelites from slavery. In this version of the Genesis story, Hokhma has replaced God.

In other Pseudepigrapha writings, Hokhma comes to live amongst humanity in order to give them instruction so that they could live a religiously proper life. The book of Sirach notes that in her role as teacher of religion, Hokhma is equated with the Torah. Later, in Rabbinic Judaism, when the influence of Hokhma had waned, the rabbis used the Hokhma-Torah equation to assign to the Torah roles such as creator and savior that had previously been associated with Hokhma.

Outside of Jewish literature, *hokhma* appears as a descriptive phrase in the Aramaic book of Ahiqar (5th century BCE), meaning *of the gods*, *precious to the gods* and *exalted by the lord of holy ones*. Elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern literature parallels to Hokhma as an independent feminine divinity are found in the Egyptian goddess Maat (Truth, Order), the Babylonian-Canaanite Kittu (Truth) and Mīsharu (Justice), Babylonian-Hurrian Hasīsu (Understanding, Intelligence), and Siduri, the goddess of Wisdom in the Epic of Gilgamesh. All of these figures are indicative of the existence of a feminine component of the divine in ancient Near Eastern culture.

The notion of the feminine divine in the ancient Near East was strong enough that even the monotheism of Judaism could not completely erase it; rather it emerged in the form of Hokhma, divine Wisdom. It is likely that Hokhma was also a model for the Gnostic Christian figure of Sophia.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval; Gnosticism; Goddess Worship; Judaism; Sophia.*

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Jennifer Hart

HOMOAFFECTIVITY, CONCEPT

The term *homoaffectivity*, or *same-sex affectivity*, and its derivations emerged in the early 1990s along with two other terms, *homoerotic* and *homosocial*, to describe bonds between same-sex individuals or communities, or to describe an affective orientation of an individual, especially in the context of early modern and medieval studies, particularly in literature, art, and history. Whereas the terms homosocial and, to an ever-greater extent, homoerotic are quite common, the term homoaffective is relatively infrequent. Early modern and medieval scholars as well as specialists in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature and history have used the term (Caroline Gonda [2007] uses the term *homoaffection*). Whereas the term homosocial has a specific theoretical origin in the work of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, the two other terms have a more diffuse provenance. The term homoaffective can be traced to Adrienne Rich's (1929–) *lesbian continuum*, although few scholars using it make that genealogy explicit. Instead, it seems that the term is a spontaneous coinage that occurred to a number of scholars rather than emerging from one person's theoretical work, like homosocial.

The three terms divide the multidirectional conglomerate of same-sex relations into the fields of erotic, social, and affective affinity. The three are not mutually exclusive; they overlap, and are sometimes used interchangeably. When used to describe distinct manifestations of same-sex orientation, by placing emphasis on one aspect, these terms create an entry point to the study of a phenomenon that extends well beyond each manifestation. If instability of the boundaries between these categories (same-sex acts, affects, affinities, desires, social interactions) throughout historical periods can be documented, then by studying one, insight into the others is gained. Because it is self-evident that there are few traces of same-sex acts in the periods and societies that penalize them, the focus on homoaffective and homosocial relations enhances our ability to study same-sex-oriented individuals, couples, and communities, and to write their history.

The emergence of these new terms was also initially conditioned and continues to be influenced by the fact that if desire and affection are universal, the institutions and structures that influence and shape their manifestations are historically specific. From that historical contingency results the need to differentiate between historical and contemporary definitions and performances of same-sex orientation. In each specific historical context, depending on their social position and many other variables, same-sex-oriented individuals, couples, and communities navigated different landscapes of prohibitions and possibilities, and they negotiated their relations differently from modern homosexual individuals and groups. The elaboration of a more nuanced vocabulary including terms such as homoaffectivity explicitly helped to articulate these cultural and historical differences.

Moreover, during the 1990s, premodern historians and literary critics elaborated a collective response to the Foucauldian paradigm dating the birth of the homosexual individual to the second half of the nineteenth century (*History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1, Michael Foucault 1976). According to Michel Foucault, since the French Revolution, the place of sex in the process of subject formation has fundamentally changed. The influence of the Foucauldian paradigm is so strong that many scholars are unwilling to use terms such as subject, lesbian, or homosexual with reference to premodern periods, whereas others point out not only differences but also similarities on the two sides of the Foucauldian epistemic break. The use of the term homoaffectivity is one of the symptoms of attention to the Foucauldian paradigm. Dividing the field of phenomena that constitute the homosexual orientation into its composite parts, such as affect, desire, economic and social alliances, and others, allows the analysis of specific cases rather than project ill-fitting, anachronistic concepts that occlude rather than illuminate the past. Instead of determining historical presence or absence of homosexual individuals, homoaffectivity and related terms imply the study of specific aspects of same-sex orientation in the past, cataloguing continuities, displacements, and discontinuities.

It is important to note that replacing the category *homosexuality* as the hermeneutical tool of research on pre-1800 history of sexuality by multiple new categories, including homoaffectivity, has not ended the debate on anachronism and further elaboration of optimal conditions for historical accuracy by refining methodologies. Whereas all scholars claim that historical accuracy is the primary concern underlying their methodology, some argue that many studies fall short of that ideal by projecting onto the past, concepts and models anchored in the present. This leads some to create new models (for example, Allen Frantzen's *shadow*), and generally to emphasize the discontinuities between past and present concepts (titles of works sometimes indicate this emphasis, as in Frantzen's *Before the Closet* (1998), or James A. Schultz's "Heterosexuality Before Heterosexuality").

Whereas the use of the term homoaffectivity allows scholors to eschew the dangers of an anachronistic imposition of modern categories such as *lesbian* or *homosexual identity* (shaped by the evolution of sexology since the late nineteenth century, the gay rights movement, etc.), homoaffectivity is still, at the core, a universal category. While *manifestations* of homoaffectivity are historically determined—its representation, performance, or repression depends on historical variables—it is also assumed that same-sex affect always existed, and can be documented in its historically specific manifestations. In that sense, as a universal core desire or relation whose realizations are historically contingent, the use of the terms homosexual and lesbian is just as accurate, and some scholars, therefore, insist on it (Judith Bennett, Valerie Traub, Martha Vicinus).

Homoaffectivity describes same-sex emotions expressed or enacted by individuals or groups, but does not necessarily include sex acts. Whereas it is useful to divide the field of *homosexual orientation* into its components for the above-stated reasons, this parsing also has the effect of splitting homoaffectivity from sex. As a consequence one can argue that demonstrating the presence of homoaffectivity does not necessarily prove the existence of same-sex desires, performance of same-sex acts, or existence of same-sex couples (in the sense of an affective dyad that could be described as a *lesbian couple*) or communities in the past. However, even in the twenty-first century, sex acts are only the tip of the iceberg; desires and emotions fill far more cultural space do than acts. Therefore the focus on affectivity instead of acts facilitates, rather than impedes, the research on historical genealogies and avatars of contemporary homosexuality.

This application of the term homoaffectivity follows the use of the concept of homosocial coined by Sedgwick in the *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990): same-sex friendship, she showed, presents symptoms of same-sex desire. Because the uses of the two terms are so similar, the critique of homoaffectivity as a useful hermeneutic tool in writing the history of same-sex desire follows the critique of homosociality. In *Tendencies* (1993), Sedgwick expanded her argument from *Epistemology* and effectively invented queer studies by pointing out the relevance of any dissonant voices; thus, queer and nonstandard became a single category. The consequences of this move continue to draw criticism: if everything that is dissonant is queer, then nothing is specifically so, and queer studies postpone rather than write the history of same-sex desire. One answer to that critique is that the normalization of same-sex couples will eventually erase distinctions between homosexuality and heterosexuality, and therefore the perceived dissipation of purpose in queer theory prefigures the utopia to come. Although this is theoretically possible, that response does not address the issue at stake in the critique: the purpose, timeliness, and use of queer studies.

Another answer to the critique is that the splicing of the category *sexual* into fields such as *erotic*, *social*, and *affective*—and turning away from the study of sexuality understood as genital acts between people to the study of desire in areas previously unexplored because such acts are there absent—has enabled important investigations that acknowledge and analyze sex in phenomena from which sexuality has been traditionally evacuated. These include virginity and celibacy (see, e.g., Traub 2002), emphasis on corporeality in asceticism (putting the *body* back in the discipline of the body, as in the works of Caroline Walker Bynum), single women (such as Bennett's *lesbian-like*). All of these investigations have contributed to the study of same-sex desire. Obviously, then, it is not the emergence of categories such as homoaffectivity that distracts from the history of sexuality, but rather some forms of their application.

Because of the silences and secrets that cover up the existence of same-sex desires in the past, the study of same-sex friendship has developed as a way to show or refute the existence of same-sex desires. Homoaffectivity describes affection between persons of the same sex. Theoretically, the term homoaffectivity can be used to study phenomena such as friendship, either in isolation from or as part of a continuum that includes eroticism. However, in practice, homoaffectivity is a term more frequently used by scholars who study same-sex friendship in the past as a likely site of same-sex desire, rather than by those who study friendship as a phenomenon that precludes same-sex orientation.

However, because (with varying success) individuals can compartmentalize sexual relations and affective investments, instead of implying that homoaffectivity is a symptom of homosexual desire, the term homoaffectivity can also be used to distinguish between heterosexual desire and same-sex affectivity. A heterosexually identified individual can be homoaffective if she or he only forms affective bonds with individuals of the same sex, whereaS the sex act fulfills a role whose meaning is to be determined. The leakage between categories (affect, power, capital, gender self-definition), poses interesting problems that could not be analyzed if homosexual and heterosexual were the only available terms.

Because homoaffectivity is a term most frequently used in writing the history of individuals and communities characterized by same-sex preference, it is useful to mention two related terms that played a role in the fight for legal rights and cultural recognition of same-sex couples. The first is: *homoaffectionalism*, or male bonding (Hardman 1993). The second is a legal term, *homoafetividade* (homoaffectivity), a key word in legal fight for civil rights of nonheterosexual couples in Brazil used by a pioneering judge and women's and same-sex rights advocate, Maria Berenice Dias. Dias states that "affectivity is a social reality," and uses the term to describe the relationships of nonheterosexual couples.

SEE ALSO *Friendships, Passionate; Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Lesbianism.*

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Anna Klosowska

HOMOEROTICISM, FEMALE/MALE, CONCEPT

The concept of *homoeroticism* marks a relatively recent but important moment in the theorization of sex and gender. Linked to terms in the same family (*homosexuality*, *homoaffectivity*, and *homosociability*), yet crucially distinct from them, the concept of homoeroticism has had a major impact on the study of same-sex history and cultures. Among other contributions it has allowed scholars to explore issues of sexuality beyond the boundaries of gender identity and the sexual in a purely biological sense. As a result it has allowed major advances in gender and queer theory and in understanding the mappings of past sexual sensibilities, particularly in the areas of art and culture.

The terms homoeroticism and *homoerotic* refer to the tendency for erotic feelings to be projected onto a person of the same sex. They thus imply a preference for sameness over difference and stress the role of emotion. Although same-sex desire as a feature of art and culture has a long and geographically wide history, the terms homoerotic and homoeroticism are relatively recent coinages within the theorization of sex and gender. Developing out of the medical discourse of the Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and the German-born Austrian sexologist Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) in the nineteenth century that inaugurated a new way of categorizing sexuality, these terms first appear in psychoanalytic texts of the early twentieth century, where they are used as clinical descriptors of what were at the time seen as sexual neuroses.

HISTORY AND THEORY OF HOMOEROTICISM

As with *homosocial*, homoerotic is a neologism, derived from *homosexual* but in current usage distinct from it. Although occasionally employed as synonyms for homosexual or homosexuality, the terms were adopted by some analysts precisely because they directed attention toward a psychic and emotional dimension distinct from the strictly genital aspect of sexuality. Thus, the Hungarian psychoanalyst Sándor Ferenczi (1873–1933) argued that the word homoeroticism was preferable, given that it stressed the psychic aspect of the impulse in contradistinction to the biological term *sexuality*. The new coinages can thus be seen as attempts to move beyond the rigid categories of sexual identification that were imposed in the nineteenth century on hitherto more fluid behaviors and identities, and that made homosexuality less a set of actions or impulses than a defining characteristic of a person's identity. By rejecting the explicitly biological that is a component of the term homosexual, homoeroticism is able to describe feelings, attitudes, and desires that reach beyond (often pathologized and medicalized) gender identities.

Just as homosocial is used to describe single-sex contexts that are not specifically sexual, so homoerotic provides a way of labeling single-sex feelings or impulses that are not restricted to biology. Nancy Chodorow (1994) argues that biology alone cannot explain cultural fantasy or private eroticism. Less bound to the biological than homosexual and more focused on feelings and affect, homoerotic has a flexibility that makes it useful for discussion of personal desires and attributes of art and culture. That ability to identify aspects of gender beyond biological sex has made homoerotic and homoeroticism important conceptual terms for the study of sexuality in history and culture. Modern taxonomies of sex and gender are notoriously unhelpful for describing premodern and non-European identities, desires, and behaviors, because most of those societies do not employ categories fully comparable to modern notions of sexuality. The exploration of homoerotic themes, subtexts, strains, and tendencies in the expressive culture of those societies has made possible a more nuanced history of sexuality and its effects.

Homoeroticism is usually distinguished from the related terms homosociability and homoaffectivity, which refer to social bonds between persons of the same sex that are not sexual and that lack an explicitly erotic component. Male friendship would be properly described as an example of homosociability or homoaffectivity but not as homoeroticism. Homosociability is often used to refer to same-sex social interactions such as the all-male worlds of medieval guilds, boarding schools, and the army, or the all-female worlds of sewing circles, sororities, and maternity wards.

Because the boundaries between the social and the sexual are blurred, it can be difficult to distinguish homosociability from homoeroticism. Particularly in societies in which men's and women's spheres are kept separate, male–male and female–female bonds may be much stronger and more visible than in societies in which the sexes mingle more freely. But any reading of those bonds as homoerotic would need to include an awareness of the specific cultural parameters and the expectations about social roles and behaviors in that society. In some polities in ancient Greece, for instance, there was a continuum between male friendship and male homosexuality that complicates any attempt to identify specifically homoerotic cultural moments. The best studies of homoeroticism in history and global culture are attuned to this blurring of categories and situate same-sex desire within a broader interplay of sexual orientation, gender identification, gender roles, and sexual practice.

The work of the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) and the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault (1926–1984) helped set the theoretical stage for the notion of homoeroticism as it is currently used by cultural critics. Lacan's account of power, sex, and language made it possible to distinguish between anatomic or biological sex and cultural gender as well as to consider not just women's but also men's relations to the phallus as the locus of power. In doing the former Lacanian psychoanalysis opened a space for discussion of desire beyond the constraints of biology and separated desire from gender identification. In doing the latter it allowed for consideration of the effects of male-centered power on men and by extension the effects of same-sex desire as a cultural force. At the same time Foucault's understanding of gender as a representation that nonetheless holds real implications for individuals and societies pointed the way to considering the processes by which gender is constructed in all aspects of societies, such as in the media, schools, the home, the legal system, art, and discourse.

An extension of these ideas is the notion, advanced by Teresa de Lauretis (1987), that the sex–gender system is a sociocultural construct and a semiotic system or representational scheme that assigns meaning and value to individuals within a society. She argues that the construction of gender goes on chiefly through various technologies for representing gender (e.g., cinema, novels, plastic arts). The job of the critic, therefore, is to scrutinize how such representations work and what effects they have. Much modern work on homoeroticism has implicitly followed this path of scrutinizing the technologies of gender at work in different societies and historical periods.

Although her explicit focus is on male homosocial desire, Eve Sedgwick's (1985) analysis of the structures of desire in the novel shares common ground with and has inspired later studies of homoeroticism in art and culture. Sedgwick's claim is that male heterosexuality in modern American society is actually a displacement of male homosocial desire. Drawing on René Girard's 1965 study of erotic triangles in which the bond that links male rivals can be stronger than that between the rival and the beloved, she argues that the real object of male heterosexual desire is not a woman but other men. In Sedgwick's view the female love-object actually functions as a mechanism for the expression of men's desire for men. The importance of her study for the development of the concept of homoeroticism as an investigative tool is that Sedgwick deliberately aims to draw the homosocial back into the orbit of desire and of the potentially erotic. In this way Sedgwick attempts to reconstruct what she calls a *broken* continuum between homosociability and homosexuality. By focusing on homosocial desire, a phrase that she admits is something of an oxymoron given that homosocial usually implies relations that do not include sexual desire, Sedgwick seeks not to reconstruct a genetic cause of male homosexuality but instead to devise a strategy for generalizing about and describing historical differences within the structure of men's relations with other men. Her emphasis on the notion of homosocial desire as a tool for inquiry usefully redirected criticism toward fertile new areas of investigation into the structures of gender identities.

HOMOEROTICISM AND CRITICAL INQUIRY

Major advances in gender and queer theory have resulted from the notion of homoeroticism. Among them is the ability to focus on representations of same-sex desire in art and culture and to understand how they help shape sexual behaviors and attitudes. Studies of homoeroticism in the Biblical world, in classical Arabic literature, in sports, as a subtext in *Star Trek*, in vampire cinema, and in any number of other cultural productions and institutions have shown the crucial role played by same-sex desire in forming cultures. Charting a range of experiences from love and friendship to intimacy and sex, critical work has stressed the importance in European and North American literary history of homoerotic relations between men (and less frequently, women) even before homosexuality became codified at the end of the century. Homoerotic tendencies in Homer's verses on Zeus and Ganymede, the poetry of the Roman Catullus (84–54 BCE) and the Greek Sappho (ca. 612–570 BCE), William Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, and the writings of Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) and Jeanette Winterson (b. 1959) have all been studied as part of the history of the social shaping of gender and sexuality.

The notion of the homoerotic has been especially useful in analyzing the role of desire in art, regardless of the biological sex of the creators or consumers of that art. It thus becomes less necessary to identify the sexual orientation of Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) or Emily Dickinson (1830–1886) than to consider the ways in which all sorts of cultural objects and art works contain homoerotic features. Such a perspective allows recognition of the strains of homoeroticism that have been present in European art since the time of the ancient Greeks and to trace its tradition through the Renaissance (1350–1600) and on to the present. It also frees scholars from assuming that male (or female) homoerotic art is always or inevitably the creation of homosexual men (or women) and that it is aimed solely at readers or viewers of the same sex. Instead, the erotic imagination of art can be examined in a more fluid way that makes it possible to understand, for instance, the Japanese tradition found in the *anime* subgenre of *yaoi* of male homoerotic art produced by female artists.

Several recent studies show the advantages of the concept of homoeroticism in freeing scholars from the limitations of a narrow focus on gender identity and from exploration of sexuality in a purely biological sense. In studies of eroticism in art, for instance, the notion of the homoerotic has made it possible to broaden the inquiry so that an artist's sexual identity becomes only one possible factor in understanding the erotic content of a work of art. In this way an art historian can analyze the erotic themes and images of artworks without directly examining the sexual orientation of the artist, as Jonathan Weinberg does in *Male Desire: The Homoerotic in American Art* (2004). Although Weinberg excludes works of art by women and although gay artists are important to his study, he insists that he has not written a history of gay art and he does not explicitly engage the subject of homosexuality. Instead, his study explores same-sex desire in U.S. art through representations of male bodies such as the swimmers in Thomas Eakins's (1844–1916) "Swimming" or the boxers and athletes in the pictures of George Bellows (1882–1925). Weinberg focuses particularly on the theme of male bonding but also makes room for consideration of the female gaze and of representations of race. In taking this approach in his book, he largely bypasses identity politics in favor of an investigation into expressions of sensibility.

The concept of homoeroticism has also contributed to a better understanding of past sexual sensibilities. Whereas the homosexual person is a modern invention, as Foucault observed, a focus on homoeroticism makes it possible to explore same-sex desire before the advent of modern definitions of homosexuality. By opening the door to the investigation of a fuller range of expressions of same-sex desire that lie beyond sexual determinism or gender identification—such as friendship, male or female bonding, and intimacy—studies of homoeroticism have provided a way of understanding past sexual attitudes and behaviors that do not fit modern categories. The essays in *Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*, edited by Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger (2002), for instance, explore encounters between women that might have ranged from the homoerotic to the homosocial from prehistoric Crete to Egypt in the fifth century CE. One essay describes how grave *stelai* in the main cemetery in Athens depict female gazes, including some that seem homoerotic; other essays discuss Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BCE–17 CE) and Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, 39–65 CE), ancient Latin poets who offer examples of male authors who write narratives of female homoeroticism. Although male homoeroticism has received far more attention than has female homoeroticism, studies such as those in *Among Women* have begun to explore the history and cultural representation of female homoerotic desire and are starting to fill in another overlooked aspect of the construction of gender and sexuality.

A final advance offered by homoeroticism as a conceptual and critical category is that it directs attention to the ways in which gender relations are constantly created, maintained, and contested in daily life. With its emphasis on attitudes and feelings, which by definition are changeable, homoeroticism is a reminder that sex and gender relations are not static pregivens but, instead, are molded by ongoing processes. The task of critical inquiry into the dynamics of homoeroticism is therefore to chart those ongoing processes and to show how various experiences and representations across time and different cultures help create sexualities.

Considered as developments in the theorization of sex and gender, the adoption of the terms *homoeroticism* and homoerotic can perhaps best be understood as a largely successful attempt to find a more nuanced way of describing the nature of desire and the processes of gender construction. Although new terms continue to be coined to more accurately depict aspects of sexual behavior that may not be clearly expressed through existing terminology—for example, the phrase *men who have sex with men*, which is used neutrally to describe a specific activity without associating that activity with any one sexual orientation or self-identification with a certain group—the concept of homoeroticism remains valuable for the way that it has enabled scholars to be less hampered by the particular demands of identity and the sexual in a genital sense. The notion of homoeroticism is consistent with a postmodern awareness of the artificiality and constructedness of gender and sex and speaks to the advent of widely shared ideas about gender flexibility. As such it is a term that is tied to its own cultural moment in the twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries, but it remains well equipped to meet the methodological challenges of historical and cross-cultural inquiry into the creation of human sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Homoaffectivity, Concept; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Lesbianism.*

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HOMOPHOBIA

The term *homophobia* once referred to fear of men but later came to mean fear or hatred of homosexuals. As with *racism*, it is a negatively charged word. It was coined by the psychologist George Weinberg, who used it in his 1971 book *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*. A phobia is an irrational fear bordering on a disorder. Calling antigay bias irrational implies that hating or fearing homosexuals is not sensible, normal, or healthy. Some people who stress the bias aspect of homophobia prefer the term *heterosexism* or *heterosexist*, which refers to the privileging of heterosexuality over other kinds of sexual expression, including but not limited to homosexuality. Heterosexism also stresses the social aspect of homophobia as a learned and culturally reinforced set of attitudes rather than an illness or an irrational fear.

THEORIES

Homophobia most often is used to characterize two kinds of attitudes: self-hatred and antigay bias. Self-hatred and shame about one's homosexuality often are referred to as internalized homophobia, implying that a homosexual person has adopted socially negative attitudes about homosexuality and that those attitudes damage that person's self-esteem. Trying to pass as a heterosexual or to cure oneself of homosexuality is seen by many people as a sign of internalized homophobia. Internalized homophobia also can be more subtle; one can be an acknowledged gay man and still not be like other gay men, or can be an acknowledged lesbian who refuses to hire or promote other lesbians.

Internalized homophobia can manifest itself as gender normativity or conservativism, as in the case of a butch gay man who hates male effeminacy or a lipstick lesbian who finds butch women disgusting. Embracing normativity by marrying and having children with an opposite-sex partner rather than living as an acknowledged lesbian or gay man may be viewed by European and North American middle-class gay men and lesbians as a sign of internalized homophobia, though people's lifestyle choices can be influenced strongly by economic factors, cultural factors such as patriarchy and religious intolerance of homosexuality, and political regimes that make it dangerous to live openly as a homosexual man or a lesbian.

Antigay bias also can be interpreted as a sign of internalized homophobia; the classic example is a man who bashes gay men because he needs to prove to himself and others that he is heterosexual. Some men who have had a homosexual experience express their shame by hurting their partners or other gay men. The so-called homosexual panic or gay panic defense was used in several cases in the 1990s in which gay men were hurt or murdered by homophobes who then asserted that their violent actions resulted from temporary psychosis brought on by the victim's sexual proposition. Although the defense usually did not result in acquittal, it sometimes resulted in lesser charges or reduced sentences. Acceptance of gay panic as a reduced-capacity defense was a measure of homophobic attitudes in society more generally. As homosexuality became accepted more widely, the homosexual panic defense was allowed less frequently. It was attempted in the Matthew Shepard (1976–1998) murder case, in which the men who killed Shepard claimed that he had propositioned them sexually; however, the judge threw it out as a type of temporary insanity defense not allowed in Wyoming.

There are many theories about how homophobia originated and why it is still prevalent in many places. Many religions have condemned homosexual behavior, usually male, because it is not procreative, and that prejudice has continued even in a time of concern about overpopulation. The modern invention of the homosexual as an identity rather than a set of behaviors inserted this new being into the regulatory mechanisms of nations concerned with repopulation and normativity, and that meant pathologizing and criminalizing the homosexual in order to control him and, much later, her. Thus, by the late nineteenth century medicine and law had joined religion as institutions with enshrined antigay biases.

When the anxiety caused by mobile populations and rapid urban growth is added to those factors, there is the basis for what Gayle Rubin (1984) termed *sex panics*, in which public hysteria over things such as prostitution, homosexuality, child pornography, and pedophilia helps shut down sexual variation by drawing lines between *good* and *bad* forms of sexual practice. Monogamous married *vanilla* heterosexual sex is usually the most approved form of sexual expression, with other, similar kinds of sex ranged in varying degrees around it. Thus, monogamous unmarried vanilla heterosexual sex is better than monogamous unmarried vanilla homosexual sex. Promiscuity is usually outside the lines, though it is tolerated more in heterosexuals, especially men, than in homosexuals. Homosexuality is almost always outside the lines of good sexuality because it usually involves sex outside marriage. Because of this, homophobia is often an element in sex panics, even if the panic has nothing to do with homosexuality itself.

EXAMPLES

Examples of homophobia include gay baiting, which involves taunting gays, lesbians, transgender people, and queers in public; gay bashing, which involves physically hurting members of those groups; hate speech directed at queer people; offensive protests and demonstrations against queer people; and antigay legislation. Church demonstrations in which people hold up signs that say "God Hates Fags" are examples of homophobia. Many gay men and lesbians consider so-called cures for homosexuality homophobic because of the assumption that homosexuality is a disease that must be remedied and the associated need to teach gay men and lesbians to hate their sexuality. Legislation prohibiting same-sex marriage is considered homophobic by many queer people. The military policy known as "don't ask, don't tell," which requires homosexual servicemen and women to hide their sexuality or face discharge, is seen by gay men and lesbians as homophobic. Fear-mongering that equates homosexuality with pedophilia and other sexual offenses is homophobic. The search for a gay gene is thought to be homophobic by people who are afraid that prospective parents will use genetic testing to abort gay fetuses.

EFFECTS

Some of the effects of homophobia include rigid gender roles and suspicion of those who do not conform to them; the breakdown of communication and intimacy between people who are considered normal and those whom society labels as homosexual or queer; the stigmatizing of people perceived to have a same-sex sexual orientation and others lumped in with them, such as transgender people; attempts to suppress sexuality by adopting a heterosexual lifestyle, which almost always leads to unhappy marriages; self-loathing; the homelessness of queer youth; sexphobia, the fear that free sexual expression is bad for society; gay bashing and antiqueer violence; discrimination in hiring, promotion, housing, and adoption and foster care; political deadlocks that hurt HIV-AIDS programs; and political and legal discrimination and scapegoating. Many HIV-AIDS activists link external and internalized homophobia to low self-esteem and risky sexual behavior. Media representations of gay people as serial killers, sexual predators, drug addicts, alcoholics, and sexually and emotionally unhappy individuals are considered homophobic insofar as there are very few positive representations of gay men, lesbians, and transgender people in the mainstream media, so that those negative images perpetuate stereotypes of homosexuals as sick, immoral outlaws.

DEFENSES AND REMEDIES

Remedies for the negative attitudes described above include acceptance of more fluid genders and gender roles; political, social, and personal alliances between heterosexuals and queer people; and rejection of prejudicial attitudes directed at homosexual people. Other remedies include acceptance of many varieties of intimacy and sexual expression; the adoption of positive attitudes about human sexuality in general, including sexual diversity and homosexuality; increased public awareness of violence directed at lesbians, gay men, and transgender people; increased understanding of the pervasiveness of gay shame and internalized homophobia; adoption of antidiscrimination laws in employment and housing; acceptance and celebration of gay families; legalization of same-sex unions; and greater acceptance of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people in spaces other than gay bars and sex clubs. Another remedy would be the creation of more positive media images of lesbians and gay men on television and in the movies, the music industry, and politics.

SEE ALSO *Hate Crimes.*

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Jaime Hovey

HOMOSEXUALITY, CONTEMPORARY

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

Homosexuality as an identity and a set of practices has undergone repeated metamorphoses since classical antiquity. Before the nineteenth century homosexuality was thought of not as an identity but as a series of practices and attitudes. "In some societies same-sex behaviors and attitudes have been generally accepted, even honoured. In other times and places they have been considered reprobate, branded sinful and immoral" (Aldrich 2006, p. 8). The language used to label those behaviors has experienced numerous revisions, from the absence of words to designate such practices in ancient Greece and Rome, to contemporary times in which most languages have numerous words to mark homosexual identities and practices. Responses to homosexuality have been filtered through religious, legal, and cultural lenses and have varied widely from positive recognition to violent persecution and oppression.

CLASSIFICATION AND DEFINITION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

The historical debate over how to classify homosexual practices and attitudes has culminated in the late-twentieth- and early twenty-first-century conversation about how to define homosexuality and bisexuality as "sexual attraction, sexual behavior, political self-identification or some combination of these factors" (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002, p.1). The debate also includes whether homosexuality is a stable and innate characteristic or a social construction in which sexuality categories are applicable only in one place and at one time if at all (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002). In addition to this attempt at a definition the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) community has been working for legal recognition and rights in many European countries, including the United States, and challenging the persecution of homosexuals in countries such as Saudi Arabia.

Scholars have argued that same-sex relations throughout recorded history fall into three broad categories: "between adults and youths, often in an initiatory context; between persons who abide by their culture's gender conventions and persons who assume that cultural status of the other sex or of an 'intermediate' gender; and between persons of equal age and status" (Chauncey, Duberman, and Vicinus 1989, p. 9). Those relations are influenced by a variety of factors, including race, class, religion, laws, and age. The contemporary understanding of sexuality and its identities, including gay and lesbian identities, cannot be applied to or layered onto historical considerations of homosexuality, because the modern notion of homosexuality takes a number of factors into account that were not part of general knowledge in earlier historical periods.

PEDERASTY IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

The first category, which often is referred to as pederasty, has been evident in many cultures, particularly during antiquity. Pederasty is distinct from pedophilia because "it is age-controlled (no young children) and excludes females" (Bullough 2004, p.1). This category of homosexuality must be understood in its historical context and not in the context of contemporary European and North American assumptions and ideas about homosexuality and relations between adult men and young men. In ancient Greek culture relationships between men and young boys were common; young men were initiated into an elite group through penetration by an adult male. This type of relationship was featured in Plato's *Symposium*, specifically in Aristophanes's speech (Hupperts 2006). Primarily, the sexual contact was limited to kissing, fondling, anal penetration, and ejaculation on the thighs or buttocks, and oral sexual contact appears to have been rare (Bullough 2004). In Rome same-sex male relationships generally occurred in a military context, but men were expected to be virile and dominant in all aspects of their lives, including sex. For a Roman man "sex equated to penetration, and in principle all sexual acts in which he was not dominant were condemnable"; this meant sex with adult men, women, or boys (Hupperts 2006, p. 49). In both cultures types of sexuality never were referenced in the same way they are in the contemporary world.

In ancient China same-sex relations between men were perceived in a much different manner than in the European world. Chinese literature supplies insight into these relationships. Those stories tell of homosexual love "between rulers and their favorites, for instance, or between older and younger noblemen relationships framed by strong emotional bonds and deep attachments based on filial loyalty" (Carton 2006, p. 303). The tales reveal how homosexuality was categorized in Chinese antiquity. Out of the stories came language by which homosexuality, specifically relations between men, would be labeled. However, as in the classical Greek and Roman cultures, same-sex relationships between men were not limited to pederasty.

In Japan homosexual relationships between adults and youths occurred in the specific context of the powerful and influential samurai warrior culture as well as in Buddhist temples between elder monks and younger men. During the twelfth century the samurai class, which rose to political prominence in the over-six-hundred-year-long age of the shoguns, was a decidedly homosocial society from which women were excluded. That environment allowed same-sex relations between men to flourish. Those relationships were traditionally between "an older *nenja*, the active partner and protector, and a younger *chigo*, the object of desire and affection" (Carton 2006, p. 315). In many ways that pederastic relationship mirrored relationships in the larger Japanese culture, but "the samurai model of male same-sex relations became inextricably interwoven into the political system by the 15th and 16th centuries," unlike the other types of Japanese homosexual relationships (Carton 2006, p. 315).

During the golden age of Islam (the Umayyad dynasty, 661–750) "homosexuality was a variant of an eroticism celebrated in all its facets" despite the condemnation in the Qur'an of homosexual acts, "and an adult male might have sex with an adolescent boy, provided that the man took the active role" (Patané 2006, p. 272). The modern reader learns about the pederastic relationships in ancient Islam through literature, Abū Nuwās's poetry in particular. He was one of the leading poets in Arabic literature and wrote about many relationships with boys and female slaves. Abū Nuwās wrote specifically about fifteen-year-old boys and those slightly younger, as well as pages, slaves, and young male prostitutes, and "his verses bespeak a burning passion" (Patané 2006, p. 274). Although the sexual acts are not detailed, the poet alludes to their possibility by saying that the boys had "a supple and slender body, smooth skin, narrow hips, [and] firm buttocks" (Patané 2006, p. 274). Abū Nuwās's poetry represents a period in Islamic history that describes homosexuality, in particular pederastic relationships, extensively; that period reached its peak in the twelfth century.

PEDERASTY IN THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

With the emergence of Judeo-Christian beliefs and practices in the Middle Ages (seventh to fifteenth centuries) and the Early Modern period (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries), references to adult-youth homosexual relationships seem to disappear, but this does not mean that those relationships did not occur. Within the Christian framework the sexual act had a specific purpose—reproduction—and any form of sexual practice, including homosexuality, that violated that principle was deemed unnatural. Adult men and boys during the period of the Enlightenment (1600–1800), for example, engaged in sodomy probably without knowing that they were committing sodomy (Sibalis 2006).

PEDERASTY IN THE MODERN ERA

Modernity appears to have influenced other cultures' responses to and acceptance of pederastic relationships, with the best example being Japan. During the twentieth century in Europe and North America, pederastic relationships were often a source of debate and conflict. In the United States some in the gay community accepted those types of relationships, but for the most part adult–youth homosexual relationships have been excluded "for political if for no other reason" (Bullough 2004, p. 1). However, the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which was founded in 1978 in Boston, has continued to operate despite numerous attempts by authorities to shut it down.

In Europe, however, pederastic relationships have received more attention and support within the gay community. In Germany, for example, the Community of the Exceptional was formed at the turn of the twentieth century and produced its own literature, defending and exalting "boy love" (Bullough 2004, p. 1). Around that time, between the world wars (1919–1939), in England and America a "pederastic-oriented poetic movement developed, now known as the Uranian Poets. These writers turned to the extensive pederastic literature of the ancient world for inspiration, but focused on the trials, tribulations, challenges, and rewards of boy love in a Christian society intolerant of their love" (Bullough 2004, p. 1). Later, in the 1950s, propederastic groups appeared in Netherlands, Scandinavia, West Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland (Bullough 2004).

THE THIRD SEX

The second broad category refers to individuals who dress as another gender and even pass as another gender. Modern terms such as *transvestite*, *transsexual*, and *transgender* are used to refer to individuals who wear clothing and makeup to assume the role of another gender (transvestite), switch their physical sex (transsexual), or decide to change their assigned gender to another (transgender). The roots of these ideas of playing with gender binaries and complicating understandings of sexuality trace back to antiquity. The notion of the *third sex* can be traced back to Plato's *Symposium*. In one dialogue "Aristophanes propounds a mythological explanation of heteroerotic and homoerotic attraction in connection with the three primordial sexes of mankind: male-male, male-female, and female-female" (Bauer 2004, p. 1). Here three sexes are articulated as two halves put together to form one sex; thus, erotic love in the Greek tradition is based on two halves. Therefore, male-male and female-female attract members of the same sex, whereas male-female represents the traditional idea of heterosexuality.

One can see a similar attention to the third sex in ancient India, where "the acceptance of a 'third sex' category reflects the Hindu notion that sexual ambiguity can be cosmic" (Carton 2006, p. 323). The third sex included eunuchs, transvestites, and effeminate homosexual men. Hindu mythology has repeated references to sexual identity that do not correspond to contemporary notions. Shiva, for example, is one mythological entity that represents both sexes in unison, and other deities are known for cross-dressing (Kirshana's son Samba, for example). At the core of those stories and representations is the Hindu belief that all humans have equal amounts of masculine and feminine qualities (Carton 2006).

In Chinese antiquity the third sex—specifically men who dressed as women—was linked to the theater. The all-male theater often witnessed on-stage relationships that might occur off-stage as well. The male actors who played female parts would continue their gender roles off-stage, with the male actors playing the male roles (which were considered superior) in homosexual relationships (Carton 2006). A similar phenomenon can be seen in Japan's kabuki theater in the seventeenth century.

During the time of the European conquest of the Americas, native cultures blurred gender and sexuality lines. Most common were "the cross-gender roles, which included having sexual relations with and marrying people of the same biological sex" (Beemyn 2006, pp. 145–146). The notion of the third sex was prevalent in those native cultures: "Within their respective societies, women-men and men-women (biological females in men's roles) were viewed as neither men nor women, but as additional genders that either combined male and female elements or existed completely apart from other gender categories" (Beemyn 2006, p. 147). Many West African cultures (the origin of much of the enslaved population in North and Central America) also accepted and at times institutionalized cross-gender roles (Beemyn 2006).

The early modern period in Europe, although confronting sodomy, also began to pay particular attention to same-sex female relations, and when a woman was suspected of engaging in such behavior, hermaphroditism (and female genital overdevelopment) was considered the cause. The classical model of the third sex was dominant at that time, and "hermaphroditism was widely known, and, according to medical thinking, hermaphrodites occupied the middle ground in the spectrum from male to female; they were, at least in theory, literally central to the understanding of male and female as reversible" (Gowing 2006, p. 128). During that period certain women cross-dressed, and some became known as *female husbands*, which in terms of violating the norm of sexual conduct was aligned with hermaphroditism. Marriage served a specific economic and political purpose and did not epitomize heterosexual love; therefore, many women assumed another gender role. "For at least some cross-dressing women, marriage and sex may have come as an adjunct to all the other male privileges and responsibilities acquired through wearing breeches" (Gowing 2006, p. 135).

For men during the period of the Enlightenment homosexual subcultures emerged in major cities such as Paris and London, and within those subcultures much cross-dressing occurred. This very visible transgressive behavior involved men "who imitated women's dress, mannerisms and speech, and sometimes adopted female nicknames" (Sibalis 2006, p. 107). Some of the men and women who engaged in those cross-gender roles passed as their assumed gender. From male court officials in England, Spain, and France passing as women to females passing as Civil War soldiers in the United States, the idea of the third sex is an evolving and often times hidden component of the history of sexuality.

In the late nineteenth century, particularly in the Europe and North America, growing attention was paid to that category. The nineteenth-century German sexologists Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895) and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), who were two of the earliest advocates for gay rights, investigated the idea of the third sex. They traced the idea back to Plato and concentrated on two prevalent concepts: "the alternative scheme of sexual distribution and the egalitarian (or 'natural') explanation of both heterosexual and homosexual love" (Bauer 2004, p. 1).

This broad notion of the third sex is represented in nineteenth-century literature in which it encompasses "non-conventional or subversive women who, without being lesbians, were capable of dealing lucidly with their own sexual complexities and of questioning the social roles females were expected to fulfill" (Bauer 2004, p. 1). In that literature there are ambiguous uses of pronouns and even direct references to a sex that is not male or female. Notably, those references to a third sex in nineteenth-century literature concern primarily males, and only after the turn of the century was the term used explicitly in a lesbian context (Bauer 2004).

Ulrich used the concept of the third sex to define homosexuality specifically and redefined sexuality within a triadic scope of sexual possibilities, concluding: "'We constitute a third sex'" (Bauer 2004, p. 2). He believed that the third sex defined a special class of people. Hirschfeld's use of the term made it popular and pushed the idea into the mainstream. He "designated a whole range of intermediate forms of sexuality that could not be readily classified using the male/female scheme" (Bauer 2004, p. 2). Sigmund Freud took the stance that a third sex was necessary to distinguish between homosexuality and heterosexuality. Also falling within the broad category of the third sex is the idea of sexual inversion, which early sexologists believed was part of homosexuality. Effeminate men and masculine women were often the targets of persecution as well as study. Sexual inversion referred to the belief that one had "the feeling that one belonged to a gender 'opposite' to or 'inverted' from one's assigned birth sex" (Beemyn 2006, p. 162).

CROSS-DRESSING AND CROSS-GENDER ROLES IN THE MODERN ERA

In the twentieth century cross-dressing and cross-gender roles became more visible with the growth of gay and lesbian subcultures in urban settings and the increasing acceptance of homosexuality. Clubs in Berlin, Paris, and New York were often sites for cabaret acts that featured transvestites. Cross-dressing women also found social opportunities in those subcultures. In the contemporary period cultures around the world have versions of cross-dressing and cross-gender roles. In the United States drag queens and drag kings along with growing attention to the transgender community are perhaps the best example of the evolution of the concept of the third sex.

SAME-SEX RELATIONS AMONG PEOPLE OF EQUAL AGE AND STATUS

Same-sex relations between people of the same age and status are perhaps the most widely practiced and known category of homosexuality. Evidence of this classification of homosexuality is evident throughout history and generally has remained consistent in terms of sexual practices. For example, the use of a dildo between two women dates back to Chinese antiquity, and there is evidence of male anal intercourse on pottery from ancient Greece (Carton 2006, Hupperts 2006). Anthropological, historical, and sociological research has provided a variety of evidence from all parts of the world regarding the presence of homosexuality in the majority of cultures.

Documents and other sources may vary and are still being unearthed, but the understanding of the presence of homosexuality across cultures and times is more comprehensive in modern times than ever before. Although the general sexual practices—anal, oral, and manual sex—are still the most common sexual acts (with the addition of role playing, toys, etc.), more specific sexual identities and practices within the GLBT community have become more visible, such as leather, sadomasochism, fetishism, butch/femme, and pitcher/catcher.

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Michelle Parke

II. HISTORY

The history of homosexuality is extensive, dating from antiquity in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas through the present moment on a global scale. To highlight some of this history, what follows is a summary of the histories of homosexuality in Western Europe, Asia (specifically, China and India), and the United States.

HOMOSEXUALITY IN ANTIQUITY

During antiquity and in numerous cultures, evidence exists of same-sex relations between men and between women. In the Greek city-states of Sparta and Thebes, homosexuality was closely linked with the military, and in Athens, another city-state, homosexuality and sport were intimately related. In fact, during the fourth century BCE, Thebes was host to "a special military unit of three hundred men, the so-called Sacred Band, that was completely comprised of [sic] amorous couples" (Hupperts 2006, p. 31). In Rome the choices men had in their sexual partners—men, women, and young boys—illustrates the centrality homosexuality, and sexuality in general, had within Roman culture. Male prostitution, for example, was prominent in Roman antiquity, so much so that it grew to become a *luxury trade*, and it did not solely employ slaves, as was the traditional practice, but also Roman citizens looking to earn money.

Because Greek texts were written by men for a male audience, the evidence of same-sex relations between women is scarce, although it is mentioned, however briefly, in Aristophanes' speech in Plato's *Symposium* (Hupperts 2006). This is certainly not to say that these relations did not exist. Our best evidence of same-sex relations between women in Greek antiquity is the work of Sappho, the sixth-century BCE Greek lyric poet. "In her poetry Sappho wrote about the world of women, their daily lives, their marriages and their participation in religious ceremonies. She also praised the beauty of women and the love that they shared, and spoke of her own love for girls" (Hupperts 2006, p. 47). Her fame drew attention to both her poetry and her home island of Lesbos, which was a cultural center at the time, attracting young women to study with the famous poet. The category of *lesbian* certainly did not exist during Sappho's lifetime, but her home—Lesbos—and her name had a linguistic impact on lesbian identity and practices, as did the same-sex relations between men in Greece at the same time. Many women who loved women in European and North American culture would later be known as *Sapphists*, and men who engaged in sexual acts with other men were said to have practiced *Greek love*.

HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN PERIOD IN EUROPE

In Europe, during the Middle Ages (seventh to fifteenth centuries) and the Early Modern period (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries), the influence of Judeo-Christian values and beliefs dominate in terms of how same-sex relations between men and between women are perceived. Evidence of the daily lives of gays and lesbians during this period are scarce because "the concept of 'homosexuals' as members of a separate category was at that time completely foreign" (Hergemöller 2006, p. 57). Rather, individuals were judged based on the practices as they related to nature; more specifically, sexual behaviors were judged within the context of reproduction. In the thirteenth century the term *sodomites* becomes a common way to broadly refer to same-sex acts, primarily between men. A significant aspect of European culture at this time was the exalted position of male friendships, which occurred within a homoerotic context and can be traced back to the sixth century. "Apart from the religious and legal aspects of homosexuality, however, there also emerges a literary and cultural context for same-sex relationships, at least as far as male-to-male contacts are concerned" (Hergemöller 2006, p. 58). These frequently homoerotic friendships were characterized by sleeping in the same bed, kissing, and embracing.

Women were often included in the broad definition of sodomy, and the terms lesbian, sapphist, and *tribade* were used to describe practices rather than identities during the Early Modern period. "Female sexuality in the early modern period was understood very differently from the sexless chastity that became the ideal for Victorian women" (Gowing 2006, p. 126). And in this context sex was necessary to a woman's health, and "women, who required sexual satisfaction and who were fundamentally not naturally chaste, could and would turn to each other" (Gowing 2006, p. 126).

Although most sodomy cases were focused on same-sex relations between men, there are a few examples when women, during the eighteenth century in particular, were prosecuted under sodomy laws, and the debate over the use of dildos during same-sex relations between women raised questions as to whether that practice constituted sodomy. The use of dildos by women was common not only in European cultures but also in Asian and native cultures in the Americas, and "rarely did their use have lesbian connotations, but they nonetheless signified the autonomy of female sexuality" (Gowing 2006, p. 132).

Scholars also see a similar prominence of female friendships as with male friendships. "The model of platonic female friendship, elevated in writings across early modern Europe, seemed to demonstrate the innocence and chastity of relations between women. Elite women [...] celebrated their networks of friendship and their intimate bonds with other women. Many expressed their love in rapturous language that in later centuries was reserved for heterosexual passion" (Gowing 2006, p. 136). Even though most of these friendships were simply platonic and intimate, many were sexual in nature. The elevated position of female friendships and their homoerotic context drew more attention during the eighteenth century because of political scandals, particularly those surrounding the English Queen Anne (1665–1714, ruled 1707–1714). "Outside the spheres of law and medicine, theatre and poetry, and below the social world of female poets and court friendships, possibilities for lesbian relationships existed in a much wider realm than is suggested by tales of female husbands, tribades and their partners. Perhaps the first thing to note is the proportion of women who, by choice or by compulsion, remained single" (Gowing 2006, p. 137).

The large number of single women in European culture produced various all-female living situations, which allowed for the possibility of lesbian relationships, and because women were much more marginalized than men at this time, their intimacies occurred behind closed doors more often than those of their male counterparts. Although there is no evidence of lesbian subcultures in eighteenth century Europe, brothels and prisons were two locations in which lesbian relationships did perhaps develop (Gowing 2006).

During the Age of Enlightenment, a dramatic change in homosexuality occurred, specifically the emergence of gay subcultures in major European cities, such as Paris, London, and Amsterdam. In each of these cities homosexual men had meeting places, such as London's Covent Garden Arcades. Moreover, eighteenth-century intellectuals began to discuss homosexuality in secular rather than religious terms, and laws regarding sodomy were revised during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which changed the legal status of sodomites. For example, much of the focus of the Enlightenment was on *nature*, and sexual pleasure was seen as the natural incentive for men and women to perpetuate humanity; therefore, same-sex practices were perceived as *unnatural* (Sibalis 2006.). The shift here is notable—the notion of unnatural is no longer couched in religious terms but in terms of philosophy.

In the nineteenth century and into the part of the twentieth century, further drastic shifts in homosexuality occurred. Perhaps most notably, medical and psychiatric discourse influenced how homosexuality is perceived and accepted. "Homosexual" replaced "sodomite," "who did wrong against society, but was also 'sick', 'perverse', 'degenerate'" (Tamagne 2006, p. 167). This notion of *perversion* dominated as the central perception of homosexuality, but at the same time, the first active homosexual movements emerge and homosexuality becomes more visible. Whereas male homosexuality received a great deal of attention from the medical establishment, the same is not true of lesbians. "Lesbianism was of little interest to doctors, who either considered it be of marginal significance or cast doubt on its very existence. Deprived of [...] semen, a woman could not achieve satisfaction, and so relations between women, if they aroused the senses, condemned the lesbian to frustration or even to madness" (Tamagne 2006, p. 168).

HOMOSEXUALITY IN MODERN EUROPE

As is often the case scandal drew attention to homosexuality in Europe during this period. The Eulenburg affair (1907–1909) in Germany and Oscar Wilde's trials in London focused interest on the gay communities in these countries. These scandals "contributed to the adoption of certain modes of identification; [...] reinforced the feeling of normality in the average reader of the popular press; and lastly, [...] caused homosexuals to react against the danger now facing them by either withdrawing in the private sphere or by demanding recognition of their rights" (Tamagne 2006, p. 172). Into the twentieth century the perception of homosexuality shifted once again, and by the end of World War I (1914–1919), there was a turning point of how homosexuality was depicted. The changed perceptions coming out of the medical and mental health professions along with the growing visibility of gay and lesbian populations caused much of this shift. And by the end of this period, Paris and Berlin had established themselves as centers of gay life, with flourishing gay and lesbian subcultures. At the same time, however, "stigmatizing stereotypes, social exclusion and the threat of police action all point to the homophobic feelings and practices that constantly confronted homosexual men and women, though in different forms and to different degrees" (Tamagne 2006, p. 188). After World War I was over, there was a desire to return to heteronormativity and the demographic shift, indicating a *surplus* of women and lesbians, who became the targets of attack, particularly in Britain (Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* [1928] drew considerable attention, became the target of a lawsuit and was eventually banned).

World War II (1939–1945) was of significance in gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) history. In Germany some elements of the NSDAP (or Nazi) party, led by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) embraced the idea that homosexuality weakened society and was unnatural because such thought fell in line with the party's overall ideology. The Nazi *Stuermabteilung* (SA, or storm troopers) targeted gay and lesbian organizations and meeting places as well as well-known homosexuals. There were rumors about homosexuality among the SA leadership, including Ernst Roehm, (1887–1934), cofounder of the SA. Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), commander of the Nazi *Schutzstaffel* (SS), developed "the homophobic Nazi rhetoric, mixing traditional stereotypes with detailed analysis that focused on the survival of the Aryan race"; the Nazi policy toward homosexuals became clear: "totalitarian discourse, police terror, punishments disproportionate to deed" (Tamagne 2006, pp. 192, 193). Of more than 10,000 people arrested, 92 percent were found guilty, and although most lesbians escaped prosecution, some were arrested under Austrian law. The punishments (e.g., forced work in brothels, systematic rape) lesbians could suffer were to meant to reinforce the patriarchal order the Nazi regime so greatly valued. Between 5,000 and 15,000 homosexuals were sent to concentration camps, where a pink triangle was used to identify them, and the tasks they were given were designed to *cure* them (Tamagne 2006).

HOMOSEXUALITY IN ASIA

Somewhat similar attitudes toward sex and sexuality existed in China as those found in ancient Greece and Rome, in the third and fourth centuries CE in particular. The literature of antiquity, as mentioned earlier, provides the best insight into same-sex relations in China. Out of these stories came language by which homosexuality, specifically relations between men, would be labeled. "Love of the shared peach" derived from a story of two imperial court officials whose intimacy was marked by one of the men giving the other a half-eaten peach, indicating his "sense of devotion and self-sacrifice" to the other (Carton 2006, p. 304). "Long yang" became a synonym for a homosexual lover because the third-century BCE story of Lord Long Yang and the king of Wei, who shared a fishing boat, reveals the competition among the favorites within the imperial court as well as "confirms the extent of homosexual intimacy among the elite" (Carton 2006, p. 304).

Finally, the "cut sleeve"—perhaps the most famous of the stories—grew to become a synonym for homosexual desire and further indicates how homosexuality pervaded the upper class. Emperor Ai and his favorite, Dong Xian, are napping, with Dong's head resting on the Emperor's sleeve. Rather than disturbing Dong, the Emperor cuts off his sleeve and returns to his royal duties. In addition to pointing to how homosexuality was classified at the time, the story and metaphor also convey "enduring noble qualities of loyalty, respect and filial attachment intrinsic to the moral fabric of the Confucian universe" (Carton 2006, p. 307).

As in ancient Greece and Rome where men wrote for a male history, recorded examples of same-sex relations between women are scarce. "Women were perceived to have no sexuality outside of the traditional patriarchal hierarchies, [and] female same-sex love was subject to the general Confucian perception of women as submissive to men," which led, as in many other cases, to the "invisibility" of lesbian love (Carton 2006, p. 311). There are a few examples of same-sex relations between women in ancient Chinese art and literature, but much of this evidence dates well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This witnessed an explosion in literature that drew on stories from early China that suggest/indicate homosexual activity, particularly between men. Scholars believe that "male writers employed certain rhetorical strategies to keep love between women trivialized and contained within patriarchal parameters. . . .The modernization of China along Western lines in the twentieth century ushered in a new era for homosexuality. Centuries of tolerance were abandoned for an attitude of open hostility and punitive measures." As part of this modernization China adopted "Western scientific models of sexuality" that pathologizes same-sex behaviors and attitudes. After the victory on the Chinese Mainland of the Communist Party of China in 1949, gays and lesbians were viewed as "decadent, morally dangerous, and antithetical to the aims of the new proletarian society" (Carton 2006, p. 311). More recently, however, GLBT subcultures have emerged in China's major cities as Chinese culture has become gradually more pluralistic and open.

Unlike the Western Europe, North America, and China, for example, much less is known about homosexuality in India, and this could be "due to a lack of a reliable historical records or to a general social taboo." It is only recently that the moral and cultural "silence on the subject of same-sex desire" has been lifted—a veil that was in place because there was a widely held belief that homosexuality was a "foreign import." Interestingly, sexuality holds a central place in Indian culture, "with early Hindu sacred texts and art heavily charged with an erotic sensibility. Sexual desire, intimate friendship, and gender ambiguity are issues central to ancient understandings of human relationships and the way in which they relate to the universe" (Carton 2006, p. 322). For example, intimate friendships between women or between men were viewed as highly spiritual, which led to harmony with the universe. Deities in Indian religion are often linked in friendship but have erotic overtones. The friendship between Krishna and Arjuna is perhaps the most famous and the tale's "central proposition is that, like the human and the divine, the two characters are really one—loving reflections of each other" (Carton 2006, p. 322).

Perhaps the best-known example of Indian attitudes toward sexual practices and sexuality is the *Kama Sutra*, which dates from the third century CE. From this text it is learned that "gender-differentiated sex between women was socially accepted" (Penrose 2007, p.1). Regarding men (and male–male desire, or *kama*), there is a clear active/passive binary evident in the *Kama Sutra* and in general beliefs in the modern era. Similar to European antiquity, the male in the active role receives less stigmatization than his passive, or receptive, partner. Indian attitudes regarding sexuality changed drastically with the Muslim conquest of the nation in the eighth century CE. "Islamic rule spread into modern-day India in the early eleventh century and culminated with the tenuous conquest of most of South India in 1707" (Penrose 2007, p.2). Same-sex desire between men is not prohibited in Islamic belief but acting on it is, and there is evidence that men did engage in physical and sexual expressions of this desire despite the prohibitions (Penrose 2007).

As with much early history little is known of same-sex desire between women during this period in Indian history. British colonization of India in the mid-nineteenth century dramatically altered the Indian societal landscape, including attitudes and practices regarding sexuality. The British antisodomy laws were in effect in India, and the influence of Judeo-Christian perceptions of same-sex relations also took hold in India. "Male-male homoerotic poetry ceased to be published. Although some poetry discussing love between women, called *rekhti*, continued to be written in the late nineteenth century, it was eventually suppressed as well" (Penrose 2007, p. 2). By the late twentieth century, compulsory marriage and familial responsibilities dictate that GLBT-identified individuals (although it is precarious to impose European and North American categories of sexual identity onto Indian culture) conform to tradition, and those who want to be "out" (in a more Europeanized manner) must move to the larger cities where GLBT communities do exist. In addition, Indian popular culture has experienced a more visible of GLBT identities in literature and film, and Indian academia has begun to incorporate Queer Studies into curriculum (Penrose 2007).

HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Finally, scholars can trace the history of homosexuality in the Western Hemisphere back to native populations. The role, or identity, most widely known in early Native American cultures is the mixture of male and female characteristics. "Such roles for males (and, likely, intersexed persons) have been documented in 155 tribes, with about one-third of these also having a named role for women who adopted a male lifestyle as well" (Roscoe 2007, p. 1). Although accurate records do not exist regarding the numbers of such individuals, there were enough in the "Timucua of Florida and the Hidatsa, Crow, and Cheyenne of the Plains" to constitute social groups in their communities (Roscoe 2007, p. 1). With the arrival of the European colonists to North America came Judeo-Christian attitudes about sexuality and certain laws that governed sexual behavior, including sodomy laws. Under the sodomy laws in British North America, few men were severely punished for violating the law because proving such activity was difficult, and although not as frequent, women were occasionally found guilty under the sodomy law. The Puritan influence was also felt regarding gender boundaries; individuals who "cross-dressed or led cross-gendered lives" were punished (Beemyn 2006, p. 151).

Throughout Latin America homosexuality was illegal due to various laws from different colonial powers. The conquest of the Spanish imposed Catholic believes regarding homosexuality, which conflicted with certain native practices that celebrated homosexuality as a form of communication with the gods. Punishments for sodomy were derived from the Inquisition and the ways in which sodomy was punished during this time in Spain. Not until 1871 was homosexuality decriminalized in Mexico.

In North America Sodomy remained a criminal offense from the late eighteenth century until June 2003, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Lawrence* v. *Texas* that the thirteen remaining state sodomy laws were ruled as being unconstitutional. Despite the presence of such laws, citizens "accepted and even idealized passionate, loving and physically affectionate friendships between members of the same sex" (Beemyn 2006, p. 151). Evidence of such relationships were more widely known to occur between women, as seen throughout nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literature, but men also engaged in such friendships. Men's friendships were perhaps better accepted because they were perceived as nonsexual, although this was not always the case. Whereas there a series of examples regarding actual female romantic friendships (e.g., the U.S. novelist Sarah Orne Jewett [1849–1909] and her friend, Annie Fields [1834–1915]), the best representations of such relationships come to us from literature——Henry James's (1843–1916) *The Bostonians* (which details the more specific *Boston marriages*), Louisa May Alcott's (1832–1888) *Work*, Jewett's *Martha's Lady*, and other examples. Male romantic friendships were intended to end with the onset of adulthood, but some men—the most famous perhaps being Walt Whitman (1819–1892)—did not end these relationships but instead incorporated them into their conception of manhood (Beemyn 2006).

With the formation of the Young Men's Christian Organization (YMCA) in the mid-nineteenth century and the all-male communities work camps (e.g., railroads, mining, logging) across the Western frontier, it can be seen how greatly intimate male friendships were valued among mostly middle-class whites. Similar all-female communities existed as well, primarily at women's colleges and in brothels. At the turn of the twentieth century, despite the emergence of medical and psychological attention on homosexuality, gays and lesbians began to develop subcultures in some major U.S. cities, such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Freer expression of *perverse* sexualities operated hand-in-hand with the general freedom of sexual expression associated with the Jazz Age (ca. 1918–1929).

During the pre-World War II period, literature and art—both the work itself and communities—became a forum in which GLBT individuals could begin to explore same-sex desire somewhat more openly than during the Victorian Era (ca. 1840–1914). Authors, artists, and actors such as Henry James, Charles Warren Stoddard (1843–1909), Robert McAlmon (1896–1956), Clarkson Crane 1894–1971), Djuna Barnes (1892–1982), Gertrude Stein (1874–1946), Langston Hughes (1902–1967), Marsden Hartley (1877–1943), Forman Brown (1901–1996), Richard Bruce Nugent (1906–1987), and Hilda Doolittle (1886–1961), who signed her poems H. D., produced works that explore, in various ways, homosexuality. After the end of World War II, homosexual identities and practices shifted in the wake of the reassertion of heteronormative gender roles, which is evidenced most visibly in popular culture (e.g., *Leave It to Beaver*). However, GLBT communities still existed and even enlarged in major urban centers. Drag queens and butch and femme lesbians had their own meeting places, such as bars, but existed on the outskirts of mainstream U.S. and Canadian culture.

Prior to the events at the Stonewall Inn at the end of June 1969 in New York's Greenwich Village, many people assumed GLBT political movements did not exist. Known before the 1960s as the homophile movement, the GLBT community did, in fact, have small organizations that met with the goal of advancing the rights of their community, but they usually did this in secret and behind closed doors. Groups such as the Mattachine Society (gay men) and the Daughters of Bilitis (lesbians), founded in the 1950s, may have had their roots in the radical left (paralleling other civil rights organizations that were growing at the time), but they remained non-confrontational and guarded. The events at Stonewall, however, pushed GLBT rights into the mainstream and "proved to be a catalyst for a wave of national GLBT organizing" (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002, p. 11). Organizations such as the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), "which rejected the conciliatory incrementalism of the old homophile groups," and the Gay Activist Alliance were founded as a direct result of the events at Stonewall (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002 p. 43). These groups, along with the lesbian feminists within the broader women's movement, tackled issues ranging from homophobia within the women's movement to the psychiatric *treatment* of homosexuals with shock therapy, and pejorative classifications of homosexuality by the mental health professions.

The 1970s, known as the period of *Gay Liberation*, witnessed extensive marches, demonstrations, and other forms of protest from the GLBT community throughout the country, in urban centers in particular. This pervasive organizing would prove vital in the 1980s when HIV/AIDS would become the largest issue to challenge the GLBT community. In the early 1980s, when gay and bisexual men began to die from a debilitating disease, at the time an unidentified immune-system disorder. The rising death toll and the growing public and political designation of AIDS as a *gay disease* (even as punishment from God for the *sin* of homosexuality) challenged the GLBT community. "Although lesbians had not been infected with HIV in comparably large numbers, they shared a great deal of the stigma of AIDS, while seeing much of the earlier promise of the women's movement dashed by the Reagan revolution" (Smith and Haider-Markel 2002, p. 46). The GLBT community rallied with the founding of ACT UP by the U.S. playwright and activist Larry Kramer (b. 1935) in March 1987. ACT UP focused specifically on political action in response to the AIDS crisis and the mounting negativity targeted at the GLBT community from conservative America. It grew to become one of the most active and powerful political organizations in the nation and soon had more than 100 chapters globally. The 1990s saw a growing understanding of HIV/AIDS and with that came a waning of negative perceptions about the disease and its connection to the GLBT community. As of the early twenty-first century, the GLBT community tackles a variety of issues, including marriage/civil unions, workplace discrimination, adoption, and gays in the military.

In the United States the GLBT community exists in urban, suburban, and rural areas and has a growing presence in mainstream popular culture. The community is more socioeconomically diverse than ever before and has its own subcultures, with groups such as the International Gay Rodeo Association and the Lesbian Avengers. In addition, the GLBT community has grown into a powerful political entity through activist organizations such as the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

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III. CULTURAL FUNCTIONS

The social position of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) individuals varies widely around the world. In the United States, the GLBT community has a fairly visible presence in popular culture and the media, and there are growing GLBT subcultures in most urban centers that engage in the political struggle to gain equal rights and legal recognition.

SCHOOLS AND NEIGHBORHOODS

GLBT neighborhoods in urban centers and college towns typically have meeting places such as coffeehouses, bookstores, restaurants, and bars and clubs where GLBT individuals gather for social and political reasons. They usually include resource centers such as the L.A. Gay and Lesbian Center and the Center on Halsted in Chicago that can assist members of the GLBT community with a variety of issues, including workplace discrimination, housing, harassment, and coming out. Many colleges and universities have organizations that provide a community for GLBT students on campus, and the Gay Lesbian Straight Education Network is a national organization with state and local chapters that works to provide a safe school environment for all students regardless of sexual orientation or gender. Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) is a national organization that supports the GLBT community through education and advocacy and serves as a support network for GLBT individuals and their loved ones. These organizations attempt to develop and support the GLBT community at the local and national levels in an effort to make life easier for GLBT individuals.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

There is a similar visibility and cultural presence in Europe. However, in the Arab world and in countries such as India and Zimbabwe, GLBT individuals struggle against oppressive political and cultural entities that see homosexuality as a Western disease (Hekma 2006). GLBT communities in those regions must operate more clandestinely, but there are activist groups working toward changing the perception and persecution of GLBT peoples in those nations.

THE EFFECT OF THE MEDIA

The media have had a tremendous worldwide effect on the cultural position of GLBT individuals. The gradual increase in the number of celebrities who have come out in recent years is part of that media exposure. George Michael, Ellen DeGeneres, Rosie O'Donnell, Elton John, and others have become gay icons for the GLBT community, particularly in the West. Most of the celebrities who come out work in the arts, and the majority of "out" celebrities in Hollywood are women. This gives visibility to lesbians but also leads to the question of why gay men in Hollywood do not come out in the same numbers.

The general absence of athletes on that list is notable. In the United States high-profile athletes are considered celebrity figures, but few athletes are out. Notable exceptions include the basketball star Sheryl Swoopes and the French tennis player Amélie Mauresmo, along with the tennis legends Martina Navratilova and Billie Jean King. The culture of homophobia in men's sports seems to inhibit active players who are gay from coming out. In the first decade of the twenty-first century retired players such as the former National Basketball Association player John Amaechi, the former National Football League player Esera Tuaolo, and the former Major League Baseball player Billy Bean came out.

Television, films, and the Internet have played significant roles in the cultural position of GLBT individuals in the West. Popular television programs such *Will & Grace*, *Queer as Folk* (the British and U.S. versions), *The L Word*, and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and numerous reality shows (*Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*, *Work Out*, *Amazing Race*, *Survivor*) have featured GLBT characters. There are other programs that have niche followings, but the shows named above have had a larger media presence. Cable television stations that are GLBT-specific have been launched, including Logo and here! Films featuring GLBT characters and content have received critical and popular acclaim, including *Boys Don't Cry*, *Philadelphia*, *Gods and Monsters*, *Brokeback Mountain*, *Monster*, and *Bound*.

The visibility of GLBT celebrities and culture in the media has been significant in changing perceptions about gay life and culture as well as helping those who are coming out find reflections of their sexuality in mainstream culture. There are numerous examples of gay and lesbian teenagers who are struggling with coming out sending letters and e-mails to the stars of television programs to thank them for portrayals of gay or lesbian characters that helped those adolescents deal with their challenges. For example the actors Alyson Hannigan and Amber Benson, who played a lesbian couple on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, received many of those letters.

The Internet has functioned in significant ways in the GLBT community by providing an opportunity for community building not only in the United States but globally. In nations where GLBT individuals cannot be as visible for fear of violence and persecution, the Internet has offered them a way to connect to others in the international GLBT community and with more local people. "In the West, it has allowed those who have difficulty in finding or fitting in with gay life, including young people and those who live outside large towns, to access it" (Hekma 2006, p. 351). It is also an important source of information on GLBT issues, news, and culture.

The media in other nations also have played a significant role in trying to position the GLBT community positively in cultures that may not welcome homosexuality. For example, the Canadian-Indian filmmaker Deepa Metha's 1996 film *Fire* received international critical acclaim but also sparked heated debate in her native India. The film centers on the lives of two Indian families in New Delhi, showing how two women fall in love while living in the house they share with their husbands. The controversy in India involved two components of the film, both concerning sexuality. First, there was a scene in which a male character masturbated while watching a film. However, it was the film's lesbian content, which some of the groups that protested against the film argued subverts Indian culture, that triggered much of the controversy. Certain theaters where the film was shown were targeted for mob attacks, and Metha required a security detail in India. However, *Fire* and films like it bring visibility to the GLBT community.

Film in particular has proved to be a medium in which GLBT issues can be brought into the international spotlight, and numerous global film festivals feature GLBT films. Those films reflect GLBT communities and in many cases are vehicles to promote change. Films such as the Philippine *The Blossoming of Maximo Oliveros* and the Mexican *Amores Perros* show gay life and culture against a backdrop of socioeconomic and political issues. Thus, attention is drawn to the plight of the GLBT community in the country of each film, situating it within a larger international GLBT community and providing GLBT individuals in those nations with a mirror in which they can see their lives.

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IV. ISSUES

After the debate over AIDS/HIV in the 1980s, in the 1990s the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) community faced new challenges, such as hate crimes targeting gay, lesbian, and transgender individuals; gays in the military; gay marriage and civil unions; and workplace discrimination. The two best-known cases of hate crimes against the GLBT community were those involving Brandon Teena in 1993 and Matthew Shepherd in 1998. Those two incidents fueled protests led by organizations such as the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC). Toward the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century

> eleven states and the District of Columbia have laws addressing hate crimes motivated by bias against the victim's sexual orientation or gender identity, among other protected categories. In 22 states, the hate crimes laws address bias based on sexual orientation but not on gender identity. Another 13 states have hate crimes statutes that address neither gender identity nor sexual orientation. Three states have no hate crimes laws of any kind."
>
> *(HRC, "Hate Crimes Laws," 2007)*

GAYS IN THE MILITARY

At that time the GLBT community also was confronted with issues such as gays in the military and civil unions, and those issues would carry over into the twenty-first century. The ban on gays in the military was lifted by President Bill Clinton in 1993 but was replaced with the compromise commonly called the "don't ask, don't tell" policy. That policy "requires gay, lesbian and bisexual service members to keep their sexual orientation secret and refrain from same-sex sexual conduct. The military is banned from asking questions about a service member's sexual orientation, and significant restrictions are placed on commanders seeking to investigate the possibility that a service member may be gay" (HRC, "Don't Ask," 2007). Under that policy antigay harassment and invasive investigations into service members' personal lives for the sole purpose of ascertaining their sexual orientation are prohibited (HRC, "Don't Ask," 2007). Service members can be discharged if they "make a statement that they are lesbian, gay or bisexual; engage in physical contact with someone of the same sex for the purposes of sexual gratification; or marry, or attempt to marry, someone of the same sex" (HRC, "Don't Ask," 2007).

From 1993 to 2007 more than 10,000 individuals were discharged under the policy at a cost of $250 million to $1.2 billion (HRC, "The U.S. Military," 2007). At that time a movement to remove the policy received strong public support (55 percent in the January 2007 Harris Interactive poll) and backing from the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff John M. Shalikashvili (Harris Interactive 2007). In addition to reflecting the fact that 73 percent of military personnel are comfortable with the presence of gays and lesbians in the service, removal of the policy would be consonant with other nations' approaches to gays and lesbians in the military. (HRC, "The U.S. Military," 2007)

> Twenty-four other nations, including Great Britain, Australia, Canada and Israel, already allow open service by gays and lesbians, and none of the 24 report morale or recruitment problems. Nine nations allowing open service have fought alongside American troops in Operation Iraqi Freedom.... [And] twenty-three of the 26 NATO nations allow gays and lesbians to serve openly and proudly. The United States, Turkey and Portugal are the only NATO nations that forbid gays and lesbians to serve openly in the armed services.

The 110th Congress was expected to take up the issue with the reintroduction of Massachusetts Democratic Representative Martin Meehan's Military Readiness Enhancement Act, which had bipartisan cosponsors. That piece of legislation was intended to replace "don't ask, don't tell" with a policy of nondiscrimination (HRC, "The U.S. Military," 2007).

GAY MARRIAGE AND CIVIL UNIONS

Civil unions and gay marriage have been the subject of political debate since the mid-1990s. The difference between the two is dramatic. Civil unions offer legal protections and rights within a specific state and are not recognized at the federal level or by other states. Some states have domestic partnership laws that offer certain benefits, but they vary greatly; "some offer access to family health insurance, others confer co-parenting rights" (HRC, "What Protections," 2007).

Those who favor gay marriage argue that because they are denied the right to marry, same-sex couples are not eligible to receive benefits and rights under more than a thousand federal laws that affect married couples, such as the Family and Medical Leave Act, Social Security benefits, and parts of Medicaid coverage. In 1997 the General Accounting Office identified thirteen categories of U.S. law in which marital status was a factor: "Social Security and Related Programs, Housing, and Food Stamps, Veterans' Benefits, Taxation, Federal Civilian and Military Service Benefits, Employment Benefits and Related Laws, Immigration, Naturalization, and Aliens, Indians, Trade, Commerce, and Intellectual Property, Financial Disclosure and Conflict of Interest, Crimes and Family Violence, Loans, Guarantees, and Payments in Agriculture, Federal Natural Resources and Related Laws, and Miscellaneous Laws" (Bedrick 1997, p. 3). Same-sex couples have limited options because they lack the right to marry. They can be granted power of attorney, for example, but that can be challenged by family members.

In 1993 the Hawaii Supreme Court ruled that prohibiting same-sex couples from marrying might violate the ban on sex discrimination in that state's constitution and could be upheld only if the prohibition was justified by a "compelling reason." In 1996 President Clinton signed a piece of legislation called the Defense of Marriage Act that was intended to "give states the 'right' to refuse to recognize same-sex marriages performed in other states"; that law met with protests from the GLBT community as well as challenges from legal professionals who questioned its constitutionality (HRC, "What the Defense of Marriage Act Does," 2007). Perhaps the piece of legislation that jump-started the national debate most visibly was the signing of Vermont's civil union bill by Governor Howard Dean in April 2000. That law made Vermont the first state to give legal recognition to same-sex couples.

During the fight for equal rights in terms of marriage and civil unions in the first years of the twenty-first century the leaders of a conservative backlash worked to define marriage as a strictly heterosexual institution. The backlash might have been crystallized by the introduction of a resolution to amend the Constitution to do that by Colorado Republican Representative Marilyn Musgrave in May 2003. The supreme court of Massachusetts ruled in November 2003 that that state's constitution required marriage equality for same-sex couples. Conservative lawmakers in the Massachusetts legislature reacted a few months later by proposing an amendment to the state constitution that defined marriage as being between a man and a woman. In February 2004 a challenge to state constitutional law occurred in San Francisco when Mayor Gavin Newsom ordered the issuance of marriage licenses to same-sex couples, arguing that a ban on same-sex marriage was a violation of the mandate for equal protection in that state's constitution. The event drew extensive media attention, particularly when the celebrity Rosie O'Donnell married her partner, Kelli Carpenter, joining more than thirty-three hundred other couples. However, less than a month later the California Supreme Court ordered an immediate halt to the distribution of marriage licenses, arguing that it had to decide whether the city could issue marriage licenses in defiance of state law.

Gay Couple Cutting Wedding Cake. *A homosexual couple cut their wedding cake. The issue of whether or not gay marriage should be legal is heavily debated around the world.* © COLIN MCPHERSON/CORBIS.

One month after the cessation of same-sex marriages in San Francisco the Massachusetts legislature voted to ban such marriages but allow civil unions. In April 2004, on the same day that an Oregon state judge struck down a law blocking same-sex couples from marrying (the approximately three thousand licenses that were issued were nullified by the state supreme court a year later), a California state assembly committee voted to advance the Marriage License Non-Discrimination Act, the first legislative vote in favor of gay marriage. On May 17, 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples; more than six hundred couples acquired licenses that day.

In the 2004 election eleven states passed amendments banning gay marriage. However, in September 2005 California became the first state to pass a bill recognizing same-sex marriage, although the bill was vetoed by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. A few days later Connecticut approved civil unions for same-sex couples. Approximately a week before the November 2006 election the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that same-sex couples were entitled to all state-level spousal rights and responsibilities. During the elections that year seven more states passed a ban on gay marriage. In December 2006 New Jersey allowed civil unions for same-sex couples.

GAY MARRIAGE AND CIVIL UNIONS IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The debate over gay marriage and civil unions has a global context. Between 2001 and November 2006 the Netherlands, Belgium, Ontario, British Columbia, Spain, South Africa, the Czech Republic, Quebec, and the United Kingdom passed legislation making it legal for same-sex couples in those countries and provinces to marry or have civil partnerships and receive the rights and benefits of married couples. In November 2006 the Israeli Supreme Court ordered the registration of marriages of same-sex couples that had been performed in Canada but did not rule on the legal status of those couples.

WORKPLACE DISCRIMINATION

A series of other issues face the GLBT community in the United States and internationally. In the United States, for example, many in the GLBT community face workplace discrimination. There is no federal legislation prohibiting workplace discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, although thirteen states ban workplace discrimination that is based on sexual orientation and seven include gender identity in their bans. "In 33 states, it is legal to fire someone based on their sexual orientation. In 42 states, it is legal to do so based on gender identity" (HRC, "Laws/Legal Resources," 2007).

CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS AND THE RESPONSE OF CORPORATIONS

These facts illustrate cultural perceptions and the distinction between sexuality and gender identity, which translates into greater discrimination against transgender individuals. Thirteen states offer domestic partner health benefits, but those benefits are subject to taxation because the Internal Revenue Service has ruled that domestic partners cannot be considered spouses (HRC, "Frequently Asked Questions," 2007). Organizations such as the HRC track the ways in which corporations respond to the needs of their LGBT workers, and in September 2006 that organization released its fifth annual Corporate Equality Index, which revealed that "a record number of the largest U.S. companies are increasingly competing to expand benefits and protections for their gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender employees and consumers" (HRC, "New Report," 2006). Some of the key findings include that "75 percent more companies than in 2005 prohibited discrimination against transgender employees in employment practices and 35 percent more companies than in 2005 extended COBRA, vision, dental and dependent medical coverage to employees' same-sex domestic partners" (HRC, "New Report," 2006). The trend in corporate America appears to have passed the political debate over similar issues.

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HOMOSEXUALITY, DEFINED

The prefix *homo-* comes from a Greek root meaning both "same" and "man." Combined with the word *sexuality*, homosexuality refers to love, desire, and/or sexual acts between people of the same sex. Although the term may refer to a single-sex institution such as a boys' school or a convent, generally the word *homosexual* is used to describe male same-sex relationships. Female homosexuals are called *lesbians*. The adjective *homosexual* describes same-sex sexual and affectional acts and behaviors. The word used as a noun has become an identity category that is defined in relation to the sexual preference by which individuals are categorized and/or categorize themselves in Western culture. Synonyms for the term include gay, queer, faggot, and dyke.

DEFINITION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

The modern concept of homosexuality comes from the late nineteenth century, when medical and legal understandings of a healthy society led to the classification of desires and sexual practices. This does not mean that behaviors people understand as homosexual in the early twenty-first century have not existed since ancient times but that the category itself is a specifically modern invention. Contemporary understandings of homosexuality are entwined with concepts of heterosexuality; the two terms depend on each other for their sense.

The term *homosexual* was coined in 1869, appearing in a German pamphlet attributed to the Austrian novelist and sex reformer Karl-Maria Kertbeny. In 1886 the German sexologist Richard Krafft-Ebing classified homosexuality as a "paraesthesia" or a "deviance" consisting of sexual desire for the wrong object. Because he believed that the purpose of sexual desire is human reproduction, he considered any sexual desire or behavior that led away from that aim to be an aberration. After studying many homosexuals, Krafft-Ebing, like his successor the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, concluded that homosexuality is neither a mental disease nor a perversion but a normal variation of human behavior.

Both Krafft-Ebing and Freud believed that humans are basically bisexual. Freud, along with another sexologist, Havelock Ellis, believed that homosexuals are "inverts," or people whose spirit has a sex different from that of their bodies. An invert would be someone with a female spirit in a male body or a male spirit in a female body. Later in his career, however, Freud began to understand homosexual desires as part of the normal range of human activities rather than as a matter of inversion, although he also thought that homosexuality was often the cause of unhappiness.

In the 1940s, studies by Alfred Kinsey showed that most people have a fluid range of sexual desires that includes homosexual feelings. Kinsey devised a scale of sexual desire and orientation (the Kinsey Scale) that was moored on one side by exclusively heterosexual feelings and on the other by exclusively homosexual feelings. His interviews and research showed that most individuals located themselves somewhere between the two poles, meaning that most people had a variety of sexual and affectional feelings.

Other members of the medical profession saw homosexuality as a form of degeneracy and as a disease. Beginning in the late nineteenth century in both the United Kingdom and the United States, prohibitions against homosexual acts were incorporated into criminal codes, and homosexuality was listed as a psychological disease in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Medical Disorders* (*DSM*) for most of the twentieth century. It was removed from the *DSM* in 1973, but continues to be the target of religious reformers and others.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HOMOSEXUALS

Homosexual rights have become a social justice issue. Many states discriminate against homosexuals, continuing to criminalize consensual homosexual behavior, making it difficult for homosexuals to adopt or retain custody of children, and prohibiting marriage between people of the same sex.

SEE ALSO *Gay; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Lesbianism; Queer; Same-Sex Love and Sex, Terminology.*

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Judith Roof

HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

In a 1975 update of his definitive study *Religions of America: Ferment and Faith in an Age of Crisis*, Leo Rosten described, denomination by denomination, the official stance of each group on the issue of homosexuality. Listed below is a sampling from his book:

Roman Catholics: " ... homosexual practice [is] an unnatural vice." (p. 59)

Christian Scientists: " ... random or deviant sexuality [calls] for specific healing rather than for condemnation ..." (p. 80)

Greek Orthodox: "Homosexuality in any form is strictly opposed ..." (p. 125)

Jehovah's Witnesses: "No homosexuals are permitted to be members ..." (p. 140)

Methodists: " ... we do not condone the practice of homosexuality and consider this practice incompatible with Christian teaching." (p. 182)

Mormons: " ... homosexuality is viewed as an equally grievous sin with adultery, considered second only to murder in seriousness." (p. 196)

Seventh-day Adventists: "Homosexuality is included along with adultery and fornication, both of which are grounds for disfellowshipping from the church." (p. 253)

Clearly, at the third-quarter mark of the twentieth century, homosexuality was vehemently condemned by most Christian churches, although there were denominations that at least on paper, if not in practice, either took no formal stand on the issue one way or another—Baptists and Episcopalians, for example—or, like Quakers and Unitarian Universalists, actually advocated for protections for homosexuals and worked to end discriminatory laws.

Among the more conservative denominations, little if anything has changed in the thirty-plus years since Rosten's book. Among the more socially liberal denominations, changes have been very slow and hard-won and the direct challenges required to bring them about have often produced a backlash of equal or greater magnitude. In 1990, for example, two Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) congregations ordained three gay ministers; ELCA subsequently ejected the congregations from the church, although only one was ultimately expelled.

Similarly, in 1990, Bishop Walter Righter was charged with heresy by the Episcopal Church for ordaining an openly gay man to the deaconate. (Not only was this man, Barry Stopfel, openly gay, but he lived in an openly gay relationship.) It was the first heresy trial in the Episcopal Church since 1924. On May 15, 1996, the *Court for the Trial of a Bishop* dismissed the counts against Bishop Righter, saying there was no clear doctrine involved. Shortly afterward, Bishop John Shelby Spong ordained Stopfel to the priesthood.

No single event since the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church in 1977 has created such a furor as the consecration in 2003 of the Rt. Rev. V. Gene Robinson (b. 1947) as the bishop of the (Episcopal) diocese of New Hampshire. Robinson's election brought the issue of homosexuality in the Christian Church to the forefront in a way that ordinations to lower-level orders had not, forcing the church to address the issue head-on in a way that it had previously done much more quietly and much more locally. Suddenly, there were no longer just gay deacons and gay priests. Now there was an openly gay bishop; a new—and much more solid—line had been crossed. The tacit understanding that the episcopate was off limits to gays had been violated. The result was—is—an uproar unprecedented in modern times.

Now, not just the Episcopal Church is embattled and in danger of imploding, but the worldwide Anglican Communion (of which the Episcopal Church is the American branch) is similarly threatened by schism. The Rt. Rev. Rowan Williams (b. 1950), archbishop of Canterbury, trying to hold the church together, has consistently appeased the more conservative American, Asian, and African diocese by signing off on—if not actively advocating—requests for apologies and the demotion of the American church within the worldwide body. Three years after Robinson's consecration, articles such as *Anglican Conservatives Seek Formal Ban on Gay Priests*, for example, continued to appear in the press. The waves of unrest within one of the largest Christian bodies in the world will not be calmed any time soon.

Yet whether the Anglican Communion in general or the Episcopal Church, in particular, ultimately survives or breaks up overshadows a far more important point: Although at times the dialogue taking place within the church appears to be more shouting than anything else, there is, nevertheless, a dialogue going on in which this most divisive of issues is being examined, discussed, debated, and railed about. The debate is likely to continue for years and no doubt will consist of taking two steps forward and one step back, over and over again, until the issue becomes neutral.

Nevertheless, there is a window here, however small and fragile, within which change is possible. Bishop Spong said the following in a radio interview conducted by Geraldine Doogue of *Compass* on July 8, 2001:

> We had an enormous battle in our church in the United States about whether black people were part of the body of Christ. We've solved that battle. We had an enormous struggle about whether women could be priests and bishops. We now have nine Anglican bishops who are women in my church. We've solved that problem. We had an enormous battle, it lasted for about twenty-five years, about whether gay and lesbian people could be part of this tradition. And ultimately we've solved that battle too. We're on the other side of that battle.

Bishop Spong thusly summarized the ways in which most of the mainline Protestant denominations have struggled in modern times with the hot button issues.

In stark contrast is the Roman Catholic Church, which, rather than dialogue, characteristically clamps down and reasserts its centralized authority. Partially in response to its own internal clergy sex abuse scandal and partially in response to the rising level of discussion about homosexuality in the wider Christian Church, the Roman Catholic Church has once again declared that homosexual men will not be ordained and the long-standing, on-going effort to root out gay men from their seminaries has intensified.

How is it that homosexuality became the most divisive of issues for the church? What made the church such a homophobic institution? Jesus himself, it is often argued, made no statement about homosexuality. Nothing in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John says anything about sex, sexuality, sexual orientation or gender issues as they are thought of in the early twenty-first century. Therefore, Christianity—if one defines it as following and emulating Christ—is completely neutral about homosexuality. Where does all the vitriol come from? To answer that question, researchers must look at the culture in which Jesus and his disciple, the apostle St. Paul (10 CE–67 CE), lived and preached.

In the world into which Christianity was born in the first century, homosexuality as thought of in the twenty-first century did not exist. That is not to say that there were not homosexuals. (There is even a school of thought that Paul himself was homosexual.) Homosexuality is a nineteenth century invention; that is, there does not appear to be a label to describe same-sex attraction prior to 1868 when the term first appeared. Moreover, "The idea that the gods would be angry with a man for loving boys would have struck any of Paul's Greek or Roman contemporaries as laughable" (Wilson 1997, p. 141).

Whereas civil libertarians guard against cracks in the separation between church and state, the more conservative churches worry about cracks in the separation between sexuality and spirituality, forcing their clergy, as well as their members, to choose. If one is heterosexual and married, one may have God and sex, albeit in very prescribed and proscribed ways on both counts. However, if one is anything other than married and heterosexual, one can have only God; there is no place for sexual expression of any kind. One may conclude, therefore, that these churches are antisex in general and antigay in particular. The result of this split between spirituality and sexuality is that both are harmed and that the oldest and strongest source for the rejection of homosexuality is religion.

Specifically, St. Paul's most famous prohibition, namely *Romans 1:27*, is based on his Jewish heritage, namely *Leviticus 20:13*. An argument can be made, however, that both Old and New Testament condemnations of homosexual acts existed to reign in sexual expression that did not have procreation as their intention simply because of the high rate of infant mortality as well as the high death rate among women in childbirth. Few children survived into adulthood and women who died giving birth obviously could not produce more children. Unlike the Greeks and Romans, among whom sexual expression had far more latitude, Jews were always a small minority whose very survival was at stake. It can be argued, therefore, that homosexual acts among Jews and early Christians were labeled as sinful because they could be construed as a self-inflicted genocide. It is a very small leap from there to also conclude that external control of reproduction and sexual expression constitutes the basis of political control. Therefore, the church can be seen as less concerned with sex in general and with homosexual sex in particular than with emotional, mental, and spiritual control, to which control over reproduction and sexuality is merely a means to an end.

Therefore, every demonization and punishment of homosexuality in the last 2000 years—far too legion to enumerate here—proves the legitimacy of the phrase that originated in the days of the Vietnam War (1954–1975): "When you have them by the balls, their hearts and minds will follow."

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Christopher Nigel Ross

HOMOSEXUALITY, MALE, HISTORY OF

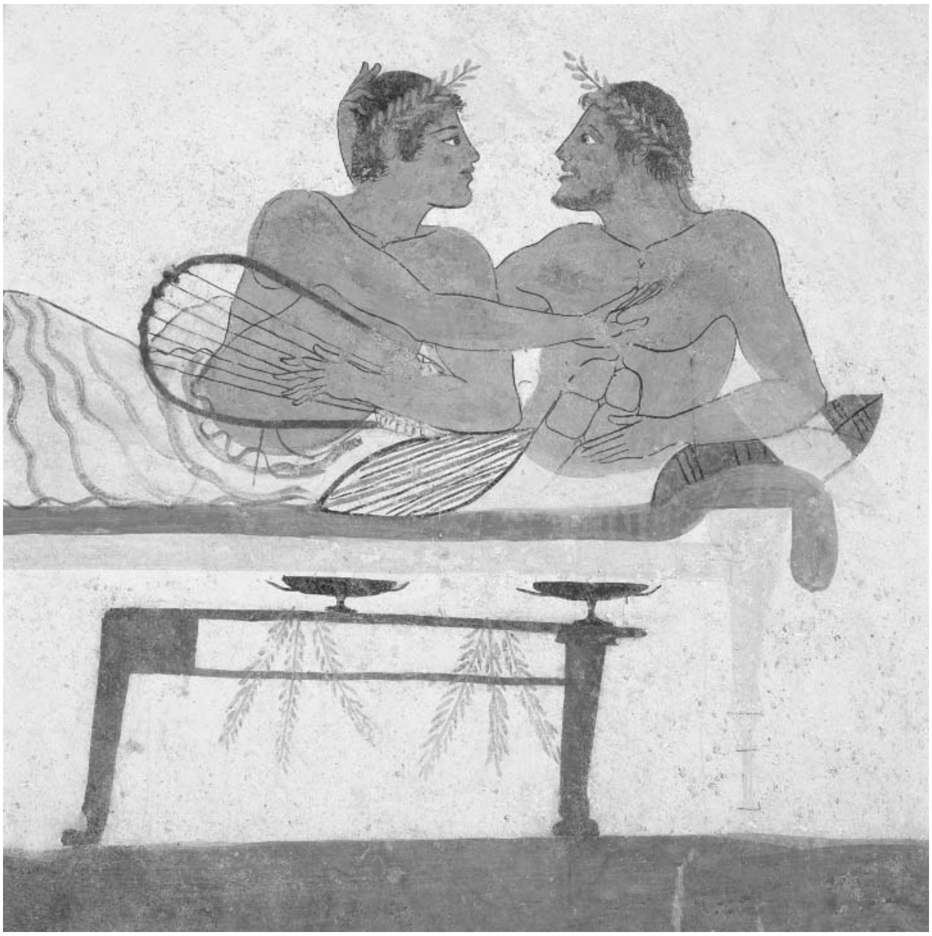
Approaching male-male sexual activity from a historical vantage point means to posit a historically conditioned realm of human experience frequently regarded as unchangeable or biologically determined. A history of homosexuality first emerged in the context of the nineteenth-century science of sex known as sexology. Medico-forensic experts catalogued known historical figures in order to shore up the newly coined description *homosexual*. Early gay writers and activists in Germany, England, as well as elsewhere, heralded gay worthies as forebearers to the gay communities they envisioned. From these beginnings, the history of male homosexuality has metamorphosed into one of the most sophisticated areas of historical research.

As a field, the study of sexuality in history emerged in the 1970s in a dialogue with the so-called sexual revolution, second-wave feminism, and political emancipation movements of various, particularly sexual, minorities. Its persuasive force and intellectual rigor owes much to the pioneering French historian-philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) who in 1976 launched a series of examinations into the nexus of sexuality, knowledge, and power. In Foucault's wake, the fundamental insight into the historicity and constructedness of sexual selves, sexual systems, and sexual ideologies has taken hold in a number of academic disciplines. Assumptions about the universal applicability of modern sexual taxonomies therefore appear themselves as a historical outcome of scientific knowledge production in the West since the Enlightenment.

Persistently, histories of homosexuality have revolved around one turning point, the mid-nineteenth century coinage *homosexual*, first attested in German between 1868 and 1869. The term's advent has been said to mark the birth of a new social-sexual type—a man whose erotic desires were deeply inscribed into his physis or psyche. Whereas the proto-homosexual merely acted, to paraphrase Foucault's thesis in *The History of Sexuality*: the homosexual's essence was shaped by these same acts. In this modern sexual ideology, variable sex acts became an indicator of an abstract category, a particular sexuality or sexual orientation. Nineteenth-century theorists of male-male love fleshed out an erotics of difference, suggesting that *Urnings*, to use Karl Heinrich Ulrichs's (1825–1895) term, fell in love with men who did not share their erotic cathexis or were of a different class. In the twentieth-century West, homosexual relations were increasingly imagined as pairing equals, men of comparable age and similar traits.

Some scholars have called into question whether the arrival of a discourse on homosexuality in psychiatry, medicine, and criminology signalled the advent of a new sociosexual persona. Randolph Trumbach, for instance, argues that the appearance of the homosexual preceded his naming: The so-called mollies of early eighteenth century London were men who desired men exclusively. Unlike the erotically omnivorous male rogue who pursued both males and females, they gathered with other men in certain inns, the so-called molly-houses, and adopted a style of comportment coded as female. According to Trumbach, metropolitan subcultures in Europe gave rise to a bifurcated sexual system in which homosexual men were seen as fundamentally different from heterosexual men. There is indeed mounting evidence that, during the Enlightenment, eroticism was tied to notions of subjecthood. These findings point to the fact that the emergence of modern homosexuality was a long-term process. David Halperin (2002) has recently shown how the term *homosexuality* itself served as a receptacle for a number of premodern discourses. In fact, medical-psychiatric experts never could claim exclusive authority to speak on homosexual matters in modernity. Rather, sexology competed and converged with other—legal, religious, and ethical—discourses. As late as the early twentieth century, sexual actors and legal experts in Switzerland, the United States, and elsewhere proved at times unable to adequately deploy terms such as homosexuality or homosexual.

The powerful workings of homosexuality as a medico-scientific concept are particularly evident outside of European



A Greek Wall Painting of Two Men Drinking and Embracing. © MIMMO JODICE/CORBIS.

modernity. When nations such as Iran or Japan mobilized their societies to adapt to the hegemonic standards provided by Western science and societies, lawmakers, scientists, and intellectuals launched reforms of sexual systems that traditionally had been permissive with regard to homoeroticism, seeking to eradicate same-sex sexual cultures now deemed anachronistic. Histories of homoeroticism, be it in modern or premodern societies, in the West or outside, therefore need to move beyond the privileged place held by the term *homosexual* and take into account the pluralities of terms, codes, and idioms denoting homoeroticism—a multitude of words and registers that points to the many manifestations of homosexual behavior.

In many premodern societies and cultures, homoeroticism was accepted, at least as long as male-male sex acts were predicated on social difference: Adult men were expected to have sex with partners inferior in social status and age, whether they were women, slaves, or young males, before the onset of adulthood. In Melanesia, elders within a community initiate boys to manhood via oral insemination as part of a coming-of-age ritual. In many societies, the partner's social or generational status determined the requisite behavior during sexual activity. In classical Athens, sexual restraint was the prescribed response for a youth who had become the object of a citizen's erotic attention; showing signs of arousal would have constituted a breach of an etiquette that claimed homoeroticism as an educational force within the city republic. When Roman emperors flaunted their desire to be penetrated, these rulers with claims to divine lineages transgressed cultural norms, much to the dismay of ancient commentators and chroniclers. As a rule, superior social status translated into penetration. In many such societies, preferring the erotic companionship of males to that of females signalled manliness. In premodern Japan, samurais engaged in the celebrated erotic love of warriors for younger warriors or boy attendants; during the Tokugawa period, merchants and other social groups emulated these idealized relationships in a society where male prositution was widespread. Across the world, the all-male milieus of certain religious institutions, court circles, or schools fostered sexual cultures in which the beauty of adolescents became a token of male sociability. Even in societies such as Renaissance Florence or the Ottoman Empire, where same-sex sexual acts conflicted with religious or other norms, homoerotic cultures flourished.

Importantly, however, before the onset of modern times, male homoerotic activity did not necessarily preclude sexual attachments to females. A marriage contract from Roman Egypt, for instance, specifies that the husband ought not to cohabit with a male lover—indicating that doing so was not uncommon or out of the question for a married man. The question of whether the love of women or the love of adolescents was preferable—a topic discussed in Latin, Arab, and Japanese literature—was therefore largely considered a matter of personal taste or inclination. Sexual ideology, with its rigid division of sexual roles, was not necessarily congruent with sexual practice, however. The records of early modern sodomy trials suggest that same-sex sexual activity occurred in a variety of social settings, including those between men of a similar age or class. Yet sexual cultures predicated on generational and social differences also shaped the structures of desire.

Histories of homoeroticism have been primarily concerned with sexual activity, its structural patterns, and its social forms. By contrast, the historically contingent structures of feeling around same-sex eroticism have only recently entered into the purview of a history of sexuality. Pursuing this project of a history of emotions means to disregard Sigmund Freud's (1856–1939) warning, in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1929), that emotions hardly constitute the matter of historical analysis—a caveat Freud himself does not seem to have heeded. Male-male friendships in particular offer a lens for delving into the close bonds men shared with other men. Since, unlike homosexual bonds, homosocial ties were not subject to regulations, male friends have left archives replete with written documentation and material monuments—portraits and gifts among them. After all, men socialized primarily with men in many societies and political or other authority often rested in the hands of circles of men. The emotional worlds of friends are best approached through a spectrum of emotions of which erotic desire is potentially a part, despite the anxieties that attached themselves to the distinction of the male sodomite and the male friend in a society such as Elizabethan England.

The history of friendship offers a promising line of investigation, not least because the love of friends lends itself to global comparisons. The favorite was an emotional phenomenon as well as a stock figure of political polemics in court societies throughout the world. What is more, the discourse of friendship intersected with the discourse of love. The exchange of formulas and ideas worked in both directions. Importantly, same-sex friends provided models for male-female lovers or spouses. In select cases, epistles of friendship or diaries permit the researcher to look behind the veil of privacy and differentiate between different types of friends, including those who were physically intimate with one another. With the onset of modernity, normative heterosociality increasingly superseded homosocial bonds as the locus of emotional fulfillment. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographic portraits of male couples in various tender poses demonstrate, however, that special friendships among men might have existed for longer than social historians and historians of the family have assumed. Not accidentally, the term *friend* functioned as a code word for a gay partner among homosexual men and women in the twentieth century.

The questions of how, why, and when the modern homosexual code emerged raises a set of problems that warrant further analysis in future research. Among other phenomena, urbanization, the rise of a capitalist consumer culture, and the advent of civil society have been adduced as explanatory frameworks for the profound restructuring of sexual systems at the threshold of modernity. The tight link between modes of production and modes of reproduction characteristic of agrarian or preindustrial societies loosened in modern times. The rise of the wage economy weakened familial interdependence and strengthened individual independence. Large cities harbored social and sexual spaces that were rarely subjected to community or familial control; here, gay men were able to build their own communities around a shared interest in same-sex eroticism. Fixed social hierarchies, the condition for a homoeroticism predicated on difference, were on the wane; civil society reordered social relations, levelling social, legal, and political distinctions in its wake. European modernity gave rise to the notion of an, at first exclusively, male citizenry. Yet the slow emergence of homosexuals was itself a motor of social transformations, and not merely reflective of larger social shifts. Significantly, the so-called invention of homosexuality in the nineteenth century preceded that of heterosexuality.

These interlocking changes empowered sexual subjects in the West to demand public recognition. In 1867, Ulrichs addressed a national gathering of German jurists, demanding that homosexuality be decriminalized: "This class of persons, " he stated, "is exposed to an undeserved legal persecution for no other reason than that … nature has planted in them a sexual nature that is the opposite of that which is general usual" (Kennedy 1988, p. 108). Starting in the middle of the twentieth century, rights of gay men have been recognized in various forms. After revolutionary France, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, and Sweden were among the first countries to abolish criminal penalties for consensual sexual relations between men (though in the case of the Soviet Union, penalties were reintroduced under Joseph Stalin [1879–1953]). Penal reform and liberalization have been steadily on the rise, particularly in Western societies. In 1992, the World Health Organization struck homosexuality from its list of diseases.

The path toward legal, political, and social recognition of gay men has neither been progressive nor uncontested. The United States, after the 1940s, had seen the rise of a sexual laissez-faire mentality in the wake of an unprecedented mass uprooting of men for the war effort with the emergence of the so-called homophile movement after 1945, the climate tightened significantly when a red scare oscillated with a gay scare during the so-called McCarthy era. Yet with the onset of the 1960s, obscenity laws and censorship were on the wane in most Western societies. While negative attitudes toward homosexuality persisted in many places, unequivocal portrayals of gay men in literature, the visual arts, and film became much more common. These representations established a sphere of communication in which being gay was and is publicly negotiated—a forum whose importance may be said to parallel that of the political sphere.

Inspired by the civil rights and the women's movement, the 1970s saw the emergence of sexual minorities as political groups and an unprecedented efflorescence of gay organizations, groups, and businesses. The fact that acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) first spread among gay men provided further stimuli for gay communities to come out politically. Yet gay politics and claims to sexual citizenry triggered new forms of antigay politics as well . Attitudes toward homosexuality have since become lines of demarcation in global confrontations over the path of religious congregations. This development does not simply pit Western against non-Western societies. The South African constitution of 1996 was the first such document to protect citizens from discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. More recently, marital rights for same-sex couples have become the major legal, social, and cultural battleground for gay rights.

SEE ALSO *Boswell, John; Closets; Coming Out; Gay; Heterosexuality; Homoaffectivity, Concept; Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Homosexuality, Defined; Lesbianism; Literature: IV. Gay, Creative; Middle Ages.*

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Helmut Puff

HONOR AND SHAME

Honor and shame historically have influenced cultural practices, assumptions, and roles, particularly as defined by structures of patriarchy and the control of women's agency, bodies, and sexuality. Traditional cultural presuppositions along gendered lines (e.g., it is shameful for boys to cry; it is honorable for women to marry as virgins) create gender dualisms and establish the normative parameters for what is considered honorable and shameful. These normative boundaries, in turn, shape self-esteem, self-understanding, and relations to others. Mechanisms of imposing shame include the *A* affixed to the adulterer Hester Prynne's chest in Puritan society (in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* [1850]), and recent mechanisms of imposing honor include honor killings and female genital mutilation.

SHAME AND WOMEN'S BODIES

Many feminists, including Susan Bordo, Judith Butler, and Luce Irigaray, have written on aspects of women's bodies. Women's bodies, particularly with respect to their natural biological functions, are frequently rendered shameful by social constructions. The biological mechanism of reproduction—menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth—are shunned as dirty and contaminated even as they generate the good of offspring. Janet Lee notes the paradox: "On the one hand, woman is associated with life, while on the other, her bleeding and oozing body is met with disgust . . .; men are more easily able to imagine their bodies free of such constraints, and they are allowed to project their fears and hatred onto women's flesh" (Lee 2003, p. 84).

Women's breasts are also subject to a paradox: On the one hand, (patriarchal) society desires and commodifies them, yet, on the other, they (e.g., nipples) are scandalous and to be covered at all times. An accidental public revelation of the breasts brings about social rebuke and shame. Recent examples of women forced to desist from breastfeeding in public areas (e.g., airlines and supermarkets) further demonstrates the imposition of shame on women's bodies. Additionally women's bodies are rejected if they do not conform to society's standards, which have varied from the early modern celebration of full-bodied women to the postmodern fascination with emaciated and powerless women. The resulting discomfort in one's own body underlies distorted body image, unhealthy notions of sexuality, and a diminished sense of self.

HONOR AND WOMEN'S AGENCY

Though their origins trace back to ancient tribal (pre-Islamic) societies more than 4,000 years ago, honor killings and female genital mutilation still exist in early-twenty-first century society. Practices include the footbinding of young girls in China, widow-burning (sati) in India, and the stoning to death of adulterers in several Middle Eastern countries. These rituals, it is claimed, are justified because they ensure that honor is maintained; yet the preservation of male power and control of females inform these practices. Female genital mutilation (or female genital cutting) occurs on an estimated 137 million women in twenty-eight countries (Robertson 2000, p. 439). Such mutilation, which destroys significant portions of the clitoris, supposedly dissuades female promiscuity (a shameful action) by eliminating any feelings of sexual pleasure and thereby safeguarding the honor of the family and the social norms of the community. Offenders frequently enjoy impunity and are embraced by communal leaders; hence, the dualism of honor and shame along gendered lines is further exemplified. Some scholars attribute the continued use of these practices to the rise of religious fundamentalism and the extended application of Muslim law (*sharia*). The Taliban in Afghanistan intensified the paradigm of honor and shame by restricting women's agency, increasing discrimination, and elevating the punishments for crimes of shame along gendered lines (e.g., adultery by women receives the punishment of death, whereas rape is nearly decriminalized and it is almost impossible to convict the male offender).

SHAME AND HONOR IN ANCIENT AND MODERN SOCIETIES

Honor and shame significantly influenced Greek culture, as encapsulated in the writings of Homer. In his study of Greek culture, Philosopher Bernard Williams describes shame as the experience "of being seen, inappropriately, by the wrong people, in the wrong condition. It is straightforwardly connected with nakedness, particularly in sexual connections" (Williams 1993, p. 78). An appearance of the self that causes the contempt, derision, or avoidance of others impacts the self and engenders feelings of shame. While these feelings can induce a desire for self-improvement, the same feelings can be self-destructive and socially oppressive. Feminist philosopher and legal theorist Martha Nussbaum argues that shame for the ancients (as well as today) is deeply connected to self-understanding of humanness; human beings feel shame when they fail to achieve wholeness, that is, when they confront "the awareness of finitude, partiality, and frequent helplessness" (Nussbaum 2004, p. 173).

The connection between women, sex, evil, and sin, metaphorically portrayed in Eve's role in the biblical account of the fall in Genesis where disobedience precipitated shame, pervaded Jewish and early Christian thought. Mosaic law focused on purity and proscribed contact with women during menstruation or after childbirth. To preserve honor of the family, women were not able to leave unaccompanied the homes of their fathers (if the women were unmarried) or the homes of their husbands (if the women were married). Though Jesus challenged unjust laws and patriarchal structures and promoted egalitarianism, early Christian thinkers also perceived women's bodies and sexuality as shameful and their social roles as inferior. Consequently young girls were commonly forced to be virgins against their wills. Virginity, Christian theologians asserted, enabled girls and women to transcend their shameful (female) bodies (and become "male") and enter into a spiritual purity. Writing in the context of the emergence of ascetic monasticism, fourth century theologian Augustine of Hippo (354–436) argued that sex was infected by lust, a disease of the soul, and was only appropriate in marriage when performed in the service of producing children. Theologian Christine Gudorf suggests that the views of Augustine and medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas (1224–1274) have exacerbated misunderstanding of sexuality and contributed to sexual hierarchy, shame, and abuse. Gainsaying the conflation of sexual pleasure and shame, she writes: "we have been taught in too many ways to see the desires of our bodies as enemies of our real selves" (Gudorf 1994, p. 87).

The treatment of black female slaves by white slaveowners in the U.S. antebellum South illustrates the honor and shame dialectic. Preservation of one's honor characterized the dominant white culture, whereas slaves were taught to be ashamed of their blackness. Though white culture espoused the virtues of sexual modesty and chastity, particularly among white women (who, based on their nature and the governing social norms, supposedly chose abstinence and discretion), slave narratives record a different history of sexual transgression by white slaveholders: "Virtually all the slave narratives contain accounts of the high incidence of rape and sexual coercion. White men, by virtue of their economic position, had unlimited access to Black women's bodies. Sexual victimization of Black women by white men was accepted as inevitable almost as soon as Black women were introduced into America" (Cannon 1988, p. 37).

OVERCOMING THE DUALISM OF HONOR AND SHAME

One aspect of the contemporary debate on shame and honor concerns the potentially positive and negative effects on the self. Philosopher Gabriele Taylor has characterized genuine shame as that which compels improvement; false shame, by contrast, precipitates self destruction. Honor similarly can motivate behavior to uphold basic values of society (e.g., truthfulness and integrity), yet it can also function as an oppressive mechanism of subordination and violence. Increased participation for women in society will help to alleviate the impact of the latter effect.

Philosopher and Nobel Prize–winning economist Amartya Sen identifies the excess mortality and artificially lower survival rates of women in parts of the world as "missing women." (Sen 1999, p. 104). Sen argues that demographic models should bear out a higher percentage of females, but the ratios of females to males are lower in countries in Asia and North Africa. Citing data of ratios from China, India, Pakistan, and North Africa, Sen calculates that there may be more than 100 million less women in these countries than expected. He attributes the numbers to social factors, including maternal mortality, female infanticide, and sex-selective abortion (particularly endemic to China). However, Sen isolates a more systemic reason for the missing women: "The main culprit would seem to be the comparative neglect of female health and nutrition, especially—but not exclusively—during childhood. There is considerable evidence that female children are neglected in terms of health care, hospitalization and even feeding." (Sen 1999, p. 106). Sen argues that there must be emphasis on women's agency, voice, and empowerment—that is, women's capabilities—and thus consideration of women's literacy and education, earning power, roles outside of the family, and property rights. In contrast to oppressive structures and restrictions based on biased social values, Sen points to the social benefits of opportunities afforded to women. Examples include the microcredit movement of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, which "has consistently aimed at removing the disadvantage from which women suffer, because of discriminatory treatment in the rural credit market, by making a special effort to provide credit to women borrowers" (Sen 1999, p. 201). Removing economic disadvantages enables women to overcome poverty, avoid stigmas of shame ascribed to women based on sex and gender, and uphold a reimagined understanding of honor.

SEE ALSO *Guilt; Penance.*

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Charlotte Radler

HONOR CRIMES

Honor crimes are extreme forms of gender-based violence that are committed in culturally constructed societies in which the female body is viewed as a vessel for preserving family and tribal honor. In certain Latin American, Mediterranean, and Muslim societies throughout the Muslim world as well as Muslim communities in Europe and the United States an unmarried daughter's virginity and a married woman's chastity preserve a family's reputation. Perceived or real threats to female purity can bring shame on a family's honor. Male family members often resort to extrajudicial punishment of the accused female, and to a lesser extent the male, to cleanse the family honor. These extrajudicial punishments represent honor crimes in the form of beatings, disfiguration, and on rare occasions rape. The most extreme honor crime is death, commonly referred to as honor killing.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

The behavior traditionally associated with sullying a family's honor is an underage or adult daughter's actual or suspected premarital or extramarital sex. Culturally constructed interpretations of shameful acts also broadly condemn women or girls who are victims of rape or incest, choose their own husbands, reject or flee from forced marriages, initiate divorce, or commit other "offenses" that bring shame on the family. The male member who "cleanses" the family honor through violence and/or murder routinely earns praise and assumes the stature of a hero in the community.

Whereas society pressures a family to cleanse its honor through the blood of its own daughters, the male lineage does not preserve the family's honor in that manner. Therefore, a son's sexual misbehavior does not sully his family's honor, and as a result his family is not under the same social pressure to murder a son who is inappropriately involved with a woman. A girl's dishonored family, in contrast, often takes the life of the man involved in the illicit relationship. In many cases the man's own family may protect, hide, or send him into exile to spare his life. In Pakistan, for instance, blood feuds can result from one family's effort to protect its son while the other family is attempting to take his life to cleanse its honor. To resolve the conflict the man's family commonly pays blood money or awards marriageable girls to the men of the aggrieved family. In contemporary Iraq women who have been ransomed from kidnappers often are killed by their male relatives to ward off any allegations of sexual impropriety while they were kidnapped.

SCOPE OF HONOR CRIMES

The practice of honor killings is prevalent in many parts of the Muslim world but also has been practiced in parts of the Mediterranean, in Brazil, and among Muslim communities in Europe and North America. As recently as the 1960s Sarakatsani shepherds in Greece conducted honor killings (Campbell 1964). In those mountain communities a daughter's misconduct could sully the honor of her family's men. To avenge the dishonor the father or brother often killed the girl and then the alleged lover.

Although the United Nations special rapporteur on violence against women reported in 1997 that the "practice has been largely discontinued" in Brazil, reports still surface of courts pardoning men for wife murder in defense of honor (Coomaraswamy 1997, para. 43). The phenomenon of honor killings is found in European and North American countries with large Muslim—particularly south Asian—communities as well. In late 2004 British officials, for instance, began reexamining 117 murder cases to determine which ones were motivated by honor cleansing.

LEGAL AND POLICY DIMENSIONS

Legal concepts of victim, crime, evidence, and punishment are culturally grounded constructs, and the application and enforcement of laws dealing with honor crimes are often complex, contradictory, and inconsistent. In Brazil, for instance, the modern legal defense of a husband charged with wife murder committed to restore his marital honor can be traced to Portuguese colonial law that pardoned a husband who killed his wife and her lover in the act of adultery. Legal systems in a variety of Muslim countries follow Islamic (*shari'a*), European, Ottoman, and tribal law. An analysis of legal structures in several Arab countries determined that the majority of penal codes (Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Kuwait, Egypt, Iraq, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Morocco, and Oman) supporting honor killings and protecting the murderers can be traced to the French penal code of 1810 (Faqir 2001, p. 73), whereas *shari'a* in Saudi Arabia and Qatar prevents the punishment of the killer.

Proponents of *shari'a* point out that guidelines for determining *zina* (sex outside marriage) are more rigid—confessions, four eyewitnesses, or pregnancy—and that punishment is less extreme (flogging, not death) than actual practice in many Muslim societies. Contrary to Islamic law, a rumor of infidelity in many Muslim communities serves as sufficient evidence to justify the murder of the couple. In some cases forensic evidence has demonstrated that victims of honor killings are innocent.

When it is convenient for them to do so, some Muslim societies fall back on cultural practice or tribal law at the expense of *shari'a* to impose social order, prevent promiscuity, or cleanse honor. Although some Jordanian parliamentarians in 1999 argued for abolishing Article 340 of the penal code because it contradicted *shari'a* by allowing the murder of an accused woman by her male family members, the Islamic movement in that country supported the law as a deterrent to inappropriate social relations between young women and men. Islamic law also was ignored in the 1977 public execution of the Saudi princess Mish'al, who demanded the right to marry a man of her choice. Similarly, the 2002 local Pakistani tribal council (*panchayat*) sentence of Mukhtar Mai to gang rape, allegedly to punish her brother for illicit sexual relations with a woman from a rival tribe, also did not follow *shari'a*. The brutality of that incident drew the outrage of citizens across the country.

Although many Muslim countries have passed laws that prohibit honor killings, there are a variety of obstacles to the protection of women: Investigation and enforcement are often weak and ineffective, sympathy for the killers runs deep, corruption is rife, and laws based on Islamic or local tradition allowing the victim's family to pardon the killer undermine prosecution. According to those traditions, pardon, blood money, or marriageable girls awarded to the victim's family absolve the killer. Because the killer is usually a member of the daughter's family or the husband himself, absolution can be automatic. In other cases, such as in Jordan, penal codes allow for lenient or token punishment of the killer. According

Pakistan Honor Killings. *Nayyar Shahzaidi's husband cut her nose off out of jealousy because he was nervous she would cheat on him.* © LYNSEY ADDARIO/CORBIS.

to Article 98, the convicted murderer may serve as little as six months. In Palestine the task of murder sometimes is assigned to a youth who is young enough to be exempt from prosecution.

There are few legal mechanisms for protecting potential female victims of honor killings from their own families. In many cases women and men seeking police protection have undergone interrogation, abuse, beatings, and rape. Law enforcement officials often sympathize with the families. Police in Jordan, for example, have subjected women to a virginity examination, hoping that a confirmation of virginity will resolve the family dispute. When women confess to illicit behavior or become pregnant outside marriage or when reconciliation between the parties is not possible for other reasons, government officials may place women in shelters or prison for punishment or for their protection. In most Muslim countries adequate shelters do not exist. Women placed in shelters or prisons may live for years under harsh conditions, often among criminals, until a resolution is reached. In most cases the women must be released into the custody of a male relative or husband. Among the few viable options for their release are the death of a father, remarriage (often to a much older man), and a return home to families that have had a change of heart. It is not uncommon for families to make such commitments and take custody of the women, only to execute them upon their return.

A women's shelter in Dahuk in northern Iraq opened by the Swedish nongovernmental organization Diakonia came under gunfire from relatives of the inmates. Attempted suicide and depression were common at the shelter. In 2004 the Coalitional Provisional Authority (CPA) advisers to the Iraqi Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA) opened a women's shelter inside the International Zone (IZ) as the only safe location for potential victims in Baghdad. Many Iraqi candidates interviewing for positions as workers and security guards at the shelter were rejected when they admitted that they supported honor killings. With IZ property at a premium, a few months after the shelter's opening a high-ranking Iraqi government official demanded the house for himself. Although the minister of MOLSA supported and funded the shelter, when confronted with political pressure, she denied all knowledge of the shelter. The shelter was closed, and the women were turned out.

LACK OF STATISTICAL DATA

As a result of underreporting, social attitudes, lack of adequate investigations by law enforcement officials, and faulty data collection methods, there are no accurate figures on honor killings. Sometimes honor killings are reported as suicides or accidents. According to one estimate (Knudsen 2004, p. 2), five thousand women per year fall victim to honor killings, perhaps as many as a thousand in Pakistan alone. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan collects data in two Pakistani provinces. From 1998 to 2002 an average of 412 victims of honor killings per year were reported in southern Sindh. Women accounted for approximately 60 percent of the victims, and only half the cases were reported to the police. In Pakistan's most populous province, the Punjab, 350 honor killings were reported in 2000 and 249 in 2001. Men represented about 10 percent of the deaths. The *Jordan Times* recorded nineteen honor killings in 2000 and twenty-two in 2001 in that country.

SEE ALSO *Honor and Shame; Violence.*

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HORMONES

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

A hormone (from the Greek *hormaein*, "to excite") is a chemical substance that is produced by a single cell or a group of cells and is secreted directly into the bloodstream where it may circulate through the body or act locally. Hormones regulate or control other cells or physiological systems in the body, including organs and biological systems that deal with sexual behavior and reproduction. Hormones act as messengers to initiate chemical reactions that may have either a specific local effect on cells in the general vicinity of the tissue that secretes them (such as acetylcholine, which stimulates the muscle immediately next to the nerve fibers that release it) or a more diffuse effect, as with general hormones that are carried through the bloodstream and exert their influence on remote areas of the body. The second category of these compounds may affect all or nearly all the cells and organs systems of the body or may affect only specific cells or organs.

THE FORMATION AND RELEASE OF HORMONES

General hormones usually are secreted by a specific endocrine gland: a collection of specialized tissue that produces and releases hormones into the bloodstream without the use of ducts or tubes, in contrast to exocrine glands which use a duct system to distribute their secretions. From the bloodstream the chemical messengers attach to specific target receptors. Depending on where those receptors are in the body, the target sites determine the area of influence of a hormone. For example, growth hormone, which comes from the anterior pituitary gland, reacts with most of the cells in the body. In contrast, many general hormones work only on target tissues that have specific receptors to bind to a particular hormone and initiate its action. Ovarian hormones are an example of this type in that they are manufactured in the ovaries and released into the circulatory system; from there they attach themselves to cells and organs that control the primary and secondary sexual characteristics of females, including the reproductive system and breast development. Most general hormones are secreted by endocrine glands.

Examples of endocrine tissue that produces hormones include the pituitary gland (which makes growth hormone, thyroid-stimulating hormone, follicle-stimulating hormone, luteinizing hormone, prolactin, and oxytocin), the thyroid gland (thyroxin and calcitonin), the adrenal glands (cortisol and aldosterone), the pancreas (insulin), the ovaries (estrogens and progestins), the testes (testosterone), and the placenta (human chorionic gonadotropin, estrogens, and progesterone).

Endocrine glands make hormones by the process of anabolism: the formation of complex chemical compounds from smaller particles. Hormones fall into one of three chemical categories: steroids, derivatives of tyrosine (an amino acid), and proteins or peptides. Steroids are of particular importance in human sexuality and reproduction and include the hormones produced by the ovaries, the testes, the adrenal glands, and the placenta. Tyrosine derivatives include the major thyroid hormones, epinephrine, and norepinephrine. Protein or peptide hormones include oxytocin as well as hormones that deal with kidney function (vasopressin) and blood sugar levels (insulin).

Protein hormones generally are formed at the subcellular level, in the endoplasmic reticulum. The chemical created (the preprohormone) is usually much larger than the final hormone and must undergo a process of cleaving to make a smaller protein called a prohormone. That compound undergoes one more cleaving to make the final hormone. Those hormones often are encapsulated in small vesicles called secretory vesicles or granules and are stored in the cytoplasm of the endocrine cell until there is a signal for their release into the bloodstream. The amount of steroid hormones stored in the cytoplasm of ovarian or testicular cells is usually very small, but the precursor building blocks (especially cholesterol) are present in great numbers. Within minutes of the specific stimulation, enzymes in those cells assemble the precursors into the final hormones and release them into the blood.

THE ACTIONS OF HORMONES

Hormones work principally by regulating body metabolic functions through chemical reactions at the cellular level. Those reactions and their effects may occur within seconds of the release of a hormone or may take up to several weeks (as with thyroid hormones, which may take weeks to affect metabolism) or years to have an effect. These compounds occur in minute quantities in the bloodstream are released in an as-needed manner that is apparently adequate to regulate and control most metabolic functions. They generally are released into the body in a rate determined by negative feedback; that is, the endocrine gland almost always naturally oversecretes its hormone, which in turn exerts control over the target organ, which then performs its function. Some mechanism informs the endocrine gland that no more hormone is needed, and that negative feedback causes the gland to decrease its rate of secretion. When the target organ does not function, it does not send a signal to limit production, and so the endocrine gland steps up production and secretion of the hormone even if that is harmful to the organ.

Hormones almost never react directly with the target cell machinery but combine with hormone receptors that trigger a change in the target cell, for example, by changing the permeability of the target cell membrane (as with epinephrine) and thus exciting it to action or inhibiting its function. Often stimulation of the receptor cell activates an intracellular reaction that results in the production of a second messenger that then institutes cellular changes (as with insulin). Other hormonal targets activate protein receptors inside the cell and thus form a hormone-receptor complex that initiates the activation of specific genes to form new proteins in the cell (and thus change the cell's metabolism). That mechanism characterizes the manner in which thyroid hormones and steroids (including the sex hormones) work. Hormones act by initiating a cascade of reactions in the cell. This is one reason so little hormonal stimulation is necessary to yield an effect. Hormones are necessary elements for human growth, metabolism, and sexuality, including both primary and secondary sexual characteristics and reproduction.

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Diane Sue Saylor

II. SEX HORMONES

Hormones play an integral role in human sexuality. They help in the formation of the primary sexual characteristics (including sex organs such as the uterus and the penis) and the secondary sexual characteristics (such as the growth of breasts and pubic hair) and influence sexual behavior. Along with genetic material, neurological stimuli, and social influences, hormones are responsible for determining the gender of males and females.

HORMONES IN REPRODUCTION IN MALES

Collectively, the hormones secreted by the testes are called androgens (steroid hormones that have masculinizing effects). Other areas of the body (such as the adrenal glands) produce androgens but in quantities so minute that they have little masculinizing effect on men or women except to cause pubic and axillary hair growth. Testosterone, the most important male hormone, is responsible for causing the body to develop male sexual characteristics.

After the onset of puberty, testosterone causes the penis, scrotum, and testes to increase in size. That hormone also stimulates the secondary sexual characteristics, which include body hair distribution (including pubic, facial, chest, and other body hair), baldness (testosterone and the genetic tendency to become bald work together to cause male pattern hair loss at the temples and the crown of the head), deepening of the voice (usually starting during puberty with a "cracking" voice that swings quickly from low to high pitch), thickening of the skin, development of acne (though this tends to diminish after a few years), increased muscular development (averaging around 50 percent more than that of females), and an increase in the calcium density of bones. In addition, testosterone causes the male pelvis to develop in a uniquely male pattern: longer and narrower and able to bear more weight than the female pelvis. Less obvious characteristics include an increase in the metabolic rate (the amount of energy produced and used by the body over time), an increase in the number of red blood cells, and an increase in the ability of the kidneys to reabsorb sodium, which allows for larger fluid and blood volumes in relation to weight.

Hormones also work with the central nervous system and to regulate male sexual behavior. Although the mechanism of this process is not completely understood, male sex drive (libido) and male behavior are heavily dependent on testosterone and its related compounds, though the effect of androgens on erections in men is context-sensitive; that is, it requires both physical and psychological stimulation to elicit a penile response. The presence of testosterone can increase aggression, though social variables play a large role in mitigating agonistic behavior. The effect of testosterone on sex drive and aggressive behavior is controversial, with some researchers suggesting that the sex hormones play a lesser role than do social influences.

HORMONES IN FETAL AND ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

By the seventh week of fetal development (gestation) hormones from the placenta (especially human chorionic gonadotropin [HCG]) stimulate the fetal testes to produce moderate amounts of testosterone that remain throughout intrauterine development and last until about ten weeks after birth. This early testosterone production is responsible for the development of the male body characteristics, including the formation of the external male genitalia (penis and scrotum) and internal reproductive organs (such as the prostate gland, the seminal vesicles, and the male genital ducts). In addition, the increased quantity of androgens suppresses the formation of female genitalia and reproductive organs, which all fetuses will develop in the absence of testosterone. Sufficient levels of testosterone are necessary to stimulate the testes to descend into the scrotal sac during the last couple of months of pregnancy, although when this does not happen, the therapeutic administration of testosterone or other gonadotropic hormones is sometimes effective in getting the testes to descend.

After birth the testes essentially do not produce any testosterone until the onset of puberty (about age ten to thirteen). At that point the anterior pituitary begins to secrete hormones that cause an increase in the production of testosterone in the testes. Testosterone production continues throughout a male's life but begins to diminish after middle age.

MALE HORMONE PRODUCTION

Although most of the masculinizing hormones are produced locally in the testes, they require other hormones that are formed in other parts of the body to stimulate their secretion into the body. Luteinizing hormone (LH) is formed in the anterior pituitary gland near the brain and is secreted into bloodstream, where it activates receptors in the Leydig cells in the testes. This stimulates the cells to produce the hormone testosterone, a necessary component in spermatogenesis (the production of sperm, the male reproductive cell). Follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH) also is secreted by the anterior pituitary gland and stimulates the Sertoli cells in the seminiferous tubules (tubules within the lobules of the testes) to convert spermatids, a precursor form of the male sex reproductive cell, into mature sperm. Small amounts of estrogens (female hormones) also are formed during FSH stimulation of the Sertoli cells and probably are necessary for the formation of sperm. The Sertoli cells produce an androgen-binding protein that attaches to both estrogen and testosterone allowing them to pass into the canal of the seminiferous tubule and bringing the hormones into contact with the developing sperm. Other, more generalized hormones, including growth hormone, are necessary not only for promoting the development of the early stages of sperm production but also for the general metabolic functions of the testes.

ROLE OF HORMONES IN REPRODUCTION IN FEMALES

Hormones help the female reproductive system in its two major phases: preparing the body for its role in conception and gestation (the period of development of the fertilized egg until birth). Hormones that control and regulate the female reproductive system include gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH), also called luteinizing hormone–releasing hormone (LHRH), which is released by the hypothalamus in the brain. Its circulation into the bloodstream in turn causes the anterior pituitary to release follicle-stimulating hormone and luteinizing hormone, which in turn initiates the secretion of the two main types of ovarian hormones: estrogens (the most important of which is estradiol) and progestins (the most important of which is progesterone).

The main function of estrogen is to promote the growth of the cells and tissues responsible for the secondary sexual characteristics of the female. Progestins function mainly in preparing the uterus for pregnancy and the breasts for lactation (milk production). Estrogen also causes an increase in the growth of bones, causing females to enter into a growth spurt at puberty. The same hormone also causes the long bones in women to fuse and stop growing several years earlier than is the case for their male counterparts. Estrogens increase the metabolic rate of the body (though not as much as testosterone does) and cause deposition of fat in the breasts, buttocks, and thighs. Increased concentrations of estrogen, as in pregnancy, can cause water retention. Estrogens make the skin soft and smooth and increase its vascularity. All these feminizing hormones are secreted at differing rates, depending on what phase the woman is in her monthly menstrual cycle (also called the female sexual cycle).

Females also produce androgens (masculinizing hormones). Testosterone-like hormones secreted by the adrenal gland along with estrogen from the ovaries affect target cells in the brain to influence sexual behavior and libido. These hormones work in conjunction with neural and psychological factors to affect female sexuality and behavior (as they also do in males) in a manner that is not fully understood. Androgens from the adrenal gland are also responsible for hair distribution in both sexes.

HORMONES IN DEVELOPMENT AND REPRODUCTION IN FEMALES

At birth and throughout childhood cells around the egg (ova) produce a substance that inhibits its maturation. During childhood the ovaries remain essentially dormant largely as a result of a lack of hormonal stimulation. Although the ovaries are stimulated during fetal development by hormones released from the placenta (human chorionic gonadotropins), the level of those hormones becomes negligible within a few weeks after birth and does not increase until the start of puberty around the age of nine or ten. At that time estrogen production and secretion increase dramatically in females. Under hormonal stimulation the ovaries, fallopian tubes, uterus, and vagina all increase in size. The external genitalia, including the labia majora and minora, also grow to their mature size. The presence of estrogen also changes the lining of the vagina to make it more resilient and better able to resist trauma and infection. Estrogen also causes the development of breast tissue by increasing the ductile system and the deposition of fat.

At puberty the anterior pituitary gland begins secreting increased amounts of FSH and LH, causing the ovaries and the follicles (the egg and its surrounding tissue) to grow. This consequently stimulates the onset of monthly sexual cycles (menarche), which generally begin between the ages of eleven and sixteen.

The female sexual cycle is characterized by a rhythmic pattern of hormonal release that causes changes in the ovaries and sex organs and influences a woman's fertility. These cycles may last anywhere from twenty to forty-five days (averaging twenty-eight). The primary result of these monthly changes is to produce and release a mature egg (ovum) and prepare the lining of the uterus (the endometrium) for implantation of a fertilized egg.

In a twenty-eight-day cycle FSH and later LH increase slightly or moderately during the first few days of menstruation. This causes six to twelve ripe follicles (the sac of tissue that surrounds each egg) to increase in size. After a few days the follicle begins to produce a fluid with a high concentration of estrogen. Although this first stage of follicular development is the primarily the result of FSH stimulation, the subsequent acceleration in growth results from the increasing presence of estrogen, which makes the follicle even more sensitive to FSH stimulation. This combination of estrogen and FSH subsequently makes the follicle even more sensitive to LH stimulation. The increased influence of estrogen and LH causes the follicle to grow very rapidly. After a week or so (and before ovulation) one of the follicles grows much larger than the others, and the smaller ones then involute (degenerate), leaving only one follicle ready for ovulation.

About two days before ovulation there is a marked increase in the amount of LH secreted that peaks about sixteen hours before ovulation (on day fourteen). FSH also increases at that time, though not as markedly as LH does. The two hormones act together to cause the follicle to rapidly swell, rupture, and release the ovum into the abdomen. Around that time LH also causes the cells surrounding the ovum to begin producing progesterone and less estrogen.

In the hours after the egg is expelled from the follicle the remaining cells of the follicle change into lutein cells and convert what remains of the follicle to what is called the corpus luteum: glandular tissue that produces large quantities of progesterone and to a lesser degree estrogen. The corpus luteum also produces small quantities of the male hormones (including testosterone), but these hormones ultimately are converted to female hormones. The presence of progesterone and estrogen inhibits the anterior pituitary gland from secreting FSH and LH. As a result the corpus luteum continues to grow for about seven or eight days after ovulation, after which, if no pregnancy occurs, it begins to degenerate. Its involution leads to a subsequent decrease in progesterone and estrogen that stimulates the uterus to menstruate two days later.

HORMONES AND THE PLACENTA

The placenta (the nourishing sac that surrounds the growing fetus) produces large quantities of estrogen. In pregnancy the chorion (the layer of cells surrounding the developing embryo) produces and secretes hormone human chorionic gonadotropin, which causes the corpus leuteum to remain functional. The secretion of HCG reaches its peak about eight or nine weeks after fertilization. It then goes into decline and is maintained at that low level throughout the remainder of the pregnancy (most pregnancy kits test for the presence of HCG in the blood or urine). The placenta then begins to increase the secretion of estrogens and progesterones. By the end of the first trimester of pregnancy the placenta is a functional endocrine gland that secretes enough estrogen and progesterone to maintain the pregnancy until childbirth. After delivery, in the absence of this high concentration of estrogen and progesterone, prolactin (produced by the anterior pituitary) stimulates lactation (milk production). Suckling stimulates the posterior pituitary to release oxytocin (which stimulates the breasts cells to contract and aid in milk let-down) and the anterior pituitary to continue to secrete prolactin.

EFFECTS OF THE LOSS OF HORMONES

The loss of hormones may result from genetic abnormality, disease, treatment (such as chemotherapy or radiation), surgery (removal of the ovaries or testes), or aging. Decreased production of sex hormones may cause changes that can interfere with sexual behavior or physiology in both women and men. In women a marked loss of estrogen manifests with menopause-like symptoms characterized by cessation of menstrual periods, loss of fertility, "hot flashes," irritability, fatigue, atrophic vaginitis (thinning of the vaginal wall), and osteoporosis (loss of bone mass).

Men also may experience the loss of hormone testosterone as a result of disease, treatments, or aging (in what controversially is called andropause or "male menopause"). Symptoms may manifest as a loss of energy, muscle mass, physical agility, fertility, and sex drive as well as sexual dysfunction (impotence). In addition, the loss of testosterone is associated with an increased risk for cardiovascular disease. The loss of the hormone also may prevent male pattern baldness from progressing.

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Diane Sue Saylor

III. HORMONAL DISEASES

The loss of hormones can cause physiological changes that may interfere with sexual characteristics or behavior. That loss may result from genetic abnormalities, disease, treatment (such as chemotherapy or radiation), surgery (removal of the ovaries or testes), or aging. In women a marked loss of estrogen manifests with menopause-like symptoms characterized by cessation of menstrual periods, loss of fertility, vasomotor symptoms ("hot flushes" or "hot flashes"), irritability, fatigue, atrophic vaginitis (thinning of the vaginal walls), and osteoporosis (loss of bone mass). Although estrogen replacement therapy may help with symptoms, it no longer is recommended except on a short-term basis because of the increased risk of cardiovascular disease and breast cancer. Other remedies include over-the-counter herbal preparations such as black cohosh, soy-based preparations, and selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) and antidepressants such as Paxil. Because of its effect on bone density, estrogen sometimes is prescribed to treat osteoporosis, which is a serious health concern for postmenopausal women.

Tumors of the adrenal gland occasionally may cause the overproduction of androgens, resulting in masculinizing secondary sexual characteristics in women, including facial hair growth (hirsutism). Tumors in the embryonic tissue of the ovaries and adrenal hormone abnormalities also may lead to the production of large quantities of androgens. When this happens in genetically female fetuses, masculinizing occurs and may result in female pseudohermaphrodism characterized by the possession of ovaries and ambiguous genitalia.

Normal aging results in a loss of testosterone production in males (andropause). Symptoms may manifest as a loss of energy, muscle mass, physical agility, fertility, and sex drive as well as sexual dysfunction (impotence). In addition, the loss of testosterone is associated with an increased risk for cardiovascular disease. It also may prevent male pattern baldness from progressing. Treatment of hormone insufficiency may include testosterone injections, patches, or implants.

If the testes fail to function during fetal development (hypogonadism), there are insufficient androgens to stimulate the growth of male sexual organs, and normal female organs develop instead. If an adolescent boy loses his testes before puberty, he will not develop mature sexual characteristics: His voice will remain childlike, he will not go bald, and he will not develop the facial and body hair characteristic of an adult male. If a male loses his testes after puberty, some of the masculine secondary sexual characteristics, such as sex organ size and a deepened voice, are maintained for the most part (though slightly diminished), whereas others, such as hair distribution and musculature and bone mass, may decrease markedly. Adult men who experience a loss of testosterone may note decreased sexual desire and difficulty achieving an erection. As with aging, these symptoms may be treated by the administration of testosterone.

Loss of testosterone production in the testes can cause the prostate to diminish in size. Further, certain cancers of the prostate can be stimulated by testosterone. These types of cancer may be treated by removal of the testes or the administration of estrogen.

Hypergonadism (overproduction of sex hormones) may occur with testicular tumors. When this occurs in young children, up to 100 times the normal amount of testosterone may be secreted, causing the bones to fuse at an early age, before full adult height has been reached. The increased quantity of testosterone also stimulates a premature and excessive development of the sex organs and secondary sexual characteristics. In adults hypergonadism often goes undiagnosed because sexual characteristics already have developed. Other tumors of the genital tissue may produce large amounts of luteinizing hormone (LH) or estrogen, causing symptoms that include gynecomastia (overgrowth of the breasts).

SEE ALSO *Contraception: I. Overview; Genitals, Female; Genitals, Male.*

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HOURI

Houri (or *huri*) refers to a pure feminine being in Islamic paradise that the Koran promises to the Muslim believer. In Arabic, the plural (*hur*) and singular (*hawra'*) are related to the verb root *hwr*, which is associated with whiteness. In particular, the Koranic phrase *hur 'ayn* is understood to refer to the sclerotic part of the eye. By implication, the houri is a being with large or dark eyes like a gazelle; as a result, the houri is often understood as a doe-eyed beauty.

In the Koran and early Islamic textual tradition, the houri emerges as a pure female companion for believers. In the Koran, houris are mentioned or referred to as "companions" (44:54, 52:20), "restrained" (55:72), "like pearls well-guarded" (56:22–23), and "virginal" (56:35–37). In the sura (chapter) of the Koran called al-Rahman (The Merciful), their conditions are discussed: They live in pavilions or tents; no man or jinn has touched them before; and they recline on rich carpets of beauty (55:54–56).

In early Islamic tradition, houri*s* may also have had an earthly dimension. In the *Sirat Rasul Allah*, the first chronicle of the life of Muhammad, composed by Ibn Ishaq (c. 704–767 CE) and edited by Ibn Hisham (d. 834 CE), houris are first described as rewards for the wounded:

> . . . yet I am a Muslim
> I hope in exchange for life near to Allah
> With Houris fashioned like the most beautiful statues
> With the highest Garden for those who mount there.
>
> *(Ibn Ishaq 2001 [1955], p. 350)*

Houris are also mentioned as female caretakers of the dying in battle.

As Islamic tradition developed, descriptions of houris became more sensual. In *hadith*, the canonical collections of the traditions of the prophet Muhammad, houris were identified by their pure skin and translucent limbs. Their white limbs are so fair and fine that their bones can be seen through them. Their white gauzy garments flow in the breeze. When they walk into the marketplace, their scent wafts for miles. In al-Tirmidhi's (d. c. 892 CE) collection, the houris also speak in their melodic voices: "We live forever and never pass away, we are affluent and never austere, we are content and never discontent. Blessed are those who belong to us and to whom we belong" (translated from Tirmidhi n.d. [892], p. 696). In the allegorical mystical tale of al-Muhasibi (c. 781–857 CE), the houri figures in the narrative as a beautiful alluring woman in the male believer's courtyard palace in paradise.

In European discourse, the term, which enters English through French from the Persian plural *hurriyat*, signifies beautiful Oriental maidens. In particular, in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819), the term houri plays a role in the description of Rebecca the Jewess: "What is she, Isaac? Thy wife or thy daughter, that Eastern houri that thou lockest under thy arm?" (Scott 1998 [1832], pp. 93–94).] Within Islamic contemporary discourse, houris are not just seen as virginal beauties; instead, their significance is contested. Some modern theologians suggest that the houri should be interpreted metaphorically instead of literally. Others see the houri as an example of the patriarchal nature of Islam. Yet others suggest that houris are considered rewards in only the early stages of Koranic recitation. Whereas scholars question how to interpret houri*s*, many Muslims consider the houri a reward of paradise, and contemporary jihadists, in particular, cite the houri as among the rewards awaiting martyrs. The issue of how to interpret the houri and what her purity means, then, remains an active issue in Muslim discourse.

SEE ALSO *Islam.*

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HUSTLER

Hustler magazine was the brainchild of Larry Flynt. Launched in 1974, *Hustler* consciously placed itself on the opposite socio-sexual spectrum from its journalistic cousins, *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. At its height it may have reached twenty million readers (Smolla 1990, p. 38).

Flynt's magazine was, in fact, a bad boy *Playboy*. This is perhaps due to Flynt's background. He was born to a poor family in Appalachia in 1942. He moved to the Midwest, where, after a successful stint in the Navy, he transformed a bar in Dayton, Ohio, into a strip club, giving birth to more such clubs. A newsletter for the clubs became *Hustler* the magazine.

It was a working-class philosophy that permitted Flynt to understand the unattainability of the women in *Playboy* and *Penthouse* for an average male reader. The laminated, air-brushed, almost plasticized bodies of *Playboy* models was anathema to Flynt. *Hustler* was not shy about leaving its competitors behind when it showed female pubic hair. As Laura Kipnis puts it (1996, p. 128), sex for Flynt (and subsequently *Hustler*) was "a political, not a private, matter." Breaking down the bounds of "repression and social hypocrisy" (Kipnis 1996, p. 129), *Hustler* did not shy away from including fat women, disabled women, and interracial couples. If its goal was to shake American readers out of their fantasies of women as plastic blow-up life-size dolls, it succeeded. Its message was at once egalitarian and anti-establishment. The magazine also earned the harsh condemnation of feminists. Briefly, after a 1977 religious conversion, Flynt made of *Hustler* a strange amalgam of Christianity and pornography, an attempt he eventually abandoned, along with his conversion.

Flynt was a familiar face in the American court system, be it when he was sued by novelist Jackie Collins or the televangelist Jerry Falwell (Smolla 1990). The attempt to assassinate him, in 1978, even took place outside a courtroom where he was being tried for obscenity. The shooting forced Flynt into a wheelchair, but that did not stop him from considering himself the protector of the First Amendment. He made this clear in *Hustler*'s philosophy of gender. Nothing was out of the bounds of free speech. *Hustler*, in a sense, pushed its competitors—especially *Playboy*—into areas where they might not otherwise have dared to go: the transsexual body. *Hustler* showed it in its pre-operative phase; *Playboy*, years later, in its cleaned-up and sanitized post-operative phase.

As Kipnis emphasizes, *Hustler*'s body is transgressive, when not Rabelaisian in its portrayal. It is the body uncensored, with all its corporal functions brought out of the pristine closet. In an ironic twist, Flynt's shooting transformed him into one of his own magazine's transgressive bodies: overweight, wheel-chair bound (without control over his intimate bodily functions) (Smolla 1990)—something he exploited to the full when he wheeled into a courtroom wearing the American flag as a diaper, keeping alive the outlaw aspect of Flynt and his magazine.

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HYSTERECTOMY

A hysterectomy is the surgical removal of the uterus. The procedure can entail removal of the entire uterus (total hysterectomy) or may involve only excision of the body of the organ while preserving the lower part or cervix (supracervical hysterectomy). Depending on the reason for the surgery, the surgeon may also remove the ovaries and fallopian tubes (hysterectomy with bilateral salpingo-oophorectomy). Since the ovaries are the site of hormonal production and secretion (of estrogen, progesterone, and to some degree testosterone), loss of the ovaries results in surgical menopause, which causes the cessation of menstruation and the inability to bear a child. In cases where the ovaries are preserved and function remains intact, women may undergo in vitro fertilization with the embryo implanted in a surrogate mother. In young women, menopausal symptoms may be treated with hormone replacement therapy. There is an increase in the rate of bone fractures in women who have undergone surgical menopause. Hysterectomy is the second-most common surgery for women of reproductive age in the United States, with one-third of all women undergoing the procedure by age sixty.

Surgeons can remove the uterus and/or other organs through an abdominal incision, or vaginally, a less invasive procedure, with or without the assistance of a laparoscope (a long tube with a lens system, video camera, and a light source to illuminate the abdominal cavity). The laparoscope enters the body through a small incision and carbon dioxide gas is pumped into the cavity to help visualize the working area. The excised uterus is then removed through the vaginal canal or through another abdominal incision. In the case of a supracervical laparoscopic hysterectomy, the uterine tissue may be cut and removed from the body through the use of a morcelator (a specialized laparoscopic instrument).

Women undergo hysterectomies for many conditions including uterine fibroids, endometriosis (and other forms of pelvic pain), dysfunctional (non-menstrual) or heavy bleeding (sometimes resulting in a low red blood cell count, or anemia), certain cancers (including uterine, cervical, or ovarian), and to control life threatening hemorrhage following childbirth. Doctors also remove the ovaries and uterus during sex reassignment surgery.

Alternative treatments to hysterectomy include the use of medications (including Depo-Provera) and procedures such as thermal ablation (destroying the lining of the uterus with heat) to relieve symptoms of dysfunctional uterine bleeding. Doctors may perform a myomectomy (with or without laparoscopic assistance) to remove uterine fibroids without removing the uterus. Embolization (destroying the blood vessels supplying the fibroids) may eliminate or lessen the condition while preserving fertility.

Hysterectomy is often indicated when alternative methods fail or are unlikely to offer relief for symptoms or disease. However, studies show that 20 percent of all hysterectomies are unnecessary. Though women's advocacy groups in the 1980s and 1990s began questioning the need for much of this surgery, in the early twenty-first century the United States leads the world in the percentage of hysterectomies performed each year.

SEE ALSO *Hormones: I. Overview; Reproduction (Procreation).*

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Diane Sue Saylor

I

IBSEN, HENRIK

1828–1906

Henrik Ibsen, born on March 20 in Skien, Norway, is one of the great dramatists of world literature. He began as a writer of poetic dramas that included the masterpiece *Peer Gynt* (1867) and then turned to prose to write realistic plays that earned him the title "the founder of modern drama": *Pillars of Society* (1877), *A Doll House* (1879), *Ghosts* (1881), *An Enemy of the People* (1882), *The Wild Duck* (1884), *Rosmersholm* (1886), *The Lady from the Sea* (1888), *Hedda Gabler* (1890), *The Master Builder* (1892), *Little Eyolf* (1894), *John Gabriel Borkman* (1896), and *When We Dead Awaken* (1899). Ibsen died on May 23, 1906.

Ibsen's exposure of corruption in government, the hypocrisy of established religion, and above all the inhumanity and foolishness of the gendered division of the world into masculine and feminine spheres made him a major fighter in the European culture wars of the 1880s and 1890s. Influenced by his wife, Suzannah; his mother-in-law, Magdalene Thoresen, one of the first European women of letters; and his friend the novelist Camilla Collett, the founder of Norwegian feminism, Ibsen became an early champion of women. His rejection of traditional notions of male and female identity allowed him to discover the socialization of sexual identity that now is referred to as gender and investigate women as full moral beings struggling against the norms that define and limit them.

Pillars of Society, whose unfeminine spinster hero exposes the corrupt politics and sexist assumptions of the governing class, gave Ibsen recognition in Europe. His next play, *A Doll House*, brought him world fame. The play is widely regarded as the most eloquent literary argument for the notion that women, like men, are human beings first and spouses and parents second. At the end of the play the protagonist, Nora Helmer, leaves both her husband and her children as Ibsen identifies the source of her oppression: the ideology of a female nature whose sphere is domestic wifehood and whose essence is maternity. Nora's transformation from her husband's plaything to a person took on mythic status in twentieth-century feminism, and her slamming of the door has become the most famous stage direction in theatrical history. *A Doll House* is Ibsen's most frequently performed play.

One of the greatest literary scandals of the nineteenth century, *A Doll House* was attacked viciously in the press. Ibsen responded with the great tragedy *Ghosts*; "after Nora," he said, "Mrs. Alving had to come" (Templeton 1997, p. 146). Like Nora, Helene Alving leaves her inauthentic marriage, but unlike Nora, she returns home to perform her wifely duty, and the result is a syphilitic son who begs her to help him die. The play's metaphorical title points to the core subject of Ibsen's work: the old, dead ideas and beliefs that return to haunt and plague the living.

Ibsen continued to portray women struggling against cultural expectations in *Rosmersholm*, whose scandalous character Rebecca West provided the British feminist Cicely Fairchild with her pen name; in the more optimistic pendant to *A Doll House*, *The Lady from the Sea*, in which Ellida's husband learns to recognize his wife's autonomy; in *Hedda Gabler*, whose protagonist, like Helene Alving, is trapped in a terrible marriage by her fear of scandal but who

Henrik Ibsen. *Author of* A Doll House. AP IMAGES.

chooses death over her meaningless life; and in *When We Dead Awaken*, in which a male artist's discarded muse confronts him about his use of her.

Ibsen's portraits of women struggling to replace instrumentality with autonomy, the most striking manifestation of the playwright's modernity, are among the most prized roles in the world's dramatic repertory.

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Joan Templeton

IDE AND OLIVE

La chanson d'Yde et Olive or *The Song of Ide and Olive* is a late medieval French verse narrative centering on incest, a cross-dressing, transgendered protagonist, female same-sex erotic desire, and a marriage between women. The story is analogous to the Ovidian narrative of *Iphis and Ianthe*. However, it appears in a quite different context as a continuation of the epic poem *Huon de Bordeaux*. Consequently the focus on metamorphosis is subordinated to a preoccupation with genealogy.

The Song of Ide and Olive begins with the flight in male guise of the beautiful Princess Ide from the incestuous desire of her father, the King of Aragon. She eventually enters the service of the emperor in Rome. After performing great feats of bravery, she is knighted and rewarded with the hand of his daughter. After Ide submits to the emperor's command to marry, the couple make love (critics debate the extent to which the relationship is consummated), and, following Ide's revelation that she is a woman, Olive vows to keep Ide's secret and to remain true. Their conversation is unfortunately overheard but they are saved by divine intervention: Ide is miraculously transformed into a man. Olive conceives and gives birth to a son. Ide is crowned emperor and eventually returns to Aragon where he also inherits his father's kingdom.

Within this text, inheritance and class play crucial parts in the construction and containment of transgressive sexualities and gender play. Incest is represented as disrupting patrilineage and thus as threatening the established social order. Florence's behavior is depicted as monstrous and condemned out of hand. In contrast, female cross-dressing and female same-sex desire are presented sympathetically, if not entirely positively. Ide has no choice but to run away and to live in disguise and her success on the battlefield is akin to that of any chivalric hero. In the Old French text, Ide's gender change is signalled by the adoption of the masculine form of her name both by Ide herself and by the narrator. Remarkably, Ide seems to alter in more than just her appearance; her values, attributes, and body metamorphose as well. Olive's desire for the valorous knight (reciprocated by Ide) is unexpected in a medieval context and also troubling but, strikingly, not represented as damnable. Yet, when it becomes evident to the emperor that the union of Ide and Olive cannot produce an heir, the transvestism and amorous relationship between the women become problematic and the narrative reaches a crisis. However, with Ide's transformation, normative gender roles and heterosexual structures reassert themselves.

Later adaptations include: a dramatic adaptation from fourteenth-century Paris; a French prose text produced in 1454 (during Joan of Arc's [1412–1431] rehabilitation) and printed in the early-sixteenth century; and a very close English translation of the French prose text published in the first half of the sixteenth century, twice reprinted in 1570 and 1601. The existence of these various versions illustrates not only the popularity of the narrative, but also its problematic status, as the adapters and translators develop different strategies to try to resolve the perceived confusions in gender and sexuality and to dispel its subversive potential.

SEE ALSO *Body, Theories of; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender, Theories of; Incest; Manliness; Middle Ages.*

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Diane Watt

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception—the belief that the Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin—was promulgated by Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) in 1854, in the constitution *Ineffabilis Deus*. The declaration states that, "The Most Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instance of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace granted by God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of the human race, was preserved exempt from all stain of original sin." This statement affirms that Mary, as with all human beings, was redeemed by Christ. It is sometimes said that she was more perfectly redeemed, or that she was preredeemed, insofar as the effects of redemption were active in her from conception, whereas for other Christians, this is believed to occur at baptism. Moreover, whereas Christians continue to sin after baptism, Catholics believe that Mary never sinned.

Belief in Mary's sinlessness has been a common theme since the patristic era, although some early theologians such as Irenaeus (died c. 202), Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220), and John Chrysostom (c. 345–407) did attribute fault to her. A feast of the conception of Mary was celebrated in the Eastern Church in the seventh century, spreading to the West in the eighth century and becoming particularly popular in England. The Solemnity of the Immaculate Conception, celebrated on December 8, was established by Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484), but until the nineteenth century, it was not an official doctrine of the Catholic Church and it had long been a topic of theological debate. In the Middle Ages, it was questioned by Thomas Aquinas (1224–1274) and rejected by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) and St. Bonaventure (1221–1274), whereas it was defended by Franciscans such as William of Ware (fl. 1270–1300) and John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308). Both Protestants and Orthodox Christians reject the doctrine.

Protestants argue that, as with other Catholic beliefs about Mary, the Immaculate Conception lacks scriptural justification and denies the unique sinlessness of Christ. The Orthodox Church affirms the sinlessness of Mary but generally does not accept the doctrine of original sin—the belief that sin is an inherited condition of the human race as a consequence of the fall. Thus Mary is not exceptional in being conceived without original sin, although as Mother of God she is uniquely holy and remains sinless throughout her life.

The idea that every human except Mary (and of course Christ) is conceived in a state of sin has been questioned by many modern Christians, although its themes of primal alienation and conflict resonate with Freudian psychoanalytic theory in positing a fundamental malaise at the heart of the human psyche. However, the Orthodox Church offers a more positive anthropology, with redemption constituting not so much rescue from a state of sin as the bringing to perfection of the human condition, so that Mary is the human in whom this perfection is fully realized.

From the perspective of the Christian understanding of woman, there are different ways of interpreting the Immaculate Conception. When John Henry Newman (1801–1890) wrote in defense of the Immaculate

Conception, he argued that Eve, as had Mary, had been created without original sin. This might invite an interpretation of the Immaculate Conception as the restoration of womankind in Mary to the state of perfection intended by God in the beginning (Beattie 2002, pp. 170–172). However, the idea that Mary is free from the "stain" of original sin could be seen as reinforcing a sense that the natural condition of women is one of sinfulness and pollution (Daly 1984, pp. 102–116).

The Immaculate Conception is often confused with the Virgin Birth, but in fact, the Catholic Church has always taught that Mary was sexually conceived. Although medieval writers were sometimes at pains to suggest that this was a religious duty undertaken by her parents, in the early twenty-first century it might invite a more positive interpretation as the sanctification of sexual love. In the changing iconography of the Immaculate Conception, Mary's parents, Anne and Joachim, were portrayed in the Middle Ages in an image known as the Embrace at the Golden Gate, depicting an exquisite scene of marital love. It is sometimes argued that the Marian tradition offers no positive symbol of female sexuality, but St. Anne might potentially be seen as an image of female sexual sanctity.

In the work of seventeenth-century Spanish artists such as Diego Velazquez (1599–1660) and Bartoleme Esteban Murillo (1617–1682), the emergence of the idealized young woman more familiar to modern viewers is seen (Stratton 1994). In 1858, four years after the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Bernadette Soubirous (1844–1879) claimed to witness an apparition of a young woman who declared herself to be the Immaculate Conception at Lourdes, France. Since then Lourdes has been a major site of Marian pilgrimage, and Bernadette's vision of a beautiful young woman in a white dress with a blue sash has become the dominant image of Mary in modern Catholic art and devotion.

Feminist writers have tended to be critical of the Immaculate Conception, but as in all areas of Marian theology, this is a doctrine that is likely to acquire new interpretative possibilities as it becomes the focus of reflection for those informed by insights from contemporary theology and gender theory. The Marian theologian Sarah Jane Boss has suggested an interpretation that identifies the Immaculate Conception with the primal Chaos, bringing a new environmental and feminist consciousness to bear on the ancient belief that sees Mary as the beginning of a new creation (Boss 2004). The doctrine of the Assumption, promulgated by Pope Pius XII (r. 1939–1958) in 1950, signifies the culmination of Mary's earthly life when she is bodily incorporated into the resurrection alongside Christ. At a time when the Roman Catholic Church is increasingly divided about the symbolic significance of the female body, these two papal doctrines might well be a potent resource for those who want to argue that the female body is created, redeemed, and sanctified by God in a way that makes its sacramental significance equal to that of the male body in all aspects of the Church's life.

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Tina Beattie

IMPOTENCY

Impotency, or the state of being impotent, is a condition that prevents males from maintaining an erection throughout the sex act. Culturally, it has acquired the connotation of a general inability to have sex, particularly to carry a sex act to completion. Because the medical condition of impotence does not necessarily imply that ejaculation is impossible, the term largely has been replaced in medical discourse with *erectile dysfunction* (first used in 1974 by H.S. Kaplan in *The New Sex Therapy*), which treats erectile ability rather than ejaculatory ability as the central issue. Although the medical difference between the terms is minimal, they differ greatly in regard to cultural significance. In nonmedical usage impotence often means a general lack of ability or effectiveness, a lack of strength or virility, a condition of weakness or powerlessness. The fundamental qualities of masculinity in essence are negated by impotence. Impotence is the negatively valued aspect of the metaphorical connection between a man's sexual ability and his general agency in society.

CAUSES AND CURES

The most common physiological causes of erectile dysfunction are diabetes and vascular disease, although there are many other contributing factors, including neurological malfunction, inflammation, and drug use; these conditions may cause or worsen other conditions. When there is a gradual onset of erectile dysfunction, it is likely to be physiological in origin, but when there is a sudden onset, the cause is often psychological. The availability and aggressive marketing of medications to treat erectile dysfunction beginning in the 1990s has contributed to the general belief that the condition is primarily physiological. Medical data suggest, however, that 50 percent of cases probably are psychological in origin and thus are unlikely to respond to pharmacological treatment except when there is a placebo effect. It is unclear how many men whose symptoms persist in spite of medication seek further attention, although the assumption is that many do not.

Before the use of oral medications, treatment for impotence or erectile dysfunction was complicated and invasive. In the 1970s the first penile prostheses or implants were introduced. Although effective, they require surgery as well as manual control, such as inflation with a pump, and often produce an erection that is noticeably artificial in that it is excessively rigid, with little of the pliability or flexibility typical of erections (Wand and Lewis 2001). In the 1980s intracorporal injections were developed to aid erection and, although generally effective, were never a popular choice with patients. They were inconvenient, requiring injection no more than twenty minutes before intercourse, and many patients who injected themselves complained of pain in the penis (Shabsigh 2001). Later in the 1980s vacuum pumps were introduced. They had fewer negative side effects but were less reliably able to produce a lasting erection and all but eliminated the possibility of spontaneity in sexual activity. All these treatments are focused on the treatment of a physiological inability to achieve or maintain an erection and do not take into account the possibility of psychological causes of sexual dysfunction.

Some work has been done to identify common problems in men who have erectile dysfunction, such as Levine and Althof's (1991) three-part schema of contributory problems: performance anxiety, antecedent life changes such as divorce and bereavement, and developmental vulnerabilities. Little progress has been made in treating conditions that arise from those problems, however, and it generally is recognized that research on psychological causes is far behind research on physiological ones.

FRIGIDITY

Like most sex-based conditions, impotence has a counterpart in female sexual function. Frigidity is defined as a severe aversion to sexual activity or the inability to achieve orgasm during intercourse. Although similar in some respects to impotence, it is linked specifically to the pleasure obtained from sexual activity, whereas impotence is understood as the inability to engage in or sustain a sexual act. In simplistic terms, frigidity is linked to desire and impotence is linked to physical function. This division, however, ignores the possibility of male sexual function being linked to desire; it assumes an omnipresent desire for sexual activity in males that is not related to their ability to function sexually.

THE HISTORY OF IMPOTENCE

Impotence historically has been understood as a physical problem: In ancient Greece the penis was thought to inflate with air during erection, and the inability to achieve or maintain an erection was thought to be linked to that process. During the Renaissance the problem was believed to be related to the musculature of the penis (Zorgniotti and Lizza 1991). Although impotence had cultural significance, attempts to explain the condition medically guaranteed that the connection between the physical condition and ideas of masculinity were understood as metaphorical in nature.

In the late nineteenth century the practice of urology developed, placing the study of impotence in the purview of medical professionals. However, early urology largely connected impotence with gonorrheal infection and excessive masturbation, thus figuring it as a preventable condition acquired through personal behavior. The public fascination with the work of Sigmund Freud in the early twentieth century changed the nature of many sexually based conditions in public discourse. Complicated psychological concepts such as the Oedipus complex were simplified for mass consumption and generally were misunderstood. One result was that impotence became linked primarily to issues of identity and masculinity; the metaphorical connection between the condition and the overall maleness of the individual became much more concrete. Although medical research on impotence progressed rapidly after World War II, the popular belief that impotence is fundamentally an issue of masculinity ensured that it rarely was discussed publicly and that an individual would be unlikely to admit to being impotent.

Impotence was repathologized in the late twentieth century, emerging under the name *erectile dysfunction*. That term came into common parlance in the early 1990s, when sildenafil began to be marketed under the brand name Viagra as a treatment for the condition. The availability of a pharmacological treatment allowed for the understanding of impotence as being based in pathology, a dysfunction of the body outside the control of the individual. It thus became a neutrally valued condition rather than a source of shame or embarrassment. The marketing campaign targeted primarily middle-aged men and used the former Senate majority leader and presidential candidate Bob Dole as a spokesperson.

Culturally, Dole was perceived as asexual: He was a man of advanced years, was partially physically disabled from a wound sustained during World War II, and occupied a position of respect in the U.S. government. His power was substantial yet was completely outside the realm of the sexual. By appearing in advertisements for Viagra, Dole established himself as a sexual entity and even gained respect in that arena. By extension, middle-aged men who received treatment for erectile dysfunction became seen as reclaiming virility at an age when it was unexpected. A kind of prowess was indicated by the desire to have sex even when that desire was not matched with the ability to do so. Viagra and other similar medications have become commonly used recreational drugs; although this has not been proved medically, they are thought to enhance sexual function in individuals who do not have erectile dysfunction.

Although taking medication to combat erectile dysfunction has become both possible and fashionable, little attention is paid to the fact that a great many cases are not physical in nature and thus not treatable with pharmaceuticals. Nonpathological conditions, that is, those requiring psychological treatment, remain negatively valued and are usually what is meant by the use of the word *impotence*. The term *erectile dysfunction* is used almost exclusively to refer to medically treated conditions. If it is treatable medically, the condition is seen as one of the body and its failures but is not linked in any specific way with identity. When the cause is not pathological, impotence is linked symbolically to the nature of masculinity and therefore is stigmatized. The vast majority of medical literature acknowledges the possibility of psychogenic causes of impotence but does not offer any particular treatment or course of action when this is the case. Instead, the most common organic causes of erectile dysfunction (diabetes and vascular disease) are discussed at length. Even studies that propose taking a patient history that might help evaluate psychogenic causes indicate that the answers given "are by no means completely reliable but only suggestive" (Lakin 1988, p. 28). Thus, even when a psychogenic cause is indicated, doctors are encouraged to be suspicious of those findings.

CHANGES IN THE DISCOURSE

In the post-Viagra era the discourse surrounding the condition changed. The primary shift was in terminology, from *impotence* to *erectile dysfunction*. The renaming of the condition effectively released it from its negative connotations, allowing it to be discussed openly between doctor and patient without embarrassment. At the same time the range of sexual activities associated with erectile dysfunction and impotence expanded in scope. The conditions had been understood almost exclusively as an inability to complete vaginal intercourse with a woman. Later they were recognized as an inability to maintain an erection until orgasm regardless of the specific sexual act or the sex of the partner.

SEE ALSO *Frigidity.*

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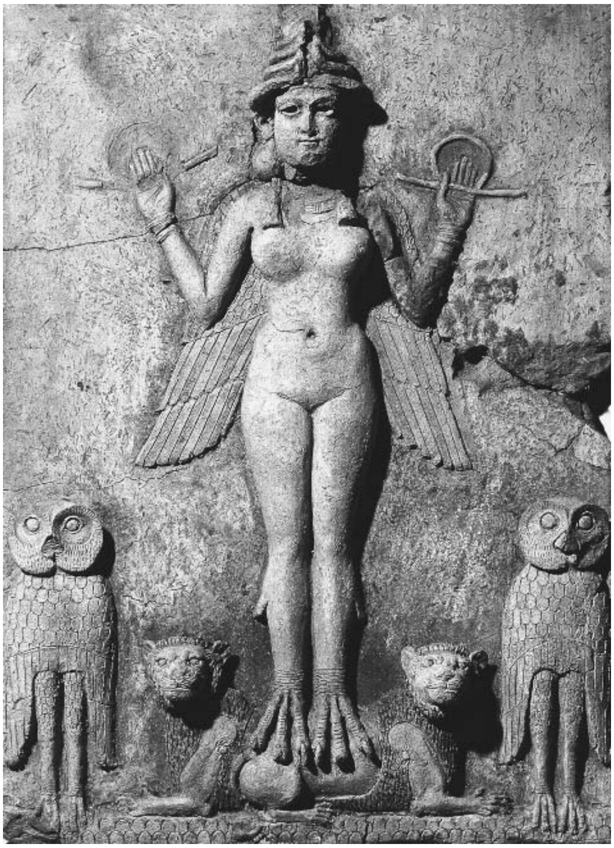
Brian D. Holcomb

INANNA-ISHTAR

The goddess in Mesopotamia who embodied sexuality in all its aspects was known as Inanna (in the Sumerian language) and Ishtar (in the Akkadian language). Inanna/Ishtar was the manifestation of sex and eroticism—bride of brides, solace of married women, and patron of prostitutes.

It is difficult to evaluate when Inanna was first linked with sexuality. In the fourth millennium BCE, Inanna was primarily venerated as the planet Venus. Her two epithets *morning* and *evening* describe the two manifestations of the goddess, one shining in the morning and one in the evening. Her dyadic character stemmed from her bipolar astral disposition, which incorporated all extremes of behavior in her complex personality. Thus, over time, she became both the beautiful goddess of love, sexuality, and sexual behavior, and the power hungry goddess of war and violence.

By the latter part of the third millennium BCE, 'Ashtar (the earliest form of Ishtar) was invoked in



Inanna-Ishtar. *A terra-cotta relief of Inanna-Ishtar.* THE ART ARCHIVE/CHRISTIES/EILEEN TWEEDY.

Akkadian love incantations. This aspect became preeminent in the Sumerian corpus of love lyrics from the Neo-Sumerian period (c. 2112–2004). The theme of this corpus is the love between the young maiden goddess Inanna and the shepherd god Dumuzi as the archetypal bride and groom.

SEXUAL IDENTITY

The sexual identity of this goddess is controversial. In one late text, Ishtar says of herself: "I am a woman, I am a man." Ishtar could be viewed as a beautiful goddess of love who rules the day and as a bearded god(dess) of war who rules the night. It is claimed that the androgyny of Inanna/Ishtar provided a powerful symbol of the ambiguities of pure sexuality reflected in her cult, and in the transvestism of her cultic personnel (Groneberg 1986).

It is not so clear, however, that Inanna (in contrast to Ishtar) had male or androgynous features. In Sumerian poetry, the goddess repeatedly lauds her own sexual beauty, both in lyric song and mythic narratives. Inanna sings: "These [my] female genitals, . . . my moored boat of heaven, clothed in beauty like the new crescent moon. . . . this high well-watered field of mine: my own female genitals, the maiden's, a well-watered opened-up mound—who will be their ploughman?" (Dumuzi-Inanna Song P, ii 16–26).

In the first millennium BCE, the two appearances of Venus were attributed to two distinct sexual manifestations: As morning star, Venus was female; as evening star, male. The two aspects are said to correspond to the double character of Inanna/Ishtar as goddess of love and war. Among the thousand prayers, hymns and references to her, there are only scattered mentions of a bearded form of Ishtar among the overwhelming evidence that she was female. In his hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh, Ashurbanipal, the king of Assyria (r. 668–627 BCE), describes her as "Like the god Ashur, she wears a beard" (line 7). Ishtar of Babylon is once described as bearded and male. The question is whether Ishtar has a completely separate male manifestation or not. The references to her beard may allude to an astronomical phenomenon because her star, Venus, also has a beard. On the other hand, in Semitic cities, such as Mari, in the third millennium, there were several ʿAshtar manifestations, of which one was a male. Ishtar has been considered androgynous because even in her male role she never becomes fully male, but seems to be a female with male gender characteristics. She is nevertheless always referred to as female with feminine grammatical agreement.

GENDER IDENTITY

Inanna and Ishtar assumed various gender roles. The proper gender role of Inanna is a theme in various Sumerian narratives. For instance,

> "But why did you treat me, the woman, in an exceptional manner? I am holy Inanna—where are my functions?"
>
> Enki answered his daughter, holy Inanna: "How have I disparaged you? Goddess, . . . How can I enhance you? . . . I made you speak as a woman with pleasant voice. I made you go forth [——] I covered [——] with a garment. I made you exchange its right side and its left side. I clothed you in garments of women's power. I put women's speech in your mouth. I placed in your hands the spindle and the hairpin. I [——] to you women's adornment. I settled on you the staff and the crook, with the shepherd's stick [symbols of kingship] beside them."
>
> *(Enki and the World Order, 422–436)*

The feminine gender roles served by Inanna/Ishtar run the spectrum of possibilities: young girl and bride, wife and mother, prostitute, and mistress.

In the Sumerian love poetry concerning Dumuzi's courtship of Inanna, Inanna is portrayed as a young woman, with her teenage enthusiasms, passionate love, and sexual yearnings for her beloved. Compositions in which the king takes the role of Dumuzi probably had their cultic context in the "sacred marriage" rituals. The royal sobriquet "spouse of Inanna" and the royal love songs for the divine bride are hallmarks of Sumerian kingship.

When Sumerian theologians organized the gods into families, they placed Inanna as a mother of other deities, although her maternity was of no real consequence. The father of the children is not Dumuzi, and her sons play no role in her mythology or worship. In the second millennium and later, however, ordinary individuals appealing to her for clemency addressed her as "mother."

Further, one hymn puts these words into the mouth of Inanna: "When I sit in the alehouse, I am a woman, and I am an exuberant young man. When I am present at a place of quarrelling, I am a woman, a perfect figure. When I sit by the gate of the tavern, I am a prostitute familiar with the penis; the friend of a man, the girlfriend of a woman" (*Inanna Hymn* I 16–22).

CULT OF INANNA/ISHTAR

The festivals of this goddess involved reversals in categories of age, status, and sex. As articulated in one Sumerian hymn to Inanna:

> Inanna was entrusted by Enlil and Ninlil with the capacity to gladden the heart of those who revere her, . . . to turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man, to change one into the other, to make young women dress as young men on their right side, to make young men dress as young women on their left side, to put spindles into the hands of men [——] and to give weapons to the women; to see that women amuse themselves by using children's language, to see that children amuse themselves by using women's language.
>
> *("Hymn to Inanna for Ishme-Dagan" 19–25)*

The chief participants and actors in the goddess's cult are well known by name but of uncertain sexual identity. These religious officiants may represent the undefined sexless characters who occur in mythic tales concerning Inanna and Ishtar, although gender ambiguity often has religious connotations. While it is known that these cultic functionaries dressed in distinctive garments and adorned their hair and body in certain peculiar manners, their physical and mental constitution are uncertain. They could have been born with physical abnormalities, such as hermaphrodites, or emasculated into physically castrated persons, or they could have been persons whose mental sexual identity was androgynous, such as transvestites. It is also possible that the inversion of their sexual identity and/or gender roles was maintained only in the performance of rituals. Through symbolic inversion, such beliefs and rituals provided a context for the resolution of conflicts often associated with gender roles and gender identity.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship.*

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Joan Goodnick Westenholz

INCEST

Incest refers to the category of sexual relations that occur between kin or family members. A concept that distinguishes this category of sexual relations is found in every culture, and is generally accompanied by moral and legal prohibitions. Family and kin structures differ across cultures, however, and the specific relations considered incestuous similarly vary over place and time. For example, even within the United States, the marriage of a man and woman who are first cousins is legally permitted in some states, but receives civil sanction in a second group of states, and criminal sanction in a third (Bittles 2005). There is inconsistency between states in the treatment of uncle–niece marriages as well (Carmichael 1997). In Arab Muslim culture, marriage between first cousins is preferred rather than prohibited, and the incest taboo extends even to those considered related through the milk of a wet nurse and her husband (Héritier 1999). Many Asian and European societies consider marriage between first cousins as acceptable. An anthropological perspective looking across cultures around the globe reveals an even more confusingly complex array of differing incest taboo systems. Among tribal peoples, the clan structure, rather than the nuclear or extended family, determines which marriages or sexual unions are prohibited by the incest taboo. Matrilineal and patrilineal systems of reckoning lineage produce different results.

For a century before feminist research shifted the main focus of attention, scholarship on incest engaged in documenting this cultural variability in how incest prohibitions regulate marriages. It also offered several hypotheses to explain, on the one hand, the universality of what came to be called the incest taboo and, on the other hand, the rare but significant culturally accepted breaches of the taboo to be found in the anthropological and historical records. Questions and debates dealt primarily with whether the origin of the incest taboo is biological or cultural, with what function the incest taboo serves in relation to the family and society, and with what social meanings are conveyed through ritualized breaches of the taboo (usually by members of royalty).

Feminist researchers introduced a dramatic shift in focus during the 1970s and 1980s. They began examining an issue that no one seriously addressed previously, that is, the harm done to the children, most often to female children, who are victims of incestuous sexual abuse. Scholars had previously concluded that incidents of sexual abuse of children by their parents or other close relatives were extremely rare in all societies. Consequently the issue of harm to victims was not seen as important. It had not attracted the attention of those whose interest was in the prohibition, more than the practice, of incest. But feminist scholars paid attention to the practice. They listened to the voices of adult women who came forward with accounts of their own childhood experiences of incest and other forms of sexual abuse. They initiated research projects to attempt to measure the extent of incestuous sexual abuse of children, to explain why it exists (in Western cultural contexts, at least), to identify risk factors for its occurrence, to document its harmful consequences in both psychological and sociological terms, and to promote healing strategies for victims and prevention strategies for social policy.

Since the 1980s, research on all these aspects of incest has become extensive. While findings are not uniform, this extensive research has firmly established much higher prevalence rates in Western societies than was previously appreciated. It has explored the relevance of such factors as sex, culturally defined gender roles, and sexual orientation. It has also verified feminist scholars' assertion of definitive harm, and has begun to assess the effectiveness of particular therapeutic and preventative programs put in place to address the harm.

PREVALENCE RATES AND RISK FACTORS

Calculations of prevalence rates vary greatly, reflecting the variety in methods and definitions used by researchers as well as the nature of the sample groups studied, and the response rates obtained. Often incest is subsumed under the broader category of child sexual abuse, making reliable statistical data specifically for incest difficult to obtain. "Table 2. Sexual Abuse in 20 Countries: Prevalence Rates and Proportion Intrafamily Abuse," supplied by a preeminent expert in the field of child abuse, David Finkelhor (1994, p. 412), provides a useful and reasonable basis for roughly estimating incest levels in the general sexual abuse data that are more readily available. In using this table, however, it should be recognized that, though international in scope, the table represents only countries that are predominantly Caucasian, Western, and Christian. Finkelhor points out that data from African, Middle Eastern, or East Asian countries are not included because no equivalent epidemiological studies for them were available, though he cites preliminary studies suggesting that extensive sexual abuse does also occur in non-Western regions, such as in western and southern Africa and in China. Furthermore, child prostitution is well documented in the Philippines, Thailand, and Sri Lanka, and child pornography, including incestuous content, has global reach on the Internet. Child sexual abuse, including incest, is probably an international problem, not an exclusively Western one. Nonetheless, as Finkelhor's table illustrates, the bulk of the research on incestuous child abuse has been conducted in Western cultural settings.

The numbers available in 1994 illustrate clearly not only that incest is a problem of significant proportions but also that girls are more likely than boys to experience both sexual abuse and incestuous abuse. In the United States, figures produced by subsequent studies continue to reveal sexual identity as the most important risk factor. Frank W. Putnam (2003) states: "Community samples typically range from 12% to 35% of women and 4% to 9% of men reporting an unwanted sexual experience prior to age 18 years" (p. 270). Putnam rates girls at "about 2.5 to 3 times higher risk than boys" (p. 270) to experience child sexual abuse, although the higher ratio for girls is reduced in the case of children with disabilities, such as blindness, deafness, and mental retardation. Socioeconomic status, another identified risk factor, has been shown to have less impact on rates of sexual abuse than it has on rates of physical abuse and neglect of children. Race and ethnicity appear to be insignificant risk factors for sexual abuse, although there is some evidence in the United States to suggest that Latina girls experience more serious emotional and behavioral consequences than white or African-American girls (Putnam 2003).

Studies of family patterns and parental personality traits in cases of incestuous families present a complex, even conflicting picture (Faust, Runyon, and Kenny 1995). Caution is advisable in making generalizations about risk factors in relation to family dynamics even within the Western cultural context. For example, whereas most studies identify much greater risk for girls living with stepfathers than with biological fathers, others show that biological fathers are more likely than stepfathers to engage in full sexual intercourse with their daughters. Moreover, families categorized as displaying higher levels of morality and religiosity, labeled as conservative-fundamentalist Christian families, have been reported as showing higher rates of sexual abuse by biological fathers than by stepfathers.

A high level of religiosity might appear to be contradictory as a variable contributing to family-related risk factors, because laws prohibiting incest in Western culture have a religious derivation, sometimes even incorporating biblical excerpts virtually verbatim. As Calum M. Carmichael (1997) observes, the incest rules in the Bible, particularly those set out in Leviticus 18 and 20 "have had greater effect on Western law than any comparable body of biblical rules" (p. 1). Close analysis of the biblical text reveals, however, that there is no explicit prohibition of father–daughter incest addressed to the father. The text addresses "the child of a family as though he, or she, would be the instigator of an incestuous liaison" (p. 7). Carmichael explains this and other apparent anomalies in the biblical text (such as the prohibition of sexual relations between half-siblings, but not full siblings, and the taboo against nephew–aunt relations but not uncle–niece relations). His interpretation posits that the lawgiver was writing in response to earlier biblical narratives, not setting out a list in abstraction. The earlier biblical narratives include the story of Lot and his daughters (Genesis 19) in which it is clear that the daughters took the initiative, consequently "the lawgiver has not bothered to look at the offense in terms of a father's initiative" (Carmichael 1997, p. 25). Whatever the merits of Carmichael's explanation for the absence of an explicit directive to the father, that significant absence leaves a loophole for the legalistically minded father who chooses to interpret the Bible literally, as people with higher levels of religiosity are more likely to do. Furthermore, for many centuries in Western culture, traditional Christianity has promoted the patriarchal precept that daughters are the property of their fathers, leaving persistent notions of fathers having supreme rights within conservative religious families especially, and society generally.

Several feminist authors have analyzed the profound impact of patriarchal religion in this respect (Rush 1980, Herman 1981, Russell 1986). One survivor of father–daughter incest that began when she was very young writes revealingly about how religion may also function as a risk factor when viewed from the perspective of the child.

Sylvia Fraser (1987) recalls how, as a child being molested by her father, she heard God say: "You've been dirty, go naked!" just as, according to her understanding at the time, God had said to Adam and Eve, "You've been bad, go naked!" (pp. 4 and 8). For a long time she was too fearful God would strike her dead to allow herself even to think that she hated her father for his actions. Thus religion may, in effect, compound the child's vulnerability and powerlessness in addition to buttressing the father's power and sense of right. Conservative religious families also tend to follow more rigid gender roles, meaning that fathers are not involved in child care, and lack of paternal involvement in child care has been identified as a familial pattern that functions as a risk factor on its own.

PERPETRATORS

Perpetrators of incest have been studied much less than victims. Nevertheless, the fact that perpetrators are overwhelmingly male is commonly reiterated. Furthermore, the proportion of men who commit child sexual abuse is estimated to be substantial. In a 1987 address to a symposium on child sexual abuse, titled "New Myths about Child Sexual Abuse," Finkelhor cited a U.S. study reporting that 10 percent of men, under conditions of anonymity, admitted to molesting a child. Finkelhor and others argue from facts such as these that sociological rather than psychological analyses are required in order to explain the scope of the phenomenon. Specifically, explanations for the sexual abuse of children by men should be sought in the processes by which boys are socialized to become masculine. Finkelhor outlines three such socialization processes that may be problematic. First, boys may be deprived too early of adequate nurturing, which they are permitted to seek subsequently only through sex, thus leading them to sexualize the expression of their emotions of caring. Later, as fathers, engaging in the nurturing of their own children tends to evoke these sexual feelings. Second, males are raised to be attracted to females who are younger, smaller, and less powerful, but this is also a category into which children of both sexes readily fall. Third, because men were socialized to leave childhood behind before they were emotionally ready to do so, they have more difficulty relating to the child within themselves and consequently have more difficulty identifying with a child's point of view. This difficulty is exacerbated by child-rearing practices typical of patriarchal cultures because they discourage men's involvement in child care due to the rigid separation of gender roles.

Support for the idea that incestuous fathers have difficulty identifying with a child's point of view is found in a study that explored and compared how fathers and daughters who had an incestuous relationship interpreted their experiences. The fathers frequently "either misread the children's responses or were unable to see, sense or feel their discomfort, pain and distress emanating from the incest" (Phelan 1995, p. 16). Many thought the daughters did not know what was happening because they were asleep, and half believed that the daughters enjoyed the experience. The daughters, by contrast, reported feeling very confused initially, then later feeling guilty for not understanding right away that what was happening was wrong and for not taking immediate action to stop it. They also tended to disbelieve and deny what had happened.

Mother–son incest is the rarest form of incest reported. It has not been studied nearly as extensively as father–daughter incest or brother–sister incest. Studies that have been done usually focus on the forms of sexual abuse that mothers commit, which tend to be more subtle and less intrusive, and on the long-term psychosocial outcomes for men, which are harmful nonetheless, apparently more harmful than father–son incest outcomes (Kelly et al. 2002). But the much lower prevalence rates of incest committed by mothers and other female relatives have not elicited sociological hypotheses for this behavior such as exist to explain the behavior of male perpetrators. The behavior of female perpetrators tends to be treated on a more individualized basis. Because the number of non-offending mothers who fail to protect their children from incestuous abuse is much larger than the number of mothers who are themselves perpetrators, the behavior of non-offending mothers has received more attention and theorization. Early feminist analyses often perceived such mothers as the stereotypically passive and powerless female who has been socialized through patriarchal culture to succumb readily to the domination of a controlling male partner, or as someone who is so preoccupied with her own problems, such as ill health or addictions, that she is emotionally unavailable to her children.

INTERPRETATIONS OF HARM

When feminist scholars first drew attention to the issue of harm caused by incest, they interpreted the higher proportion of female over male victims, and the higher proportion of male over female perpetrators, as evidence that incest functions as a poorly recognized but meaningful part of the prevailing patriarchal social structure. It was seen as an expression or enactment of the cultural belief that males are entitled to have access to female bodies for sexual gratification. It was also seen as a particularly potent means by which compliance and passivity are fostered in females. Earlier scholars had argued that the taboo against incest functions to preserve generational distinctions within the family, which are necessary for the successful socialization of the next generation of children and a stable society. By contrast, feminist scholars maintained that the practice of incest functions to socialize girls into their inferior and sexualized status within a specifically patriarchal social hierarchy.

In advancing their interpretations, feminist scholars such as the psychiatrist Judith Lewis Herman (1981) had to challenge several prevailing professional beliefs. As mentioned above, it was believed that actual incest was exceedingly rare (one case in a million was the accepted estimate). It was also widely accepted that reports of childhood incestuous experiences by psychiatric clients were merely fantasies arising from the child's own incestuous desires. This belief was based on the highly influential psychoanalytic theories that Sigmund Freud had proposed at the end of the nineteenth century, which still dominated clinical practice in the 1970s. The social climate of the women's movement during the 1970s and 1980s, when topics such as rape and physical violence against women were receiving unprecedented public attention, probably made it easier for greater numbers of women who had been child incest victims to speak out and challenge more forcefully than had previously been possible the Freudian paradigm relegating incest to the realm of fantasy.

The intellectual climate was changing during these decades as well. This is when the new interdisciplinary field of women's studies established itself. One of its methodological principles was to treat women's experience, not accepted theory about women, as the starting point for research. In such a climate, researchers were able for the first time to treat girls' and women's memories of their own experiences of incest as authentic, not mere fantasy, and thus worthy of study. Researchers who respected victim reports of harm from incest had to contend, however, with yet another obstacle: Some people were prepared to acknowledge that incest occurs, but not that it causes harm. Evidence of harm from incest that had been recorded in earlier studies on sexual behavior was suppressed (Herman 1981). Moreover, there was also a vocal pro-incest lobby, as it was called, which published in both scholarly and popular venues, including pornographic magazines. Its proponents argued that whatever psychological harm children may suffer from incest results from the surrounding puritanical cultural attitudes, not from the incest itself.

Despite occasional reports claiming no evidence of harm, most studies in subsequent decades have confirmed a vast range of significant psychological, physiological, and psychosocial harms caused by childhood sexual abuse and incest. They have repeatedly demonstrated that the severity of harm caused by incest increases in relation to the closeness of the relative who perpetrates the abuse, the earlier the age at which the abuse begins, the length of time it continues, the intrusiveness of the abuse, and the degree of force the perpetrator uses. Researchers, therapists, and survivors alike all emphasize that healing is possible (Fraser 1987, Hunter 1990). Indeed, most children who experience incest will not end up seeking clinical assistance. Nonetheless, a lengthy list of symptoms has been identified as significantly correlated with childhood incest experience. These include fear, anxiety, depression, anger, hostility, aggression, precocious and ritualistic sexualized behavior in preadolescence, compulsive sexual behavior and sexual dysfunctions in adulthood, compulsive eating disorders, low self-esteem, self-defeating behaviors, drug and alcohol abuse, self-mutilation, difficulties with intimate personal relations, and in the more severe cases dissociation, multiple personality disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, and suicide. Neurobiological outcomes identified in some investigations include "deleterious effects on the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis (HPA), the sympathetic nervous system, and possibly the immune system" (Putnam 2003, p. 272).

Incest has also been found to be a risk factor for a number of problems that affect both individuals and society. Victims of incest are more susceptible to subsequent revictimization and are at increased risk for additional sexual assaults and sexual harassment. They are more likely to be upset by requests to enact pornography, and to be asked to pose for it as well (Russell and Trocki 1993). They show greater inclination toward antisocial and violent behaviors, including sexual assault against others. They are also more likely to enter prostitution and other sex trade work. And they have a higher risk of perpetuating the cycle of incest through abuse of the next generation.

There are significant similarities and differences in how these symptoms are expressed and experienced by males and females. For example, whereas both males and females may exhibit compulsive sexual behaviors, under cultural conditions in which a double standard is applied to sexual behavior, girls and women tend to suffer more social stigma than boys and men suffer for behavior labeled promiscuous. Efforts that a woman makes to cope with childhood incest, such as emotional numbing and mechanisms of dissociation, may result as well in equipping her with skills that are needed for work in the sex trade, thus increasing the likelihood she will choose such work. A man, on the other hand, may seek the services of sex workers because he is unable to function sexually with the woman with whom he has developed a strong emotional attachment. Men tend to become more inclined toward incestuous abuse of their own children in turn, whereas women tend to become emotionally distant as mothers, struggling with depression, addiction, or tendencies to withdraw from intimate relations, thus increasing by their absence the vulnerability of their children to sexual abuse by others. On the other hand, both men and women display similar rates of depression. Both also become seemingly vainly preoccupied with their physical appearance in the belief that their body is all that other people value in them. Most research focuses on female victims, given their greater number, but the therapist Mic Hunter (1990) maintains that male victims may actually be more susceptible than females to dissociation because boys are also socialized to ignore their feelings. Hunter also argues that men and women need different therapeutic approaches in recovering from sexual abuse: "Men in particular need to be taught that the expression of anger need not be associated with violence nor the expression of sadness with weakness" (p. 126).

While studies continue to highlight the proportionally greater victimization of girls, most scholars suggest that the rate for boys is underreported. Explanations for underreporting of male victims of incest generally implicate cultural norms of masculinity and heterosexuality. Boys are taught to suppress their emotions rather than disclose them. In a patriarchal culture, it is seen as unmanly to be a victim, especially the victim of a woman. Furthermore, the culture categorizes stories about teenage boys seduced by older women as comical rather than tragic or abusive. Boys are expected to eagerly welcome and enjoy such an experience, so they feel confused themselves about their own masculinity when they do not enjoy it, and become even less inclined to divulge the experience as harmful (Hunter 1990). The same attitude means males are taken less seriously by others if they do report suffering sexual abuse by an older female. Among those men who have reported mother–son incest, it was discovered that those who remember the experience as positive were more likely, not less, to suffer psychosocial adjustment problems than those who remembered it as a negative experience (Kelly et al. 2002). This finding suggests that denial of negative emotions by men may be prompted by cultural expectations about normal masculine sexuality and may be a contributing factor to the psychological harm that men suffer from incest with a female perpetrator.

Furthermore, for boys, norms of masculinity are compounded by cultural attitudes concerning heterosexuality and homosexuality. The boy who does not enjoy a sexual experience with his mother or aunt or other female caretaker figure is likely to wonder whether this means he is homosexual. If the abuser was male, as is more often the case, the boy tends to wonder if he was targeted because he appears homosexual. In either case, once again, the boy's heterosexually oriented masculinity is called into question, increasing the probability that he will not choose to disclose the experience, however painfully experienced. He may also display violently homophobic behavior toward homosexuals in an attempt to prove his own heterosexual masculinity. If the boy is homosexual, on the other hand, he may confuse abusive sexuality with homosexuality, and interpret the older male's behavior as helping the boy to recognize his own sexual orientation rather than as child molestation (Hunter 1990). Cultural condemnation of homosexuality thus sets the stage for homosexual boy victims to feel it is necessary to protect and defend their male abusers rather than report them. Lower reported rates of male victims of incest may also result from the fact that "mental health professionals rarely ask adult males about childhood sexual abuse" and the likelihood that the older boys tend to end up in the "criminal justice or substance abuse treatment systems" rather than in psychiatric samples (Putnam 2003, p. 270).

Scholars interested in psychological, physiological, and psychosocial aspects of harm from incest pay the most attention to issues of sex and gender. Scholars concerned with biological harm, that is, harm to progeny through inbreeding, nonetheless have a few pertinent observations to add. For example, Arthur P. Wolf (2005) argues that, contrary to common assumption, human males have evolved to be as sensitive as females to the sexually inhibiting effects that normally result from attachment bonds forged in close association and caretaking during infancy and early childhood. Wolf therefore concurs with Mark T. Erickson (2005) and others that, as mentioned previously, cultural change to involve fathers much more in child care would probably be one effective remedy for the incest problem in Western culture.

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Marymay Downing

INFANTICIDE

Infanticide entails actions that result in the death of an infant of the same species. Several species commit infanticide, including birds (e.g., skuas and egrets) and mammals (e.g., gerbils, wild stallions, Serengeti lions, and primates such as langurs, gorillas, and humans). Among species other than humans, infanticide is usually carried out by an invading male to increase his reproductive chances by eliminating the young of a rival male so as to force the female to mate with him. Among humans, infanticide may range from deliberate to not fully conscious actions that result in the death of a child typically less than twelve months of age. The age may vary, however, depending on cultural notions of when the life of a child begins. The term *neonaticide* is frequently used when an infant is killed on the day of its birth, while the term *filicide* is used for the killing of a child (particularly below the age of six years) by one or both parents.

Infanticide has existed throughout human history in different parts of the world, although its form, the motivating factors, and the circumstances surrounding it have varied. The Greeks, Romans, British, French, Inuit (Canada and North America), Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Tikopia of Polynesia, !Kung of the Kalahari, Yanomama of Venezuela and Brazil, and Bariba of Benin have all engaged in it in constant patterns. Infanticide can be traced to the ancient world in the Mediterranean basin, among other locations. It persisted in western Europe during the Middle Ages; although in some cases infanticide was considered a crime, prosecutions were extremely rare and penalties were minor. In parts of Asia (particularly India and China) the practice of female infanticide has continued into the twenty-first century because of a combination of cultural, social, economic, and political factors. Female infanticide usually happens in patrilineal, patrilocal, and patriarchal cultures in which there is a strong preference for males and devaluation of females. In India and China female infanticide has contributed to a significant imbalance in the ratio of males to females.

Among other reasons, infanticide has been used as: a method of family size control; a mechanism for regulating the population; a means to manipulate the sex ratio for personal, economic, cultural, and social ends; a response to the shame and fear of ostracism when pregnancy and birth have resulted from violation of norms; and a reaction to a cost–benefit analysis of the value for male and female offspring (Caldwell and Caldwell 2005, Dickeman 1975, Spinelli 2005). Infanticide sometimes also results from a postpartum reaction on the part of the mother. Based on a review of ethnographic material, Susan C. M. Scrimshaw (1984) provides four major sources of infanticide: (1) infant deformity; (2) illegitimacy; (3) an infant proximate at birth to a sibling; and (4) an infant of the undesired sex in a society that values males and females differently (especially, in relation to the value of their labor). Methods of infanticide vary from abandoning the infant, death by exposure, withholding of food, suffocation, drowning, and discarding infants in garbage dumps, sewers, or remote areas.

Since the late 1960s, human rights and women's rights organizations worldwide have engaged in an ongoing series of protests and actions to end systematic infanticide, especially female infanticide. These organizations have pressured governments to address the sex ratio imbalance and to take a proactive role in improving the overall status of girls and women as a key to eliminating female infanticide.

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INFANTILE SEXUALITY

In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) the psychologist Sigmund Freud explored dream processes and from that analysis developed his early psychoanalytic ideas about mental functioning. He posited a dynamic unconscious mind motivated by love and aggression, the idea of psychic determinism (all human behavior is has a cause, often involving multiple forces), and the idea that people are motivated to seek pleasure and avoid pain. Five years later Freud published *The Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), which is considered his second most important work.

At that time strong objections were made to the second essay, "Infantile Sexuality," but soon the influence of Freud's ideas could be affirmed by observing the omnipresence of sexuality in everyday behavior. Freud initially saw infantile sexuality as a precursor of adult sexual behavior but later described sexuality as the mainspring of psychic development. He used the Latin word *libido*, meaning "desire" or "longing," which has a sexualized quality. In this way sexuality is defined broadly, transcending the narrow perspective of genital pleasure. The term *infantile sexuality* acknowledged the existence of sexual stimuli that involve specific body areas and phases of development (oral, anal, and genital) in which the individual seeks pleasure independently of a biological function. In the normal evolution of sexuality the instincts of childhood are integrated into the genital sexuality of the adult. Freud believed that excessive repression or excessive stimulation of infantile sexuality can lead to neurotic or pathological symptoms.

Infantile sexuality in effect begins with the gratification received from sucking. Freud felt that the sucking activity observed in infants should be considered the prototype of all sexual gratification. The hungry infant at the mother's breast has a pleasurable experience being held and pleasurable sensations around the mouth as she or he sucks the breast. The next time the infant is hungry, she or he will remember the earlier experience of satisfaction (Lear 2005). Sucking originally serves the purpose of taking in nourishment but later becomes separate from that function, at which time its sole purpose is pleasure. Freud also suggests that as a result of an infant's fundamentally sensual and sexual nature, it has a polymorphously perverse disposition, suggesting that there is satisfaction in all erogenous zones in childhood; only later is that satisfaction focused primarily in the genitals. Freud also discovered that childhood sexuality is not remembered because of infantile amnesia. The oral, anal, and genital zones are sensitive areas and are profoundly important sites of both stimulation and interaction with caretakers. Thus, they become arenas for formative experiences with others. These early sensual experiences shape personality development.

Freud's discovery of infantile sexuality radically altered the perception of the child from one of idealized innocence to one of a person struggling to achieve control of his or her biological needs and make them acceptable to society through the influence of his or her caregivers (Fonagay and Target 2003). In his own time Freud's descriptions of infantile sexuality were considered scandalous, but in the early twenty-first century it generally is accepted that infants and children are sensual and sexual in nature and that their sexual development contributes significantly to their adult personalities.

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INFERTILITY

The medical definition of infertility is the failure to conceive after one year of unprotected sexual intercourse (six months if the woman is thirty years or older). Under normal circumstances a couple has a 25 percent chance of becoming pregnant after one month, 57 percent after three months, 72 percent after six months, and 85 percent after one year. Ultimately, half of the couples who experience infertility of one-year duration or more will conceive. Treatments are available to help those for whom infertility persists (though many insurance companies will pay for the infertility testing but will not pay for procedures to solve the problem).

Though infertility is not always an undesired condition—birth control is commonly used to induce a temporary infertility, and many individuals opt for permanent surgical sterilization to limit family size—between 10 and 15 percent of all couples experience trouble getting pregnant. Fertility rates have dramatically declined following their peak after World War II because of: (1) the changing role of women in the workplace, (2) couples postponing marriage, (3) couples having children later in life, (4) the availability of reliable contraception, and (5) the legalization of abortion.

FEMALE INFERTILITY

Though infertility was traditionally considered a woman's issue, research has demonstrated that approximately 40 percent of infertility is due in part or entirely to male factors (with female factors accounting for another 40% and unusual or unknown factors accounting for the remaining 20%). Nevertheless, most fertility research and treatment centers on the woman's contribution.

One of the main factors resulting in female infertility is ovulatory dysfunction (40%)—the failure to ovulate regularly or at all. This condition may be due to any number of reasons, including hormonal irregularities, chronic disease, malnutrition (including extreme dieting; generally women need at least 20% body fat to ovulate), genetic disorders, stress, and notably increased age. Because of the increased tendency to postpone pregnancy, one in five women will have her first child after the age of thirty-five. Though infertility occurs in about one in twenty couples when a woman is in her twenties, it is only one in four by the time she is in her thirties. By the time women reach menopause, around the age of forty-five to fifty, they lose their ability to conceive, primarily because of the loss or depletion of the follicles that contain and nourish the female eggs (though there have been cases where women have conceived and delivered babies as late as sixty-six).

Tubal or pelvic pathology accounts for another 40 percent of female infertility. Infections (especially sexually transmitted diseases) or prior surgery may cause scarring in the fallopian tubes or other reproductive organs and block the sperm from reaching the egg or prevent the embryo from implanting in the uterus. Blocked tubes can be diagnosed using hysterosalpingogram (HSG), a type of X-ray. Women who have experienced at least one episodes of pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) have about a 20 percent chance of developing permanent infertility.

Incompatibility of the woman's cervical mucus with the sperm of her partner may result in infertility. In these cases the mucus contains antibodies that damage the sperm and prevent them from fertilizing the egg. If the condition is due to infection, antibiotic treatment may resolve the problem. Otherwise, sperm may be washed in a culture medium and then artificially inseminated into the uterus, bypassing the cervical mucus.

Other causes of female infertility involve thyroid disease, anatomical abnormalities, exposure to diethylstilbestrol (DES), smoking cigarettes (especially when begun at an early age), and heavy marijuana use. Prior elective abortions (provided no infection occurs) do not affect later fertility. The remaining 10 percent of female infertility comes under the heading of unexplained infertility. The inability to conceive is frequently accompanied by emotional stress and anxiety, which can sometimes exacerbate the initial condition

MALE INFERTILITY

Approximately one in every twenty American men is infertile. This is frequently the result of any of the following conditions: low sperm count, defective sperm, chronic diseases (including diabetes), damage to reproductive tissue due to infection (such as from sexually transmitted diseases or mumps), testicular injury, autoimmune responses (whereby a man produces antibodies that disable his own sperm), hormonal imbalances, genetic factors, cigarette smoking, heavy marijuana use, narcotics, excessive alcohol consumption, and stress.

Though sperm production decreases with age, men continue to remain fertile even into late adulthood. (There is an account of a North Carolina man, born in 1830, who fathered a child at the age of ninety-four with his twenty-seven-year-old wife, though his paternity is subject to speculation [Speroff 1994].) Excessive or prolonged exposure to heat may also contribute to low sperm production, and for this reason, men experiencing infertility are often advised to wear loose shorts instead of tight underwear and to avoid long hot baths, prolonged athletic activity (male long-distance runners are sometimes advised to take a few weeks break from training to build back sperm stores), and even the use of electric blankets. Frequent ejaculations may also contribute to a low sperm count, because it takes approximately seventy-four days to produce viable sperm. The chances of conceiving may be improved in men with low sperm counts by collecting and freezing multiple ejaculates to be pooled together and artificially inseminated in the woman. When that fails, artificial insemination with donor sperm is an option.

TREATMENT

In earlier days before the physiology of reproduction was more fully understood, superstitions surrounded the mysteries of fertility. Many ancient cultures sought fruitfulness and bounty in both the land and the people by worshiping fertility (or mother) goddesses (often depicted with exaggerated breasts, buttocks, and sex organs) or by enacting rituals such as the erection of a maypole with its clear phallic symbolism. Ancient Chinese used bamboo or coins to scrape an infertile woman's back, shoulders, and neck to stimulate her reproductive organs. Others administered herbs or tonics (such as the bile juice of pigs) to be ingested orally, placed on the body, or inserted vaginally or rectally. An old folk remedy to cure female infertility was to rub wild yam on the woman's abdomen. Modern home remedies include using egg whites as a vaginal lubricant to facilitate the sperm's journey to the egg.

Despite the knowledge that infertility is equally distributed between men and women, modern medicine still centers most of its treatments on women. Doctors will often suggest the infertile woman measure and chart her basal metabolic temperature to determine when she is ovulating and most likely to conceive. She and her partner will then engage in sexual intercourse only during those days immediately preceding and following the day of ovulation. Antibiotic therapy may help resolve underlying infections that may interfere with conceiving (though it will not reverse any damage already sustained). In cases where ovulation is irregular or absent, fertility drugs such as Clomid or Pergonal are administered to stimulate the ovary to release eggs. (Because of the risk of multiple follicle growth, especially with Pergonal, the ovaries are closely monitored with ultrasound to avoid subsequent multiple births.)

Assisted reproductive technologies (ART) offers new hope for many previously infertile couples. ART refers to all procedures involving the direct retrieval of eggs from the ovaries. The most common of these technologies is in vitro fertilization (IVF), first successfully performed in 1978. The procedure involves hyper-stimulating the woman's ovaries with fertility drugs to promote the growth of several follicles. These are then harvested surgically and mixed with the father's sperm in a laboratory dish. Fertilized ova are then injected back into the mothers' womb for implantation. Though success rates vary depending on the fertility clinic, the age of the mother, and male factors, most programs approach a success rate of more than 25 percent with two cycles of IVF (with 30% of the resulting pregnancies involving multiple births and 10% located outside the uterus in an ectopic pregnancy).

Other ART options include gamete intrafallopian transfer (GIFT), a more recent technology where the sperm and ova are inserted into the fallopian tube where fertilization may occur. The new embryo then continues to the uterus and implants in the uterine wall.

Zygote intrafallopian transfer (ZIFT) involves the removal of the mother's egg and the father's sperm (as with IVF). Fertilization occurs in a laboratory dish with the resulting zygote (a very early stage of embryonic development) being injected into the mother's fallopian tubes. Donor IVF is indicated in cases when the mother is unable to produce viable eggs. A donor woman's eggs are harvested and fertilized with the intended father's sperm. The resulting zygote is then placed inside the uterus or fallopian tubes of the infertile woman. In embryonic transfer, a surrogate woman is artificially inseminated with the sperm of the intended father. If pregnancy results the embryo is removed after five days and inserted in the uterus of the infertile woman who will then finish carrying the pregnancy.

In cases where women cannot get pregnant, surrogate mothers are an option. For a fee and medical expenses, a woman is artificially inseminated with the sperm of the infertile woman's husband (or partner). The surrogate carries the baby to term and legally turns the baby over to the infertile couple after birth.

Adoption is an alternative way for infertile couples to have a child. The process is long and frustrating and by no means guarantees a child in the end, as there are fewer babies being given up by their birth mothers. To speed up or circumnavigate the process, many prospective parents seek foreign adoptions.

SEE ALSO *Contraception: I. Overview; Sterilization.*

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INITIATION

Initiation is a ritual practice that transcends historical and cultural boundaries. Initiation rituals often rely on sex and sexual imagery to serve as tools for negotiating the assignment of gender identity. One of the primary goals or functions of initiation is to instill normative ideas about sex and gender.

Initiation rituals are also known as rites of passage. The identification as rites of passage derives from the fact that initiation symbolizes the movement from one stage of life to another. Initiation marks this transition and indicates an official change in the initiand's status within the community. Diverse events or activities can be considered initiations. Baptism, bris, confirmation, bar/bat mitzvah, débuting, rushing a fraternity or sorority, marriage, and taking religious vows all qualify as rites of initiation.

From examples such as these, as well as those drawn from ancient and tribal cultures, historian of religion Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) concluded there are three categories of initiation rituals. The most specialized category of initiation is composed of the rites that mark entry in to a mystical vocation, such as a medicine person or shaman. The next category of initiation is comprised of rites of induction into secret or closed societies. In antiquity these groups included mystery religions or military societies, such as Mithraism. In the modern world, fraternities, sororities, or certain private clubs serve as the locale for this category of initiation. The final type of initiation is the puberty rite or the ritual that indicates the transition from childhood to adulthood. This form of initiation is considered nearly universal in its application and obligatory to all members of society. Puberty rites are therefore the most common experience of initiation.

INITIATION AND SEX

Initiation, especially in the form of puberty rites, has strong connections to sex and gender. The influence of these two factors permeates initiation rituals. The organization, content, and purpose of initiation rites all owe something to issues related to either sex or gender. All initiation rituals are strictly segregated by sex. In many tribal cultures there is a special set of initiation rituals for men and another set especially for women. The sexes do not share a common initiation experience. Nor is it permissible for members of one sex to be exposed to the initiation of the opposite sex. Initiation rituals must take place in a single sex environment.

Another way in which sex factors into initiation is through a ritual emphasis on the sex organs. One of the standard features of initiation is the creation of a physical sign of the initiand's changed status through scarring, piercing, branding, or tattooing. The genitals are frequently selected as the location for displaying these signs. Circumcision is a common mark of initiation for males. A bris, the Jewish ceremony of circumcision for newborn males, is an example of an initiation ritual which includes a physical manifestation of the initiands new status. According to Jewish belief, male circumcision symbolizes membership in the Jewish community. A similar ceremony exists among Muslim men. In addition to circumcision, some cultures, including those in sub-Saharan Africa, practice a more extreme form of genital mutilation known as subincision. Subincision involves the cutting of the underside of the penis. This wound is sometimes interpreted as the temporary creation of a male vulva and blood drawn from this incision is equated with menstrual blood.

Female initiation rites also can include genital mutilation. Clitoridectomy, or female genital mutilation, is an element of the initiation ceremonies that take place in some indigenous African societies. Clitoridectomy involves the cutting, reshaping, or even removal of the clitoris. Its practice is widespread among certain African communities, especially in the south and southeastern part of the continent. Among certain communities the labia may also be sewn almost shut, leaving only a small opening for the passage of urine and menstrual blood. Those who support clitoridectomy claim that the procedure curbs women's sexual appetite and/or helps maintain her virginity until marriage.

The involvement of the sex organs in initiation rites can also appear on a symbolic level. Among the Nkang people of Zambia, girls undergoing initiation are secluded in a hut that is constructed with an arch that is made to look like the legs of a woman spread for sex. During her stay in the hut the female initiand is instructed not to look at the arch. In other cultures both male and female initiands spend time in huts, caves, or other enclosures suggestive of a womb.

Finally the onset of a girl's first menstrual cycle often prompts her initiation. The maturation of the female sex organs dictates the timeline of women's rituals of initiation.

INITIATION AND GENDER

The primary function of puberty initiations is to transition the initiand into his or her proper place in society. Identifying and assigning normative gender roles is a major part of how initiation prepares one for this new status. Initiation rituals are designed to teach boys and girls the behaviors, knowledge, and jobs they must adopt or perform in order to become men and women.

Familiarizing boys with the sociopolitical positions that men are expected to assume is a central feature of male initiation. Male initiation rituals are designed to promote group identity and solidarity among fellow members of the community. Since boys do not have a fixed biological sign like menstruation, male initiation tends to take place in a group setting. All the boys who have reached a certain age—usually the age at which they are presumed ready to be contributing members of society—take part in the initiation ceremony together. The shared experience of initiation is the first step in creating an atmosphere of male bonding that underlies the governance or leadership of the community. Initiation introduces boys to the inner-workings of the power structure of a male dominated society. Fraternity rush, in which a class of initiands called pledges are made to endure ordeals together in order to form a sense of connection, or brotherhood, both with their fraternity and especially with their fellow initiands, is an example of an initiation rite that follows this model of socialization. One of the

Bat Mitzvah. *A girl reads from the Torah at her bat mitzvah.* © ROSE EICHENBAUM.

goals of fraternity initiation is to create a network of connections that provides positions of influence, authority, and leadership to its members.

For girls, initiation is a time to learn the gender behaviors and expectations associated with women. Female initiation rituals are especially focused on encoding the roles of motherhood and wifehood. The instruction given to girls during their initiation includes knowledge about fertility, birthing, and caregiving. The Nkang use initiation to familiarize girls with sexual intercourse and techniques to be used during sex. These lessons serve the dual purpose of promoting reproduction and educating the initiand about her wifely duties. The sexual education of a Nkang girl is the second phase of the three step process of initiation that culminates in her marriage, suggesting that the change of status experienced by the female initiand is that of the transition from child to mother and wife. In European and North American society a similar notion of female initiation as a marker of a young woman's new marital availability can be found in debutante ceremonies or the *quinceanera* parties held in Latino cultures. Both of these events are meant to signal a young woman's official arrival on the social scene. They also showcase her mastery of the skills, such as dancing, that are indicative of her new status as a lady.

Finally as part of its task of codifying gender distinctions, initiation, both male and female, sometimes highlights gender ambiguity. Initiation is described as a period of liminality, which refers to the condition of being in transition from one thing to another, not fully one or the other (i.e., childhood to adulthood). Moments of bisexuality or androgyny transpire in the liminality of initiation, for example the cutting of the penis to create a male vulva or cross-dressing. While these can be potentially dangerous subversions of normative notions of gender, they actually have the paradoxical effect of more clearly inscribing a fixed gender identity. Once the initiand emerges from the liminality of the initiation with the newly acquired knowledge of proper gender expectations, he or she leaves any questions or tendencies toward cross-gender behavior behind. Playing with the notion of gender during initiation solidifies the understanding of what it is to be a man or a woman.

SEE ALSO *Circumcision, Male; Female Genital Mutilation.*

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Jennifer Hart

INQUISITION, SPANISH

In 1478 Pope Sixtus IV granted a bull of inquisition to Queen Isabel of Castile and King Fernando of Aragon, thereby enabling the Catholic monarchs to define and police heretical acts and beliefs in the Spanish kingdoms. This was an unprecedented enlargement of royal power in the spheres of religious orthodoxy and cultural practice, especially when considered against the insignificance of the medieval inquisition in Aragon and its absence in Castile, where the norm had been religious tolerance (*convivencia*) among Christians, Jews, and Muslims.

SCOPE AND POWERS

The creation of this new, quasi-judicial, religious and bureaucratic body called the Holy Office coincided with the rising hegemony of Castile at a key historical juncture just prior to the expulsion of the Jews, the conquest of the Muslim kingdom of Granada, and the colonization of the Americas. As royal power grew so did that of the Holy Office, which was unique in its scope; its courts, prisons, and officials were active in principal urban centers of the Iberian peninsula—Seville, Toledo, Valladolid, Zaragoza, Barcelona—as well as in the rest of Europe and the New World—Salerno, Mexico, Lima, Cartagena. The Inquisition thus became the arbiter of cultural and racial limits in the context of autocratic kingship and global empire.

Initially, the narrow purview of the Holy Office was to police the sincerity and purity of Christian converts of Jewish extraction (*conversos*), who first began to embrace Christianity in large numbers in 1391 after waves of violence against Jewish communities. But over the years the specific contents of the heresy that was investigated, archived and then admitted by the subject in the *auto de fe*, or public penance, broadened considerably. In addition to prosecuting so-called Judaizers, tribunals summoned others (the majority being members of the dominant caste of Old Christians, i.e., those supposedly untainted by Muslim or Jewish ancestry) to confess their sins and misdeeds according to institutionally constructed categories of cultural difference. Thus, the Holy Office investigated *Moriscos* (or New Christians) suspected of secretly observing Islamic law, women healers, religious reformers, and other so-called *luteranos*—mystics, visionaries, bigamists, blasphemers, lascivious priests, perceived enemies of the Inquisition, and, in the modern period, liberal political thinkers influenced by the ideas that evolved during the French Enlightenment.

SODOMY AND GENDER

Whereas sexuality in general and sodomy in particular were firmly within the jurisdiction of secular justice, *delito nefando* (the unmentionable crime) first entered the Inquisition's expanding portfolio of dissident acts under Clement VII in 1524. The inclusion of sodomy was representative of the kind of racial thinking that had initially led to the foundation of the Holy Office. The precedent-setting case that secured the formal link between race and sexuality occurred in Aragon. In 1524 Don Sancho de la Caballería, member of a prominent *converso* family that had already experienced persecution for their alleged covert *judaizing*, was charged with sodomy. From the outset opponents saw the application of a sexual rather than a religious category of deviance as an expression of the same racial animosity that had driven earlier accusations leveled at the highly placed Caballerías. The case against Don Sancho dragged on for years (ending in 1531 with his death) and resulted in papal and royal decisions supporting inquisitors' assertions that the Aragon tribunal—and not the secular courts—was competent to prosecute sodomy.

This widening of inquisitorial jurisdiction at the expense of the established laws and traditions of Aragon also extended to other peninsular Holy Office tribunals in Barcelona and Valencia. The tribunals in Sicily, though not formally authorized to hear sodomy cases, acted as if they had such power. The addition of sodomy to the operative category of *heretical depravity* that could be investigated and extirpated by the Holy Office altered inquisitorial legal procedure in Aragon: Informers were no longer protected by secrecy, which was the norm for Inquisition tribunals. Defendants learned the identity of their accusers at the first interrogation and could physically confront and cross-examine them.

However, the definition of sodomy remained, as philosopher Michel Foucault argued, "an utterly confused category" (Foucault 1978, p. 101), as it encompassed all sexual acts of a nonprocreative nature, including bestiality. Most death sentences issued by the Zaragoza tribunal in the 1570s, for instance, were for the commission of acts of bestiality rather than of homosexual acts between men. Lesbian sex was included as sodomy in principle but is rarely discussed in surviving tribunal records. The legal definition of lesbianism specified the use of an instrument in sex acts between women. In cases where a dildo was not used, authorities were not able to prove that the accused had committed the offense. In Aragon, for example, accusers alleged that several women had had same-sex relations, allegedly performed "without any instrument" (Monter 1990, p. 281). Lacking material evidence of phallic appropriation, jurists and theologians could not decide whether the case warranted prosecution under the newly expanded jurisdiction over sodomy. The Supreme Council of the Inquisition (*la Suprema*), which closely supervised all tribunals in the Spanish empire, instructed the Zaragoza inquisitors not to prosecute the women on the grounds that lascivious acts committed without a penis substitute were not sodomy. Given this very narrow and highly materialistic definition of female sodomy, it should not be surprising to find women underrepresented in sodomy offenses. The case of Eleno/a de Céspedes, who was tried in 1587 in Toledo, illustrates the inquisitors' obsessive interest in documenting the use of a dildo in lesbian sex—although in the Céspedes case, the gender of the accused was also in dispute.

Of graver concern to *la Suprema*, however, was what it regarded as excessive zeal on the part of some tribunals in prosecuting male sodomy. In 1525 *la Suprema* ordered the Zaragoza tribunal to pay less attention to sodomy and more to nonsexual heresies, saying "although you may try Don Sancho [de la Caballería] and others of his type, you must not forget about crimes of heresy and apostasy, since this is the main business of the Holy Office of the Inquisition" (Monter 1990, p. 278). Some notable exceptions aside, those prosecuted for sodomy were the victims of ethnic profiling, as, typically, those summoned to explain and confess their dissident sexuality tended to be foreigners or ethnic minorities. In Aragon, for instance, Italians were frequent targets, and Turks and sub-Saharan Africans were disproportionately represented among those *reconciled* as sodomites. Moriscos, however, were rarely prosecuted for sexual misdeeds.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Eleno; Middle Ages; Witch Trials, Europe.*

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INTERNET

The growth of the Internet and online resources has allowed the Net to become a source of a great deal of varied material related to sex. The Internet offers access to numerous forms of sexual material, some of which are interactive. It also has facilitated the dissemination of material that is similar to off-line forms of pornography; that material is not new but has become easier to obtain. However, the Net also has enabled new forms of communication, and people who use those media have created or adapted sexual behaviors that are more or less new and unique to the Internet.

INTERNET PORNOGRAPHY

A common form of sexual material on the Internet is pornography on commercial sites. Susanna Paasonen, who researches media studies and digital culture, notes: "Commercial porn sites were among the first financially profitable online services that also survived the downfall of dot.com businesses ... and increasingly, are central arenas for the distribution and consumption of pornography in general" (Paasonen 2005, p. 164). Reasons for the popularity of online pornography, as opposed to print and video formats, may include the privacy of accessing material online and the manner in which material can be located on the Internet. Search engines and keywords make it easy to find very specific subjects, and people with special sexual interests are likely to find the kinds of material they are after. This is both a benefit and a danger of the way material is disseminated on the Internet.

Although the Internet caters to many tastes, it is difficult to regulate the material that is put online. It is as easy to find child pornography or violent pornography as it is to locate more mainstream pornographic subjects, even though the percentage of people interested in special-interest pornographic material is much smaller. In a sociological analysis of online pornography, Jennifer Lynn

Gossett and Sarah Byrne state: "Violent pornography, the pornography most linked in research to actual violence against women, is just as accessible as nonviolent or soft pornography on the Internet" (Gossett and Byrne 2002, p. 705). Historian Philip Jenkins (2001) showed that child pornography is widespread and easily accessible on the Internet, which has created a threat that is hard to police. Donna Hughes (1999), education and research coordinator of the Coalition against Trafficking in Women, described the ease with which the Internet allows men to form groups to discuss and arrange prostitution and sex tourism, supported by web sites and bulletin board systems (BBSs). Those groups exemplify the kinds of sexual activity on the Internet that have made critics warn about online predators and call for more regulations. Calls for censorship and regulation have been common since the Internet started gaining general use in the 1980s and often show a failure to recognize the positive aspects of sexual behaviors on the Internet.

STUDENTS AND THE INTERNET

The Internet first became widely accessible on college campuses, and many of the early users were college students. When it became clear that students were using the Internet for sexual activities, numerous campuses implemented screens to block access to such material from their computers. Although some of the material on the Internet may be regarded as perverse or dangerous, other material can be considered educational and beneficial as a means of dispersing safe sexual experience and knowledge. Leslie Shade argues that a college-aged audience "might find the information posted in the newsgroups . . . to be practical guides to sexuality and safe sex practices, a necessary component of the undergraduate curriculum, which students might not have recourse to otherwise" (Shade 1996, p. 18). The Internet provides a safe place in which individuals can find out about sex and experiment with sexual activity (known as tinysex, cybersex, or cybering) without harming themselves or others.

INTERNET-SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

Developments unique to the Internet include an increase in amateur pornography in which users create home pages or blogs that record their sexual experiences and fantasies or provide access to their webcams. Chat rooms and MUDs (multiuser dungeons) are forums supported by the Internet that allow sexual encounters in ways that other media do not. Whereas e-mail lists and BBSs allow asynchronous communication, chat rooms and MUDs provide synchronous communication, creating a higher level of interactivity between users. BBSs, listservs, chat rooms, and MUDs feature a wide range of topics, but subjects involving sex and sexuality thrive.

MUDs originated as online role-playing environments that often were social and not necessarily sexual in nature. MUDs have developed that revolve specifically around sexual role play, often with specific themes. For example, one multiuser chat kingdom (MUCK) that specializes in anthropomorphized animals has a thriving subculture for sexual encounters between the animal avatars of its players. Drawing on interviews with the players, Shannon McRae observed: "The lack of physical presence combined with the infinite malleability of bodies on MUDs complicates sexual interaction in interesting ways. While many individuals engage in the fairly limited standard rituals of singles cruising, both gay and straight, others seek out erotic experiences that would be painful, difficult or simply impossible in real life" (McRae 1997, p. 77).

Another form of experimentation that MUDs and chat rooms enable is the shifting of gender. Although most sites request members to register a gender, the gender that is chosen need not correspond to a member's off-line gender. Some sites offer the choice of more than two genders, including neuter and one that can be changed at will. Some theorists point to the radical potential of such gender play, whereas others see it as a form of identity tourism that leads more to gender stereotyping than to a rethinking of gendered identity.

Whereas sexual experiences traditionally implied close physical contact between the partners' bodies, the Internet and the relative insignificance of the geographical location of its users allow people to get involved sexually without meeting in the flesh. Such relationships may point to one way in which the Internet can influence redefinitions of human sexual behavior by encouraging textual forms of communication in which physical characteristics of the participants, such as appearance, race, and gender, have no relevance. The technologies and possibilities of online communication are advancing rapidly, with users continuously adapting to the new developments, and so it is difficult to determine the influences of the Internet on sexual behavior definitively. Even the potential of text-only communication may be superseded by the availability of audiovisual equipment, so that Internet users will return to communication based on seeing and hearing one another.

SEE ALSO *Chat Room.*

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INTERSEX

Intersex is an umbrella term that typically is used to refer to a wide variety of conditions in which a person (or another animal) is born with something other than the anatomy considered species-typical for males or females. A person born with genitals that are between the typical male and typical female types usually is considered intersex, as is a person born with the external anatomy of one sex but most of the internal anatomy of the other sex. Many people also consider intersex any person with atypical sex chromosomes, for example, a person with mosaic sex chromosomes in whom some cells contain XX (female-typical) chromosomes and the rest contain XY (male-typical) chromosomes or a person with more or fewer than two sex chromosomes in each cell. (*Sex chromosomes* is a misleading term because genes on other chromosomes also make critical contributions to sex development and sex physiology and because some genes on the sex chromosomes code for traits that are not related to sex development or sex physiology.) The term *intersexuality* generally is disfavored because it suggests that the issue is eroticism or sexual orientation (sexuality), when in fact intersex is primarily an issue of biology (sex).

DEFINITION AND INCIDENCE

In practice, intersex activists and advocates have used the definition provided in the first sentence of this entry but have recognized that the category remains fuzzy because of the imprecision of the concept of "species typical" and the challenge of deciding what counts as critical sex anatomy so that variation from it can constitute intersex. Many intersex activists and advocates have attempted to distinguish intersex from transgender, with the latter term typically referring to people for whom the gender category assigned to them at birth does not reflect their sense of self. Most intersex activists and advocates argue that in the absence of evidence that a person's congenital anatomy differed at birth from that of the standard male or standard female, that person should not be counted as intersex.

Approximately one in two thousand children are born with obvious genital ambiguity. Significantly more are born with intersex conditions that are less obvious and may not be detected until well into adulthood, if ever. Some but not all intersex conditions are associated with metabolic problems such as critical hormone imbalances and pathological development of the urinary system. For this reason, when intersex is suspected, expert physicians should be consulted. This is especially true for newborns because congenital genital ambiguity may signal a case of congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH), a condition that can be fatal if it is not treated.

Exactly which conditions count as intersex remains a subject of debate in medicine in large part because of disagreement about what constitutes a sufficiently significant deviation from the standard male or standard female. Some physicians claim that a stretched-penis length less than 2.5 centimeters at birth constitutes "micropenis" and a stretched-clitoris length greater than 1 centimeter at birth constitutes "clitoromegaly," and the patients of those physicians have been treated as intersex and subjected to "normalizing" genital surgeries. Other physicians consider small penises and large clitorises benign variations of masculinity and femininity. Similarly, some physicians consider as intersex only people whose brains were exposed prenatally to the hormone mix typical of the development of the "opposite" chromosomal sex, but many physicians find that definition inadequate because it limits intersex (and thus sex) to the prenatal history of the brain. Some physicians consider variations from the typical sex chromosome complements to be intersex—thus, they count people with XXY (Klinefelter syndrome) and X(O) (Turner syndrome) as intersex—but others disagree.

In the past the term *hermaphrodite* was used to refer both in medicine and in the general culture to many people with intersex. The popular imagination presumes that hermaphroditism endows a person with all the parts and functions of both males and females. However, this is a physical impossibility because one body cannot create and maintain both a complete complement of male sex anatomy and physiology and a complete complement of female sex anatomy and physiology.

In the late nineteenth century there was a medical consensus that people with sexual ambiguity who had testes would be called male pseudohermaphrodites, people with sexual ambiguity who had ovaries would be called female pseudohermaphrodites, and people with both ovarian and testicular tissue would be called true hermaphrodites. That terminology held sway for generations and was employed in a well-known and politically important 1993 article, "The Five Sexes," published in *The Sciences* by the biologist and feminist critic Anne Fausto-Sterling. However, that terminology with its tripartite division has largely fallen out of favor because it lacks scientific rigor (it ignores many important aspects of sex other than gonadal structure), is clinically confusing (some people who are obviously girls and women may be labeled male pseudohermaphrodites, and people who are girls and boys may be labeled true hermaphrodites), and is unnecessarily stigmatizing.

Since the early 1990s the use of the alternative umbrella term *intersex* has enabled effective political organizing of people with diverse biological and medical histories. However, there has been the start of a movement in some sections of the medical and intersex activist/advocate communities to replace that umbrella term with *disorders of sex development* (DSDs). The reasons for this include the fact that (1) some people with DSDs and some parents of children with DSDs find that the term *intersex* stigmatizes them and implies gender confusion and (2) physicians cannot agree on what conditions they are talking about when they talk about intersex. Detractors object that the term *DSDs* implies that a person with intersex has a disorder.

TREATMENT OF INTERSEX IN THE PAST AND INTERNATIONALLY

The treatment of people with intersex has varied from culture to culture. In many times and places people with intersex apparently blended into the general population. For example, the American Billy Tipton (1914–1989) worked as a minor jazz artist without many contemporaries knowing that he was intersex. The small segment of the modern medical literature that has traced the lives of people who have grown up with "ambiguous" genitalia and other forms of intersex suggests that in general people with intersex have led largely unremarkable lives.

The Western cultural approach to intersex has been motivated largely by the desire to maintain heterosexual norms. Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park have found that in Renaissance France people labeled as hermaphrodites were required to adhere to one gender and partner only with someone of the other gender to avoid the appearance of homosexuality. Alice Dreger (1998, 1999), Christine Matta, and Elizabeth Reis have shown that a similar system was employed in Europe and the United States throughout the nineteenth century.

In other times and places "third sex" or "third gender" categories were available to (or possibly thrust upon) people with intersex and sometimes on nonintersex people who had same-sex attractions or in some other way did not fit the more common sex/gender categories. In India the caste of *hijras* includes some people born intersex as well as biological males who in the West would be called transgendered. Hijras typically live in groups and undergo ritual castration. They perform certain religious ceremonies for the non-Hijra population and have a relatively low social status. Before colonialism certain Native American cultures included people called "two-spirit" (labeled by anthropologists as berdache). Two-spirit individuals appear to have been intersex in some cases but often to have been people born nonintersex; the basic idea was that those individuals had both male and female spirits. They seem to have been considered to have had special strengths and powers, often performing particular spiritual ceremonies.

5-alpha-reductase deficiency is an enzyme deficiency that causes male fetuses to develop externally to look female. Thus, at birth they look mostly like girls. At puberty these children masculinize: Their clitorises grow to look more like penises, their testes descend into their labia, and their bodily conformation in terms of muscular, fat, and hair development looks classically masculine. Because of intermarriage the genetic frequency of 5-alpha-reductase deficiency is elevated in at least two cultures, and there categories have been created for affected individuals. Herdt traced what he said was called the *guevedoche* ("balls at twelve") system in the Dominican Republic, and Imperato-McGinley's work focused on the "turnim-man" of Papua New Guinea.

WELL-KNOWN CASES OF INTERSEX

Cal (also known as Caliope), the protagonist in Jeffrey Eugenides's Pulitzer Prize–winning novel *Middlesex*, has 5-alpha-reductase deficiency, and millions of people have come to know about intersex through Cal's story. However, since the advent of the modern gay and lesbian rights movement and then the intersex rights movement (in 1993) many people also have come to know the stories of real people with intersex. Michel Foucault published the memoirs of the French Herculine/Abel Barbin with an extensive commentary in 1980. Barbin was born in 1838 and died of suicide in 1868. Raised a girl, she ended up undergoing an essentially masculine puberty and falling in love with a woman. Exposed to the religious, medical, and legal authorities, she had her sex legally changed to male and became ensconced in scandal.

Probably the most famous case associated with intersex did not involve a person born intersex. David Reimer was born a nonintersex identical twin boy in 1965. When he was age eight months, a doctor botched a circumcision

Cheryl Chase. *Founder of Intersex Society of North America.* AP IMAGES.

on Reimer and essentially burned off his penis. Reimer's parents were advised by John Money, a well-known psychologist at Johns Hopkins University, to sex reassign David surgically and raise him as a girl. Money saw the case as a perfect experiment to prove that gender is the result of nurture; after all, David was born nonintersex and had an identical male twin. Money reported again and again that the case—known as "John/Joan"—was a success and that his theory of gender identity development was therefore well supported.

Many years later the sex researcher Milton Diamond followed up that case and discovered that David had never settled into the female gender. Money had lied; his own records of the case show that David's behaviors, interests, and life differed dramatically from Money's public reports. When David had become suicidal as a teenager, his parents decided to tell him the truth about his medical history, and David immediately resumed life as a boy. He later married a woman and adopted her children. His story was documented in *As Nature Made Him* by John Colapinto. Reimer killed himself in 2004.

Cheryl Chase founded the intersex rights movement in 1993. Chase was born in 1956 with ambiguous genitalia, and her parents were advised to raise her as a boy. When she was eighteen months old, a different team of doctors decided she would be better off as a girl, and they removed her clitoris and explained to her parents that they had discovered she was "really" a girl. Even when she was an adult, Chase repeatedly was denied her medical history and records. As a lesbian woman Chase became politically conscious of queer rights as well as the women's health movement, and in her mid-thirties she began seeking out other people with intersex.

ADVOCACY AND ACTIVIST GROUPS

In 1993 Chase founded the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA), the first support and advocacy group for intersex people. The first national announcement of ISNA came in Chase's letter to *The Sciences* responding to Fausto-Sterling's "Five Sexes" article. The mission of the ISNA of "building a world free of shame, secrecy, and unwanted genital surgeries for people born with atypical sex anatomies" was mirrored by other groups that formed later.

Chase remains an internationally recognized scholar and advocate. Several other intersex scholar-activists have risen through the ranks of the movement, including Emi Koyama and Iain Morland. A number of nonintersex academic advocates have aided the intersex rights movement, including Alice Dreger, Anne Fausto-Sterling, Suzanne Kessler, and Sharon Preves. There are many diagnosis-specific support groups, including the CARES Foundation (for congenital adrenal hyperplasia) and the Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome Support Group (AISSG). Nationally based intersex advocacy groups have been founded around the world, including groups in Japan, Poland, New Zealand, South Africa, and Germany.

The intersex rights movement began largely as a response to the medical management of intersex in the United States. The approach used by John Money in the case of David Reimer was developed in the 1950s as a way to manage intersex children. Money, John Hampson, Joan Hampson, and other colleagues at Johns Hopkins University formulated what came to be known as the optimum gender of rearing model. That model held that gender is primarily a product of nurture and that as long as a child's social gender identity (including genital appearance) was stabilized as male or female before about age eighteen months and the child was raised unambiguously, the child would grow up to be a typical man or woman. Consistent with the long-running heterosexist approach to intersex in the West, at Hopkins the idealized outcome generally was understood as a straight and straight-acting man or woman.

Money and his colleagues believed that sex (i.e., physical) ambiguity necessarily would lead to gender (i.e., psychosocial) ambiguity, and so they recommended that children with intersex be subject early to "normalizing" genital surgeries designed to make their genitals appear typically male or typically female. Because surgeons found it easier to make a believable-looking girl than a believable-looking boy, most children with ambiguous genitalia were surgically constructed to appear female. (Cheryl Chase was treated according to this model.) Children who were subjected to removal of their gonads also were given hormone supplements at the age of puberty and beyond to further their sex-appropriate development.

Like Money, many medical professionals who treated children with intersex misled or misinformed their patients even when the patients reached the age of maturity. This appears to have been done out of the belief that knowledge of their intersex history would cause patients confusion or distress, but judging from the recollections of intersex people and their parents as well as older medical professionals, it probably also was done because medical professionals found intersex a shameful sexual matter.

Intersex activists and advocates raised numerous objections to the optimum gender of rearing model. Chief among their criticisms was that this system generally resulted in a shroud of shame and secrecy and, more specifically, that childhood genital surgeries interfered with the health and well-being (both physical and mental) of many patients. Critics also pointed out that the "standard of care" subjected children to irreversible surgeries and hormone treatments because of specious social norms regarding sex, gender, and sexuality; did not address parental distress and anxiety directly; treated children labeled boys and those labeled girls according to asymmetrical values (sexual potency was valued for boys, and reproductive potential and sexual receptiveness for girls); was not based on meaningful evidence that it was necessary, safe, or effective; and condoned and sometimes even seemed to require deception of patients.

For some time the medical establishment largely ignored the criticisms of the intersex rights movement or misunderstood them, believing that activists were upset because they felt they had been assigned the wrong gender. In fact, relatively few people with intersex feel that the gender assignment given to them at birth was the wrong one, and the critiques of the optimum gender of rearing model went well beyond a criticism of Money's nurture-heavy theory of gender.

Within a few years of the founding of ISNA and the intersex rights movement, advocates managed to cultivate a few allies in the medical profession. The most focused and influential of them have been the American pediatric urologist and surgeon Justine Schober, the British gynecologist Sarah Creighton, and the American pediatric urologist turned pediatric psychiatrist William Reiner. More recently, in the United States the French-born geneticist and pediatric urologist Eric Vilain has been influential in arguing for improved treatment of intersex children, including an understanding of the prenatal development of brains in terms of gender identity.

In the early twenty-first century the medical establishment recognizes some of the core problems with the optimum gender of rearing model, including the role biology must play in gender identity development, the fact that lying to patients or withholding critical medical history is wrong, and the fact that there is an ethical duty to find out about the long-term effects of this practice. Controversy remains in regard to how children with intersex and their parents should be treated. Many surgeons refuse to believe that the genitoplasties done for appearance-normalizing reasons will result in the dysfunction and sense of shame many intersex adults report. Meanwhile, many psychosocial specialists have grown impatient with the institutional failure to provide professional mental health and social work services for these families from the start.

THE PATIENT-CENTERED MODEL OF CARE

In 2006 a consortium consisting mainly of three stakeholder groups (adults with DSDs, parents of children born with DSDs, and clinicians who treat people with DSDs) issued clinical guidelines for a "patient-centered model of care" meant to replace the optimum gender of rearing model. This was based on the patient-centered model of care of the ISNA, but the independent Consortium on the Management of Disorders of Sex Development (DSD Consortium) included the founders and leaders of most of the major support and advocacy groups as well as clinicians from all the major disciplines involved in DSD care. The tenets of patient-centered care are as follows:

1. Providing medical and surgical care when dealing with a complication that represents a real and present threat to the patient's physical well-being.
2. Recognizing that what is normal for one individual may not be what is normal for others; care providers should not seek to force the patient into a social norm (e.g., for phallic size or gender-typical behaviors) that may harm the patient.
3. Minimizing the potential for the patient and family to feel ashamed, stigmatized, or overly obsessed with genital appearance; avoiding the use of stigmatizing terminology (such as pseudo-hermaphroditism) and medical photography; promoting openness (the opposite of shame) and a positive connection with others; and avoiding a "parade of white coats" and

repetitive genital examinations, especially those involving measurements of genitalia.

4. Delaying elective surgical and hormone treatments until the patient can participate actively in decision making about how his or her own body will look, feel, and function; when surgery and hormone treatments are considered, health-care professionals must ask themselves whether they are truly needed for the benefit of the child or are being offered to allay parental distress; mental health professionals can help assess this.

5. Respecting parents by addressing their concerns and distress empathetically, honestly, and directly; if parents need peer support or professional mental health care, helping them obtain it.

6. Directly addressing the child's psychosocial distress (if any) with the efforts of psychosocial professionals and peer support.

7. Always telling the truth to the family and the child and answering questions promptly and honestly, which includes being open about the patient's medical history and about clinical uncertainty where it exists.

The DSD Consortium also recommends that the parents and physicians in consultation assign a gender (as boy or girl) to newborns on the basis of the likely ultimate gender identity of the newborn, recognizing that no baby's gender identity can be predicted with certainty. Reception among medical professionals of the DSD Consortium's guidelines has been extremely positive; this suggests that a consensus is building around this approach. A consensus also is forming around using a dedicated multidisciplinary team that provides long-term integrated care.

As can be seen in the work of the DSD Consortium, the goal of the intersex rights movement has been to try to demedicalize intersex while engaging in medical reform. Some intersex advocates have been working specifically to make intersex understood primarily as an identity rather than a medical issue. Indeed, some have agitated to add an "I" to the GLBT/Q (gay, lesbian, bi, transgender, queer) acronym. This approach has met considerable resistance in the medical profession, which tends to see intersex as a medical problem and to maintain a substantial level of homophobia, particularly in male-dominated fields such as pediatric urology. It also has met resistance among some people with intersex who do not think of themselves as personally or politically queer and among people with intersex who feel that intersex is not a big enough part of their personal or political history to justify the status of an identity.

Nevertheless, intersex advocates are likely to continue their relationship with advocates for GLBT/Q rights because of the shared sense of what it means to be oppressed for being a sexual minority. The idea that intersex rights are a matter of civil rights was made manifest in the 2005 decision by the San Francisco Human Rights Commission (SFHRC) to declare the treatment of people with intersex a human rights issue (Arana 2005). The investigation conducted by the SFHRC was initiated through the work of intersex activists David Iris Cameron and Thea Hillman and coordinated by Marcus de María Arana of the SFHRC. Partly in response, Sally Gross, the founder of the Intersex Society of South Africa, has been working with the South African Human Rights Commission on producing a similar declaration.

SEE ALSO *Genetics and Gender; Transgender; Transsexual F to M; Transsexual M to F.*

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Alice D. Dreger

INTIMACY

The term *intimacy* comes from the Latin word for inmost, or inner, and signifies the deepest or closest kind of friendship and confidence. The word *intimate* comes into English in the seventeenth century to describe individual inner personal qualities, as well as one's very close associates and familiars. To intimate is to communicate with minimal gestures, suggesting that the closest of intimate relationships is such that the formality of language is nearly unnecessary. Intimacy describes the close, personal relationship of good friends, or confidants, who share secrets and private matters. Intimacy also serves as a euphemism for sexual intercourse, especially in more recent times, and thus an exchange of intimacies could involve secrets, sex, or both. Because intimacy suggests the closest kind of relationship between people, its transformation from a term indicating both friendship and sex in the seventeenth century, from an era when friendship was considered the best kind of relationship people could share, to a term associated in the early twenty-first century almost solely with sexual relationships, marks the gradual privileging of sexual relationships as the closest form of human relating, and the gradual devaluation of friendships as less intimate kinds of human connection.

Like sex, with which it has become synonymous, intimacy can take many forms. It can be heterosexual or homosexual, between men and women, women and women, or men and men. However, while "sex" can happen between any number of partners at the same time, "intimacy" retains the traces of privacy and inwardness contained in its original meaning as a term of confidence between two people. Intimacy also suggests the presence of great feeling. In the nineteenth century, terms such as *passionate friendship* or *sentimental friends* described an intensity of intimate romantic feeling between men or between women that was socially sanctioned and widely celebrated. Abraham Lincoln, Emily Dickinson, and Walt Whitman had passionate friendships that may or may not have been sexual, but were understood by them and their peers as noble intimate relationships of the highest order. This esteem is partly explained by late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century notions of women as creatures without lust, and partly by the prevailing view that it was difficult for men and women to attain the heights of intimate friendship available between those of the same sex.

In places where the physical touching of friends is not uncommon, the line between social intimacy and physical intimacy is not so clearly drawn. Intimacy in the sense of sharing body space is more common in other countries than it is in the United States, where only lovers or family members share body space. In Italy men touch men more, and women touch women. This is also true in Arab countries and Spain. Women in most parts of the world share each other's physical, intimate space in a way men do not.

The private and domestic world of intimacy is presumed to be necessary to the building of close relationships, but this view shows that contemporary notions of intimacy are grounded in the heterosexual couple form. Queer critics, most notably gay men and their allies, have argued that one can have closeness without the sharing of secrets or even names, and that there is even in anonymous public sex an intimate quality of value and world making that can sustain communities. The term intimacy is increasingly interchangeable with *physical intimacy*, a term once used to distinguish sex from friendship, but that now has a redundant quality. Physical intimacy implies sexual touching in some form, being in another person's bodily space, and eye contact. Sexual touching can include holding hands, stroking, hugging, kissing, licking, rubbing bodies together, caressing the genitals, oral sex, and vaginal, anal, or oral penetration with fingers, a sex toy, or a penis.

The rise of companionate marriage as a twentieth-century social ideal meant that couples were increasingly encouraged to see their spouses as friends and lovers, rather than merely domestic and reproductive partners. This meant locating all of one's most urgent emotional needs in one place with one person, viewing that sexual relationship as a friendship, and prioritizing that relationship over other kinds of "outside" friendships. Intimacy was thus located squarely within the domestic couple form, as either a prelude to marriage or part of it. Intimacy in the twenty-first century usually describes the closeness of lovers who share every secret, dream, and thought with each other, lovers who are presumed to be best friends as well as sexual partners. This association of intimacy with sex, its use to describe the strong feelings between sexual partners, suggests that one cannot truly be close to another person without sex, and, conversely, that sex itself makes people closer.

Intimacy between adult men and women in private is the most permitted form of sexual physical intimacy, followed by intimacy between adolescent boys and girls of the same age. Sexual physical intimacy between adult women is somewhat tolerated, as is sexual physical intimacy between adolescent women in countries where lesbianism is either seen as titillating by heterosexual men or regarded as nonthreatening, nonsexual, or both. Sexual physical intimacy between adult men is somewhat permitted where homosexuality is legal, but it is often considered shameful, and can be punished by violence. Places where homosexuality is illegal can punish homosexual physical intimacy with violence, dismemberment, and even death. Sexual physical intimacy between adolescent boys is heavily policed in most parts of the world because sexual conservatives consider male homosexuality to be a tragic choice, and because teenagers are supposed to be either asexual or heterosexual until they reach legal adulthood. Sexual physical intimacy between adults and minors remains the most prohibited kind of human physical intimacy, except in countries that allow older men to marry young girls.

Teenagers in the United States often measure sexual physical intimacy using a baseball metaphor, in which the progress of a sexual encounter is likened to running bases, where the scoring runner is male and the infield is female. Kissing a girl gets a boy to first base, fondling her breasts gets him to second base, touching her genitals gets him to third, and sexual intercourse, or "going all the way," gets him a home run. Supposedly girls share in the scoring as well, but the fact that it would strike most people as unusual for a girl to claim she "got to second" by putting her hand in a boy's shirt shows that when teenagers describe their sexual encounters with baseball metaphors, it likely that the boy is doing the scoring and the girl is getting carried along for the ride.

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Jaime Hovey

IRON, GENDERED SYMBOLISM

One of the distinguishing features of African economic production is the social construction of iron technology. African iron technology is much more than the application of engineering principles to produce economic wealth and well-being. As important as the final products of the smelt are the nontechnical, symbolic processes that the makers use to obtain their final result—often represented as a newly born child or fetus.

The play of tropes that transform iron production into vibrant human reproduction have long engaged anthropologists and historians of Africa: These include the iron smelting furnace as a metonym for a woman's body—featuring breasts and a human womb; the use of bellows symbolic of testes, and blowpipes symbolic of penises; the apotropaic rituals that protect the furnace from witchcraft and displeased ancestors; the healing rituals that ensure the fertility of the furnace as a reproductive female; the widespread taboos against sexual activity linked to industrial production; and, the taboos pertaining to pregnant women and menstruating women vis-à-vis iron production. All of these cultural attributes bundled together are known as the *reproductive paradigm* that characterized African iron production in the early-twentieth century. Research, however, shows that this characterization is an incomplete and truncated representation, abbreviating the female reproductive cycle by emphasizing the exclusion of menstruating women and portraying menstruation as a stage of infertility.

The embodiment of industrial production in Africa—as reproduction in a female body—is one of the most profound examples of such transformation found anywhere. These transformations unfold during a series of ritual activities in which the furnace equipment is changed from material substance into living human matter. The rituals of transformation are first unveiled at the beginning of the smelting process when the furnace is infused with attributes linked to female identity and physicality. Many examples can be referenced, but one that best illustrates the first stage of the ritual cycle is the excavation of a pit in the bottom of the furnace, a phenomenon dated to the early first millennium CE and continuing into the twentieth century.

Ritual processes among the Barongo iron smelters living south of Lake Victoria illuminate symbolic meanings tied to this activity. They place *medicines* into a small pit excavated in the furnace floor. Among these are herbs, leaves, and pieces of trees with potent symbolic properties intended to protect the furnace from witchcraft and from unhappy ancestors. Also included are medicinal devices to cure infertility and to enhance fertility—showing clearly the close linkages with curative rituals normally performed by healers. A red bleeding bark symbolizes menstrual blood. Using their exposed genitals, the head smelter and the ritual specialist push earth on top of the symbolic devices in the pit, a ritual imitating sexual intercourse with the furnace. Additional rituals occur before smelting commences; these include the head smelter and his wife spitting beer on the furnace, employing a nuptial ritual signifying and ensuring mutual fertility.

The deepest insight derived from Barongo practices is a blood sacrifice using the pulsing arterial blood of a goat to saturate the furnace prior to smelting. If it were not for the presence of symbolic menstrual blood in the furnace base, then the blood ritual could be interpreted as simply a consecrating sacrifice. The spilling of ritual menstrual blood and the incorporation of symbolic menstrual blood with fertility symbols unveil a more holistic tropic representation of the entire female reproductive cycle—from cleansing of the womb to readiness for conception, pregnancy, and finally birth. These findings indicate that earlier interpretations of the reproductive paradigm were based on incomplete studies of interwoven industrial and ritual cycles.

The widespread belief in taboos relating to sexual intercourse have many interpretive applications, including: 1) the idea that women who have married in from other patrilines will steal important economic knowledge if not barred from iron production; and 2) the notion that power relations between the genders are manifest by excluding women from industrial production, further reifying separation of economic domains—with females responsible for agricultural production and men economic production. This theory collapses when the unity of agriculture and iron production under the symbolic umbrella of human, female reproduction is understood: Production of iron yields tools for agriculture and, hence, the capacity to reproduce society signifies an intimate weave of reproduction, iron, and agriculture.

Gendered iron production is an ancient concept, going back to the early Iron Age shortly after the introduction of ironworking in Africa. Evidence from Gabon dated about 500 BCE shows that early symbolic renderings used intense male symbols, for example, a blow pipe made of clay (representing a phallus) standing upright in a furnace pit and filled with kaolin, a substance widely used to represent semen and purity in east and central Africa. By the early first millennium CE, symbolic representations had shifted to those more complementary to the integrity of the female womb, with fertility a primary concern. By the middle of the second millennium CE, increased population and competition over critical resources introduced a new suite of ritual devices, along with those ensuring female fertility, to defend against the use of sorcery or malicious manipulation of ancestors by spirit mediums employed by competing social groups.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Marriage.*

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Peter R. Schmidt

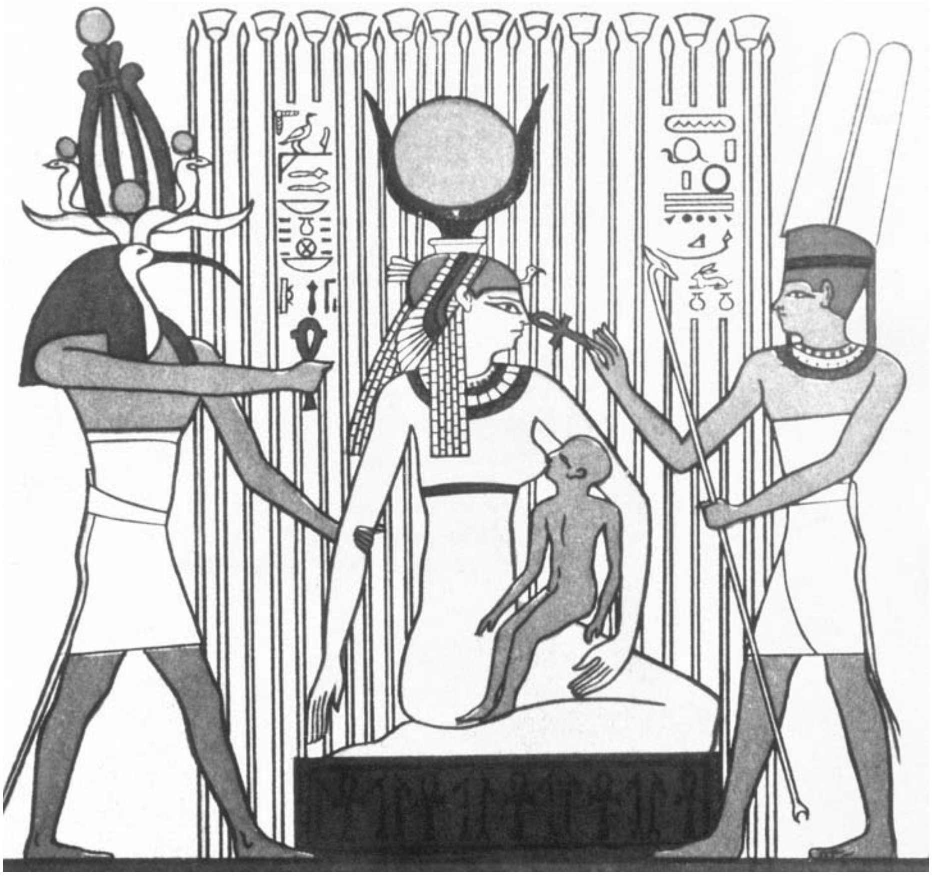
ISIS

The ancient Egyptian goddess Isis, originally a mortuary deity, and once widely venerated in the Near East, in the Greco-Roman world, still fills a role for a limited number of devotees and worshippers in the early twenty-first century as a representative of feminine power, devotion, magic, fertility, and renewal. Through the millennia, the focus of her activities has grown and changed as she accrued new roles and appeared in different places, eventually evolving such that worshippers honored and some still honor her as a universal—in some senses, the universal—deity, the mother of all.

ISIS IN ANCIENT EGYPT

When first encountered in the religious texts of the later Old Kingdom, around 2350–2200 BCE, Isis and her sister Nephthys sought, found, lamented, and nurtured the deceased king Osiris, actually Isis's brother and spouse. The two sisters appeared as kites, that is, birds which eat carrion eaters, and as carrion eaters do in nature, they found the deceased and incorporated him or her into new life. These sisters continued to act as mortuary deities throughout Egyptian history, serving as mourners, as have women in many times and cultures.

Contemporaneously, Isis also appears as the mother of Horus, the living king and successor to her husband-brother Osiris, the resurrected king and underworld judge, a role that lent her increasing importance as time passed. The mythology surrounding this triad of deities saw Horus conceived posthumously by Isis who "played



Isis. *Isis suckling her son, Horus. Toth, the god of wisdom is on the left.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

the part of a man'' (Griffiths 1960, p. 60) and ''raised the weary one's [Osiris's] inertness'' (Lichtheim 1976, p. 83) by ''acting like a man'' so the deceased Osiris could engender an heir. Indeed some of the iconography, particularly from the later periods, shows Isis in the form of a bird, hovering above the ithyphallic Osiris lying on a bier. In this way she ensured the continuation of the kingship, thus living up to her name *aset*, throne. In other depictions, she appears as the ideal royal mother, seen in various sculptures nursing her son Horus.

As time passed, Isis assumed a greater and greater role related to kingship. By the last half of the second millennium BCE, she began to take on the roles and symbols of Hathor, an earlier cosmic and royal goddess whose name means ''House of Hathor'' and who was the mother of Horus the elder. Isis, on the other hand, was mother of Horus, the son of Osiris. In doing so, as Isis assumed the various Hathoric attributes, such as the latter's headdress of cow's horns with a sun disk set between them and worship with the sistrum. Contemporaneous narratives such as the ''Memphite Theology,'' ''The Secret Name of Re,'' and ''The Contendings of Horus and Seth'' illustrate her various roles and activities. The full myth of Isis and Osiris, although with evidence of intrusive Greek materials, appears in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, dating to around 120 CE.

ISIS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD

Worship of Isis expanded enormously with the rise of the Greeks and the spread of their influence, particularly through the conquests of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) in the fourth century BCE. By the seventh century BCE, Isis had already begun to receive a cult in Byblos, a town on the north Syrian coast where Hathor had held sway as the Mistress of Byblos for the previous two millennia. In the succeeding centuries, most especially with the rise of Rome and its conquests, Isis gained many cult places outside Egypt, including locations in the eastern Mediterranean, the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, and, with Roman conquests, even in the British Isles and northwest Europe. In the Roman world in particular, she assumed the role of savior deity, and she began to be known as the universal mother and mother of all, subsuming, in time, most of the functions of goddesses from the cultures of the times.

In Egypt itself, following the death of Alexander in 323 BCE and the rise of the Ptolemaic rulers, Isis continued to gain prominence. Notably, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 283–246 BCE) built a temple for her on the island of Philae in the Upper (Southern) Egyptian area of Elephantine where he depicted his queen, Arsinoe II, as divinized and identified with Isis. The hymns in this temple present the goddess in all her forms—those characteristic of her in Egyptian history and those now related to her more universal aspects, showing her roles as bellicose goddess, maker of kings, nurturer, and mistress of magic. From this late period also derive the Isis aretalogies, narratives of miraculous deeds, along with various cultic hymns which also detail her many roles. Finally Book XI of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (commonly known as the *Golden Ass*) tells of the protagonist's priestly initiation into Isis's service. At the same time, the literature in Egypt itself, notably the "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys" and the "Songs of Isis and Nephthys," continued to hymn Isis in tandem with her sister in their traditional roles respective to the deceased.

ISIS IN THE COMMON ERA AND IN MODERN WORSHIP

Worship of Isis continued openly into the sixth century CE, when its threat to Christianity led to the cessation of public worship, though it appears to have continued in secret, according to the Ammonite family in Cairo. This family, headed by Her Grace Sekhmet Montu and including her husband Ptah Hotep and their son Neb Heru, the latter understood to be the incarnation of the ancient royal god Horus, traces its lineage back to Isis herself. Also claiming a lineage from Isis is the Fellowship of Isis based at Clonegal Castle in County Carlow, Ireland, where Olivia Robertson (b. 1917), arch priestess and hierophant of Isis, oversees worship and cultic practices related to the goddess. In addition, one finds various other groups and individuals around the world who engage in worship and rituals honoring Isis—clearly responding to, often openly, the patriarchal religions of the modern world. Various prayers and notes of celebrations appear readily available on the Internet, and one can only imagine other New Age activity that does not make the public sphere. Finally much of Isis's imagery continues to appear in the iconography related to the Virgin Mary and her son. Thus Isis, initially one of a family of deities four and half millennia ago, has developed and continues to play a major role for many supplicants in today's world.

SEE ALSO *Egypt, Pharaonic; Goddess Worship.*

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Susan Tower Hollis

ISLAM

Questions of sex and gender in Islam are particularly controversial for several reasons. Sex roles and rules have been for centuries a major weapon in what is sometimes called the clash of civilizations. Westerners have stigmatized Islam as a religion that imprisons and degrades women, a position that reached its extreme in the fascination for the harem as an erotic locus. More recently, anti-Western Muslims have pointed to the West as a space of debauchery and a sexual freedom that destroys families and morality.

A major interpretative problem between the cultures is created by the fact that Islam is both a world religion and a civilization with a historical existence in time and space, which identified itself by its *appartenance* to that religion. Given that in the last two centuries educated Muslims have become increasingly sensitive to the way their mores are described in the West, it has always been possible to argue that a given trait (now seen as unflattering) can be attributed to the culture and not the religion.

Historically, religions and cultures interpenetrate. Religions develop in a given cultural environment, which they in turn influence. Islam has been dominant in societies across Asia and Africa. Despite local variations, however, there is a remarkable consistency in the basic approaches taken by historically Muslim societies to questions of sex and gender, a consistency that is even greater with regard to the central Islamic lands from North Africa to South Asia. This can be understood as elements brought to these societies by Islam, as elements already present that made Islam attractive to them in the first place, or as a combination of the two.

After the rapid conquest of a territory from what is today Portugal to Pakistan, Muslim jurists began a process, which extended through the eighth and ninth centuries, of formulating a legal system. Called the sharia, this code covers all aspects of life, from international law to personal hygiene, and of course addresses questions regarding sex and family life. It is based on the Qur'an (which includes a limited number of legal items as well as more general moral strictures), the hadith (or sayings and exemplary actions of the Prophet Muhammad [570–632]), and the historical usages of certain Muslim societies. It is conventionally divided into four legal schools (with Shiites sometimes being considered a fifth), which can be arranged from the more conservative (the Hanbali) to the more liberal (Hanafi). Nevertheless, the differences between these schools (which are usually dominant in different regions) are relatively minor. Even the schism between Sunnis and Shi'is, which is theologically and historically considerable, has minor impact on sex and family law.

While the sharia evolved within a historical society, and unavoidably reflected many of its values, it also was in some respects an ideal construction. Put another way, as in other times and places, people chose which legal and religious precepts to observe rigorously and which to honor more in principle than in practice.

PATERNITY AND SEPARATION

Like its close relatives, Judaism and Christianity, Islam has historically been a patriarchal religion. But it has approached common patriarchal values in two distinctive ways. The first is by privileging physical separation as the only effective way of regulating sexual conduct; the second is by emphasizing the preeminent need to ascertain the identity of the father in all cases.

One of the most popular hadiths says: "When a man and a woman are alone, the devil is the third." This means that the sexual drive will win out over any moral compunctions. Males and females over puberty must be rigorously segregated with the exception of certain close family members. The ultimate expression of this system is the harem, or separate women's quarters. Obviously this is easier for wealthy individuals, but even many modest villages have kept women segregated. As much as is economically possible, women should remain at home, with public space being treated as male.

When a woman enters male space she must be veiled—that is, the veil is a form of female modesty that defines the entry into public space, as a woman does not need to be veiled when in her own home surrounded by her close family. The principle of the veil as a marker of public space and female Muslim identity is quasi-universal in the Muslim world in the early twenty-first centry. What varies is its degree of modesty. In its most limited form, the veil covers just the hair. In its more modest versions (such as the chador or the burqa) it can cover the whole body and even the face and hands. The logic behind the veil is that the less a woman is exposed to view, the less likely she will be able to sexually excite the men she might encounter. (Male standards of modesty are less restrictive and are not defined by presence or absence from the family home.)

Paternity dominates the regulation of sexual behavior. Sexual relations are licit between a man and his wife, and a man and his concubines. While the number of wives is limited to four, concubinage and sexual slavery were limited only by wealth. (Slavery is presently illegal as a matter of civil law.) A divorced woman can only remarry after she has had a period. An extreme version of this is the Shi'i institution of mut'a, or temporary marriage. This is for a preset period that can be as short as an hour. Because Muslim marriage (like Jewish marriage) is a legal contract, such temporary marriages can be accompanied by payment. The continuum between concubinage and marriage can be seen in the practices of the Ottoman sultans (who were also caliphs). These rulers kept numerous concubines, and would transform into legitimate wives—those (up to the legal four) who produced male offspring.

LICIT AND ILLICIT ACTS

In Islam, sex acts are not limited to procreative activity, but they are limited to those who would be otherwise able to procreate: men and women in some legally recognized relationship. Oral sex and anal sex in such circumstances are perfectly acceptable and were freely discussed. Anal penetration of the woman by the man appears as a possible area of marital dispute, with women defending their right to withhold consent to the practice, or with it being compared to polygamy, as a deprivation of vaginal intercourse.

Sexual activity between men is clearly prohibited in Islamic law. Nevertheless, it was commonly practiced and universally recognized in the historically Islamic societies of the Middle East and North Africa. Anecdotally it was very common in literary sources; homoerotic writings were legion and in no sense marginalized. In an effective continuation of the mores of the ancient world, anal intercourse was chiefly seen as humiliating for the penetrated and not the penetrator. Female to female sex, referred to as *ishaq* (rubbing), perhaps because it was not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an, was treated more leniently, with some legists suggesting that it could be a neutral, or permitted, activity. Human sexuality in most of its forms (including bestiality) was always frankly, and often explicitly, discussed in literary sources of the highest cultural level.

Because sexuality was controlled by physical separation, there was never any need to deny its nature. Celibacy has always been condemned in Islam; and men (or far more rarely, women) who live without appropriate companionship have traditionally been seen as a threat to the moral stability of the community because it is presumed that they will obtain sexual satisfaction in an illicit and socially disruptive manner. Sexual pleasure is considered a gift from God to be enjoyed by men and women (who are considered, like men, to have a right to sexual gratification). In folk practice, it is often held that a man must pleasure his wife (or each of his wives) at least once per week. In some countries arugula is popularly sold just before the Sabbath to help the man fulfill this periodical obligation.

In partial contradiction to the above lies the practice of clitoridectomy (excision of the clitoris), sometimes also called female circumcision. Tolerated in Muslim law (it is either listed as recommended or permitted, never as required or prohibited), clitoridectomy is practiced in many Muslim societies, especially on the African continent, as well as in some non-Muslim African societies. Though the amount of tissue removed varies from a partial to a total elimination of the clitoris, and though this practice can be understood (like male circumcision) as a symbolic ritual, its most common justification in Muslim societies has been as a necessary limitation of female sexual desire, whose anarchic and insatiable nature would otherwise threaten the stability of the patriarchal unit. In Egypt, clitoridectomy is almost universal among the lower classes and many in the middle classes, though rarely admitted to foreigners. A dismissive view of women's moral fiber is also expressed through the oft quoted hadith, which states that the majority of the inhabitants of hell are women, as well as through the popular expression of Quranic origin, which states that "their (feminine plural) guile is great."

Sexual union between a man and a woman outside the bounds of marriage or concubinage is *zina*, or fornication, and strongly prohibited. Though the penalty in Islamic law is severe (stoning for adultery), the legal requirements for proof (witnesses to actual penetration) are almost insurmountable. In practice, however, Islamic courts have considered the pregnancy of an unmarried woman de facto proof unless she can prove (her testimony is not enough) that she has been raped.

Adultery and premarital sex are normally handled in almost all Islamic societies through the extralegal honor code. A female who has brought dishonor on the family (either through improper actions or even just the reputation of such actions) must be killed to restore the family's honor, most commonly by stabbing—which should be carried out by the brother if there is one. While such extralegal executions are technically murder in Islamic law, in no Muslim societies have authorities sought to treat them as such (nor have most scholars called for such prosecution). Recently, when the Jordanian royal family sought to change laws that gave lenient treatment to men who avenged the family honor through gynecide, the conservative Muslim opposition blocked the law in the parliament, claiming that it would unleash immorality, reward prostitutes, and violate Islamic principles.

STATUS OF WOMEN

Islamic law gives women a protected but generally inferior legal status. Apologists stress that Islamic law (supported by custom in most places) grants the wife control over her own property (unlike the traditional Western transfer of control to the husband) and that Muslim wives do not take their husband's name. Critics of Islam like to note that women have less weight as witnesses in court and receive half of the male share in inheritance (with apologists explaining that this is fair because they do not have to support others, as men do). The Qur'an explicitly gives men authority over women in marriage and states that a man may beat his wife to restore this authority if milder forms of persuasion (verbal admonitions, the deprivation of sex) have failed. Legists have been careful to stress that any corporal punishment should only be as a last resort and should do no permanent damage.

Divorce exists in two forms in Islamic law. The first judicial divorce, open to men and women, must be for cause. The second, or repudiation, is open to men only and does not require cause. In this case, however, a woman will recover any dowry brought into the marriage. Effectively, a woman's marital security depends upon the economic resources she brought to the relationship.

GENDER AND THE WORLD

The Muslim conception of God is one of total transcendence and incomparability. Hence, God cannot have gender, and the Christian notion of divine paternity is considered blasphemous and absurd. Sufis, or Islamic mystics, have, however, used gender as a way of organizing the universe as a combination of equal and complimentary male and female principles. This may be related to the relative popularity of Sufism among women and to the relative openness of the Sufi tradition to exemplary women, such as Rabi'ah al'Adawiyah (713–801). There was also a flourishing genre of poetry in which mystical love is expressed through profane models (in some cases there is dispute whether the intended meaning of the verses is profane or sacred). In such poetry both homoerotic and heteroerotic images can be models (along, also, with intoxication from alcohol). The Islamic philosophical tradition, in partial overlap with Sufism, included a misogynist strain, which identified the female with the earthly and dreamed of a world without women. This was especially true in the illuminationist school.

Verses in the Qur'an have traditionally been understood as promising the believers sexual access to beautiful virgins in paradise. While many still preach this interpretation, some modernizers have suggested that the verses should be understood allegorically. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba (1985) has argued that the Muslim paradise promises a reconciliation of man with his body and his sexuality.

MODERN TIMES

Western imperialism, which took away the independence of virtually all Muslim societies, had an enormous impact on gender regulation. Many Muslim modernizers (sometimes called male feminists) believed that the liberation of women from traditional restrictions was a key to full membership in the modern world with all of its material benefits (including national independence). Customs bent under the gaze of the powerful Westerner. In Iran and Turkey the veil was banned (to be replaced among upper-class women by hats); and even where veiling survived it was reduced to a compromise that generally left the face open. Among the elite, many adopted slightly more conservative versions of Western clothing. There remains, however, a gendered approach to Westernization as something safer, and more permissible, for men. In all but the most extreme cases (such as in the Taliban) the males can wear the latest jeans, whereas women must honor tradition in dress or behavior.

Family law has been a major area of struggle between conservatives and reformers, as well as has been women's access to public space. Divorce and polygamy have been particularly controversial. The most common compromise has been to permit polygamy but restrict it, for example, by requiring the consent of the first wife before a second is taken. In some countries, high-status women have written such a right into their marriage contracts. Women are still struggling to improve their conditions for divorce and their rights to child custody.

But Westernization also brought Victorian prudery. Educated Muslims quickly discovered that their civilization's traditional sexual frankness (and its absence of homophobia) both titillated Westerners while providing fodder for their sense of moral superiority. Contemporary Islam has thus taken to adopting nineteenth-century standards of censorship in sexual matters, often censoring (or patently ignoring the existence of) the sexual discussions in their own classics. The Islamist movement, which has operated with greater or lesser strength in all Muslim countries, and which transcends the Sunni and Shi'i divide, has reinforced this prudery and even blames homosexuality (and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome [AIDS]) on Western (or Israeli) plots to destroy the Muslim family.

More generally, the mounting political pressure of Islamist groups since the mid-1970, has pushed virtually all Muslim governments (with the possible exceptions of Kuwait and Morocco) toward more conservative positions on the segregation of men and women in public space (such as universities) as it has pushed the women in these societies to greater public modesty. It is far easier for the generally authoritarian regimes of the Muslim world to give ground on such moral matters than to share any real political power with the opposition.

The situation of those who would wish to create a modernist revision of Islam is complicated by the fact that virtually all Muslims consider the Qur'an a perfect text, as the unmediated word of God. Hence it cannot be historicized (as modernists have done with the Bible). Instead reformers are often reduced to arguing that the verses do not mean what they have always been understood to mean, sometimes through creative philology. Against polygamy, modernists argued that because the Qur'an says a man should not take more than one wife unless he can treat them all equally, and because it is impossible for the human heart to be free of partiality, God intended to ban polygamy. Traditionalists quickly countered that because God would not have authorized something that was impossible, the requirement of equality applied to the material conditions of support.

There is a small but growing group of Muslim radical feminists (some of them self-declared lesbians), but they receive far more attention in the West than in Muslim lands where they are effectively cut off from the masses of women.

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ISRAELITE SOCIETY

Ancient Israel was a lineage-based tribal society with an agricultural economy. Like many such cultures, gender rules and boundaries were deeply enmeshed in virtually every aspect of life. The analysis of gender issues provides an entry into subtle interrelations among the forms of knowledge, mechanisms of power, and models of the self that operated in Israelite society. The Hebrew Bible, the major source of evidence, represents these matters through various genres (narrative, law, proverbial wisdom, etc.) and with varying perspectives and interests. These representations are sometimes fantastic, utopian, or polemical, and so must be treated with care. But gender rules are generally consistent throughout the text, illuminating the implicit and durable forms of biblical culture.

THE LOCATION OF GENDER

Everyday behavior and economic life were marked in ancient Israel by a gendered distinction between domestic space and public space. The domestic domain is predominantly female space, where women prepare food, weave textiles, tend children, and run the household (including, for a wealthy household, supervising servants). The public domain is predominantly male space, where men work the fields or tend livestock, pursue commercial activities, or engage in politics, war, or other public activities. There are many exceptions to this spatial opposition—daughters may tend sheep or work in the vineyards, wives may engage in some commercial transactions, and sons may cook—but the general spatial domains are clear. One of the few public places where unrelated males and females may mix is at the well, since it is women who fetch water. The traditional scene of "meeting at the well" occurs several times in Genesis and Exodus as the site of love and betrothal.

The association of women with tent and house has many discursive and behavioral consequences. A man can "go into" a house or "go into" a woman. Married and betrothed women are veiled outside of the tent, maintaining their (and their husband's) private space in public. City and nation—by metonymy with house and tent—are figured as feminine.

HONOR AND SHAME

Honor is an ascribed status—it is granted by others—which is a key component of the "practice of the self" in ancient Israel. Generosity, hospitality, and moral probity are conducive to honor, as is the proper regulation of sexual behavior within one's household. The patriarchal stories of Genesis 18–19 illustrate well the interplay of gendered spaces and the code of honor and shame. Abraham is the ideal man who offers exceptional hospitality to his unknown (divine) guests, while Sarah prepares fine food in the tent. The men of Sodom, the archetypes of wicked men, seek to shame the unknown guests by gang-raping them, which is the inverse of Lot's hospitality. Lot attempts to preserve his honor as host by offering his daughters to the men of Sodom in place of the guests, but in so doing shames himself as head of his household. Later, Lot's daughters, in their new domestic space (the cave), exercise domestic skill by tricking their father into impregnating them, which seals his dishonor and that of his heirs, which are the foreign nations of Ammon and Moab. Honor, shame, sexuality, morality, gendered spaces, and ethnic identity are intertwined in these stories.

Notably, what Western culture calls "homosexuality" is in this narrative a matter of gendered categories of dominance and shame, that is, a matter of power relations. The male (insertive) role is marked as dominant, while the female (receptive) role is marked as subordinate. For a male to insert his phallus into another male is to subordinate—and shame—that male. The Sodom story and the biblical laws about sexual conduct have nothing to do with homosexuality as sexual preference or orientation (note that Lot offers his daughters as an acceptable sexual substitute), but rather refer to a form of sexual shaming, comparable to the daughter-father incest at the end of the Sodom story.

CREATION MYTHS

The two creation myths in Genesis—which derive from two different sources, the P source (Genesis 1:1–2:4) and J source (Genesis 2:5–3:24)—present differing views on the origin of gender relations. The first creation account describes humans, "male and female," as created "in the image of God." It is not clear what this description implies, except that male and female equally participate in some kind(s) of God-like qualities, which may include moral, physical, and political attributes. Sexual relations, which follow immediately in the blessing and requirement to "be fruitful and multiply," are associated with these God-like qualities. In this account, which presents an ideal initial world-order, there is no institution of gender hierarchy or distinctive gender roles (aside from the activity of procreation). Humans as a whole are the pinnacle of creation, created to rule all the creatures of the world.

The second creation account presents a different view of the origins of sex and gender. Male and female have different histories—the first human, Adam, is inchoately male, although his sexuality is not foregrounded until the creation of Eve. Eve is made from Adam's flesh and bone as his proper counterpart (literally "helper corresponding to him"). She is created for company, not immediately for childbearing, and sexual relations between them involve a return to "one flesh," a pleasurable restoration of primal unity. As a result of Eve's and Adam's violation of God's prohibition of eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (an act with implicit sexual connotations), they first realize their sexual difference (and feel shame at being naked) and later are punished with expulsion from paradise and a hard life. Eve is punished with painful childbirth and male domination, Adam with hard agricultural work, and both with the painful awareness of mortality. Gender hierarchy is one of the aspects of the imperfect world outside of paradise. Here we see the institution of gender hierarchy accompanied by its implicit critique as a hard consequence of primal transgression.

PURITY AND COSMOLOGY

The Israelite body is regulated by various rules, including the rules of purity. Here as elsewhere, the opposition of male/female intersects with the metaphysical distinction of human/divine. Human bodies are not allowed in close proximity with divine space (particularly the Jerusalem Temple and its courts) if they are presented as sexual bodies. Hence, a priest must not expose his phallus in the Temple court, and bodies that drip fluids from penis or vagina are prohibited from entering the Temple precincts or touching holy objects. Such impurity has no moral implications, but renders the body ritually impure for cultic activity. Because major impurities are contagious by touch, bodily impurity restricts interpersonal contact in the cases of childbirth, abnormal genital fluids, and menstruation, but not in the case of sexual intercourse (which causes a lesser degree of impurity). All bodily impurity requires separation from divine space until ritual purification occurs.

Presumably because God is a transcendent (disembodied) being, divine space is antithetical to human sexuality and reproduction. Although God creates humans as sexual creatures, sexual expressions are inimical to God's cultic presence. Hence, there is a spatial and sexual contrast between the holy and the profane. Holy space is beyond sexuality, and profane space is the domain of sexuality. This contrast between sexuality and holiness gave impetus to some later traditions of sexual asceticism. These traditions, while exegetically derived, are radical departures from the positive value of sexuality in ancient Israelite culture.

SEE ALSO *Judaism.*

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Ronald Hendel

Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

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VOLUME 3

j–p

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JAINISM

Jainism presents many challenges in relation to a discussion of gender. In some aspects gender in Jainism mirrors the prevailing Hindu culture of India. In other ways Jainism offers radical divergences from India's mainstream culture, particularly in its inclusion of a fully developed monastic system for women.

BASIC BELIEFS

Jains comprise a small percentage of India's population, with estimates ranging from four to seven million people, approximately one-half of 1 percent of the total. A few hundred thousand Jains live outside India, primarily in east Africa, England, and North America, with smaller groups in Japan, Singapore, and elsewhere. Despite their relatively small numbers, Jains have exerted significant influence in the course of Indian history. They have maintained a distinct religion that emphasizes the practice of nonviolence (*ahimsa*) for more than 2,000 years. Jains posit countless souls (*jiva*) that have no creator but that through their own efforts and action (karma) can advance beyond repeated rebirth (*samsara*) to a state of solitary liberation (*kevala*). To advance on the spiritual path, the Jain must be scrupulous not to cause intentional harm to any living being. Consequently, Jains avoid professions associated with violence and observe vegetarianism. The Jain lifestyle deeply influenced Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), a world figure who helped inspire the civil rights movement in the United States and championed women's rights worldwide.

Gender in Jainism determines household roles as well as religious responsibilities. Similar to women in Hindu cultural norms, women in Jainism are generally expected to marry and raise a family, whereas men are more public figures, earning income to support the family. Traditionally a man lives within his birth family and women enter this domain as daughter-in-law and sister-in-law to other members of the household. In contemporary times this pattern has been changed by the modern urban lifestyle, particularly among the upper class and those who live outside of India. Women are expected to be responsible for food preparation and religious instruction, which in Jainism are closely related due to the universality of vegetarianism in the tradition.

Jainism, which was established in its current institutional form by Mahavira (c. 599–527 BCE), a contemporary of the Buddha, includes two primary sects: the Svetambara, who are found primarily in northern and western India, and the Digambara, in central and southern India. These two groups differ not only on their beliefs regarding the life of Mahavira and the authoritativeness of particular texts, but also on the spiritual status of women. When Mahavira, also known as the Jina, reinvigorated an established monastic order, he continued an earlier tradition of maintaining parallel groups of monks and nuns.

LAY AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

All Jains observe five great vows: nonviolence, truthfulness, not stealing, sexual restraint, and nonpossession. Monks and nuns observe these five practices more assiduously than do laypeople. For laypeople sexual restraint requires fidelity in marriage, with occasional periods of celibacy. Monks and nuns must maintain total celibacy and generally have little contact with one another, traveling and eating separately. Laypeople practice nonpossession by living simply and donating their excess wealth for the support of monastic communities and the building of temples. Monks and nuns own very little, generally a change of clothing, a few books, and eating utensils. They remain itinerant after taking their vows and only stay in a sheltered place during the rainy season when it is difficult to move about without causing harm to insects and vegetation.

The Svetambara sect emphasizes the renunciation of all possessions. Advanced monks own nothing at all, not even a begging bowl or a loincloth. Because it would be too dangerous for women to practice total nudity in the style of Mahavira, Digambara women are not given the highest monastic initiation and hence must hope for rebirth as a man to attain final liberation from all karma, the ultimate goal of the Jain faith. Svetambaras, on the other hand, assert that Mahavira's renunciation of clothing was not central to the faith, advocate the wearing of white robes for all its monastics, and hold that women can achieve liberation (*kevala*).

SEX AND GENDER

Within the lay community Jain women are able to claim a high degree of autonomy though their observance of religious vows. In particular women often join voluntary devotional circles that meet regularly to learn, sing, and in some instances compose songs (*stavan*) that encapsulate Jain teachings and validate women's roles. Often these songs echo the *bhajans* composed by Mirabai, the Hindu princess-saint who preferred the worship of Krishna over devotion to her husband. Women play an important role in the rituals performed in the Jain temple (*mandal*). Another assertion of women's religiosity can be found in the performance of periodic fasting. Sometimes this fasting, particularly during the *paryusan* observances in early September, requires total abstention from food for several days. Other fasts require eating only once per day for a specified period, or eating every other day, or eliminating certain foods from one's diet. Regardless, a woman's performance of the fast brings prestige to one's household.

Within the Jain faith, there are four times as many nuns as monks, perhaps due to the gentle nature of core Jain practices. In years past most nuns would join the monastic order as widows or at the same time as their husband. In some instances entire families would take religious vows, often with mother and daughter traveling separately from husband and son. Following India's independence in 1947, increased numbers of well-educated, unmarried young women chose to become Jain nuns, a trend that continues in the early-twenty-first century. The monastic life seems to offer for many educated young women a more creative outlook for their talents than does marriage.

In addition to making clear divisions between the roles of men and women, both in lay and monastic communities, Jainism also acknowledges the ambiguity of sexual feelings, citing a third grouping of individuals who experience longings generally associated in contemporary society with homosexuality (*napumsakaveda*). The ideal for all individuals within Jainism is to eschew sexual thoughts and behaviors in order to cleanse oneself of the karma that impedes spiritual awareness. By the consistent systematic observance of a pious lifestyle characterized by the grounding of all one's activities in nonviolence, all karma can be neutralized and eventually expunged. According to Umasvati's fourth century text, the *Tattvarthasutra*, this process unfolds over many lifetimes, through which one has the opportunity to ascend fourteen rungs of a psychocosmic ladder leading to eternal consciousness and delivery from rebirth.

The challenges of modernity and urbanization have strengthened the Jain community, providing greater wealth for the support of Jain institutions both in India and in the diaspora community. The number of vocations, particularly among women, has increased, and the publication of materials designed to promulgate core Jain teachings continues to grow.

SEE ALSO *Hinduism.*

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Christopher Key Chapple

JAPAN

This entry contains the following:

I. MODERN

Japan, or *Nippon*, has a distinctive landscape and history. An island country in the Pacific Ocean, Japan is made up of five major islands: Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu, and Okinawa. Mountain ranges divide the basins and fields; this geographic feature shaped local communities, which developed their own cultures, customs, and religious practices throughout much of Japan's history. The 1868 Meiji Reforms during Japan's modernization brought the local communities together by political innovations, economic growth, and the popularization of mass media. Chinese and Korean cultures played an influential role in Japan in earlier centuries, whereas the nineteenth century's change came from the process of influences from Europe and North America. Throughout its history Japan was able to integrate other cultures within its own cultural traditions, which in turn have played a role in the world. This entry comprises three sections: (1) sexual symbolism, religions, sexual customs, and traditions; (2) gender roles, marriage, and divorce; and (3) homosexuality, sex research, and sex education.

SEXUAL SYMBOLISM, RELIGIONS, SEXUAL CUSTOMS, AND TRADITIONS

During Japan's earliest periods, the Jomon and Yayoi cultures (third century BCE), the Japanese people's idea of sexuality was closely associated with reproduction or procreation. In the sixth century CE, Buddhism and Confucianism were introduced to Japan through Korea; first the ruling classes and eventually the emperor's family adopted these religions and beliefs. The central government implemented the new philosophy, religion, and culture, whereas the common people continued to practice their local religions and customs. The old beliefs and the new beliefs coexisted without conflict.

Shinto, meaning *Way of the Gods*, is a native Japanese religion. Buddhism and Shinto both dominated Japan until the sixteenth century. By the fourteenth century Portuguese missionaries introduced Christianity and Roman Catholicism to Japan. During the nineteenth century in the Meiji period, Shinto was recognized as the national religion. Still, Japanese who believed in Buddhism or other religions continued their own practices. After World War II (1945) and by the time Japan's new constitution was established, freedom of faith was promised and Shinto was no longer considered the national religion.

Phallicism, or worship of male genitalia, has long existed in Japan. Although many cultures practiced phallicism, the prevalence and long history of worship of the phallus is well documented in Japan, where the belief is not thought of as simple worship of the sex organ itself but as a worship of what the sex organ represents—life itself. Male genitalia are viewed as a source, or seed, of life, and they not only represent life, they are life, fertility, and procreation. The phallus is believed to possess the power to protect as well as to expel evil. Phallicism and stone are closely associated. This may have resulted from the fact that Japan is a mountainous country; litholatry, meaning worship of the stones, was one of the earliest forms of Japanese religion. Phallus-shaped objects can be seen on wall tombs that date back to the eighth century. Other phallus-shaped stones were also set up on the shores of the Hitachi Sea during the period of the rule of Emperor Montoku's (827–858) time, as well as in revered temples and sites. Roadside stones are symbols of protection and power, which can drive away or delay the evil spirits.

If phallicism is the cornerstone of Shinto, Shinto believes in the power of both male and female sex organs and posits that phallicism is in reality *phalloktenism* (ktenic means female). Buddhism also embraces phallicism; Shingon, a Tantric sect of Buddhism, believes passion is sacred because it leads through self-sublimation to enlightenment. Shingon's god of love, Aizen Myoo, encouraged passionate, sensual, and erotic behavior. Another Buddhist deity, Kangiten, is depicted as a male and female pair in a standing position of sexual intercourse. Many Japanese practice both Shinto and Buddhism and find no discomfort in the double religions; they believe Shinto and Buddhism have complemented each other. An old Japanese saying goes: One pays visits to the Shrine in the happy days, while one pays visits to the temple during the hardships.

Japanese cultures presented different sexual attitudes and customs. In Japanese erotic art genital organs are omnipresent and are often enlarged and elaborated by the artist. Genitalia have become such familiar objects in Japan that it is customary for Japanese artists to exaggerate them. In contrast to the prevalence of nudity depicted in the art and literature of Europe and European North America, nudity is viewed differently in traditional Japan. Nudity is not viewed in a moral sense but, rather, as aesthetically unpleasing; in fact, the socially disadvantaged classes—such as peasants and workers—may be naked, whereas the socially privileged pride themselves on owning beautiful, elaborate garments. Japanese erotic prints and literature often show lovers almost always fully clothed. Even in the early twenty-first century, except in strip shows, it is the clothed female who is considered more sexy and alluring.

For both European and North American and Japanese, the mere image of the geisha arouses curiosity. *Geisha*, a person of art (*gei* means art, *sha* means person), is uniquely Japanese and a world-renowned icon of femininity, beauty, and a mysterious fantasy world. In many ways it has come to represent the Japanese image of grace and elegance. Makeup, dress, and skills at conversation and entertainment comprise the geisha persona; her total being is a work of art. Geisha has a rich 250-year history and indeed remains the symbol of Japanese womanhood. It occupies the imaginations of Japanese and Europeans and North Americans alike and, to many, Geisha is synonymous with Japan

Geisha's world is known as *karyukai* (the flower and willow world); they perform their art in cities such as Kyoto and Tokyo. Historically, women did not take on the profession by choice but, rather, families indentured young girls into the profession at the ages of five or six years of age. In contemporary Japan young women can choose geisha as a profession by receiving training when fourteen years old, instead of being a wife, mother, or office worker. Geisha's precursors can be traced back to the seventh century; Izumo no Okuni, a woman performer, acted as a male and thrilled her audience. Her wild and outrageous performances started the famed Japanese Kabuki Theater tradition. However, in 1647 the government banned women from the stage because of concerns over public morals. And at that same time the government confined courtesans and prostitutes to the pleasure quarters as a measure to maintain public order. The pleasure quarters were frequented by the wealthy and the powerful and were soon turned into a busy, entertaining world for men. The word Geisha was first used by male actors who performed bawdy jokes, songs, and dances in the early eighteenth century, and women joined them around 1760. The female Geisha quickly established themselves and have claimed the word Geisha ever since.

Courtesans played the role of a high-class lady, whereas a Geisha portrayed herself as an artiste, performing for the general public as well as in the pleasure quarters. Yoshiwara district in Edo (now Tokyo) was the largest and grandest of the pleasure districts of the eighteenth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Geisha reached the highest level of social status as the well-known Geisha became household names, with literature and woodblock prints of them abounding. However, after World War II ended and especially with the 1958 ban against prostitution, the Geisha's role underwent a drastic change; they have since identified themselves as artistes whose work excludes sex.

GENDER ROLES, FEMININITY, MASCULINITY, AND MARRIAGE

Social, organizational, and gender hierarchy, along with corporate solidarity, authority, and uniformity, are marked social features of modern Japan. In the traditionally male-dominated society, women defer to men. However, in ancient Japan women had a great deal of authority; for example, until the eleventh century, Japanese girls could inherit their parents' houses. The ruling class's adaptation of Chinese Confucianism redefined women's roles. Women's role became to remain at home where she was expected to devote herself to family life, although as of the early twenty-first century women have considerable voices at home as they manage the family matters overall.

With the economic boom of Japan since the 1970s, more women have entered the workforce. However, most women hold secretarial and *office lady* types of jobs. Women seldom hold managerial positions; fewer than 10 percent of Japanese women are in managerial positions, and fewer than 3 percent of Japanese legislators are women. Despite the legal protection of the 1986 Equal Employment Opportunity Act, female workers past the marriage age often encounter workplace discrimination. The work environment can be very strained for women because of constant inquiries by supervisors and colleagues into the woman's personal life. Filing a complaint against the company to the government would be considered disloyal to the company. Even if a company treats its women workers as equals, male business associates may feel uncomfortable or even unwilling to work with a woman as an equal.

Masculinity is defined by the roles men play in marriage as well as in the workplace. A young man's transition from the status of student to a *shakaijin* (social person) starts with his first full-time job and is completed with his marriage, and or more significantly, with the birth of his first child. Japanese men are expected to be socially productive citizens through their work and by providing for their families.

Corporate environments also employ disciplinary techniques for the development of proper masculinity. Formality of dress, hairstyles, correct social manner, and what to read and eat all become areas regulated by the company. Men's work and families have always been an important index of their maturity; however, although that still rings true in modern Japan, economic changes and the women's movement have resulted in open discussion of how men's roles should change to fit modern lifestyle. How should a so-called seven-to-eleven husband (a man who leaves for work at 7 AM and returns home at

11 PM) contribute to family life and child care? As more women stay in the workforce after marriage and childbirth, there has been a rapid increase in dual-income families. Although companionship through marriage is an increasingly sought-after ideal, it is not easily achieved.

Traditionally, marriage was universally practiced, as it was believed to be a milestone for men and marked them as fully responsible persons; the happiness and satisfaction for women was to be found in their roles as wives and mothers. For women, marriage usually takes place between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five. A girl learns sewing, cooking, flower arranging, or music in preparation for her marriage. The cost of a wedding can be very high; families of all social and economic levels must dress the bride in beautiful traditional garments, whereas the groom wears formal European or North American style clothes with a formal silk tie. The ceremony—held at the groom's parents' home—includes ritualistic dining and other wedding rites.

The legality of the marriage includes a transfer of the bride's name to the register of her husband's house, which often does not get completed until the new wife's pregnancy with her first child. Before the name transfer the young wife must work hard to prove her worth within the new family.

The modern salaried husband works as a technician, office worker, or junior executive and is under constant pressure to become a good company man. Coworkers have a common bond through working together as well as socializing in company-organized parties and traveling. The husband often arrives home late because of the company engagements, which wives are seldom welcome to attend. The salaried man can be more emotionally distant, both as a husband and father, than his traditional counterpart.

Because of the work-related absence of their husbands, Japanese wives have a great deal of authority and autonomy in arranging their children's extracurricular activities, housework, shopping, errands, and leisure time. They are very apt at managing their children and households on their own and have a strong voice in decision making. They pay a great deal of attention to their children's welfare and often socialize with other mothers who have similar concerns and expectations for their children.

Marriage has undergone a great deal of change in modern and contemporary Japan. Many people believe in marrying later; that is to say, they would eventually be interested in marrying someone but would not like to be pressured into marriage by a certain age. Retherford and partner's 2001 study concludes that Japan is one of the latest marrying populations in the world. In 1975 the women's mean marriage age was 24.5, whereas in 1995 it was delayed to an average of 27.7 years of age. Men's mean age also went from 27.6 years in 1975 to 30.7 years in 1995. The proportions of never-marrying Japanese increased to 16 percent, up from 5 percent, for women, and 22 percent, up from 6 percent, for men. The reasons for the drastic change include increased women's employment, the prevalence of premarital sex, and perhaps most of all, changed expectations and new attitudes toward marriage and family life. Some single young women decided early on to buy their own apartments or condos, planning not to marry.

Arranged marriages exist in both traditional and modern Japan. Between 25 and 30 percent of all marriages in 1995 were arranged, which is usually a match between a woman and a man of compatible social and economic status (Applbaum 1995). Both families took great interest in the selection process. Love-matched marriage was based on mutual affection; the matched marriage in modern Japan differs from the traditional arranged marriage. The family alliance is no longer necessary in modern Japan.

HOMOSEXUALITY, SEX RESEARCH, AND SEX EDUCATION

In modern Japan homosexual behavior is accepted in some circles and looked down upon in others. Homosexuality is not excluded from appropriate sexuality and it is not condemned or ostracized by Japanese religions. In general homosexual relations are viewed as an eccentricity rather than a perversion, because sex variations are often thought of as fun and playful. However, as with all other sexual acts, homosexual behavior is held to strict standards of social decorum that say it should be private and discreet. Japanese men and women have plenty of work or social occasions to be with the same sex group; it is not uncommon for members of the same sex to have a close emotional friendship.

In traditional Japan the pleasures of the flesh were considered natural and normal, and this also included homosexual relations; homoerotic stories are found in the literature of premodern Japan. In the Heian period (794–1185), lesbian love was recorded by women writers. Lady Murasaki's classic masterpiece, *Tale of Genji*, includes a homoerotic scene where Prince Genji spends a night with a young man. Yoshida Kenko (1283–1352?), a fourteenth-century courtier monk, wrote about his sexual desires for boys in *Essays in Idlenss*. Sixteenth-century literature includes stories about Buddhist monks' homoerotic love for their temple acolytes, as well as tales about Samurai men and boys who sacrificed their lives for their love.

The traditional view of homosexuality changed in the Meiji period; during its period of modernization the government aimed to bring its social, political, and technological advancement to the level of those of the Europe and North America, and the stigmatization of homosexuality experienced in those countries made an impact on Meiji policies. Homosexuality was temporarily outlawed with the adoption of the Prussian legal code in the 1870s. Even though the ban was short lived and the Meiji government's attempt to outlaw homosexuality was never entirely successful, education in schools and universities adopted an antihomosexual moral tone.

Homosexual lifestyles are seen as a problem in modern Japan when gays and lesbians do not wish to have a heterosexual marriage and therefore threaten the institution of marriage; refusal to marry is viewed as both immature and selfish on the part of the individual. Gays and lesbians are expected to let go of their personal desires and to get married for the sake of continuing the family line. In fact, many gay men conform to this tradition by getting married and having children. *Barazoku*, one of the oldest gay publications, has a regular section for gay men to advertise for female partners so they can live up to their social expectations. But many gay men or lesbians who do not wish to conform bear a great deal of psychological and emotional stress. In some cases gay couples opt to form a socially acceptable family-like relationship through adoption.

Gay publications are more widespread than those intended for lesbians; however, both are subject to censors who eliminate pictures of genitalia and pubic hair, just as they would with *straight* sexual images. Gay bathhouses also exist in most major cities. The Internet has also become one of the major venues for information, communities, and communications among gays and lesbians.

Gender ambiguity or gender role reversal has been commonly known in both religion and traditional theater. Buddhists have embraced sexual ambivalence; the Goddess of Mercy, Kannon, was thought to have actually changed her sex—she started as a god in India and as she moved eastward to China, Korea, and Japan, she became a goddess. The Kabuki theater, after centuries of evolution, still has all-male casts and has developed a sophisticated form of theater enjoyed by Japanese. Kabuki also shares the tradition of males who perform the roles of female characters. In 1914 the Takarazuka Revue Company was founded; it was made up of unmarried girls who performed songs, as well as Japanese folk and European and North American dance. They also took male roles by dressing in military uniforms, tuxedos, cowboy outfits, and samurai armor. In the early twenty-first century their audiences and fans are mostly female, from all over the country, who adore these male-impersonating icons.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, medical doctors and teachers began writing in professional journals about the sexual development of children. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Japan, devoted a special issue to the discussion of sex education. Experts on sexuality agree that schools and homes are the best venues for sex education. A few wrote against sex education. The proponents of sex education are focused on issues with masturbation and venereal disease; early sex educators in the Europe and North America made similar arguments.

Since the early twentieth century, all Japanese children received required education. Although following the National Course of Study's general objectives, each school would develop its own curriculum. However, no distinctive sexuality or family-life education course was designed, and the National Course of Study did not require anything to be taught about sexuality.

However, rises in teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and AIDS have become a concern in Japan. According to the Japan AIDS Prevention Network (2004), Japanese girls' first menstruation starts between the ages of ten and twelve, two years earlier than their mothers' generation. Among third-year high school students, 30 percent report having had at least one sexual experience, whereas in the 1980s the average age for first sexual experience was twenty years.

Sex educators in contemporary Japan, such as Masako Fukae, are adamant that the most effective way to prevent STDs or AIDS is through education. Some research findings support the need for sex education. Masako cited studies that only 50 percent of sexually active college students use condoms. Among sexually active high school students, 30 percent of girls and 28 percent of boys do not use any contraceptive measures. As a result, in 2002 almost 50,000 abortions were performed in women aged 20 and younger, whereas in 1994 only 27,838 abortions were recorded. Meanwhile, STD cases have increased; 30 percent of new chlamydia infections afflicted the ten-to-nineteen-year-old age group.

Since 2003 public schools have started sex education in the third and fourth grades. Sex education classes are focused on pregnancy and STD prevention due to the steady increase in teenage abortions and STDs among the youth. As children are exposed to more sexual content through the mass media and are thereby freer with sex, and they are more vulnerable to a host of sex-related problems including HIV and AIDS. However, sex education materials have been under constant criticism from parents who protest the use of graphic materials; some parents argue that the availability of condoms and contraceptives will encourage early sexual activity and will undermine Japanese traditional moral values.

Yomiuri Shimbun's article in 2004 reported that the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology had decided to revise sex education in schools. Until 2004 the ministry's policy was to teach children healthy gender concepts so they could act desirably. The 2004 revision included specific sexual topics. For third- and fourth-grade elementary students, sex education covers topics on menstruation and ejaculation, for middle school students, it covers conception and pregnancy, and for high school students, it will cover contraception. The Japanese Association for Sex Education (JASE), an organization established in 1972, has also developed and published sex education guidelines for individual schools.

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Liana Zhou

II. EROTIC LITERATURE

The theme of love dominates Japanese literature. From ancient poetry collected during the eighth century to *waka* poems that have flourished until modern times, the majority of the best works in classical forms have featured longing for a tryst or lamenting the separation from, or loss of, a lover. During the ancient period, as property was generally handed down from mother to daughter, marriage took a rather fluid form in which the man visited the woman at her house at night. Because a woman with a house and a man with income were mutually desirable, courtship among the upper and middle classes was intense, and epistolary communication between lovers or spouses was dense, resulting in the abundance of amorous verses that are extant. The most passionate of ancient poets include Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (dates unknown, active late seventh century to the beginning of the eight century), Ono no Komachi (dates unknown, flourished 833–850), Ariwara no Narihira (825–880), and Izumi Shikibu (dates unknown, born c. 977).

Japan's mythology features episodes of an erotic nature, but the first known example in literary fiction is *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* (author unknown, written some time after 810 or 866 but before 910), a romantic story of competition between suitors for the affection of a celestial woman. Murasaki Shikibu's (dates unknown) *The Tale of Genji* (eleventh century) marks a great departure from such romance. The voluminous work depicting the amorous lives of three generations of men is often called the world's first novel because of its psychological depth and narrative complexity. However, as in European courtly romance, sexual intentions and acts were only implied.

An inclination toward androgyny and gender crossing is detected in Japan's arts. The Buddhistic view of life as transient and the aesthetic ideal of *aware*, the beauty of ephemeralness, applied to both men and women so that they were beautiful and sad in the same way. In spite of the fact that intercourse is often forced by the male character in courtly tales, masculinity is erased from courtly aesthetic. The interest in sameness and minute distinctions thus marks traditional Japanese literature and theater. Twelfth-century romances such as *The Changelings* (author unknown, written around 1183) and *Partings at Dawn* (author unknown, written shortly after 1200) describe protagonists who go through life as cross-dressers with unaligned sex and gender. Female impersonation in *onnagata* roles has been one of the chief attractions of kabuki theatre since the seventeenth century, and androgynous stars are featured in all genres of modern media.

Erotic interest became more pronounced when the bourgeoisie gained power as consumers. Seventeenth-century Japan produced great writers who took up sex as a central theme. Ihara Saikaku's (1642–1693) *Five Women Who Loved Love* (1686) is a collection of stories about women who choose sexual love over family ties and other moral obligations. The playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724), author of *The Love Suicides at Amijima* (1720), dramatized the tragedy of lovers similarly torn between desire and morality. Both authors often took materials from actual incidents and town gossip so that their works not only demonstrated a certain amount of realism but also appealed to the curiosity of their mass audience.

Particularly during the seventeenth century, male homoeroticism flourished in literature and pictorial arts. *Dews on the Mountain Path* (1730s), illustrated (and probably written) by Nishikawa Sukenobu (1671–1750), graphically presents male–male encounters with a very short story attached to each scene. A group of Saikaku's works, such as *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (1687), consists of short stories about homoerotic love affairs in the samurai and commoner classes. Hiraga Gennai (1728–1779) found satirical uses for sexual blatancy. His *Seclusive History of a Withered Dick* (1768) parodies Chinese history by outlining world history using sexual terms. An example from the picture-book genre, *The New Hot Spring Stories* (1827), illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865) and probably written by Jūjitei Sanku (dates unknown; active in the mid- to late-nineteenth century), follows a couple of lovers who drift to Giant Land and discover their lost treasure by entering the *cave* of a giant woman's vagina.

Among modern authors, Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939) and Nagai Kafū (1879–1959) invented sensual styles in the modern language. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965), in his *The Secret History of the Lord of Musashi* (1935), *The Key* (1956), and other works, tried out a variety of narrative forms in his an unflinching exploration of all aspects of sexual desire. As daring as Tanizaki are a number of women writers such as Kōno Taeko (b. 1926), Takahashi Takako (b. 1932), Kanai Mieko (b. 1947), and Yamada Eimi (b. 1959), all of whom pursue woman's identity in their depiction of sexual desire and acts. Matsuura Rieko (b. 1958), whose chief theme is lesbian sexuality, explores a theory of *gentle castration* in *The Life and Education of Big Toe P* (1993).

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Sumie Jones

III. EROTIC ART

Japan has a long history of erotica. Although little survives from early periods, there are occasional secondary references in literature and diaries that go back at least to the eleventh century. There are also some extant works, often in the form of hand scrolls of albums, from the medieval period. In modern times erotic literature in Japanese is renowned and has entered the world of *manga* and *anime*. However, it was the Edo period (1603–1868) that saw the flowering of such literature as a recognized genre. Most erotic books were illustrated, and almost all the artists who worked in the popular manner and even some from the elite schools produced those pictures. That form of art was not regarded as shameful, although erotica had its proper place and was not meant to be shown everywhere.

The Tokugawa shogunate was declared, based in Edo (modern Tokyo), in 1603, and in the mid-1630s a system of "alternate attendance" was promulgated that required the 280-odd regional rulers (*daimyo*) to reside one year out of two in Edo. The result was massive intermittent influxes of single males in vast lordly entourages. Additionally, the wives and children of *daimyos* had to live permanently in Edo.

That curious demographic created conditions in which certain sexual practices flourished. Numerous red-light districts opened to cater for the "city of bachelors." However, bordellos were expensive and thus were beyond the reach of many, and it is not difficult to conceive of how erotica gained a foothold. It was assumed at that time that consumers were as likely to be sequestered ladies who were kept for their whole lives in *daimyo* compounds as frustrated men spending a year in Edo free of family bonds but living in constrained situations without much cash.

The term now applied to the erotic literature of that period is *shunga*, literally "spring pictures," in reference to the illustrations, which often are the real source of enjoyment. The texts vary in quality, though some are considered to have real literary merit. In contrast, the imagery in *shunga* is often superlative. Period terminology was loose: *makara-e* ("pillow pictures"), *warai-e*

***Shunga* Artwork.** *A two-page frontspiece from a shunga album. An elegantly-dressed couple sit on a veranda overlooking a garden and embrace each other.* © ASIAN ART & ARCHAEOLOGY, INC./CORBIS.

(“laughing pictures”), or *Toba-e* (in reference to a mediaeval prelate who was said to have invented the ribald pictorial style). As books those works were called *ehon* (“erotic books”), though later they generally were classified under the neologism *shunpon* (“spring books”).

Erotica had existed in Japan before, and very ancient sketches have been discovered in the rafters of buildings and other places. However, *shunga* as such appears with the first cultural flourishing of Edo toward the end of the seventeenth century. Printing also became important at that time, and *shunga* can be found in the traditional form of paintings, generally as leaves in albums or hand scrolls, and in the newer medium of print, generally bound into sets of a dozen or as short books. The genre came to an end toward the end of the Edo period in the 1830s and 1840s. *Shunga* thus defines a moment in the history of Japanese erotica with specific characteristics.

The shogunal government did not censor erotica. The shoguns did censor extravagance, and luxury was condemned, though the degree to which it was penalized depended on the tenor of the times. Clampdowns occurred as part of the Kyôho reforms (mid-eighteenth century) and Kansei reforms (1780s). Both singled out erotica for condemnation, though within a long list of activities of which the government disapproved. Reading or viewing erotica was not regarded as shameful or wrong for men or women.

The overriding feature of *shunga* is the presentation of sex as mutually enjoyable and desired. Compulsion, rape, and violence are shunned. Erotic scenes almost always involve modern urban people. This practice has led to the claim that erotica was for couples, to be used as foreplay. That was one option, but there are likely to have been others, and solitary use certainly was common. This is attested in many fictional contexts and in the stories and pictures themselves, although these are not unproblematic contexts. Few if any references can be found to erotica in nonfictional contests such as diaries and letters.

There are myths of reading and viewing that suggest embarrassment and extenuation of ownership. One is that erotica could prevent fire in the home; it also was said that warriors stored erotica in their trunks of hardware as prophylaxis. However, those rationales sound like tongue-in-cheek excuses for enjoying erotica.

There is a wide variety of production levels, from cheap monochrome prints to splendid paintings. This indicates a wide social spectrum of ownership. It also suggests that different contexts require different levels of sophistication. Ladies in their quarters when their males were away might have expected something different from what workmen in barracks expected. It is also attested that the finely made painted scrolls were slipped into marriage trousseaux to acquaint elite virgins with what was in store for them when they married. However, *shunga* never had an educational purpose in regard to the healthy or safe performance of sex. It always was celebratory of sex.

Beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, violence emerged, with fantasies of mutual sharing giving way to fantasies of rape. The two-hundred-year tradition of *shunga* is regarded as coming to an end with that shift. Mid-nineteenth-century erotic literature is quite different.

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Timon Screech

IV. COURTLY LOVE

The essence of courtly love in Japan can be found in the 360 love poems in *Kokin Wakashu* (905), which trace the course of a typical love affair, from a man's first notice of and flirtation with a woman to his waning interest and abandonment of her (Rodd 1984). Courtship was an art to be cultivated, but love was both uncontrollable and transient. Buddhism taught that love was a quagmire leading only to grief, but most saw love as an arena for elegant behavior and savored the anticipation and sorrow that accompanied it.

Marriages were arranged for political and financial considerations, so love was sought in extramarital affairs. Even at court men and women did not mingle freely and lived in separate quarters. Women attracted attention by their reputations for beauty, refinement, and talent in the arts of music and poetry. The first stages of a courtship were conducted by poetic correspondence. Visits occurred sporadically and, secrecy being a high priority, only at night. In literature, at least, this meant that mistaken identity was a frequent problem. The marriage ritual consisted primarily of visiting a woman three nights successively and staying past dawn, making departure a public event. After marriage men's visits were prolonged and public, but couples rarely lived together until the man became the head of his extended family.

Courtly love is depicted in poetry collections, memoirs, and fictional tales of the Heian period (794–1185). Male poets outnumbered and outranked women, but fiction was considered less prestigious and came to be the domain of women. *Tales of Ise* is an important collection of anecdotes, with poems that focus on the love affairs of a man out of favor at court (McCullough 1968). In *Kagerō Diary* a preeminent statesmen's secondary wife describes the vicissitudes of her marriage but dwells on the pain of her husband's infidelities (Arnzten 1997). In *The Pillow Book*, a collection of anecdotes and reflections on life at court plus lists of poetic references, Sei Shōnagon confidently depicts herself as a demanding lover and describes a few ideal romantic encounters (Morris 1967). The *Tale of Ochikubo* tells of a mistreated stepdaughter rescued and avenged by a handsome and promising young man (Whitehouse and Yanagisawa 1970). *The Changelings* recounts the adventures and heartaches of a pair of cross-gendered half-siblings who ultimately realign their sex and gender (Willig 1983).

By far most important text of the age is *The Tale of Genji*, written by Murasaki Shikibu while she served at court (Seidensticker 1976, Tyler 2001). This tale set the standard for elegant romantic behavior for centuries thereafter. Genji, a prince removed from the line of succession, is depicted as an irresistible lover. He is preternaturally handsome, artistically talented, elegant, wealthy, emotionally vulnerable, and unusually loyal to his lovers. The text follows the course of his many relationships, including unwise liaisons with his stepmother, the proud widow of a former crown prince, and a younger sister of his political rival. His deepest relationship is with a woman whom he trains to be the ideal wife in a polygamous society: She is jealous when he is unfaithful but is too refined to show it. The theme of the last quarter of the work is the plight of women of varying social status but little economic means, dependent upon unreliable men, forced to choose between lonely serenity and marriages fraught with anxiety.

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V. WOMEN'S LITERATURE IN MODERN

Women in Japan have historically been readers of romances; it is no surprise that since the nineteenth century, women poets and prose writers have themselves taken an active part in creating popular fiction, nonfiction, and children's literature. Women's writing includes fiction that often weaves together personal stories, journalistic reporting, historical serial novels, science fiction, mysteries, business stories, war journals, and animal fantasies. Nonfiction covers a wide range of topics and issues that concern women's lives, experiences, and social conditions, thus including writing on cultural criticism, crime, travel, gender, sexualities, history and politics, and biographies. Women's literature (*Joryu bungaku* in Japanese), although sometimes discounted as too sentimental and too impressionistic, thrived after World War II (1939–1945) and has in fact played a role in shaping ideas and building communities and, therefore, in making significant social and literary contributions to Japanese culture. Women readers are very attracted to the popular women's literature because they find it both relevant and inspiring. For young women especially, women's literature helps them to redefine their roles and provides them a blueprint for change.

The leaders of the women's movement in its early stages used their writings to advance their cause and expand their influence. Hayashi Fumiko (1903–1951), a prolific novelist and poet, was one of the most important women writers of twentieth-century Japan. Many of Hayashi's works revolve around themes of free-spirited women and troubled relationships. Her 1930s novel, *Horoki* [Diary of a vagabond] reflects part of her life experience. Since the mid-1980s women's issues have become topics of great interest in Japanese society. Women writers are shaping social debate on individualism, identities, sexualities, and feminism. Among the best known are Banana Yoshimoto (b. 1964) and her contemporary Haruka Yoko. Yoshimoto's many award-winning writings reflect her travels and experiences around the world. In 2000 Yoko published *Todai de Ueno Chizuko ni kenka wo manabu* [Learning to fight with Ueno Chizuko at Tokyo University]. Ueno Chizuko is one of the leading feminist theorists in Japan and the author of *Seiairon* [Debates on sexuality]. In that same year, Haruka's *Kekon shimasen* [I won't marry] brought the feminist critique of Japanese culture and its traditions to the forefront of national dialogue about masculinity, femininity, women's domestic roles, and unprecedented new choices that are now available to women.

With the rise of lesbian activism in the 1970s, women's literature has also provided extensive coverage of female homosexuality; literature about lesbians, lesbian sexuality, and lesbian lifestyle has reached larger and more general audiences than it ever has before. In 1987 Bessatsu Takarajima wrote *Onna o ai suru onna no monogatari* [Stories of women-loving women]. In 1992 Kakefuda Hiroko made a decision to come out publicly through the publication of her book *Rezubian de aru to iu koto* [On being "lesbian"]. In 1999 M Yajima wrote *Josei doseiaisha no raifuhisutorii* [Female homosexual's life histories]. Lesbian writers are also prolific translators of well-known books and influential writings from English into Japanese and have introduced books such as Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *A Little Princess; Being the Whole Story of Sara Crewe*, Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*, and Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*.

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VI. WOMEN'S ROLES IN MODERN

In Japan's thousand-year-old tradition, women have played important roles in the family: managing household financial matters, taking care of children and their educational needs, as well as contributing to the family farm work—planting or harvesting in the rice fields alongside their husbands. In modern Japan women and men have the same legal rights in the society; women can hold or inherit their own property, have voting privileges, and have a choice about their own marriages and careers. Women receive higher education, have a career or have a family, and continue to manage the household income, giving a small portion back to their husbands as their allowance for their own needs. However, on a social front in the traditional society, a woman plays a role that is subordinate to that of a man. In Japan's male-dominated, hierarchical society, men are considered superior to women, and the Japanese ruling class adopted views that a girl should obey her father, a wife should obey her husband, and a mother should obey her grown son who may serve as the head of household. Even as of the early twenty-first century, women, out of etiquette or social customs, will defer to men in public, and most Japanese would say that the proper place for women is in the home.

Japanese women enjoy high literacy rates. From the ninth century onward, women used the *hiragana*—one of the two Japanese native syllabaries. Hiragana was called *onna-de* (woman's hand) and it was first used by a courtly class. However, by the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1868), women's literacy based on hiragana became a norm. By the early nineteenth century, high percentages of Japanese girls entered schools for their education. In Japanese prints and literature, women often

A Maids Café in Tokyo. **© YVES GELLIE/CORBIS.**

possess both beauty and power. Geisha, to cite one uniquely feminine image used in popular culture, are women who are skilled and well trained for songs, dance, music, and male companionship. Due in part to the popularity of the 2004 film *Memoirs of a Geisha*, the image has become a symbol of Japanese women to some European and North American audiences. A great deal of attention has been paid to the establishment and success of Maid Cafés, Japanese restaurants that provides service that caters to men who may who have difficulties in establishing relationships with women. The waitresses at Maid Cafés dress as table servants, as maids, or as Alice in Wonderland and talk to male customers—whom they address as *master*—in a kind and sweet voice, like little girls. The environment simulates a seductive, playful attitude but all games end there, and they provide no overt sexual services.

In post-World War II Japan (1945), the economic boom, the enactment of the Equal Employment Act, and the influences of European and North American lifestyles all contributed to changes of women's roles in the society. The female employment rate increased after the 1970s. By the early twenty-first century, there are more love-matched marriages than traditionally arranged marriages. Women have a choice between family and career. A British Broadcasting Corporation news survey in 2004 reported that one in four Japanese women aged between thirty and thirty-four years old were still unmarried, and as a result, are having children later in their lives, if at all. Japan's birth rate dipped from 1.54 children per woman to just 1.29 children per woman in 2006, making it one of the lowest in the developed world.

Modern Japan has brought another visible change in women's lives: they have become powerful consumers not only in purchasing household electronic appliances but also for acquiring services that were previously available only to their male counterparts. In the 1990s, Japan's big cities created nightlife for women. Hundreds of Host Clubs are focused on serving only female customers, where women are being provided with music and good food, as well as male companions for conversations—all with a heavy price tag—for the relaxation and enjoyment that once upon a time was an exclusively male luxury.

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VII. FAMILY ROLES

Existing research suggests that there was little division between specific family roles in most families in pre-Meiji Japan. Little information is available about the ways in which nonelite families were organized before the fifteenth century. Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, commoners adopted the multigenerational household, or an *ie* system, from the warrior class. From the beginning of the seventeenth century on, *ie* became the dominant form of family organization. Property belonged to the household (*ie*) as a whole, and each member contributed whatever labor he or she could and shared the benefits.

The preservation of the household was of primary importance, and conjugal relationships were secondary to the interests of the household. Marriage dissolution rates were high. All the affairs of the household were managed ultimately by its head. Household members could be married and divorced by the head and risked expulsion for defying authority (Dore 1958, Hendry 1981). This fluidity of nuclear families and the economic need for the wife's productive labor made partner role specialization unlikely to occur.

REDEFINING FAMILY ROLES IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A structural shift set in with modernization. From 1882 on until it was outlawed after Japan's defeat in the World War II (1939–1945), *ie* was codified as the smallest unit of national polity. Now the final duty of the members of the *ie* family was to the nation. The Meiji (1868–1912) government used the family as a convenient unit for social organization and control. The official ideal of the family acquired its final shape toward the end of the nineteenth century. Life-long, stable unions were envisaged in which women's primary duties were to be good wives and wise mothers and men were to concentrate on providing.

The spread of new family roles was facilitated by social changes under way by early twentieth century. The number of men in company employment increased as a result of industrialization and modernization. Fewer husbands now worked from home, shifting the burden of childrearing onto women. Establishment of compulsory education contributed to the perception of children as investments rather than cheap labor. State officials continually emphasized the close connection between maternal involvement in childrearing and nation building, arguably motivating women to spend more time and effort on it (Uno 1999).

Doctors and child care experts provided the scientific base for the new understanding of parental roles, which were promoted through multiple vehicles, most notably education. The new ideal of the family was rarely challenged.

The governmental message that motherhood and women's domestic contributions are as important for national economy as men's productive labor turned even feminist and socialist activists into supporters.

By the mid-1920s the influence of new ideas on the urban middle class had become significant. Reality, however, still made division of labor in the family and intense mothering impossible for the majority of the Japanese population. As Robert Smith and Ella Wiswell (1982) have shown in their book, in the 1930s the official conception of family roles still had little effect on the lives of people in rural areas. The promotion of stable two-parent families was, however, much more successful. More couples conformed to life-long, legally registered marital unions than ever before, as Harald Fuess's study on divorce (2004) points out. This set the scene for the successful adoption of contemporary family roles in postwar years.

FAMILY ROLES IN POSTWAR YEARS

The postwar economy utilized the idea of male–female role differentiation in the conjugal family on a large scale. The labor market evolved relying on men as the full-time, highly skilled core labor force and on women as homemakers who might participate in the labor force in an auxiliary capacity (Brinton 1993). Economic success led to the rapid increase of the middle class and by the mid-1960s, for the first time in history, large numbers of Japanese women could afford to become full-time housewives.

The differentiation of male and female roles in the family came to be seen as a crucial economic advantage, and both the state and businesses employed a number of social and economic strategies to ensure its continuity. These included wage and employment track differences between men and women, a welfare system based on the presumption of a sexual division of labor, *family wages* paid to full-time employed men as well as numerous employee benefits (family health care, subsidized mortgages, benefits for dependents). The pension and taxation systems rewarded women for being dependent wives, and the virtual absence of nonfamily care provision for elderly and children left them little alternative but to provide this care (Brinton 1993, Goodman 2000). Until 1987 the legal system ensured that divorce was virtually impossible without the consent of the nonguilty party (Fuess 2004).

The postwar reforms of the education system promoted mass aspirations for social advancement through educational achievement. The Japanese believe that educational success depends to a large extent on one's efforts rather than on one's innate abilities, and the new importance of this concept contributed to parental specialization within families, according to Merry White (1987). It soon came to be a mother's duty to motivate her children to excel in education and to support them through *examination hell*. Educational failure is disproportionately attributed to lack of effort on behalf of the child as well as the mother—the child's main supporter. Mothers' overwhelming concern with the success of their offspring gave rise to the phenomenon of *kyōiku* (education) mama (Allison 1996, White 1987).

As a result of all the social, economic, and policy changes detailed above, by the 1970s, Japan became a country of *universal marriage*. For example, in 1987 94.5% of men and 98% of women were married by the age of 35 and there was entrenched gender division of labor within families. Once the period of rapid economic growth was over, the tide started to turn. Due to the erosion of wages and job stability of male workers during the economic slowdown, more and more women felt compelled to return to the labor force after marriage and childbearing or even chose not to leave the labor market at all.

WORK AND CHILDCARE BALANCE IN POSTWAR YEARS

The increase of female participation in the labor market was not mirrored by an increase in male involvement in housework and childcare. Employed women continued to perform the majority of household work and, thus, many opted for part-time jobs. In the 1970s the government also increased its reliance on women's unpaid work at home, proclaiming the Japanese-style welfare state (*nihon-gata fukushi kokka*), which shifted the burden of welfare onto individual families (Goodman 2000).

The increased burden on women is likely to have played a role in the resumption of declining fertility in Japan in the mid-1970s after almost 20 years of stability around replacement levels. The collapse of fertility attracted the attention of the government in 1989 when the fertility rate fell to 1.57 births per woman (the so-called *1.57 shock*). Government concern gave women leverage on state family-related policies. Anxious to restore the fertility rate to replacement level, the state moved away from encouraging the *corporate warrior* and *professional housewife* tandem in the family and shifted toward supporting dual parenting and sharing domestic responsibilities (Roberts 2002). Maternity and child care leaves were introduced, huge investments were made in developing elderly care and childcare provision outside the family (Japan now has one of the best day care systems in the world), and several campaigns exhorting men's greater participation in the family were carried out.

As recession tightened its grip on Japan, both the state and companies cut policies aimed to encourage women to become housewives, most notably through reduction of family benefits associated with the main breadwinner's earnings and changes in the pension law and taxation. The gender gap in earnings of full-time employees has also been reduced.

These trends facilitating transformation of family roles were largely one sided. Whereas women's access to the labor market improved, men's ability to participate in family life remained limited. Japanese men still tend to work long hours and spend considerably less time on housework and child care than do women. An average Japanese father of a 0- to six-year-old child and a working wife spent 0.4 hours a day on child care (vs. 1.9 hours for the wife) and 0.4 hours a day on housework (vs. 3.8 hours for the wife). By comparison, in the U.K. in 2003, men in households with 0- to six-year-old children spent 0.9 hours a day on childcare and 1.5 hours per day on other unpaid work (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2005).

The small male contribution to childcare and housework may be an important reason why the recent reforms have failed to increase the number of women opting for motherhood (total fertility rate fell to 1.25 births per woman in 2005) (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare 2005). Instead of securing the desired increase in fertility rates, improved opportunities for women in the labor market allowed more women to choose to delay marriage and childbearing, assuming the double burden of employment and caring for a family.

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Ekaterina Korobtseva

JAZZ

A genre of music that developed in the early twentieth century in the United States, jazz represents a mixture of European, American, and African tribal musical elements linked to African-American folk traditions and often performed by ensembles of African-American musicians. The word *jazz* is believed to have come from the Creole word *jass*, which refers to African dance or to copulation. The term jazz first appeared in print in a March 1913 edition of the *San Francisco Bulletin* in reference to peppy dance music. Associated from its beginning with New Orleans, nightlife, decadence, alcohol, loose living, sexuality, primitivism, and African Americans, jazz became an immensely popular and influential form of musical performance that nonetheless retained its sexy and licentious connotations.

Since its appearance as popular music, jazz has been associated with sexuality. Originally linked to what were believed to be the more openly sexual attitudes of African Americans, jazz's connections to most forms of dance and courting during the first half of the twentieth century perpetuated its association with sex. The foundation of much of the dance music from the 1920s on, jazz's syncopations provoked changes in styles of dance from more formal waltzes and fox-trots to dances that permitted more suggestive touching, bodily intimacy, and athleticism. The association between jazz and loose living lingered even in the big band performances of the 1930s and 1940s, continuing the fascinations of a sexually inflected nightclub culture in big cities (often linked to speakeasies) and to ballrooms and other sites where dance led to other, more sexual forms of entertainment.

In the early twentieth century the term jazz applied to a broad range of musical styles and there was no consensus about what the term jazz meant. Early-twenty-first-century music critics and historians generally agree that jazz consists of a "collectively improvised music, with syncopated rhythms over a strong underlying pulse" (Shipton 2001, p. 5). The seeds of jazz originated in a combination of ragtime—or songs with a syncopated rhythm—blues, and marching band music played in New Orleans around the turn of the twentieth century. Developed in Louisiana during the first decade of the twentieth century by such pioneering musicians as Buddy Bolden, jazz went north to Chicago in the late 1910s with some New Orleans jazz groups and performers, such as King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band and Jelly Roll Morton. Joining Oliver in the north was trumpet prodigy Louis Armstrong, who helped develop the rapid rhythmic style known as "hot jazz."

Going north with jazz was its association with what was regarded as the more primitive sexuality of African-American nightlife. Continuing to develop more or less simultaneously in New Orleans, Kansas City, and Chicago, jazz became the basis for a social dancing and nightclub life that became more openly sexual. As more mainstream orchestra leaders such as Paul Whiteman began adapting jazz styles to larger ensembles, jazz itself became more mainstream, centering jazz's sexual connotations as a permanent aspect of popular music.

Through the early part of the twentieth century, jazz bands were segregated. Although black bands played in popular venues and clubs in the urban north, they were often less commercially successful because they did not have as lucrative or mainstream possibilities for recording their music. But they did find more acceptance in Europe, as jazz spread quickly to France, where American black jazz musicians were often welcomed with open arms. Europeans were not unaware of the link between jazz and sexuality as they, too, flocked to nightclubs featuring jazz bands and more licentious forms of dancing. Europeans were fascinated with what they regarded as the erotic suggestiveness of jazz and other African-American performances, such as Josephine Baker's dance routines.

The swing jazz style of the 1930s and 1940s completed the merger of jazz and popular music, making orchestral jazz the primary music for dating, dancing, and most entertainment. Band singers such as Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby, Ella Fitzgerald, Billie Holiday, Doris Day, and Rosemary Clooney emerged from the nightclub swing scene to become either romantic crooners or blues icons of the day. In the 1940s, many musicians who would form the center of jazz's next significant transition—including Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, and Charlie Christian—began to work in large swing bands. In the mid-1940s, these musicians, along with Miles Davis, Art Blakey, and others, emerged with a new form of jazz known as "bop" that countered the

Charlie "Yardbird" Parker. © JAMES J. KRIEGSMANN. UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN.

white appropriation of jazz forms. Bop, or "bebop," transformed jazz from big band swing entertainment into an art characterized by the prominence of soloists who played complex, rapid improvisations in business suits and developed an entire aesthetic of cool. No longer the popular music of the masses, jazz became more aloof, intellectual, and difficult, and aimed at connoisseurs.

Although its musicians were still linked to the club life with which jazz had always been associated, bebop jazz began to move away from the more openly sexual connotations of jazz into a "cooler" jazz culture in which music, drugs, and sex were increasingly sophisticated. Bebop led into the invention of other jazz movements such as "cool jazz," which was less frenetic, but still as focused on artistry. Miles Davis, Gerry Mulligan, and Chet Baker developed the cool style, still played by small ensembles of soloists. Cool jazz was joined by "hard bop," a bluesy style developed by the Jazz Messengers, which included Blakey, Horace Silver, and Lee Morgan.

After the rise of bebop in the 1940s, jazz produced a number of styles and theories, but other than continuing to influence popular music styles from a greater distance, it no longer played as direct a role in popular entertainment—especially as the music for social dancing. It retained an aura of nightclubs, drugs, and loose living, but became less associated with the sexual freedom of earlier styles. The 1950 and 1960s saw the continued development of multiple jazz styles—such as free jazz and soul jazz—that were associated in part with another attempt to reappropriate jazz as a black tradition. Although jazz was still associated with sexuality, its aura had shifted from the free and easy aura of a sexualized entertainment to the mysterious world of cool artistry that fascinated such "Beat" artists as Jack Kerouac.

Jazz evolved through the twentieth century as a musical form derived from folk practices that became popular mass entertainment. It continues as a form more appealing to cognoscenti but still influencing other musical forms. Jazz musicians, like most entertainers, became objects of curiosity. Their lives were under scrutiny, and their relationships under pressure from the demands of performance.

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Judith Roof

JEH

The figure of Jeh appears in Zoroastrian texts as the personification of the pollution of menstruation. *Jeh* is the Middle Persian rendition of an older Avestan word, *jahi* or *jahika*, which, due to its context, is usually translated in a pejorative sense to mean "whore," although its etymology remains uncertain.

Jahika appears frequently in the early Zoroastrian texts. The word can mean "woman" or a woman who cannot reproduce. It is also used of the woman who behaves improperly—practices sorcery, or is promiscuous. As the epitome of an evildoer, Jahi threatens the good creation physically in that her glance dries up one-third of the rivers and one-third of vegetation, and her touch withers one-third of the good thoughts, good words, good deeds, holiness, and ability to combat evil of the faithful person (*Vendidad* 18.63–64). Because of her destructive potential, Jahi is worse than the other miscreations of Ahriman, the Destructive Spirit (Vd. 18.65). The threat she poses is echoed in proscriptions for menstruating women: Women in menses are to remain separate from the elements of creation, especially fire, in case they cause harm with their gaze (Vd. 16.1–4).

In the Middle Persian texts, Jahi, as Jeh, becomes the archetypal Whore. The *Bundahishn* places Jeh in filial relationship with Angra Mainyu (also called Ahriman). Jeh's words revive Ahriman from a three-thousand-year stupor, and he kisses her on the head, at which moment she becomes the first to be polluted by the blood of menstruation (Bd. 4.4f.). This is one of the few myths concerning the origin of menstruation.

In the material battle between good and evil, Jeh is pitted against all virtuous women (Bd. 5.3), since they are all subject to menstruation and its inherent pollution. Jeh is also referred to collectively as an adversarial "species" (Bd. 14 a.1). In *Wizidagiha-i Zadspram* she appears as *Jeh-dev*—the "whore demonness"—the queen of Ahriman, who leads her band of demonesses to corrupt all women, and, thus all men (WZ 34.30–31). The *Jeh-dev*'s sexuality is unlimited, and her promiscuity presents a challenge to the virtue of the faithful.

Jeh serves as the antithesis of Anahita, the *yazata* whose epithet is "undefiled," and who purifies the seed of males and the wombs of females (Yasht 5.2). This purificatory function of Anahita is in sharp contrast with that of Jahika in the earlier texts, who is portrayed as one who mixes the seed of both righteous and unrighteous men (Vd. 18.62, *Herbedestan* 12.4). Anahita also preserves the seed of the future saviors of the world (Bd. 33.36) who will herald the renovation of the world, when Ahriman and his destructive forces, including *Jeh-dev*, will cease to exist.

SEE ALSO *Honor and Shame; Zoroastrianism.*

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Jenny Rose

JEWISH TRADITION, GENDER, AND WOMEN

In his explorations of Jewish memory, cultural anthropologist Jonathan Boyarin (1992) affirms that Jews have always used narratives to recreate their shared identities across time, producing self-created mythifying forms. Indeed, Jewish culture, perpetuating its own values and practices, promoted a collective and monolithic portrait of the Jewish woman that extolled the virtues of chastity, decency, and modesty. This constructed narrative, with its distorted reality, was incorporated into collective expressions and beliefs for the purpose, avowed or unrecognized, of legitimizing the status quo and the control of women.

This rigid representation with its inherent flaws was integrated into, and passed on by, medieval Christian mainstream society, conferring ultimate legitimacy on an invention, the stereotypical Jewish woman, exotic and enticing, who would become, in the nineteenth century, the bearer of so-called *Oriental* submissive traits. The historical construction of the medieval Jewish woman thus navigates between two historical practices—a Christian and a Jewish one—that have commented on her since the Middle Ages (467–1350), and, albeit stemming from different sources and different perspectives, ended up expressing a single prevalent discourse. These practices amounted to minimizing the presence of women on a quantitative level and, on a qualitative one, to stereotyping them.

Embodiment was a crucial structure of gender in medieval culture for Jews and Christians alike, but the unity of gender and sex was even more essential for Jewish communities. It was the effect of a regulatory practice that sought to render gender identity uniform, not only through compulsory heterosexuality, but through a strict gender differentiation in religious matters and the daily duties of religion, maintained in dress codes and in sexual roles as well. Even though not all male Jews studied Torah, the pursuit of study was what defined the ideal male status in Jewish society. Whether this is a correct interpretation of the Talmud or not, as Daniel Boyarin (1997) says it is nonetheless certain that in historical Judaism women have been taught to experience themselves as impure, dangerous, and devaluated through exclusions. There were but few examples of women studying Torah, suggesting that normatively they were not encouraged to, but rather prevented from, studying and, thus, confined to more worldly activities. Boyarin also suggests that the scant evidence of the power and creativity of women found in the Talmud has to be used to deconstruct the monolithic image of women as powerless. Judith Baskin (1994) notes that as most ordinary Jewish women were cut off from the knowledge of Hebrew that would enable them to read the traditional liturgy, during the late Middle Ages, a separate woman's vernacular literature of prayer was written for them.

The portrait of women as an ideal embodiment of the religious and social practices of Jewish life has, for historical and cultural reasons, not as yet met challenges sufficient to undermine its artificial dynamics, and the study of Jewish women has remained a subfield attracting little attention. Jewish scholarship has remained predominantly the study of male Jews, considered the default-value of their culture. Within such a perspective the central figure of the Jew could only be "the body with the circumcised penis—an image crucial to the very understanding of the Western image of the Jew at least since the advent of Christianity" (Gilman 1991, p. 4–5). Jewish scholarship has thus remained a strongly traditional field, maintaining its distance from trends and theories that propose new readings of gender. Conservatism has prevailed for a long period of time within Jewish Studies, but the discipline took a sharp turn during the 1970s, and a small, albeit growing, number of scholars such as Daniel Boyarin and David Biale (1994) proposed original approaches to the interpretation of Jewish culture. They have engaged in an animated debate to recontextualize the position of Jewish women.

The field of history in particular has incurred strong criticism, questioning the veracity of a canonical male-centered norm. Past and present resistance by certain historians of Judaism to envisioning women differently has discouraged deeper examination in Jewish history. That position has been highly contested since the advent of the second wave of American feminism, but it was only in the 1990s that a strong current of Jewish feminism emerged with scholars such as Paula Hyman (1995), Judith Hauptman (1998), Susannah Heschel (1995), and Bernadette Brooten (1996), among others, asserting that the impact of feminist historical scholarship is still too limited in this particular field.

Feminist social history has stressed the importance of alternative epistemologies that explore the everyday lives of ordinary individuals in combination with gender as a major interpretive category. Indeed, women were only absent from the communal realm of Jewish life with respect to official religion. Jewish women actively participated in the public life. Although not numerous, Jewish women physicians practiced their trade in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Sarre in Paris; Fava, the only known surgeon in Provence; and Mayronna in Manosque. Sarah of Saint-Gilles (Montpellier), like her male colleagues, also served as a mentor to young students (Shatzmiller 1994).

William Chester Jordan (1993) notes that records of moneylending transactions in thirteenth-century northern France attest that one-third of the lending business was in women's hands. Françoise Lehoux (1956) points out that whereas many of these women, such as Agnes and Meliota, dealt with small loans in rural environment; Précieuse, a century later, had a reputation that extended far beyond the boundaries of her small Jewish quarter in Paris.

The gender script to which medieval Jewish women were encouraged to conform only exposed them, especially ordinary women, to further isolation in a male-dominated society where they appeared mostly as incidental references in communal records. In a fervent religious environment, the social and cultural aspects of communal life and its everyday reality were not considered worthy of being recorded; therefore, the social impact of women's activities was historically overlooked. Sarah Swartz Silberstein and Margie Wolfe (1989) show that in complying with the concept of *zahkor* (remembrance), a major tenet in traditional Jewish practices and teachings, the recorders of Jewish events, in their own peculiar way, obliterated women and dissolved their past within the frame of the general historical discourse. The memory of things past was recombined to mirror community aspirations and struggles, to recount the dramatic moments lived by the scattered Jews. Rabbinic writings were preserved and cultivated and, through a selective process, transmitted, producing a communal hegemony and, ultimately, creating the fiction of an "authoritative Judaism" (Biale 1994, p. 42). Although the term *invisibility* is perhaps a cliché, it remains inescapable when speaking of medieval Jewish women, because its opposite, *visibility*, has to be somehow inscribed either in textuality or in a form of embodiment because, in respect to both these fields of inscription, Jewish women were carefully pushed aside.

Women certainly had more freedom of action in social contexts than their legal and religious statuses might suggest. They were more inclined to be involved in social life than pious men. Even though scholars have assumed their lives to be conventional, traces of women's private and public acts in the few records that have survived prove that their existence was not fixed and absolute in terms of gender. Their involvement in economic transactions is confirmed in the remaining evidence of the French legal records. These entrepreneurial Jewish women who supported their families economically while their husbands were away or who devoted themselves to study may have been seen by Christians as an indication of a subversion of gender distinctions, both as "masculinization" of properly "feminine" behavior and as "feminized" arrogation of male authority by women (Kruger 1997, p. 24–25). The disruption created by women performing nonnormative roles in seemingly structured societies accentuated the precarious nature of masculinity and its construction not only in Jewish communities but in Christian society as well. Interrogating the role of these women is certainly a challenge to male-centered historiography because, even though Jewish women are specifically mentioned in moneylending charters and notarial contracts, the importance of their role has been diminished or erased to minimize their involvement. Their role in medieval moneylending and usury still remains insufficiently explored, and only Gérard Nahon (1969), followed by William Chester Jordan a few years later, stressed the importance of the phenomenon in the local economy in northern France, for instance.

Doña Gracia Mendes Nasi (1510–1568) is not only considered to be one of the most remarkable figures of the sixteenth century but also of Jewish history. This widow, in spite of her gender and thanks to her immense family fortune, succeeded in one of the most powerful positions in the European trade and banking in a virulent anti-Semitic period. Gracia, from a *converso* (New Christian) family, had to flee the Spanish Inquisition in Portugal, moving first to the Low Countries, then to Italy, where she reverted openly to Judaism, and finally to Constantinople in the Ottoman Empire. She was widely known for her patronage and philanthropic activities, adopting the lifestyle of a wealthy European aristocrat, but at the same time she remained faithful to the Jewish community, which, as noted by Marianna D. Birnbaum (2003), she generously funded. Her recognized entrepreneurial capacities question the notion of a *natural* division of roles and of clear-cut gender attributions, refuting rigid normative configurations.

From the mid-nineteenth century on, a rising category of wealthy and privileged Jewish women, highly visible in the social arena, played a pivotal role in their communities in France, England, and Germany. Their passionate activism, political and social, revitalized Jewish communities at a time of heightened social awareness and tensions. And the cultural force these women came to represent forged new links with the past, reclaiming for Jewish women not only a tradition of direct involvement but of discreet leadership as well. Jacob R. Marcus (1981) notes that Rebecca Gratz (1781–1869) is one of the most famous examples of these local philanthropists. She was active in establishing Jewish educational institutions and social organizations, founding, in 1819, the Hebrew Benevolent Aid Society of Philadelphia.

On another level the spread of the Enlightenment in eastern Europe from 1870 to the 1930s exposed numerous young Jewish women, with little or no religious intellectual training, to the new ideologies. In the years between the first partition of Poland in 1722 and the Russian Revolution in 1917, middle-class and working-class Jewish women were among the small group of founders of the Jewish socialist party, the Bund. Others actively participated in the revolutionary politics in Czarist Russia. Many of these radicalized women arrived in the United States between 1880 and 1924 among the 2.5 million east European Jewish immigrants. They were pioneers in the trade union movement until the 1930s. They also politically organized women in socialist and Zionist movements. In 1912 Henrietta Szold (1860–1945), a scholar and an activist, created Hadassah, a volunteer women's Zionist organization, which has become the largest Jewish women's organization in the United States.

Although the cultural discourse of the Jewish communities and society at large have concurred to cultivate and maintain persisting stereotypes of Jewish women, a closer examination of their activities and participation in the public sphere, clearly refutes gender entrapment and gender roles.

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Rosa Alvarez Perez

JEWISH WOMEN'S LEAGUES

The charitable societies and budding social activism that had characterized the nineteenth-century American Jewish communities dramatically developed further after World War I (1914–1919). Indeed, thousands of women carried on the work of their predecessors either as members of the temple sisterhoods or Jewish women's organizations. Their campaigns for social and political reforms supporting international peace, Zionism, the education of women and children, and other Jewish cultural and contemporary issues have significantly shaped American Judaism.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

The Women's League for Conservative Judaism was founded in 1918 and Mathilde Roth Schechter (1857–1924) became its first president. It is the world's largest synagogue-based women's organization. As an active arm of the Conservative/*Masorti* Movement, the League has 600 affiliated sisterhoods organized in local branches. The Women's League is committed to strengthening and uniting synagogue women's groups with volunteer programs and projects geared toward developing an educated Jewish laity, encouraging religious observance, reinforcing the bonds with Israel, and social action. The organization is linked to the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies and its affiliated institutions, and the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies through the Torah Fund Campaign. In 1933 the seminary's Women's Institute was founded and supported by all the major Jewish women's organizations as a joint adult educational venture (Dobkowski 1986). And in 1952 the Women's League and United Synagogue joined to form the United Synagogue Youth (USY), an organization that serves Conservative teenagers around the world. This Jewish religious women's organization continues to work throughout its activities for the perpetuation of Conservative Judaism.

OTHER JEWISH WOMEN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, is a volunteer women's organization founded in 1912 by Henrietta Szold (1860–1945) to strengthen the partnership with Israel. In the United States Hadassah's mission is to enhance the quality of American and Jewish life through its education and Zionist youth programs, and by promoting health awareness.

The National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW), founded in 1893, is (with Hadassah) among the largest women's organizations. It is a voluntary association with an emphasis on religion, philanthropy, social reform, and education. Without sacrificing the commitment to either Jewish or women's issues, the NCJW has also been a leading force in the forefront of social welfare and civil rights.

Women of Reform Judaism (WRJ) was founded in 1913 and is affiliated to the Union for Reform Judaism in North America. Through the YES (Youth, Education, and Special Projects) Fund, WRJ provides financial support to rabbinical students, to youth programs, and to programs in Israel and the Former Soviet Union. WRJ is also at the forefront of social action and change in both Jewish and secular venues.

In 1971 a small number of educated Jewish women, affiliated with the New York Havurah organized a study of traditional Jewish sources to evaluate the position of Jewish women in Judaism. This group, called *Ezrat Nashim* (help for women), with ties to the Conservative Movement, reached the Jewish community at large with its call for changes in the role of women in Judaism. This group played a major role in the development of the Jewish feminist movement and helped organize the First National Jewish Women's Conference in 1973.

The Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance (JOFA) is the youngest organization since it was founded in 1997. The JOFA advocates for an increased participation and equality for women in family life, in the synagogue ritual, in study, and in Jewish communal organizations, and this within the boundaries of *halakhah* (religious law).

As Mary McCune rightly argues in her work on American Jewish women activists, these women, including the well-to-do and the working classes, religious and secularists, Zionists and anti-Zionists, have had a profound impact on American Jewish life and modern Jewish identity.

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JINN

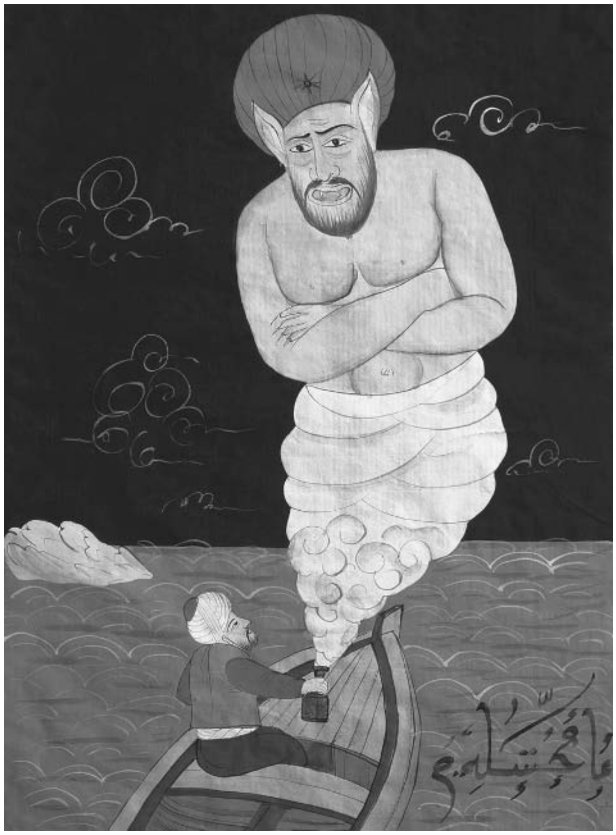
Jinn (singular jânn in the Qur'an, but jinni is used as well. In English, the form *genie* has more common usage) are beings made from fire, *nâr*, interpreted by some as smokeless fire or a mixture of fire with other elements. They are presented in contradistinction to humans who are made of clay, and angels whose provenance is unclear in the Qur'an but are made of light according to later exegesis. The qur'anic depiction of jinn is characterized by unresolved ambiguities. Although sharply reduced in power and no longer considered omnipotent, by incorporating jinn in the scheme of creation and by naming a chapter for them (Qur'an Sura 72), the qur'anic account gave them a new lease of life and rendered permissible their very prominent configuration in the Muslim *imaginaire*. Jinn are represented as exemplifying the compromised faith of pre-Islamic Arabs and impious Muslims, who treated them as omnipotent divinities, sought refuge with them, and coveted their intercession on their behalf when confronted by unfortunate events.

The ability of the jinn to copulate with humans—they are almost satyr-like in their sexual appetite in some popular anecdotes—is recognized in the Qur'an, where the maidens of paradise are described as untouched by humans or jinn. Marriage with jinn was forbidden by most classical exegetes, both Sunni and Shi'i, on the grounds that God has commanded humans to marry with their own kind. Jurists were particularly concerned with the genus of the offspring: Should they be classified as human or jinn? Exhortations by the jurists notwithstanding, al-Nadim (d. CE 991) mentions in his bibliographical encyclopedia, sixteen titles on "The Names of the Humans in Love with the Jinn and the Jinn in Love with the Humans." The neurological disorder epilepsy (*sara'*) was frequently associated with jinn, considered the manifestation of a romantic liaison with humans. Because marriage with them was prohibited, a woman in love with a jinni experienced seizures, which were expressions of the jinni's love. The association of physical ailments with supernatural entities was common in ancient Middle East.

The theme of jinn as representing a spiritual and political entity, approximating although distinct from humans, is pursued in one of the epistles of the celebrated tenth century compilation attributed to the Ikhwan al-Safa', a philosophical and literary circle of the time. The jinn live in a kingdom ruled by Biwarasp, the just king. Biwarasp is called upon by humans to judge on their behalf in the matter of animals versus humans. Claiming that the right to rule over animals was sanctioned to them by both scripture as well as reason, the descendants of Adam asked for the king of the jinn to return rebellious animals to their lawful masters. The authors of the epistles used the dialogue between humans and animals through the mediation of the just jinn as a foil for presenting their views on justice, tyranny, the true spirit of human interpretation, and the calculus of reason versus revelation. The story in the *Epistles of the Ikhwan al-Safa'* demonstrated the superiority of ethical norms over sectarian, political, this-worldly, divisive, and legalistic interpretations of God's unitarian message of love and peace, which go beyond superficial differences to apply universally to his entire creation. Biwarasp ruled that humans were nobler than jinn and animals only because God chose one of them as his Messenger. In their rule, however, humans were bound by the example of Muhammad—his justice and aversion to tyranny.

Jinn, whose knowledge of the future and ability to shape human destiny have made them into favored narratological tools to foil twists and turns in the stories' plot, are also protagonists of several stories in the *One Thousand and One Nights*. Edward Lane (1871) and Henri Massé (1938) have studied the numerous manifestations of jinn in Arabic and Persian folklore, respectively. Jinn also feature prominently in African Muslim folklore, where among the Zao community of Upper Volta, special masquerades are held to unveil the jinn, orchestrated by the karamokos, or local religious leaders, who serve as intermediaries between the world of humans and that of jinn. In that community female jinn also frequent the sexual fantasies of young men as ephemeral beauties who are objects of arousal but disappear before any physical contact with them. Jinn as agents of sexual desire prevail in Muslim communities, although rarely. In 1984 such a case was brought before the Personal Status court in Giza (Cairo, Egypt). Suing for divorce the woman plaintiff claimed that her husband had acquired without her consent a second wife who was a jinn. On the basis of the testimonies of two witnesses who attested to feeling the jinn in her house, the court ruled in her favor. It argued that although science did not confirm the existence of jinn, the *shari'a* did, and therefore, because the defendant did not adequately refute the evidence of the witnesses, the plaintiff was granted a divorce.

Most later representations of jinn, including their conflation with genies in European and North American literature, are influenced by the way they are introduced in the Qur'an as powerful corporeal beings whose power was reduced as a consequence of God's revelation. In European and North American literature, jinn enjoy a colorful presence, particularly in children's fables. Robert Irwin (1995) has studied representations of jinn in a wide range of European and North American classics, including works by Charles Dickens, Henry James, Marcel Proust, and Jorge Luis Borges. Borges' semifictional encyclopedia of fantastic creatures, titled *The Book of Imaginary Beings* (2005), picks up on the theme of jinn as ambiguous beings. Because jinn differ from humans but are actively involved in human life, Borges explains jinn knowledge of the future to what they pick up "from the conversation of the Angels respecting things decreed by God," when they visit to the confines of the lowest heaven (pp. 112–113). They are however, and despite their subservience to God's decrees, agents of a demon called Iblis, who carry out his evil work, such as harming humans and stealing their beautiful women to become their own wives or concubines.



Genie Emerging from Magic Lamp. THE ART ARCHIVE/ UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF ISTANBUL/DAGLI ORTI.

SEE ALSO *Islam.*

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Neguin Yavari

JOAN OF ARC
c. 1412–1431

Arc, although one of the most familiar figures in European culture, remains one of the most enigmatic. Born in Domrémy, at the eastern edge of France, she led the French army to numerous victories, brought a king to his throne, and was condemned to the stake, all before turning twenty. She claimed that her actions were inspired by God who ordered her to save the French from English domination during the Hundred Years War. The broad outlines of Joan of Arc's military career, imprisonment, interrogation and execution are well-known, although conclusions drawn from these vary dramatically. Information can be found in chronicles from the period and in the transcripts of her trial and its subsequent nullification, but few of these texts are objective. Partisans from both sides depicted her to suit their own political ends, and her interrogators brought the bias of the Church to their questions. Thus, whereas it is possible to reconstruct the broad outlines of her life, interpreting it depends upon filtering through sources frequently expressing diametrically opposed views and based on unreliable testimony. Joan's voice, albeit mediated by the scribes who took the notes, is heard through transcripts, giving some sense of her concerns and her understanding of her own exploits.

Joan of Arc. *Joan of Arc standing at an altar dressed in armour.*

JOAN OF ARC AS WARRIOR

Joan of Arc dated her first visions to 1424, when she was told that she should drive the English out of France and bring the dauphin to Rheims for coronation. Five years later she was successful on her second attempt to convince Robert de Baudricourt (c. 1400–1454) to provide an escort for her to Chinon to make contact with the future Charles VII (1403–1461). On the journey, which crossed Burgundian-held territory, Joan wore male clothing. Upon arriving at Chinon, she was able to recognize Charles, who saw an advantage in supporting her cause. After inquiries into her background and an examination by the clergy that confirmed her status as a virgin, she received a knight's clothing and equipment and was sent to join the siege at Orleans. Joan's role in this battle, and her other military exploits, is subject to debate. Nonetheless, barely a week after she arrived, Orleans was recaptured by the French. Charles granted her co-command of his army, and a series of victorious battles ensued, culminating with the entry into Rheims on July 16 where the king was crowned the following day. Joan then refused to obey the king, who requested that she abandon her military role. She set out to recapture Paris and failed. She then laid siege to Compiègne where she was captured and subsequently sent to Rouen for interrogation.

JOAN OF ARC ON TRIAL

The clerics charged with questioning Joan focused their interrogation on many issues, combining their roles as scholastics, jurists, and confessors. They addressed points of religious doctrine of which Joan was ignorant. Karen Sullivan points out the transcripts "constitute a scene of confrontation between clerics . . . who believe that truth can be obtained through questioning, and Joan who does not share the clerics' formation and does not conceive of truth as they do" (Sullivan 1999, p. xxiv). The decision to hand Joan over to the English authorities for execution came after several weeks of interrogations. Her request to be transferred to a women's prison was denied. Joan was burnt at the stake in Rouen on May 30. A new inquiry was opened in 1450. Again, political motivation was at the heart of the proceedings—rehabilitation of the woman who had placed the king on the throne thus legitimizing his position. A subsequent inquiry, begun in 1455, led to the nullification in 1457 of the original verdict.

SEX AND GENDER PERSPECTIVES

Joan of Arc can to a certain extent be seen as a pawn of Charles VII, who first profited from her ability to galvanize the troops and then abandoned her once he was crowned. He restored her reputation when it was expedient to do so.

Women participating in military expeditions and serving as leaders in Europe were not unknown in the Middle Ages both before and after Joan of Arc. A special knightly order, the Order of the Hatchet, was created in 1149 to honor the women who fought the Moors in Tortosa. Isabella of Castille (1451–1504) frequently went to the battlefields during the Reconquista. Women participated in the Crusades on many levels. Muslim accounts refer to women wearing armor in battle and engaging in combat. Marguerite of Provence (c. 1221–1295), for example, is credited with securing the ransom for her husband, Louis IX of France (1214–1270), in 1250. Philippa of Hainault (1314–1369), wife of Edward III (1312–1377), while serving as regent, raised an army against the Scots in 1346.

Yet, Joan of Arc's conduct differs in significant ways from the behavior of most women in these examples. Her resistance to abandoning her military role places her at odds with the mainstream. After the coronation of Charles VII, societal practices would have dictated that she reintegrate herself into society as a woman and marry. Her transgressive behavior placed her in a nonnormative situation, underlining the distinction between her and women who helped as needed, often substituting only until their husbands returned. Further, this transgression was exacerbated by her choice of clothing, which also raises numerous questions of how to interpret Joan in terms of gender and sexuality.

Joan of Arc dressed in men's clothing from her departure from Vaucouleurs, the first stop on her voyage from her home to Chinon to her abjuration at Rouen, when she agreed to wear women's clothing, but within days, resumed male dress. There is speculation on her treatment in prison—that she might have been sexually threatened or assaulted by the guards. The trial does report that when Joan redressed herself in male clothing, she wore two layers of clothing, suggesting that she may have been attempting to deter those acts. Her choice of male dress posed certain theological problems at the time based on the injunction in the biblical book of Deuteronomy against women wearing men's clothing. Temporary cross-dressing might have been tolerated in exceptional circumstances, such as for protection while traveling, participation in the military, or even as a means of protection against rape while in prison. However, the perception of the clerics who interrogated her was that Joan's donning of male garb was not entirely for practical reasons. Rather, dressed and coiffed as she was "in the manner of fops," Joan may have derived pleasure from her sartorial choices (Sullivan 1999, p. 48). Further, her dress upset the natural order between referent and sign, as her gender contradicted her sex.

Francoise Meltzer maintains that Joan's life and death represents "a moment in the history of the West in which gendered subjectivity was put fleetingly at risk" (Meltzer 2001, p. 23). Charges that, through her change of dress, Joan also usurped male roles suggest a destabilization of the medieval sex–gender system. Thus, Leslie Feinberg's inclusion of Joan of Arc in her canon of transgendered warriors both reflects late-twentieth-century perceptions of Joan and substantiates the clerics' discomfort with Joan's clothing and behavior. Whereas the nullification trial normalized Joan of Arc, validating her supernatural inspiration and paving the way for her canonization in 1920, she may be an example of the self-fashioning subject, one who creates a modern identity and complicates the relationship between sex and gender.

FRENCH NATIONALIST ICON

In the early nineteenth century, the image and story of Joan of Arc began to be exploited for political reasons. For nearly two centuries it has been appropriated and manipulate to incarnate an idea of France, from both extremes of the political spectrum. Jules Michelet's multivolume *Histoire de France* [*History of France*] (1965–1967 [1840s]) highlighted Joan's martyrdom and sacrifice for France, establishing her as the French national heroine. Her image as resisting foreign oppressors came into play as early as the Franco-Prussian War (1870). As an icon for nationalism she became an alternative to the Republican Marianne to rightist ideologues, Action Française set up the "*Fête de Jeanne d'Arc*" as an alternative to Bastille Day. Members of the Action Française attempted to use Joan to legitimize their royalist politics. During both world wars, the image of Joan of Arc as rebelling against foreign oppression was a potent symbol. During the First World War (1914–1919), republican

Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929) and reactionary Action Française were united through Joan of Arc and formed a strong patriotic front. Iconography of Joan of Arc in World War II (1939–1945) presented equally notable contradictions. Under the Vichy regime (1940–1944), a poster showing Joan of Arc being burnt at the stake in Rouen with the caption "*Les assassins reviennent toujours.sur les lieux de leur crime*" [The murderers always return to the scene of the crime]. Here the murderers are the British, who return to bomb Rouen, the site of Joan's burning. At the same time the flag of Charles de Gaulle's government (1959–1969) in exile had the Cross of Lorraine (originally held to be the symbol of Joan of Arc), as its emblem. The Front National party, founded by nationalist politician Jean-Marie Le Pen (b. 1928) in 1972, used the motto "*Avec toi, Jeanne, pour la France!*" ("With you, Joan, for France!"). A tricolor flame as its emblem reinscribes it as an icon of the extreme right.

SEE ALSO *Virginity; Witchcraft.*

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Edith Benkov

JOSEPH STORY, THE

Although a number of persons in the Hebrew Bible bear the name *Joseph*, the most famous and familiar is the eleventh son of the patriarch Jacob. His story (Genesis 37:39–50) is one of the most artfully crafted tales in that book of the Bible; it revolves around favoritism, jealousy or sibling rivalry, betrayal, and the reversal of gender roles and fortune.

CLOTHING AND CHANGE IN STATUS

A social device incorporated into the story is a garment motif that serves as both a social marker and the object associated with a change in status. The entire drama is held together by a series of incidents in which the main character has a portion of his or her clothing removed as a sign of changed status and the creation of a new lower status or, in the end, a spectacular rise to the highest levels of authority. This happens first to Joseph when his brothers strip him of his prized ornamental robe and use it as evidence of his death (Genesis 37:23). Another change of clothing and/or status occurs when Potiphar's wife pulls off Joseph's garment as he struggles to get away from her embrace (Genesis 39:12). Finally, it occurs when his prison clothing is removed and replaced with the fine linen robes of an officer in the employ of the pharaoh (Genesis 41:42).

EXTRABIBLICAL VERSIONS

In addition to the garment theme, the sense of powerlessness and righteous indignation experienced by Joseph in his encounter with Potiphar's wife drew on ancient Near Eastern legends and engendered a large number of extrabiblical elaborations in Jewish traditions, the Quran, and Persian poetry. The earliest of those stories, the "Tale of Two Brothers," comes from ancient Egypt and deals with a domestic dispute that arises between Anubis and his younger brother, Bata. In return for being given a place in the household of Anubis, Bata tended his brother's cattle, plowed his fields, tended his crops, and brought in his harvests. However, because of his powerful body and well-shaped face, Anubis's wife used an occasion when they were alone to try to seduce him. The righteously indignant Bata spurned her, saying, "How can you possibly suggest I commit a crime like this against my brother?" Adultery was considered a form of theft because a husband had exclusive rights to his wife's sexuality. When she subsequently denounces him, Bata is warned by the talking cattle of the danger and is forced to flee from his brother's wrath. They are reconciled only when Anubis's faithless wife dies.

The first century BCE Jewish tale of Joseph and Asenath plays off the reference to his marriage in Genesis 41:45 and provides a love story that centers on Joseph's refusal to marry the virgin daughter of the priest of Heliopolis unless she renounces idol worship and converts to Judaism (Noegel and Wheeler 2002). The key to the tale is Joseph's beauty, which serves as the catalyst for change and transformation.

The twelfth Sura of the Quran retells the story of Joseph with some additions derived from Jewish legends (e.g., Joseph is warned away from Potiphar's wife in a dream [Sura 12:24, *Sotah* 6:2]). Although unnamed in the biblical narrative, she is referred to as Zulaykha in Arabic traditions. As in the biblical account, she falls in love with Joseph and attempts to persuade him to lie with her while she holds him in a locked room. Like Bata, he shows anger at the attempted betrayal of his master; he tries to escape but leaves his robe behind, and Zulaykha denounces him. When confronted by his master, a wise woman in the household settles the dispute over who is telling the truth by noting that Joseph's tunic was torn from the rear, indicating that he was attempting to flee from Zulaykha (Ebied and Young 1975).

In another rendition the tenth-century CE Persian poet Firdusi created an epic poem centered on stories about Joseph that hinges on an episode that occurs after Joseph's phenomenal rise to power in the service of the pharaoh (Levy 1923). Joseph passes a beggar woman in the street who seems to retain some trace of a former high status (a parallel with Joseph's previous condition). When he stops to speak to her, he discovers that she is Zulaykha, who has been reduced to begging after the death of her husband. Joseph takes her in and eventually obtains permission to marry her, thus completing the circle of events that her love for him had begun.

During the fourteenth century CE the Persian poet Hafiz daringly expressed his love for God by using the vehicle of desire for a handsome young man. He did this by utilizing the Joseph story and pointing to Zulaykha's inability to control her emotions. She first attempts to seduce Joseph and then calls for his imprisonment; finally, in a series of complex romantic situations, she obtains him as her husband. The theme that runs throughout these stories is rejection that is responded to with love.

LITERARY SUMMARY

Clearly, Joseph is cast in each of these episodes or poetic adaptations as the exemplar of God-fearing chastity in Islamic tradition as well as the image of manly beauty (Baldick 1981). Thus, the expression *a second Joseph* has been used to mean a person of extraordinary handsomeness. His is also the beauty that refuses advances and causes sweet torment to a potential lover. One sign of Joseph's effect on women is seen in the reaction of a group of Egyptian women who are introduced to him at a banquet; their subsequent passion for him causes them cut their hands (Sura 12:31; there is a similar Jewish version in Tanhuma Wa-yesheb 5). Sufism transforms this into a metaphor of the soul's longing to be reunited with God.

The various versions contain some common elements: (1) a handsome youth works for another man, (2) the employer's wife is enamored with the young man, (3) realizing that there can be no social or physical intercourse between them, the young man spurns the wife's attempts at seduction, and (4) the young man is falsely accused of attempted rape. In these stories it is the male who is in an endangered and/or weak position and must uphold his honor at the expense of his employment or freedom. This contrasts with the much more common obverse of this situation in 2 Samuel 13, in which it is the female who tries to protect her honor against male aggression.

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JUDAISM

Although Jewishness is generally understood as a duty, a cultural commitment to the Jewish people, what function better characterizes Judaism, a religion with a complex legal and social system affecting every aspect of everyday life, is its ongoing process, the constant interaction between the past and the present. However, the changes in Judaism brought about by feminism resulted from alliances between Jewish feminists and religious movements committed to particular liberal principles.

In traditional Judaism the religious domain has been exclusively male, and even though not all male men study Torah, the pursuit of such study has for centuries been what defines the ideal male status. Embodiment is a crucial structure of gender; the unity of gender and sex is essential for traditional Jews. It is the effect of a regulatory practice that seeks to render gender identity uniform not only through compulsory heterosexuality, but also through a strict gender differentiation in religious matters and the daily duties of religion, maintained in dress code and in sexual roles as well.

Jews, considered *the People of the Word*, forbade that word's use to women. No women are recorded as consequential authorities in the canonical writings; on the contrary, as Judith Baskin (1994) stresses, the classical texts of Rabbinic Judaism constitute women as objects of male agency. This is corroborated by Judith Romney

Wegner's exploration of the rabbinic portrayal of women's place that reveals "a system in which women's cultural image, social function, and legal status combine to perpetuate patriarchal norms that had governed Jewish and surrounding cultures for centuries" (1998, p. 73). Traditional Judaism thus has a strong investment in an ideal portrait of the Jewish woman, one that remains sexually normative and respectful of social traditions governing gender.

The hegemony of traditional Judaism was maintained even though Jews were dispersed after the fall of the Second Temple in the first century CE, and such hegemonic tradition only ended with the tremendous changes that stirred Jewry from the eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries. Jonathan Sacks argues that "the processes of emancipation, the confrontation with enlightenment, acculturation, and assimilation, brought about the metamorphosis of religious anti-Judaism into racial anti-Semitism, the transformation of Jewish existence into the Jewish problem and finally the crisis of Jewish self-definition" (1993, p. 2)

The transition of the European Jewry to modernity, during the *Haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment, was marked by diversity and profound divisions that fragmented Jewish communities' unity. Indeed, the aspiration to be part of society and to prove their loyalty and their obligation to preserve their own religious and cultural values placed Jews in a conflicting position, making it difficult to keep a balance between the dual allegiances. It is with a strong desire to evolve from a traditional self-governing community to a more integrated and assimilated citizenry that French, German, and English Jews made the necessary changes. French Jewish leaders, for instance, adopted in 1808 a consistorial system to centralize religious governance of Jewish life with the support of the French state.

This period of revolutionary changes also witnessed the emergence of the modern Jewish woman. Women responded to the challenges of modernity in different ways according to their social background. Those who participated in the secularization enthusiastically adhered to socialism and feminism. In Eastern Europe, the fight for social change was embraced by adhering either to socialism or to Zionism, the Jewish nationalist movement founded in the early nineteenth century to establish a Jewish political independence. Zionism promoted a return to the land of Israel, but it only gained momentum with the Russian pogroms of 1881 to 1883 and the anti-Semitism pervading in France at that period and that escalated during the 1890s and 1900s with the Dreyfus affair: The young Jewish captain, Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935), was wrongly convicted of treason, and the judicial and political scandal that ensued profoundly divided the country until his rehabilitation. These events accelerated the formulation of a precise program by its leaders Judah Leib Pinsker (1821–1891) and Theodor Herzl (1860–1904). In Russia and Poland the Bund, the General Jewish Labor Union, also attracted scores of women, who represented about one third of its members, and holding positions of middle rank leadership.

Many Jewish women from the upper classes actively sought participation in Jewish society by transforming the traditional forms of Jewish charity. They combined them with new forms of philanthropy and social welfare promoted by their Christian counterparts. In the United States, and more particularly in Philadelphia, Rebecca Gratz (1781–1869) was able to establish with several other women the Female Hebrew Benevolent society for the local Jewish poor in 1819 and the first Hebrew Sunday school in 1838. Louise Rothschild played a similar philanthropic role in England. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Jewish women's organizations proliferated among the *Gentile* elite on local and national levels.

JEWISH PRESENCE

Jewish communities have often totally or partially disappeared in many countries, but after the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel, communities were recreated or regrouped differently. Modern-day Jews, although now comprising a small portion of the world's population, are found all over the world. In Europe, communities extend from Portugal to Russia and from Norway in the north to Greece in the south. They have been a growing presence notably in Britain, France, and Canada, an increase that is often related to immigration from other countries. Despite their small numbers, Jews remain nevertheless culturally central in various countries in Europe and North America where the rescue of the rich Jewish cultural past is a phenomenon that has rapidly spread. Numerous Jewish museums have sprung up, and in Europe former Jewish neighborhoods have become tourist attractions and no longer are only Jewish groups targeted as potential visitors. Ruth Ellen Gruber affirms that beyond the educational role and the composition of a public face of Judaism, these initiatives are among the most significant tools with which Europeans seek to "fill in the blanks" (2002, pp. 126–127).

France and Great Britain have the two largest Jewish communities in Western Europe, France particularly, because of the influx of Jews from North Africa. In both countries there is a strong presence of Orthodox Jews, but liberalizing movements are increasingly attracting European Jews. Growing German Jewish communities have benefited from the influx of Russian Jews and have moved away from the closed community with its authoritarian leadership in place since the post-World War II (1914–1919) period until the 1980s. They have instead opened a range of small alternative synagogues formed with often small circles of artists, musicians, and others in the cultural Jewish sphere.

The revival of Jewish communities in former communist countries is weak and even dwindling, according to observers due to intermarriage, emigration, and near indifference to religious identity. The Jewish communities in Russia have been revitalized by the efforts of Chabad's presence in many cities safeguarding integrated Jews against total assimilation. Chabad, a Hasidic (the pious) sect, with its headquarters in Brooklyn, New York, is a unique and modern revival of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century mystical Ultra-Orthodox Jews who have instituted as their mission the rescue of assimilated Jews.

The largest Jewish community outside of Israel is in the United States, where Reform and Conservative movements have gained supremacy over Orthodoxy. Thanks to these two movements, American Jewish women have entered intellectual areas that were previously forbidden to them. They have obtained the right to study and be ordained as rabbis and cantors, although prestigious congregations still do not hire women as rabbis. These changes have allowed them to don *tallitot* (prayer shawls) and put on *tefillin* (phylacteries), two rituals of public prayer strictly reserved for men in traditional Judaism. They have also changed the language of traditional liturgy to eliminate gender specifications.

Israel, caught between the masculinist Zionist culture and the European and North American liberal ideologies, is dominated by Orthodoxy, which remains the official religious representation. Although the family and mother still play a central role in the lives of Israeli Jews, many define themselves as secular.

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

According to a general consensus, no more than one third of Jews in North America are affiliated with a congregation; religious involvement is limited to use of denominational labels. The two major currents within Judaism are traditional Judaism as represented by the Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox, and Liberal Judaism, which comprises the Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist movements and some Modern Orthodox communities.

Orthodoxy, defined by the strict observance of *halakha* (Jewish law), consists of groups of believers who have distinctive views and different approaches to religion: One such group consists of Modern Orthodox believers, who in their attempt to be active participants in contemporary society, have made academic provision for women in Jewish studies. Another such group consists of Ultra-Orthodox communities in Israel and around the world that voluntarily segregate themselves not only from non-Jews but also from what they regard as nonobservant Jews. Strict Orthodox Judaism requires a rigorous observance of the rabbinic laws. Gender scripts inform social roles and obligations. In these communities that value spirituality and stress male preeminence, there has been since the mid-1990s an effort to develop and adapt women's education, given that women have become the breadwinners of the family because their husbands devote themselves to studying the Torah. Every aspect of Orthodox women's life is centered on family commitments. It includes celebrating the *Shabbat* and the other holy days, sending their children to a Jewish day school, keeping kosher (dietary laws), dressing in accordance with the laws of *tsniut* (modesty), and the obligation to wear headscarves or wigs to cover their hair when married. Orthodox women also observe the commandment of *taharat hamishpacha* (the laws of family purity), rules that govern the separation of women from their husbands during the time of menstruation and for a week afterward. This monthly period of abstinence is followed by a ritual bath of purification in a *miqveh*. According to numerous Orthodox women, this ritual fosters respect of women's cycles and more importantly creates a community of women.

The status of women remains an important issue in Orthodox communities, where women are pivotal in the perpetuation of the tradition but are denied a role in the spiritual realm. They are not instrumental in the synagogue leadership, they cannot be called to recite the blessing or read the Torah, and they are excluded from the *minyam* (a quorum of ten men required for public prayer). Their place in the synagogue is an assigned section separated from men by a partition (*mechitzah*). In response to the increasing feminist consciousness among Orthodox women, a movement called Tefillah Network, traditional women's prayer groups, developed in the early 1980s to afford women greater participation in public religious life. The movement has encountered strong opposition within the Orthodox community.

Reform and Conservative movements taken as a combined entity have a strong following in the United States and Canada but remain marginal in Jewish communities in France, Italy, and England. The first Reform Temple was founded in Germany in 1817 to retain loyalties of the rapidly assimilating German Jews and was introduced in North America by German Jews arrived during the 1830s and 1840s. Reform believers rejected the Orthodox views and the traditional practices of *kashrut*, the laws of purity, that had governed Jewish life and very importantly also rejected the matrilineal descent. The inclusion was facilitated by services conducted in English with mixed seating, mixed choirs, and coeducational Sunday schools as early as the mid-nineteenth century. The Reform movement has also the highest number of mixed marriages among its members.

By the 1970s, Women of Reform Judaism (WRJ) championed numerous causes and fought for women's participation in all aspects of synagogue life, including serving as rabbis. Women rabbis have changed the rabbinate model and according to Deborah E. Lipstadt (2001), their growing presence in rabbinical seminaries has promoted curricular changes. They demanded the introduction of Jewish women studies and also to be trained to deal with more feminist subjects, such as domestic violence, breast cancer prevention, and body image. Their arrival in a male profession was not always easy, and very few indeed have been appointed senior rabbis of large congregations. Women cantors on the other hand did not encounter such opposition. By the late 1980s openly gay believers were accepted as members, and in 1990 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations began ordaining openly gay and lesbian rabbis. By the year 2000 Reform rabbis were allowed to officiate at same-sex weddings.

As a reaction not to Orthodoxy but to Reform, which was according to many increasingly considered to be abandoning too many of the tenets of traditional Judaism, the Conservative movement was founded in 1887 and experienced its greatest expansion during and after World War II. Conservative Judaism has occupied the middle ground of the three main Jewish movements, trying to adapt traditional Jewish practices to the modern world, but gradually it introduced many changes similar to Reform: mixed seating, mixed choirs, and bat-mitzvah ceremonies for girls. Starting in the 1970s and culminating in the 1980s, Conservative leaders committed themselves to gender equality, and under communal pressure from a group called *Ezrat Nashim* (helpers of women), they started to give women full participation in religious observance, to recognize them as witnesses before Jewish law, to allowed them to initiate divorce, and to permit them to study for the rabbinate and be ordained as rabbis and be trained as cantors. The Conservative movement welcomes gays but still prohibits same-sex commitment ceremonies. The Conservative movement is in the process of granting admission to rabbinical and cantorial schools to openly gay and lesbian students.

The Reconstructionist movement is small and mostly concentrated in Philadelphia. It represents an ideology that views Judaism as an evolving religion with an ambiguous position between Reform and Conservative. Its founding was the result of the split away from the Conservative movement in 1968. The movement that emerged, a Judaism without supernaturalism, owes its name to the radical thinker Mordecai Kaplan (1981), who was influenced by the sociologic doctrine of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). The movement granted complete participation to women and eliminated a male-dominated liturgy by rewriting the *siddur* (prayer book). It recognizes as being Jewish those children of mixed marriages in which the mother is not Jewish. It permits their rabbis to participate in civil marriage ceremonies between Jew and non-Jew. Women have been ordained rabbis since 1975, and openly lesbian students have been admitted since 1985.

Outside these denominational groups, a movement to establish gay and lesbian synagogues began in the early 1970s in New York and Los Angeles; as of the early twenty-first century there are twenty-five queer synagogues throughout the United States and Canada. Congregation Beth Simcha Torah in New York City, with 800 members, is considered the largest gay synagogue in the world. Queer Jews—lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender—have succeeded in making Jewish spaces for themselves, and gradually more liberal non-queer Jewish institutions are responding with a new inclusiveness. The emergence of the debate on the intersection of religion and queer sexuality and the questions about belonging and home in global Jewish communities is fairly recent. It especially took place after the release of Dubowski's "Trembling before G-d," which documents the lives of gay and lesbian Orthodox and Hasidic Jews. Unlike American queer Jewish communities, queer political movement in Israel has not centered on issues reclaiming Jewish spiritual identity and religious practices.

Judaism has incurred tremendous changes, evolving and redefining itself, and in the process ensuring its survival in the postmodern era. Although queer Jews openly serving as rabbis, Hebrew school teachers, and in other positions of authority and women's increased participation in a male-dominated Judaism acknowledge great changes in Judaism, nonetheless, nonnormative sexuality still remains prohibited by Orthodox Jews, and in general, women have yet to occupy a stronger level of leadership in Jewish institutions and communities.

SEE ALSO *Esther; Hokhma; Jewish Tradition, Gender and Women; Jewish Women's League; Judaism, Gender and Queering.*

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JUDAISM, GENDER AND QUEERING

Judaism often is understood as a religion that institutes particularly rigid gender roles, with Jewish men cast as "patriarchs" and Jewish women as "matriarchs" whose sphere is limited strictly to the domestic sphere. That understanding reflects some aspects of traditional Jewish practice, in which the crucial public religious roles (being included in the *minyan* [a quorum required for communal prayer], reading from the Torah, leading the congregation or serving as rabbi) are reserved for men and women's religious participation takes place largely within the home (lighting Sabbath candles, preparing ritual meals, keeping a kosher home). Traditional Judaism also emphasizes marriage and procreation as the foundations of family life, and unlike Christianity, Judaism does not privilege particular religious statuses associated with virginity or celibacy; rabbis, unlike Catholic priests, are expected to marry and have children.

TRADITIONAL AND ALTERNATIVE VIEWS

The view that Judaism is essentially patriarchal and relegates women to a subordinate status, however, depends not only on actual Jewish practice but also on persistent Western, especially Christian, stereotypes of Judaism that have never corresponded completely to fact." Along with acknowledging that Judaism—with its sister religions Christianity and Islam and Western culture generally—has been for much of its history masculinist, one must recognize the ways in which particular understandings of Jewish gender rigidity have served anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic ends. Feminist and queer rereadings of Jewish history, texts, and practices move beyond those stereotypes and allow a rethinking of a concept of Jewish traditionalism in which stable, rigidly normative gender roles and traditional, heterosexual family life are all that it is necessary to know about Jewish gender and sexuality (Rudavsky 1995, Peskowitz and Levitt 1997, Frankel 2000, Boyarin, Itzkovitz, and Pellegrini 2003).

REVISING JEWISH RELIGIOUS PRACTICE: THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Jewish religious belief and practice have always been complex. As the Hebrew Bible makes clear, there were various and recurring disagreements within ancient Judaism, and those debates continued into the period described in the New Testament and beyond. European Judaism, however, diversified most radically in the wake of the Enlightenment, in large part in response to a general secularization of society and to the movement across Europe toward Jewish "emancipation" and citizenship.

In a way that had not been possible previously, Jews could remain Jews yet participate in mainstream society, and Jewish religious belief and practice began to grapple with finding ways in which Jews could practice Judaism and still be part of a modern, secular Europe.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries three major institutional alternatives to orthodox Jewish practice developed—the Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist movements—all of which were committed to dealing more fully with secular society. Contemporary Orthodox Judaism is itself complex, ranging from Chasidic Judaism, which maintains dress and social practices dating to its foundation in the eighteenth century, to Modern Orthodoxy, which, although maintaining a traditional relation to Jewish law, recognizes that Jews live in a secular society.

The elaboration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of new forms of Jewish religious practice more directly concerned with negotiating a relationship with secular society entailed more radical changes in the relationship of Judaism to gender and sexuality than was the case in earlier eras; in general, such changes have reflected broader shifts in European and American societies. Thus, the first push for the ordination of women rabbis within Reform Judaism began in 1889, corresponding roughly to "first wave" feminism; the first official Reform ordination of a woman, Sally Jane Priesand, occurred in the United States in 1972, corresponding in a general way to "second wave" feminism.

As has occurred more generally in Western society and religion, the move to accept lesbians and gay men as full participating members of Judaism has lagged behind progress toward gender equality. Although, as in many religious traditions, closeted gay men have been active in a wide range of Jewish activities, including the rabbinate, on the condition that their sexuality not be made public, institutional moves to acknowledge lesbian and gay lives began only in the 1970s.

Some Reform rabbis started officiating at same-sex commitment ceremonies in that decade, but as recently as 2000 the Reform movement passed a resolution giving individual rabbis the choice not to officiate at those ceremonies. Reform Judaism officially sanctioned the ordination of openly gay and lesbian rabbis only in 1990. Though the Union for Reform Judaism claims, following a statement on "the absolute equality of women," that "Reform Jews are also committed to the full participation of gays and lesbians in synagogue life" ("What Is Reform Judaism?" 2005), that participation remains controversial in ways that women's involvement in Reform Judaism is not. Reconstructionist Judaism began ordaining lesbian and gay rabbis in 1984 and endorsed officiating at gay marriages in 1993 (Alpert, Elwell, and Idelson 2001). As of 2006, Conservative Judaism did not ordain gay or lesbian rabbis, continuing—despite disagreement among Conservative rabbis and theologians—officially to view homosexual relations as violating religious law. The prohibitions of Leviticus against a man "lying with a male as with a woman" (18:22, 20:13) still are given full force within Orthodox Judaism. There has, however, been increasing attention to gay men and lesbians living within Jewish Orthodoxy: Steven Greenberg, an ordained Orthodox rabbi, came out as gay, and his book *Wrestling with God and Men* (2004) argues for a rereading of traditional Jewish texts that would open up a space for gay and lesbian experience. Sandi Simcha DuBowski's film *Trembling before G-d*, released in 2001, focused attention on the everyday lives of Chasidic and Orthodox Jews who identified, openly or not, as lesbian or gay.

Outside formal religious circles Jews and Jewish culture in many ways have been involved in the social changes and movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including feminism and gay/lesbian/queer politics and theory. An important movement within feminism defined itself as Jewish feminism, and Jews in gay/lesbian/queer political movements have attempted to articulate the connections between their political commitments and religious belief and practice (Shneer and Aviv 2002).

REREADING TRADITIONAL JEWISH TEXTS

In its approach to Judaism, Jewish texts, and Jewish history feminist and gay/lesbian/queer scholarship has, as in many other areas, taken a double route: on the one hand working to reconstruct a largely hidden history and recover texts that have not been attended to, and on the other hand rereading canonical texts and the historical record. The movements within institutional Judaism to include women, lesbians, and gay men are in large part the result of such rereadings of the canon, decisions about how to (re)interpret and use the body of religious texts that shapes Jewish belief and practice.

From the book of Genesis on, the Hebrew Bible provides rich material for rethinking gender and sexuality even as it establishes some of the bedrock for traditional (patriarchal, heterosexist, and homophobic) gender and sexual understandings. The traditional, normalizing force of the biblical text can be seen in the frequency with which contemporary debates about changing gender roles and nonnormative sexual arrangements recur to the story of creation, with its double account of the creation of a male-female pair, Adam and Eve, in which Adam is given priority and power. Procreation as a central goal for humankind—"be fruitful and multiply" (Genesis 1:28)—is emphasized and reemphasized many times in the Hebrew Bible.

A large body of feminist biblical interpretation allows scholars to reconstruct and critique the ways in which an ancient Israelite patriarchy operated, calling attention to spaces that existed—if sometimes tenuously or marginally—for female autonomy, political agency, and religious power. There is much less thematizing in the Bible of what could be called homosexuality than there is a consideration of gendered relationships and roles. For those who look to the Hebrew Bible for a simple sanctioning of modern heterosexual monogamy, marriage, and family, however, that text contains many complications.

Marriage alongside relationships of concubinage is by no means unusual in the biblical text, which does not forbid men from having concubines. Many of the prominent and heroic male figures in the Bible—including Abraham, Jacob, David, and Solomon—are married more than once, without the suggestion that polygamy in and of itself is wrong. The Bible also focuses repeatedly on moments of sexual transgression that sometimes are treated with moral disapprobation but sometimes simply are reported. In Genesis alone those transgressions include disallowed sexual contact between the "sons of God" and "daughters of men"; the uncovering of the drunken Noah's nakedness by his son Ham; the attempt by the inhabitants of Sodom to have sex with the two young men of God who are visiting Lot in their city, followed by Lot's offer to protect the men by substituting his two daughters for them (an offer that is refused); Lot's daughters sleeping with their drunken father; the rape of Dinah by her neighbor Shechem; Reuben's sleeping with his father's concubine, Bilhah; Onan's "spill[ing] his semen on the ground"; and the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife. The Noah and Sodom episodes suggest male-male sex, and many of the "heterosexual" encounters involve at their heart male-male homosocial relationships; for instance, Reuben's transgression with Bilhah is more about his relationship to his father than it is about heterosexuality.

The Sodom incident is replayed with significant differences in Judges, Chapter 19, again with the threat of male-male rape as one of its components. Later the Sodom story became—though primarily in Christian rather than Jewish theology—a key text for Western reflections on and condemnations of male-male homosexuality.

Compared with other kinds of sexual transgression, however, homosexuality gets relatively little attention in the Hebrew Bible: Even the stories in Genesis and Judges do not emphasize homosexual threats against protected visitors as much as the violation of the protocols of hospitality. Male-male homosexuality is prohibited twice in the book of Leviticus (Chapters 18 and 20), with the death penalty prescribed in the second instance. Those injunctions occur, however, in long compendia of other transgressions, sexual and otherwise; in Chapter 18 the prohibition of male-male sex occurs immediately after an injunction against sacrificing one's offspring to Moloch, and it is possible that the taboo placed on male-male sex was intended to separate early Judaism from cultic sexual practices among neighbors of the Jews as much as it was concerned with male homosexual sex. There is no clear reference to female-female sex in the Hebrew Bible.

Queer approaches to the Hebrew biblical text may be concerned with how the sexuality of moments such as those discussed above exceeds the norms laid out elsewhere in the Bible; what purposes it serves, within the text, to depict such transgressive moments (are norms resolidified or destabilized?); and how biblical sexuality differs from sexuality as it is understood in the modern era. In addition, the realm of homosociality, which is explored in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, provides a rich ground for biblical study.

Although homosexual moments are rare in the Bible, homosocial ones are common. Thus, for instance, when Dinah is raped (Genesis 34), she becomes the object of negotiation, debate, and conflict among her father, Jacob; her brothers; and their male neighbors, in effect disappearing from her own story, which becomes instead an account of male-male conflict. A few chapters later the story of Tamar (Genesis 38) interrogates the practice of levirate marriage, in which a woman whose husband has died has the right to marry her brother-in-law; here the concerns of the text are the relations among three brothers and their father as much as "heterosexuality." The biblical text also foregrounds intense homoaffective relationships, such as that between Jonathan and David; when David laments Jonathan's death, he defines their love as "passing the love of women" (2 Samuel 1:26). Female-female homoaffectivity characterizes the relationship between Naomi and Ruth; the women of Bethlehem tell Naomi that Ruth "is more to [her] than seven sons" (Ruth 4:15) (Ackerman 2005, Guest 2005, Stone 2001, Nissinen 1998).

The Bible, especially the Torah, is the central legal and religious text of Judaism. Jewish understandings of gender and sexuality, as of most areas of daily life and religious practice, however, are inflected through a complex, contentious body of interpretive writing that includes the Talmud—a text that records rabbinic discussion and debate of the first several centuries—alongside the work of later influential commentators such as Rashi and Maimonides. In light of its dialogic and disputational character, Talmudic and later interpretive writing often contains tensions or contradictory statements about the relationships between men and women and about sex and sexuality and thus provides rich sites for feminist and queer investigation (Hauptman 1998, Baskin 2002). The most striking queer work on the Talmud has been Daniel Boyarin's *Carnal Israel* (1993).

Later religious texts within Judaism also provide material for rethinking gender and sexuality. Elliott Wolfson (2005) develops an analysis of how the feminine and the erotic operate in the medieval mystical text the Kabbalah and the kinds of queer gender/sexual reorientation its mysticism might suggest.

DISCOVERING NEW TEXTS AND HISTORIES

The work examined above considers and rereads texts that are canonical within Judaism. Another significant approach to rethinking Jewish gender and sexuality involves looking to the historical record for unknown or underread texts and for historical documents that might lead one to reconceive the ways in which gendered lives have been lived within Judaism and the ways in which normative and nonnormative sexuality might have been defined and experienced.

Recovering and rereading medieval Hebrew poetic texts, Tova Rosen (2003) analyzes a complex set of gendered understandings within which women simultaneously were idolized and demonized but rarely were seen as agents independent of men; Rosen shows that medieval Hebrew poetry about women is often also in large part about men and their relations. Rosen also identifies an important subgenre of poetry that represents men cross-dressing as women, and women as men. Medieval Hebrew, especially Andalusian, poetry, like its Arabic counterpart, also often thematizes the love of boys (Roth 1982).

Poems of course correspond only in indirect and unpredictable ways to "real life," and tracing the lives of sexually queer Jewish women and men before the nineteenth century is more difficult than studying the lives of heterosexual Jewish women. This is partly a function of the paucity of historical records concerning homosexuality in European Jewish communities; it also reflects the more general problem in the history of homosexuality of identifying queer lives in periods before the elaboration of modern gay and lesbian identities. Thus, although the *responsa* literature (a body of rabbinic case law) provides some material for the study of the history of homosexuality within Judaism (Greenberg 2004), until very recently the literature has lacked a clear way of naming a homosexual identity.

Still, queer readings of the historical record are possible. Rosa Alvarez Perez (2005) uncovers the lives of Jewish women in medieval Northern France, some aspects of which she reads as queer. Some scholars have focused on the ways in which European Christian stereotypes of Jews depended on tropes of Jewish sexual queerness sexual rapacity on the one hand and sexual deficiency on the other, often linked to the Jewish practice of male circumcision. Jewish women sometimes were depicted as especially sexually attractive and seductive (and hence dangerous to Christian men); their ugliness might, however, be emphasized. Jewish men often were represented as effeminate; one persistent Christian myth, which originated as early as the thirteenth century, was that Jewish men bled monthly, a "bloody flux" that later was conflated with women's menstruation. The presence of such stereotypes might help explain Jewish communities' embrace of a heroic masculinity at times of crisis but also a Jewish valuing of masculinities—especially bookish ones—distinct from Christian models (Lampert 2004, Kruger 2006, Gilman 1991).

Recently, however, Daniel Boyarin (1997) has emphasized that alternative—bookish or effeminate—Jewish masculinities are not simply or even primarily responses to Christian stereotypes and social pressures. Instead, he sees an early elaboration within rabbinic Judaism—beginning in the period of the composition of the Talmud—of Jewish masculinities alternative to Roman and Christian models of proper and heroic masculinity. Reading the Talmud in new queer and feminist ways, Boyarin argues that the rabbis developed a strong critique of the oppression of women and opened spaces for valorized effeminate or "sissy" masculinities. Boyarin's analysis traces the history of such identities in European Judaism through to crucial nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish figures such as Theodor Herzl, Sigmund Freud, and Bertha Pappenheim.

SEE ALSO *Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Jewish Tradition, Gender and Women.*

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Steven F. Kruger

JUDITH

According to many scholars, the Book of Judith was written during the Hasmonean period (140 BCE–37 BCE). It has been a source of fascination in the Western world, and that interest has resulted in a profusion of literary and artistic renditions of Judith's story. Among the strong women of the Bible, Judith is the most popular heroine, although she is an ambiguous model in light of the scheme she devises to resolve the struggle for Jewish sovereignty. Her use of seduction and deceptive rhetoric in conjunction with female violence provides a rich performance of gender identity from the margins of the religious and social establishment of a traditional society.

THE BIBLICAL STORY

The accumulation of historical, geographical, and chronological inaccuracies in the story of Judith and Holofernes allows the anonymous author to accentuate the sense of danger inherent to the history of the Jewish people. The first seven chapters chronicle and provide a vivid account of the feats of the powerful armies of Nebuchadnezzar, who is presented as an Assyrian king. Under siege, the city of Bethulia is about to surrender when Judith ("Jewess" in Hebrew), a name that might suggest a symbolic identity, is introduced in the narration and becomes the central character of the book.

Despite the marginal role of women in a society dominated by male authority, the righteous widow in mourning garb, living in isolation on the rooftop of her house since her husband's death, assumes a leading role in a moment of crisis. As an independent agent Judith succeeds in redefining herself outside the boundaries of her socially prescribed role and status. In this volatile situation her contact with and prayers to God place Judith in the position of a priest. As Amy-Jill Levine (1999) states, she assumes, both part of and apart from her people, the male role of protector-avenger. Judith's intrusion into the public sphere through the beheading of Holofernes gives her a new status and access to power. Her behavior not only relativizes gender norms, but also calls into question the complex articulations of the social and cultural practices of established notions of the masculine and the feminine. Ironically, it is "by the hand of a woman" (Book of Judith 9:10; 13:15; 16:5) that the superiority of the enemy is overturned, bringing the downfall of the great warrior Holofernes and the disarray in his armies.

Judith's normative performance of femininity in the enemy's camp matches Holofernes' excess of masculinity. But the sexually desirable and beautiful seductress ultimately blurs gender norms and behavior when, on the third night, taking advantage of Holofernes' drunken stupor, she seizes his sword and with two blows cuts off his head, metaphorically castrating him. In sharp contrast with her femininity, the violence she is capable of conjures images of strength, power, and domination, all of which are male prerogatives.

The subversion that takes places further problematizes existing rigid assumptions about the nature of masculinity. Judith crosses the borders imposed on her gendered body; however, she skillfully deflects attention from her bold action by invoking divine agency, presenting herself on three occasions as the instrument of God.

Judith Beheading Holofernes. *Judith beheads Holofernes in this painting by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio.*

Her triumphant return to Bethulia with the head of Holofernes the idolater mobilizes the population to fight back and drive away the enemy. Judith then returns to her marginalized position, and to her voluntary seclusion. The threat she represented vanishes with the restoration of patriarchal authority.

JUDITH IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

Emerging rabbinic Judaism closed the Hebrew canon at the end of the first century CE, in the process rejecting works not written during the early postexilic period; those works were of an unreliable authority and were composed originally in Greek. Judith's patent sexuality and "unconventional sexual behavior" also posed a dilemma for the Church Fathers, but they were able to overlook it and incorporated the Book of Judith in the Holy Scriptures alongside other apocryphal and apocalyptic books (Brenner 2004, p. 14).

Medieval *midrashim* (commentaries on Hebrew scriptures compiled between 400 and 1200 CE and based on exegesis, parable, and haggadic legends) and liturgical poems reflect the regained interest among oppressed Jewish communities of Western Europe in this uncompromising heroine who was able to subordinate her personal destiny to the liberation of her people. They identified her symbolically with Judah Maccabee and included her in the celebration of Hanukkah.

The transformation of social and political institutions by the end of the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, accompanied by a new distribution of power, was characterized by increased anxiety about masculine identity. In literature that anxiety was translated into the virulent misogyny of the *Querelle des femmes* (the controversy about the nature and value of women); in the arts it took the form of the representation of Judith as an ambivalent heroine who relativized the instability of the binary gender system.

The confusion that this manly woman generated is more noticeable in visual representations. Although in Christian medieval imagery Judith embodied the type foreshadowing the Virgin Mary—a sublimated powerful image—her representations also reached out to the other extreme of stereotyping: the reductively physicalized woman (Stocker 1998). In Italian art from that period, artists freed their composition from the biblical text; thus Israel's salvation was secondary to their main interest and was almost forgotten. The theme of Judith and Holofernes became the triumph of virtues with religious and civic dimensions, a warning against tyrants (Philpot 1992). With the sudden inversion of roles occurring under the tent, the anxiety and the indeterminacy brought about by the brutal act were transferred by the artists to Holofernes' body, which was portrayed in a feminized posture.

Judith's popularity reached its apogee during the religious turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period when people were fascinated with strong biblical women. Although the Book of Judith was not accepted in the Protestant canon, Judith epitomized revolt and Holofernes was viewed as a heretic.

Only extraordinary circumstances permitted Judith, who had been marginalized by the power base, to enter the public space and become "the woman on top." However, independence and violence, two expressions of usurpation and transgression in the female character, are only temporary. Normality is reinstated at the end of her story, but the restabilization of gender roles and identity at the end only partly covers up an unstable gendering of men.

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Rosa Alvarez Perez

JUVENAL

c. 55–127

Juvenal, Decimus Junius Juvenalis, a Latin poet of satires, was born between 55 and 60 CE in Aquino, where his family owned land. He served in the Roman army and became a tribune while in Dalmatia. By about 78 CE Juvenal moved to Rome, where he spent most of his life observing the deterioration and corruption of Roman society. He studied rhetoric until his middle age and practiced eloquence under the Emperors Domitian (r. 81–96 CE) and Trajan (r. 98–117). The most distressing event of his life was his ten-year exile from Rome, ordered by the Emperor Hadrian (r. 117–138). He incurred the emperor's ire because of his biting satires, written between 100 and 128 CE, that attacked the corruption of the ruling class and the degeneracy of all classes of Roman society, from the nobles to the nouveau riches and the newcomers from the colonies. Undoubtedly these virulent attacks earned Juvenal numerous enemies. The emperor recalled him from exile around 130, when in his seventies, and Juvenal lived in Rome until his death, between 131 and 140 CE.

The tone of Juvenal's satires is indignant and he resorts to violent invective and rhetorical declamation, whereas Horace was less harsh and employed ridicule perhaps more effectively. Juvenal's satires tell as much about himself as they do about Roman society, for he was not a cheerful fellow but rather a pessimist.

Juvenal was influenced by Lucilius (c. 180–c. 102 BCE) in his acerbic and comically mocking tone, but he shows much more passion, exuberance, color, and taste for caricature than any of his predecessors, including Horace (65–8 BCE), Martial (c. 40–c. 103 CE), and his quasi-contemporary Persius (34–62 CE). He has been the most read Latin author after Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Terence. Yet he did not attract much interest until Lactantius, a Christian writer of the third to fourth century, brought him back to light, and he was quite popular in the Middle Ages, especially because his sentential moralizations became proverbial sayings. Dante, Petrarch, Giovanni Boccaccio, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Geoffrey Chaucer made usage of him, as did Elizabethan authors such as Joseph Hall, John Marston, and John Donne. He also influenced early modern European authors such as Erasmus, Thomas More, Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, François Rabelais, Nicolas Boileau, Julius Caesar Scaliger, and Samuel Johnson, who rewrote the tenth satire, titled "The Vanities of Human Wishes," which concerns the illusory desires of humanity. Gustave Flaubert admired both his style and his rage. In short Juvenal remained for centuries the epitome of a sharp, witty, classical satirist.

His diatribes are directed at the injustices, tyranny, and hypocrisy of the regime, he seems to know a lot

Juvenal. *c. 60-130 BCE.* **HARLINGUE/ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES.**

about the poorest and destitute class, and he unleashes against the aristocratic, affluent society living in degradation, luxury, and laxity. Though he was not from a poor family, Juvenal may have had to depend on patrons. He attacks and mocks the affectations of men and women, their immorality and sexual excesses, their degeneracy and lewdness (Satire VI is the most misogynist). Besides the aristocracy he satirizes those who have risen up the scale of Roman society, including the *liberti* (freed slaves), and the many newcomers or foreigners operating in Rome, especially Greeks and Eastern people, such as one Crispinus. Satire IX, his most important one, expresses his rage against women, pandering homosexuals, sexual mores in general, corruption and cruelty of rulers, pomposity, ill manners, and overall stupidity. Although Juvenal is not obscene, his verbal candor and witticism and his frank, tight speech may have caused some shock to readers of past ages (he was the most aggressive Roman writer in his indictment of human pretenses and corruption).

For example, in Satire II, which deals with homosexuality, he says:

> At which the powers of War and Beauty quake,
> What time his drugs were speeding to the tomb
> His seed, the fruit of Julia's teeming womb.
> . . . But Hispo's brutal itch both sexes tried,
> And proved by turn the "bridegroom" and "the bride."
> To such a pitch of evil are we come;
> Abomination reigns in conquering Rome . . .
>
> *(Gifford 1954, p. 11, 12, 14)*

His intent is to spare no one and his verbal assault resorts to the most eloquent rhetoric to achieve a realistic effect and convey rage. Thus obscenities are part of the society in which he lived. His epigrammatic style, full of hyperboles, furnishes many memorable sayings that have become common usage, such as "Panem et circenses" (bread and circuses), to indicate the primary concerns of Roman society; "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes" (Who watches those who guard?); "rara avis" (a rare bird); and "mens sana in corpore sano" (a sound mind in a sound body). He made it clear in his first satire that he would spare no one, stating, for instance:

> But when Lucilius, fired with virtuous rage/
> Waves his keen falchion o'ver a guilty age
> . . .
> I point my pen against the guilty dead/
> And pour its gall on each obnoxious head"
>
> *(Gifford 1954, p. 9)*

SEE ALSO *Ancient Rome; Political Satire.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

K

KAHLO, FRIDA
1907–1954

Frida Kahlo is without doubt the most famous and powerful Mexican artist of the twentieth century, eclipsing in popularity and fame her talented and prominent husband, the Mexican painter and muralist Diego Rivera (1886–1957). In fact, Kahlo has transcended her role of artist to become a virtual icon. A walk through the museum of the Casa Azul (the Blue House where Kahlo and Rivera lived) in Coyoacán (originally a nearby village, now part of Mexico City) bears witness to the packaging of Kahlo: bracelets made of Kahlo's paintings of her face; T-shirts bearing copies of Kahlo's paintings; tourist items, including keychains, bearing Kahlo's art. Unusual in the museum are the photographs in postcard size of Kahlo throughout her life, including her last hospital days. Kahlo remains to this day an artistic, cultural, and feminist celebrity. After all, how many artists merit an operatic play (*Frida*, opening the Brooklyn Academy of Music's 1992 New Wave Festival) or even a highly successful cinematic production (*Frida*, starring Salma Hayek, 2002)?

Kahlo was born the daughter of a German-Hungarian Jewish father and a mother who herself was the product of a Spanish mother and a Mexican native father. Kahlo's life of physical pain was foreshadowed in her own family. Her father, Guillermo, suffered from epilepsy, a condition that brought in its footsteps what Kahlo called "vertigos." In 1913, the young Kahlo contracted polio, a disease that left its mark on her right leg. The leg shriveled and ended up shorter than the other one. The event turned her into the object of derision by her schoolmates, who took to calling her "Peg-Leg Frida."

Fate remained unkind to Kahlo. In 1925, she and her boyfriend were riding a bus that crashed into a tram. While many other passengers died, Kahlo barely survived. Not only did a metal rod penetrate her body, but her spine broke in three places; her collarbone and two ribs also broke. In addition, her right leg shattered, broken in eleven places; her right foot was crushed, her left shoulder dislocated, and her pelvis suffered three breaks. The young woman took months to recuperate. Back pain led physicians to later discover that some vertebrae in Kahlo's back had also been displaced. She was confined to wearing corsets, which she decorated with paint. In this way, the corset became at once a work of art and a medical necessity. Visitors to the Casa Azul see a painted corset on Kahlo's bed.

It was while in this state that Kahlo (abandoning her earlier desire to become a physician) began to paint, using materials belonging to her father, a professional photographer and amateur painter. In 1926, Kahlo painted an ex-voto (votive offering) of her accident. The bus and the tram are on the top of the picture, with human bodies strewn around. Below, the viewer sees a head with Kahlo's characteristic eyebrows looking at her body lying on a gurney of the Red Cross (the handles are labeled Cruz Roja) lying on the ground (Herrera 1991, p. 35). While many critics have attempted to underplay the psychological element in Kahlo's paintings, the ex-voto remains an eloquent artistic rendition of her trauma. Dissociation, characteristic of intense trauma, is a psychological state of mind in which the subject is isolated from the events taking place, instead most often floating over them, watching them taking place below. That is what the viewer is treated to in this painting as Kahlo's head gazes at her body laid out on the stretcher below.

Physical problems never stopped plaguing Kahlo. Yet she maintained her painting and accompanied Rivera to America. Kahlo took San Francisco by storm. As Malka Drucker puts it, "Frida herself had become a work of art" (1991, p. 53), with her exoticism and her Mexican skirts replete with petticoats. In her many self-portraits, Kahlo surrounded her face with ornaments and objects. Sometimes, her long hair was braided and pulled above her head, frequently further decorated with ribbons and flowers, and in some paintings even monkeys. Kahlo emanated beauty, exoticism, and a great deal of passion, especially in her dark eyes, accentuated by her two thick eyebrows that met at the top of her nose. Kahlo's face is a composite work of art, whose two sides are united by the joined thick eyebrows.

Kahlo's relationship with Rivera was certainly the most important in her life. They seemed a most unlikely couple. As Kahlo's father put it, it was "like an elephant marrying a dove" (Cruz 1996, p. 27). Despite Guillermo Kahlo's assessment, Rivera's girth did not detract from his masculine appeal to women. Kahlo is quoted as having said that Rivera is: "[M]y child, my son, my mother, my father, my lover, my husband, my everything" (Herrera 1983, p. 403). In a powerful 1943 painting bearing three possible titles: *Self-Portrait as a Tehuana*, or *Diego in My Thoughts*, or *Thinking of Diego*, Kahlo embeds a portrait of Rivera on her forehead with his head and shoulders resting on her joined eyebrows. In a rather eerie painting, *Diego and I*, dated 1949, tears are falling from Kahlo's eyes as her dark hair is loose and partly wrapped around her neck. Again, Rivera is resting on her eyebrows. This time, however, he himself has a third eye placed on his forehead.

Kahlo's affairs with other men—and women—can be understood as the expression of a free spirit or as limited reactions aimed at Rivera, whose constant philandering was open and notorious. The life she led with Rivera was not only artistic. The marriage was a turning point for Kahlo. She turned more to her Mexican culture and history. She adopted the dress of the women of Tehuantepec, which combined both practical and symbolic value. The women of this Pacific coast city were known for their independent ways, and their full-length skirts ideally covered Kahlo's paralytic leg.

She and Diego were both politically committed Marxists. Unlike most communists, they were willing to break with orthodox Stalinism and befriended Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) when he went into exile in Mexico (Kahlo even having an affair with him). A 1954 painting, *Marxism Will Give Health to the Sick*, shows Kahlo casting aside her crutches while an enormous hand appears ready to loosen the chest corset that normally imprisoned Kahlo's torso.

One of the artistic treasures Kahlo left behind was her *Diary*, a magnificent tribute to the artistic talents of a major painter of the twentieth century. Some pages contain just writing; others, illustrations. On many pages images are interlaced with words, redefining each other: body parts surrounded by writing in different colored ink; Mexican temples, called "Ruins," covered by a flamboyant sunset as they soar into the sky; circles of faces that touch one another as they float on the page. Kahlo's work combined both psychological realism, as in her many self-portraits, with a feminist surrealism of her own invention, which contrasts sharply with the frequently masculine-centered, scopic, and Freudian sexual politics of the European surrealists.

Kahlo cross-dressed and had affairs with both men and women, breaking many of the taboos of her age. Nevertheless, her art expresses the agonies of a body afflicted with illness. Not even the cinematic version of her life can surpass the power of Kahlo's own imagination.

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KALI

The Hindu goddess Kali ("the Black [female] One") is one of the most enigmatic forms of Shakti—the transformative female energy of the universe. Shakti, personified in feminine form, is also referred to as Mahadevi—the great goddess, or simply Devi—the goddess. Traditionally, Kali was portrayed in both literature and iconography in her "terrifying" or "fierce" (*ugra*) aspect, but in Tamil Nadu and Kerala she has also been depicted in a "pleasing" (*saumya*) form, as a benevolent mother goddess. She thus personifies the ambivalence of deity in the Hindu tradition, which manifests itself in the unceasing cycle of life and death—creation, destruction, and regeneration.

Kali probably derives from a local village goddess (*gramadevata*), who became integrated into the Hindu pantheon through identification with an aspect of Parvati, the consort of Shiva. Worship of Kali is predominant in Bengal in the early twenty-first century, but the earliest representations of her come from southern India. The goddess Pidari, who is most often associated with south India, is recognized as being an aspect of Kali, as are several other goddesses from Tamil Nadu.

KALI IN THE HINDU TEXTS

Kali is first mentioned as a distinct, but peripheral and probably non-Aryan, goddess in the *Mahabharata*. Her place in the Hindu pantheon is later affirmed in the *Markandeya Purana*. In the section of this text known as the *Devimahatmya*, composed around the sixth century CE, Kali is said to have emanated from the brow of the goddess Durga during one of her battles with demonic forces. The *Matsya Purana*, a later account, places Kali as a mountain tribal goddess in the north-central part of India.

In the *Devimahatmya*, Kali is generated from the anger of Durga, as the goddess attacks the demons Chanda and Munda. After this event, Kali receives the compound name *Chamunda*. The *Devimahatmya* then tells how Kali attacked a gigantic demon named Raktabija, who was devouring humans as fast as they were created. Kali cut the demon in two with her sword, but from every drop of blood that fell to the ground there sprang a new demon. So she consumed the duplicated demons, drank the drops before they touch the ground, and sucked the lifeblood from Raktabija. Yet another origin story, from the *Linga Purana*, is that Parvati transformed herself into Kali from the poison stored in Shiva's throat, in order to destroy the demon Daruka. The account continues that, after her victory, Kali became so intoxicated by the destruction of battle that her rampage threatened to destroy the whole world until Shiva manifested himself as a baby, crying in the middle of the corpse-strewn field. Kali calmed down as she suckled the baby. When evening approached, Shiva performed the cosmic dance (*tandava*) to please his consort, and Kali and her attendants joined in.

Apart from that of the *Linga Purana*, there are few accounts or images of Kali in a tranquil state. As the personified righteous wrath of Parvati in these and other myths in the *Vamana Purana* and *Bhagavata Purana*, Kali acts as Parvati's alter ego, the embodiment of the cosmic power of destruction. Indeed, the name *Kali* is related to a term first used in the *Mundaka Upanishad* (1.2.4) for one of the seven flickering tongues of the sacrificial fire, Agni. Kali is also the feminine form of the word *kala*—time; as such, she is the representation of time, which is all-destroying and all-devouring.

Perhaps it was because of her connection with death and destruction that led to Kali's dominant role in Tantrism, especially the left-hand path. In Tantric ideology, it is essential to face and overcome the terror of death, as willingly as to accept the blessings of life, because the one could not exist without the other. A Tantric hymn to Kali, the *Karpuradistotra*, describes her as the source of not only wealth and fertility but also renunciation and death. Another text describes her as sitting on a corpse in a cremation ground, surrounded by skulls, bones, and female jackals; it was believed that the Tantric practitioner (*sadhaka*) who fearlessly meditated on her in this guise would ultimately achieve salvation.

ICONOGRAPHY

The iconography of Kali reflects the various beliefs and mythology about her. In keeping with her name, she is often black or dark blue—colors representing *tamas*, the aspect of energy responsible for dispersion, and ultimately inertia and the limitless void from which all things come. *Tamas* is also associated with delusion. Because Kali is beyond both fear and ignorance, she can protect and enlighten those who invoke her. Thus she is often depicted with one of her four or more hands in the fear-removing gesture (*abhaya mudra*), and with another hand in the boon-granting gesture of compassion (*varada mudra*), or carrying a bowl of plenty.

Early imagery of Kali, particularly in the north, depicts her on the battlefield dancing wildly while drunk on the blood of her victims, or in a cremation ground sitting or standing on a corpse (*shava*) or ghost (*preta*). She is emaciated and naked, wearing only a long garland of human skulls or severed heads, and a girdle of severed arms or hands. A vertical third eye is in the middle of her forehead, and her hair is disheveled. Her glance is ferocious and her lips and lolling tongue are often shown dripping with blood. Her teeth protrude like fangs over her lower lip. In her arms she may carry one or more weapons and the severed head of a demon.

In her representation as Bhadrakali (auspicious Kali), her head is encompassed by the halo of flames and she wields the trident: These iconographic elements are also associated with Shiva, indicating that together they are the cosmic process. Another form of Kali is found in southern India, where she appears as a full-bodied woman. Although she still has fangs and rolling eyes, she is less gruesome in

Kali. *The Hindu goddess Kali the Black dances on the corpse of one of her victims in this eighteenth-century Indian manuscipt illustration.* © ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS.

her costume and stance. The image of Kali at one of the most popular Kali temples in India, the Khalighat Temple in Kolkata is covered with ornate saris and jewelry, hiding her more terrifying features, but revealing her feet. From the medieval period onwards, Kali devotees in Bengal have worshipped the goddess as Kali Ma-Kali, the benevolent mother. Newer icons often beautify Kali Ma's form and features, whilst retaining her traditional "fierce" stance and paraphernalia.

KALI WORSHIP

In Bengal, Kali is may be worshipped with animal sacrifices. As part of Shaktism, worshippers may bring a live goat to the temple and ritually behead it in sight of the goddess. Vegetarian Vaishnava Hindus are often uncomfortable with such blood offerings made to the goddess, although the priestly family that is responsible for the Kalighat temple is Vaishnava.

Animal sacrifice is found alongside a less ritualistic form of worship introduced by the Bengali devotee Ramprasad Sen (1718–1775), who, in his poetry, approaches Kali as a child would its protective and nurturing mother.

The pan-Indian festival of Diwali coincides with Kali Puja in Bengal. At this time, thousands of temporary images are set up, including a huge statue in one of the cremation grounds, where several black goats are offered to the goddess.

Although predominant in Bengal, Kali is worshipped throughout India. There is the famous Kamakhya temple in Assam, as well as temples in Orissa, Rajasthan, and the Vindhya mountains of south-central India. Kali also remains a popular focus of devotion among Hindu communities abroad.

A CULT OF KALI

In the nineteenth century, British accounts describe various Indian criminal groups, such as the Phansigars, the Dacoits, and the Thuggees, who robbed and sometimes strangled travelers. All seem to have posed internal civilian threats, but in the 1830s the latter group (from which the English word *thug* derives) was accused by Captain William Henry Sleeman of being a religious cult, whose members murdered their victims in the name of Kali. This association of Kali with cult murder fed later Orientalist projections of her as uncontrollable both sexually and morally, and a threat to British law and order. Such representation continued in the West, where non-Hindus were introduced to Kali as a villainous goddess in several twentieth-century films, including *Gunga Din* (1939; loosely based on Rudyard Kipling's poem), the Beatles' *Help!* (1965), and *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984).

Although occasional human sacrifices in the name of the goddess are still reported (such as a case in Uttar Pradesh in early 2006), for most modern worshippers Kali is not seen as being wrathful. The nationalist movement of the Bengalis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used the mother goddess in the form of Kali as a symbol of India. In his novel *Anandamath* (1882), the Bengali novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838–1894) includes a poem titled "I Praise the Mother" that is a hymn to Kali as Bengal personified in its oppressed state.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Hinduism.*

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Jennifer Rose

KAMA AND THE *KAMA SUTRA*

Kama is a Sanskrit word denoting desire, love, and pleasure, not merely sexual but more broadly sensual—music, good food, perfume, and more. It is most closely approximated by the erotic in the broader sense in which people use that word in the early-twenty-first century.

KAMA AND THE GOALS OF HUMAN LIFE

Ancient Indian texts regarded *kama* as one of the three goals of human life, the other two being dharma (duty, religion, religious merit, morality, social obligations, religious merit, the law, and justice) and *artha* (power, politics, success, money). Thus where dharma regulated the socioreligious world and *artha* the political world, *kama* legitimated the world of the individual, or what philosopher Michel Foucault would call the cultivation of the self. Dharma, *artha*, and *kama* were known collectively as the three aims of human life (*purusharthas*) or the trinity (*trivarga*). For assonance, one might call them piety, profit, and pleasure, or society, success, and sex, or duty, domination, and desire. The erotic science to which these texts belong, known as *kama-shastra* (the science of *kama*), is one of the three principle human sciences in ancient India, the other two being religious and social law (*dharma-shastra*, of which the most famous work is attributed to Manu, the *Manavadharmashastra* or *Manusmriti*, known as the *Laws of Manu*) and the science of political and economic power (*arthashastra*, whose foundational text is attributed to Kautilya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya). (There were many other sciences, preserved in texts about medicine, astronomy, architecture, the management of horses and elephants, and other disciplines.)

Sometimes the aims of human life are listed not as a triad but as a quartet, in which the fourth goal is release, *moksha*, the goal of the religious renouncer. Vatsyayana gives very short shrift indeed to release, and even applies the term, surely tongue in cheek, to the courtesan's successful jettisoning of an unwanted lover. But wandering renunciants meander through the *Kama Sutra*; nuns, on the one hand, and courtesans, on the other, were the only women in ancient India who could move freely throughout the entire social system. And there are literary ties, too, between the *Kama Sutra* and the literature of asceticism. Shvetaketu Auddalaki, said to be the first human author of the *Kama Sutra*, was already famous as a great Upanishadic sage.

For much of ancient Indian history—from before the turn of the Common Era right up through the period of the Raj—the art of *kama* was perfected in circles privileged not in class or caste status but in blatant economic (and geographical) terms: It was available only in the cities (the textbooks on *kama* are addressed to the man-about-town [the *nagaraka*]) but it could be lived by anyone who had enough money, which he had inherited, on the one hand, or obtained from gifts (as a Brahmin would), conquest (as a man of the royal or warrior class would), trade (a merchant), or wages (someone of the servant class), on the other, or from both. It could also be lived by a single man, if he could afford it; a courtesan deluxe; or a woman with her girlfriends. Living the good life in this way involved care of the body (oils, massages), learning to play music and to enjoy concerts and dance performances, reading poetry, attending literary salons, and, above all, enjoying a sophisticated, cultivated level of sexual pleasure. More broadly conceived as the appreciation of sexuality, the beauty of the human body, and

Kama Sutra. *In this illustration from the* Kama Sutra, *a suitor aims a flower-tipped arrow like the one used by Kama, the god of love, at his beloved.* THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

the pleasures of intoxication and brightly painted surfaces, *kama* flourished not only at court but in the countryside, where even poor people elaborately painted the horns of their buffaloes and the walls of their houses and sang erotic songs.

THE KAMA SUTRA: ORIGINS

The *Kama Sutra* is the oldest extant Hindu textbook of erotic love. The two words in its title mean desire/love/pleasure/sex (*kama*) and a treatise (*sutra*). It is not, as most people think, a book about the positions in sexual intercourse. It is a book about the art of living—about finding a partner, maintaining power in a marriage, committing adultery, living as or with a courtesan, using drugs—and also about the positions in sexual intercourse. It was composed in Sanskrit, the literary language of ancient India (related to Latin, in ancient Rome, and ancient Greek, in Greece). The data relevant to a determination of its date are sparse and the arguments complex, but most scholars believe that it was composed sometime in the third century of the Common Era, most likely in its second half, and probably in North India. Its detailed knowledge of Northwestern India, and its pejorative attitude to other parts of India, particularly the south and the east, suggest that it was written in the northwest. However reference to Pataliputra, alone among cities, suggests that the *Kama Sutra* may have been written in Pataliputra (near the present city of Patna, in Bihar). Yashodhara (who wrote the definitive commentary on this text, in the thirteenth century) believes the latter to be the case. It would be useful to have more information about social conditions in India at the time of the composition of the *Kama Sutra*, but the *Kama Sutra* itself is one of the main sources for such data; the text is, in a sense, its own context. It has a real consciousness of the various regions of India, what one scholar, Laura Desmond, has called a *pre-Imperial consciousness*, setting the stage for the Gupta Empire that would dominate North India from the fourth century to the sixth.

Virtually nothing is known about the author, Vatsyayana Mallanaga, other than his name and what this text teaches; and he indicates only that he composed the *Kama Sutra* "in chastity and in the highest meditation" (7.2.57). But Vatsyayana does say something important about his text, namely that it is a distillation of the works of a number of authors who preceded him, authors whose texts have not survived, including: Auddalaki, Babhravya, Charayana, Dattaka, Ghotakamukha, Gonardiya, Gonikaputra, and Suvarnanabha. These other authors, called teachers or scholars, supply what Indian logic called the *other side* (literally, the former wing, *purvapaksha*), the arguments that opponents might raise. In this case, they are former in both the logical and chronological sense of the word; Vatsyayana cites them often, sometimes in agreement, sometimes in disagreement. Always his own voice comes through, as he acts as ringmaster over the many acts that he incorporates in his sexual circus. The *Kama Sutra* was therefore certainly not the first of its genre, nor was it the last. The many textbooks of eroticism that follow it, such as Kokkaka's *Ratirahasya* (also called the *Kokashastra*, pre-thirteenth century) and Kalyanamalla's *Anangaranga* (fifteenth century), cite it as a foundational authority. The *Nagarasarvasva* of Bhikshu Padamashri and the *Panchasayaka* of Jyotirishvara (eleventh to thirteenth century) explicitly base themselves on the *Kama Sutra*, the first on books two, five, and seven, and the second on books two, three, five, and seven. The *Kama Sutra* also made a deep impact on Indian literature; its vocabulary and taxonomies were diffused into later Sanskrit erotic poetry.

THE KAMA SUTRA AND ITS AUDIENCE IN INDIA AND BEYOND

It is difficult to assess how broad a spectrum of ancient Indian society knew the text of the *Kama Sutra* firsthand. The production of manuscripts, especially illuminated manuscripts, was necessarily an elite matter; men of wealth and power, kings and merchants, would commission texts to be copied out for their private use. It is often said that only upper-class men were allowed to read Sanskrit, particularly the sacred texts, but the very fact that the texts dealing with religious law (dharma) prescribe punishments for women and lower-class men who read the sacred Sanskrit texts suggests that some of them did so. Vatsyayana argues at some length that some women, at least, should read this text (courtesans and the daughters of kings and ministers of state), and that others should learn its contents in other ways. Clearly some parts of the book, at least, were designed to be used by women.

It is startling to realize that the *Kama Sutra*, the Indian text best known, at least by name, to European and North American readers, was hardly known at all by such readers just a hundred years ago and even now is not really known, since the very first English translation, which remains the one most widely used and reused, long out of copyright and in the public domain, does not say what the Sanskrit says. Moreover it is not even the work of the man who is known as its author, English explorer and orientalist Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821–1890). His translation, published in 1883, was far more likely the work of Forster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot, whose name appears on the title page with Burton's only in some editions, though Burton later referred to the *Kama Sutra* translation as Arbuthnot's Vatsyayana. But the translation owed even more to two Indian scholars whose names do not appear on the title page at all: Bhagavanlal Indrajit and Shivaram Parashuram Bhide. Arbuthnot (whom Burton used to call "Bunnie") was a retired Indian civil servant who had been born near Bombay in 1833 and, after going to Europe for his education, returned to India. Burton and Arbuthnot met either in India in 1853-54 or on Arbuthnot's furlough to London in 1859-60. They remained friends, first in India and then in England (from 1879, when Arbuthnot retired to Guildford and married, until Burton's death in 1890).

Burton did for the *Kama Sutra* what German-born philologist Max Müller (1823–1900) did for the *Rig Veda* during this same period. Widespread public knowledge of the *Kama Sutra*, in both India and Europe, begins with the Burton translation, which had a profound effect upon literature across Europe and North America. Even though it was not formally published in England and the United States until 1962, the Burton *Kama Sutra* soon became one of the most pirated books in the English language, constantly reprinted, often with a new preface to justify the new edition, sometimes without any attribution to Burton or Arbuthnot. It remains precious, like English poet and translator Edward FitzGerald's (1809–1883) translation of the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, as a monument of English literature, though not much more faithful to Vatsyayana than FitzGerald was to Omar Khayyám.

In the early-twenty-first century, when sexually explicit novels, films, and instruction manuals are available everywhere, the parts of the *Kama Sutra* that have previously been most useful are now the least useful, namely the positions described in book two. But the *Kama Sutra* has attained its classic status because it is fundamentally about essential, unchangeable human attributes—lust, love, shyness, rejection, seduction, manipulation—and its insights into the psychology of eroticism, the ways to meet a partner, win someone's love, and get rid of a no longer desired lover remain highly relevant.

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KEPT

The term *kept* describes a woman or man who receives financial compensation such as living expenses, stipends, and lavish gifts in return for sex. Unlike prostitutes who are compensated on a temporary basis for performing sexual acts, kept men and women occupy a more permanent place in the lives of their patrons. Often labeled fancy girls, sporting women, mistresses, courtesans, ladies of pleasure, or concubines, kept women are typically supported by married men and rarely advance to the role of wife. These wealthy patrons are colloquially termed sugar daddies or sugar mommas, typically older than their lovers and sometimes married. Homosexual males also play the role of sugar daddies to young males or sugar babies, offering their lovers money, status, and security. Although same sex relationships with this dynamic also occur in lesbian communities, the trend is more prevalent amongst gay males.

A history of the kept woman begins in ancient Rome where biblical accounts of concubines and mistresses reveal a preoccupation with producing male heirs rather than a proclivity for extramarital sex. In ancient China kept women in harems were provided living quarters and financial stability as compensation for sexual favors and highly coveted male offspring. Harems in the premodern Islamic world included concubines as well as legitimate wives, and singing slave girls combined erotic appeal with skill in music and poetry. In early-nineteenth-century Japan, the geisha emerged as a cultural icon; highly skilled in dance, vocal performance, and clever conversation, she established sexual relationships with wealthy men and survived on their patronage. Courtesans were kept women during the fourteenth and fifteenth-century European Renaissance. Their prominent status as escorts of wealthy and powerful men allowed courtesans many educational and societal freedoms unavailable to women of the times. During the slave era in the United States, the fancy girl market was offered to exceptionally wealthy white males. During fancy girl auctions, light-skinned black women would be purchased at prices ranging from 2,000 to 5,000 dollars. Lavished with the most expensive clothes and fineries, fancy girls were acquired solely for sexual services. Inevitably the history of the kept woman has shifted from empowered to exploited, according to societal mores and cultural traditions.

The male equivalent of the kept woman is the gigolo. Although typically supported by an older woman, kept men are also patronized by homosexual males in exchange for sex. Unlike the historical records of concubines and courtesans, details of kept men or gigolos are less accessible. A larger history devoted to male prostitutes or hustlers provides insights into male sex workers, but fails to account for enduring sexual relationships both heterosexual and homosexual. The disparity in these records illustrates widespread cultural apprehension to those sexual relationships on the fringes of a heteronormative system.

The character Paul, played by George Peppard, in the film *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961) is a popular representation of the kept heterosexual man who survives solely on the monetary gifts of a wealthy older woman. In 2005 cable television channel VH1 launched a new reality show titled *Kept* in which Jerry Hall challenged twelve men to vie for her affections and her millions. The twelve contestants were asked to perfect their dancing, write poetry, learn polo, and exude sex appeal as Hall groomed the ideal gigolo.

Famous kept women include Hagar (concubine of biblical patriarch Abraham), Madame de Montespan (mistress of French monarch Louis XIV), Sally Hemings (slave of American president Thomas Jefferson), Marion Davies (mistress of American publisher William Randolph Hearst), Eva Braun (mistress of the German dictator Adolph Hitler), La Belle Otero (Spanish courtesan), and Pamela Digby Harriman (U.S. ambassador to France and wife of British politician Randolph Churchill, Hollywood producer Leland Hayward, and U.S. politician Averell Harriman, as well as lover of, among others, Italian industrialist Gianni Agnelli, Prince Aly Khan, and journalist Edward R. Murrow).

SEE ALSO *Gigolo; Prostitution.*

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Melissa Fore

KHADIJA
565–619

Khadija bint Khuwalilid was Muhammad's first wife and was his only wife for almost a quarter of a century (595–619). Early sources provide sparse and differing information about her. It is reported that she belonged to the Asad clan of Quraysh, the most distinguished Arabian tribe. She was a wealthy merchant, was divorced and widowed, and had one or more children before her marriage to Muhammad. She employed the twenty-five-year-old future prophet to lead a caravan she was sending to Syria. On Muhammad's return, Khadija, reportedly forty years old, proposed marriage to him. The marriage gave Muhammad the security he had lacked since birth. Although a member of Banu Hashim, another clan of Quraysh, he had lost both parents as a child, had been brought up by close relatives, and lacked personal wealth. Thus, an elite and affluent wife provided security and social enhancement for her husband.

Despite the discrepancy in their ages, the marriage seems to have been a success. The couple had two or three boys (including Qasim and Abdallah), who died in infancy, and four girls (Zaynab, Umm Kulthum, Fatima, and Ruqayya), who survived, married, and immigrated to Medina. Muhammad did not take another wife until after Khadija's death in 619, and his fond memory of her aroused the jealousy of his later wives. The financial independence may have allowed Muhammad to pursue his spiritual quest. On one of his solitary wanderings in 610 he saw a vision informing him that he had been chosen as the messenger of God. Khadija assured her deeply shaken husband of the genuineness of the revelation. She was also the first person to submit to his mission. Henceforth she gave him the emotional and moral support he needed to face the growing hostility of his fellow Meccans, who were alarmed by his prophetic message.

Neither the biographies nor the exegetical literature conveys much information about Khadija. Reference to Khadija in the Qur'an is indirect and appears only once in a passage addressed to the Prophet in Mecca ("Did He not find you destitute and enrich you?" 93:8). The paucity of reference to Khadija differs extensively from those to Mary, who occupies an exalted position. One chapter is named after her (Sura 19), and she is mentioned in several other chapters. She represents the ideal of womanhood: She is chaste, devout, patient, and upright. The miracles associated with her (speaking to her mother before birth, the Annunciation, and the birth of Jesus) are presented as signs from God (Qur'an 23:50). Those miraculous events have been delineated and debated in the exegetic literature. However, the image of Mary in Islamic religious tradition must be viewed in the context of Islamic sacred history.

Despite the central role she has played in Muhammad's life, Khadija occupies a minor role in Islamic religious tradition and hagiography. Her daughter surpasses her in merit and as an exemplar because Fatima is the progenitor of all the Prophet's descendants. Likewise her love of her father and her grieving and death shortly after he died in 632 make Fatima equal to Mary.

Information about Khadija is limited, but it is possible to glean some insight about society and gender relations in Arabia during her lifetime. For example, her occupation as a merchant indicates that women were able to engage in commerce and possess wealth. In addition, divorced and widowed women could remarry easily. Her marriage proposal to the Prophet confirms the freedom that prevailed in gender relations. Even more significant is the importance of the assurance she gave her husband when he received the first revelation. Her confidence in the genuineness of the message and continued support of the Prophet's mission imply that she had knowledge of the monotheistic traditions that had penetrated into Arabia at that time.

SEE ALSO *'A'isha; Fatima; Islam.*

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Guity Nashat

KING HENRY III OF FRANCE
1551–1589

Born on September 19, 1551, the future King Henry III was the preferred son of Catherine de Médicis and King Henry II of France. By the age of eighteen he had gained a reputation as a military hero, defeating the Protestants in two key battles (Jarnac and Montcontour) of the Wars of Religion (1562–1598). Not long after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), which he is assumed to have partially instigated, he was elected king of Poland. But in 1574, upon the death of his brother, Charles IX, he returned to France as heir to the throne. His coronation and marriage were celebrated in tandem, and Henry again entered the fray of the Protestant–Catholic struggle, this time as ruler. The king who returned from Poland was remarkably changed, preferring poetry to his former interest in military matters. Catholics became dissatisfied with him when he secured a peace treaty with the Protestants in 1576. Later, in 1589, when he recognized his cousin, the Protestant Henry of Navarre, as heir to the throne, Henry further incurred their wrath, leading to a flood of political pamphlets attacking him. Sodomy was the most frequent accusation, facilitated by the fact that Henry III's marriage had not produced a child. Parallels were also more generally drawn between his failure as a husband and the failure of the regime, claiming his political weakness resulted from effeminacy and lack of male strength.

Henry had surrounded himself with a group of young male courtiers, his *mignons*. Many of the attacks were levied against his fourteen favorites, who were divided into two groups, the *mignons d'état*, those young nobles who supported Henry's political positions, and the more scandalously named *mignons de couchette*, his bedchamber companions. Henry III lavished attention and money on his favorites, arousing suspicion and discontent among his enemies and even some of his allies. Although no concrete proof exists to establish that Henry III had sexual relations with his *mignons*, it was reported that while in Poland Henry had a same-sex relationship, initiated by a member of his entourage. Accusations of effeminacy often applied to the *mignons*, especially because of their elaborate dress and hairstyles and use of cosmetics as well as the supposed fashion of *chausses à la bougrine*—tights without a codpiece.

Henry himself frequently threw extravagant balls and other festivities, where he occasionally dressed as a woman. His female attire, including two pearl earrings (one earring was acceptable for men), further compromised his authority. Further, the *mignons* were the primary members of the Penitential Society to the Annunciation of Our Lady, a religious society established by Henry III in 1583, as well as members of the Order of the Holy Spirit (1578)— giving rise to satirical verse.

Other politically motivated comments, such as those found in the works of Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552–1630), paint the king as devoted to sodomitical practices, and, more grievously, as taking a passive role. *L'isle des hermaphrodites*, although not published until 1605, added to the portrait of Henry III as gender deviant. Its frontispiece came from an earlier engraving portraying a figure whose dress recalls the elaborate fashions of Henry's court. However, not all accounts of the court were written by enemies of the king. Pierre de L'Estoile's *Mémoires-Journaux*, covering the period both before and after Henry's reign, not only include L'Estoile's observations but also collect numerous materials that concern the court and criticisms of Henry and his *mignons*. Although a supporter of Henry III, even L'Estoile comments that Henry's behavior at the death of Quélus (Caylus)—remaining by his bedside, kissing him, retrieving the earrings Henry gave him, and taking a lock of his hair—was not fitting for a king. L'Estoile identifies that incident and similar acts as partial sources for many of the attacks against Henry.

The court of Henry III thus brought to the fore gender standards that disrupted dominant masculinity. That Henry III was referred to as "buggerer" and the term *Ganymede* was bandied about in relation to his favorites indicates that sexual behavior had entered the discourse of political discontent. The accusations themselves formed an arsenal exploited equally on the Protestant and the Catholic sides of the conflict and may have led in part to Henry's assassination on August 2, 1589.

SEE ALSO *Effeminacy; Homosexuality, Defined; Mignons.*

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Holly E. Ransom

KINKY

The term *kinky* refers to any deviant or unusual sexual preference or activity. Originally designating something that is bent, twisted, or otherwise abnormal, kinky took on a sexual connotation in the early twentieth century. As an adjective, kinky can refer to a person, object, activity, or sexuality, so that one may be a kinky man or woman, wear kinky outfits, engage in kinky acts, or have a kinky sexual lifestyle. Kinky sex is always defined in contrast to the social, cultural, and historical norms of a period, and certain kinky practices—ranging from anal sex to polygamy—have been explicitly illegal. The appeal of kinkiness is as much mental as physical: The mental awareness that one is engaging in deviant or even illegal sexual behavior heightens the physical pleasure. Early uses of the term refer especially to homosexuality, but over the years the concept of kinkiness has referred to sex among and between lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transvestites, transsexuals, and heterosexuals. Some define kinky sex as anything that occurs outside the bounds of marriage or is not focused on reproduction, so that seeking out specific sexual activities and/or partners purely for pleasure is deviant and kinky. Perhaps the most famous kinky text is the Indian classic from the fourth century CE, the *Kama Sutra*, where various sexual positions are depicted and described according to the physical, emotional, and spiritual pleasures they produce.

Most definitions of kinky sex refer to sexual practices grouped under the acronym BDSM, shorthand for sexual acts that include bondage and discipline, domination and submission, and sadism and masochism. All of these sexual activities rely on an explicit power dynamic in which each person plays a distinct role, and they often include props such as whips, handcuffs, ropes, leather outfits, and other pain or torture toys. In addition to BDSM activities, kinky sex includes group sex, fetishism, spanking, infantilism, watersports, swinging, and much more not typically accepted by mainstream culture.

In the United States, the nickname for the kinky subculture is *the scene*, and individuals may search out and join the scene through the Internet and through physical gatherings of *scenesters*. Through web sites, listservs, and message boards, the Internet has been responsible for creating a community among individuals who previously felt their sexual preferences were their own immoral perversions. In addition, the Internet has helped individuals find others who share their passions, a particularly difficult task in rural or sparsely populated areas.

It is important for those into kinky sex to practice some caution in choosing partners and sexual events. Much of the pleasure of kinky sex comes from the strong power dynamic enacted in situations of, for instance, domination and submission; senses are heightened by the presence or illusion of total power, which often produces a feeling of danger. Those who seek to be submissive, who get pleasure from being tied up or humiliated, must choose dominant partners who wield their power safely. All participants must also agree to a certain number of ground rules before engaging in kinky sex to avoid overstepping anyone's personal safety limits or placing anyone in real physical danger. Taking these steps helps differentiate kinky sex from abusive sex.

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Michelle Veenstra

KINSEY, ALFRED C.
1894–1956

Alfred Charles Kinsey was a biologist who began the scientific study of human sexuality. Believing that turn-of-the-century sexologists and psychoanalysts such as Havelock Ellis, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and Sigmund Freud reflected a more Victorian morality than a scientific approach to issues of sexuality, Kinsey modified the methods of his subspecialty, insect taxonomy, to investigate the sexual practices, fantasies, and desires of his contemporaries. By interviewing thousands of people about their sex lives, Kinsey devised a picture of sexual practices and private beliefs that deviated widely from the moral, religious, and social prescriptions of sexual behavior in the mid-twentieth century. By exposing the wide range and variety of sexual desires and habits, Kinsey challenged notions of sexual "normalcy," which he saw as oppressive and unnatural. For Kinsey, sexuality ranged across a wide swath of individual variation. Sexual prohibitions, repressive attitudes, and ideas of sexual degeneracy came from cultural attitudes rather than being any condition of nature. Kinsey founded the Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction at Indiana University, later renamed the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

KINSEY'S EARLY LIFE

Kinsey was the eldest son of Alfred Seguine Kinsey and Sarah Ann Charles, both children of skilled laborers. Kinsey's father was a self-made man who, beginning as a shop assistant at the Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey, rose to become a shop professor. Pay for shop assistants was not generous, so the Kinseys lived in genteel poverty in Hoboken, New Jersey, a crowded city with little access to open spaces or unsullied nature. As a child, Kinsey suffered from illnesses, caused partly by the Kinseys' cramped urban existence, and whose severity was exacerbated by a lack of adequate medical care. Kinsey suffered from rheumatic fever, typhoid fever, and rickets, which left him with enough of a curvature of the spine to prevent his being drafted during World War I.

Alfred Kinsey. **KEYSTONE FEATURES/GETTY IMAGES.**

The Kinseys were devout conservative Christians, Methodists whose lives were organized according to strict patriarchal prescription. Alfred Seguine Kinsey adhered to a belief in the sanctity of the Sabbath, the value of work, and the sinfulness of all matters sexual, which he would not discuss and which the children were not to know about. Kinsey was brought up in an atmosphere of repression, where his only outlet was nature. Even while young, Kinsey took every opportunity to spend time outdoors, participating in YMCA camps and taking long walks, gradually recovering from the debilitating effects of his childhood illnesses.

When Kinsey was a young teen, his father had improved his circumstances at Stevens and the family moved to the suburban town of South Orange with better schools and easier access to parkland. Kinsey studied the piano, joined the Boy Scouts, and became interested in biology, botany, and zoology at the behest of an influential high school biology teacher. Kinsey was a perfectionist who put all of his energies into his solitary projects. He became an accomplished classical pianist, but had no tolerance for popular music. He became an avid and skilled outdoorsman, hiking for miles on the weekends and developing knowledge and resilience that he would use later on his insect-collecting field trips.

Kinsey seems to have had little social life, but became an Eagle Scout and excelled in his academic endeavors. Class valedictorian, Kinsey had no choice but to attend Stevens Institute and follow in his father's footsteps, since his tuition at Stevens was free. After two years of a subpar performance, Kinsey finally resolved to oppose his father. He quit Stevens and applied to Bowdoin College in Maine, paying for his education with money he earned working as a camp counselor, winning scholarships, and finally working as a lab assistant for his biology professor at Bowdoin. Choosing to go to Bowdoin and receiving no support from his father destroyed what relationship there had been between father and son, a rift that continued for the rest of his father's life.

While at Bowdoin, Kinsey continued his intense interest in nature and the outdoors as well as his work with the YMCA. He was still shy socially and again excelled academically, graduating from Bowdoin magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa. The professors with whom he had worked closely highly recommended him to Harvard Graduate School, so in 1916, Kinsey enrolled in graduate studies in biology at the Bussey Institute, working with entomologist William Morton Wheeler (1865–1937). Kinsey, who was attracted by Wheeler's thoroughness, undertook a classification study of gall wasps. He spent two years collecting and measuring thousands of specimens, writing a dissertation in which he refined and reclassified gall wasp species.

Kinsey earned his ScD in 1919 and in 1920 took a job as an assistant professor of zoology at Indiana University, Bloomington. He continued his collection and study of gall wasps, believing that if he could never acquire a large enough sample of wasp specimens, he might generate an accurate taxonomic picture of the species, which might also provide clues to how species develop. Kinsey also believed that if he had enough samples he would be able to show how various species of wasps had evolved, ultimately adding to theories of evolution. In the 1930s he published two books on the gall wasp. Throughout his career, however, Kinsey knew himself to be more a taxonomist and collector than a theoretician.

After a year at Indiana, Kinsey met and married Clara McMillen, an Indiana graduate student. The Kinseys had four children, but their first child died before he was five from complications of juvenile diabetes. Kinsey was an avid gardener, and in addition to his work on gall wasps, wrote a successful high school biology textbook that unified zoology and botany with biology and assumed the scientific truth of evolution. During his first ten years at Indiana, Kinsey did not distinguish himself as a teacher, but did establish a field methodology of zealous trips throughout the United States and Mexico with graduate assistants, collecting specimens of gall wasps and their galls, measuring and cataloguing them, and devising the taxonomy of their species.

Kinsey's relatively late development as a social sexual being seems to have resulted from the repressive character of his childhood. The outlets for his sublimated energies—nature hikes, the YMCA, and the boy scouts—presented homosocial opportunities for sexual knowledge. Kinsey also seems to have resented the moral narrowness of his upbringing, perhaps even as it had affected his personal development. His work with gall wasps convinced him that species types and taxonomies were full of wide individual variation. In fact, he began to believe that variation rather than compliance to type was the rule of nature. This observation became one of the bases for Kinsey's explorations of human sexuality. Individual variation as an observed truth of nature meant that individual variation rather than imposed typology was closer to the way life was organized.

KINSEY'S WORK ON SEXUALITY

Kinsey began applying his insights about variation to questions of human sexuality. Adapting the zeal and exacting care developed in his study of gall wasps, Kinsey began developing ways to gather data about human sexual behaviors. Biographers speculate that Kinsey's interest in the topic of sexuality came from his anger at his own repressive childhood as well as from his own possible bisexual predilections and early sexual difficulties in his marriage. As Indiana University changed from a longstanding conservative leadership to the forward-looking openness of its new young president, Herman B. Wells (1902–2000), opportunities arose for a more public discussion of sexuality, including free Wasserman tests (previously forbidden diagnostic tests for syphilis), and a new team-taught course on marriage.

In 1935, Kinsey, who had been avidly reading about sexuality, gave a paper to a faculty group in which he deplored the repression and ignorance around sexual matters that made young peoples' lives miserable. He advocated his theory of individual variation and recommended early marriage to encourage sexual health. He spearheaded the organization and trial run of a new course on marriage, taught by a series of lecturers from different departments but managed and led by himself. Although the course was a non-credit course limited to seniors, it soon became widely popular and Kinsey, previously never an inspiring teacher, found his niche.

As one aspect of the marriage course, Kinsey encouraged his young students to talk with him about any sexual issues or problems they were having. Kinsey was a sympathetic and encouraging listener, apparently helpful to his students. But he also used such counseling sessions as opportunities to develop a more scientific way to gather behavioral data about human sexual behavior. Kinsey did not use students' sexual histories without their permission, but he did hone his skill at getting people to confide their sexual secrets to him. During this time, Kinsey asked his friends and many of his own students to participate in a survey about sexual practices and attitudes. He learned how to design a series of questions that would elicit information on feelings and behaviors about which people might be ashamed. He learned to memorize the questions and to note the answers on a single page in a code that only he could decipher, so that he could maintain eye contact with his subject and continue to comfort and elicit information.

Kinsey treated his data on sexual feelings and behaviors much the same way he had treated his wasp specimens. He saw that humans were normally capable of a wide range of sexual feelings and behaviors, most of which were repressed by what he saw as the unscientific, unenlightened moralities of religion and lingering Victorian attitudes. He enlarged his group of interviewees from students and colleagues to the pool of urban dwellers in Chicago, including members of Chicago's gay community and often their families. Trying to discern both the prevalence of sexual behaviors and their causes, Kinsey wanted to talk to as many people as possible. Kinsey collected information about more than just sexual behavior. He also began collecting data about the male sexual anatomy, including penis size, as a part of his interviews. To enlarge his chain of contacts, Kinsey not only sent thank-you notes and progress reports, but asked cooperating subjects for the names of other possible participants.

Kinsey's interest in gay male culture had two effects. First, he was able to describe homosexuality as a normal sexual variation. Second, because approximately one-fifth of his early interviews were with homosexual males, such a quantity possibly skewed his sense of the relative prevalence of male homosexuality in the larger culture.

ESTABLISHING THE INSTITUTE FOR SEX RESEARCH

In 1940, Kinsey was forced to change his ways of gathering information. Pressures from faculty and disgruntled students led to his being removed from the marriage course. Although many students found his course valuable, for others the course clashed with religious and cultural beliefs. Looking for funding, Kinsey delivered his first paper on sexual research at a national conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, where he set out one of the basic assumptions of his research: rejecting, as biographer James Jones reports, the idea "that homosexuality and heterosexuality are two mutually exclusive phenomena emanating from fundamentally ... different types of individuals" (1997, p. 425). In 1941 Kinsey managed to win a grant from the National Research Council for his work on sexuality. This grant was followed by another, larger grant from the Committee for Research on Problems of Sex (CRPS), a subcommittee of the National Research Council (NRC) funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, as Kinsey began to prepare his accumulating data for an early form of data processing.

In 1942, Kinsey began to lobby for funds to establish an institute for sex research at Indiana. Although his quantitative methods had impressed representatives from the CRPS, and they continued his funding, he began to focus his efforts on the Rockefeller Foundation itself. Increasingly, difficulties with the NRC—including changing board members, issues over the disposition of Kinsey's collection of interviews and library of resources on sexuality, and concerns about continued protection of confidentiality of participants' information—spurred Kinsey to establish a more formal institutional ground from which to conduct his research. Indiana University as well wished to retain Kinsey and his work, but also wished to have a buffer between his projects and the rest of the university. With funding from Rockefeller, Kinsey and Indiana University incorporated the Institute for Sex Research, a scientific organization dedicated to the study of human sexuality. The Institute housed all of Kinsey's interview notes, data, and his library of resource material. Through all of this Kinsey was regarded as a dispassionate, empirical scientist who gathered and interpreted data about human sexual behavior.

In 1948, Kinsey published his first book on sexuality, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, based on the data collected in his previous ten years of interviews. The book focused on variations in male sexual behavior, both in terms of individual males and in terms of male groups. Using data from 5,300 white males, Kinsey's book examined the various ways males achieved orgasm, documenting percentages of masturbation, heterosexual intercourse, homosexual intercourse, bestiality, and nocturnal emissions. It correlated these findings with data about age, marital status, religion, class background, and education.

Kinsey determined that males do not comprise separate populations of homosexual and heterosexual men, but rather that there is a continuity of gradations between the strictly homosexual and the strictly heterosexual into which most individuals fall. Kinsey devised his famous seven-point Kinsey Scale representing the range of variations, from those who are exclusively heterosexual to those who are exclusively homosexual and everyone in between.

In 1953 Kinsey published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, also based on the compilation of data from some 5,940 interviews. The data he collected treated a number of topics, including masturbation, nudity, erogenous zones, orgasm, bisexuality, anal sex, oral sex, fantasy, foreplay, sadomasochism, and extramarital sexual activity. This second book represents increased sophistication in the ways Kinsey understood the material he had collected. While the first book assumes a male model for all sexuality, the second book acknowledges that women are also surprisingly sexually active and that the sexual behavior of both males and females is strongly affected by the sociocultural environment in which people live.

In both books, Kinsey argued that progress in the area of sexual happiness and success could only be achieved by an education about the facts of sexuality instead of tactics of moral repression. To Kinsey, sexual behavior was a matter of biology instead of a matter of conscience or the double standards of morality. He did not regard the range of practices and the fact of individual variation as itself evidence of degeneracy, but instead as evidence that human biology hosts a range of possible sexual responses, which were not in and of themselves wrong or immoral. Any problems with sexuality thus were caused by the artificial restraints on knowledge and practice imposed by moral strictures and unenlightened values.

Both of Kinsey's books were bestsellers and established Kinsey as a public figure. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* sold more than 200,000 copies in two months. The book was reviewed in the *New York Times*, and there were features about him in *Time*, *Life*, and *The New Yorker*, among other magazines. He became a folk hero and a household name, his image recognized and his book often cited.

Such popularity could not help but rekindle cultural disagreements about morality and sexuality. Because Kinsey's books simultaneously challenged repressive understandings of sexuality and suggested a large gap between sexual desire and practice and public morality, both his findings and his methods threatened long habits of American existence, especially those dominated by religion. The clear and open way in which Kinsey spoke about sexual practices itself seemed nearly obscene to some, and his books, while popular, also catalyzed negative responses from those who policed morality—such as churches, legislators, and the press. On the one hand, his revelations about homosexuality eventually convinced the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from its list of mental illnesses. On the other, conservative religious groups saw Kinsey's work as the antithesis of science, and as representing precisely the strain of libertinism their efforts tried to contain. Others continue to criticize his research methods, suggesting that he had an insufficiently small sample, that his subjects represented only a small segment of American society, and that his interviews overemphasized such topics as homosexuality.

Eventually negative publicity would impinge on funding for the Institute, although in 1957 it won a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. The American government impounded photographic materials imported for the Institute's collection, forcing a law suit (*United States v. 31 Photographs*) that was settled in the Institute's favor only after Kinsey's death, August 25, 1956. The Institute thrives at the beginning of the twenty-first century, continuing to pursue the scientific study of sexuality. Conservative critics continue to attack both Kinsey's approaches and his conclusions, particularly in relation to data collected on children. The battle Kinsey engaged between science and morality still lingers, as does the figure of Kinsey himself: the 2004 film *Kinsey*, directed by Bill Condon, presented again the currents and debates of his life.

Kinsey's work changed the way Americans thought about sexuality, even if they wished to retain a moral attitude. Even if Kinsey's interview samples were not entirely representative of a cross section of the American population, his work represented an important beginning in the study of a central phenomenon of human existence, long forbidden by the non-scientific pronouncements of moral authority. Although Kinsey himself had been rumored to engage in sexual experimentation, his insistence on a scientific basis for the study of sexual behavior made it possible to begin to reconsider the social problems caused by sexual repression, including birth control, marriage, and sexual variations in general. Thinking about sexuality as a field of scientific study instead of a realm of sin not only changed how sexuality is regarded, but also the place of sexuality in human existence.

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Judith Roof

KISS, PRE-MODERN

As a sign of affection likely as old as humanity and probably older, since it is a behavioral trait that humans share with other primates, kissing is well attested in a broad body of textual and visual artifacts throughout ancient and medieval cultures. While thus possessing a certain degree of universality, like other gestures the kiss's meaning is ultimately culturally determined and, as such, dependent on context: Who is kissing whom? Before whom? For what reason? As Jean-Claude Schmitt (1990, p. 298) has observed of feudal ritual, by exchanging a kiss the parties indicate, to each other and to witnesses, that they share a mutually respectful intimacy and a social bond of community. It is precisely because the kiss is so culturally over-determined that its symbolic meaning can be, by turns, polysemous, ambiguous, or transgressive. A case in point: the kiss of Judas was on the one hand a simple sign by which Judas showed that Jesus was his "rabbi" or master; on the other, it was a gesture whose performative import was that of supreme betrayal.

A few textual examples drawn from the ancient world help elucidate the polysemous nature of the kiss. In his *Life of Alexander*, Plutarch (c. 46–c. 120 CE) describes two such occasions. After the boy Alexander successfully breaks the restive horse Bucephalus, his father Philip kisses him before the assembled company, exclaiming that his son should seek out a kingdom large enough for him since Macedonia is clearly too small (6.8). Later, having reached manhood, Alexander bestows a kiss before the public assembled in the theater upon his favorite, Bagoas, who has won a contest in singing and dancing (67.8). In each case, public recognition of an accomplishment, coupled with a newly enhanced social status, is expressed in the form of a kiss given by a superior to a man who is his inferior in age or status. The gesture, hierarchically structured yet suggestive of equality, serves to reaffirm a bond of affection, paternal in the first instance, erotic in the second, between men of public notoriety.

Some three centuries earlier, the Greek poet and originator of pastoral poetry, Theocritus (c. 320–c. 250 BCE), some of whose verses celebrate love between an older man and a youth, describes in Idyll 12 a contest in Athens in which an arbiter seeks to determine which boy has the sweetest kiss. As with Plutarch's second example, kissing here occurs within a public and festive context, the playful description of which does not diminish its erotic charge. Finally, few classical texts can compare in erotic exuberance with Song 5 of the *Catulli carmina* by the Roman poet Catullus (c. 84–c. 54 BCE), who enjoins his lover Lesbia to give him "a thousand kisses, then another hundred, / then another thousand, then a second hundred, / then yet another thousand, then another hundred" (lines 7–9). As with Theocritus, the ludic and formal qualities of Catullus's verse serve to heighten and refine his evocation of the passionate embraces between two lovers.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Song of Songs, which opens with the verse "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth / for your breasts are better than wine" (1.1), underscores how the celebration of erotic love was recuperated and reinterpreted by Christian theologians to serve other, spiritual ends. Noting that the "curiously blatant eroticism of the *Song of Songs* is one of the most obvious features of the text" (1990, p. 32), E. Ann Matter argues that the Greek theologian Origen (c. 185–254) set the tone for the text's reception and interpretation in Christian exegesis. Origen, who acknowledged the inherent eroticism of the text, understood it to be an epithalamium, or wedding hymn, in which the bridegroom is God and the bride either the Church or the Christian soul. Saint Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate (the definitive Latin Bible), also translated Origen's *Homilies on the Song of Songs* into Latin, conferring on the controversial author's reading a stamp of approval that guaranteed its dissemination and continued influence in the Christian West. Thus, in his *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) interprets the kiss as a mystical one (*spirituale osculum*) from the mouth of Christ, with whom mystical union is achieved through a series of ascending spiritual kisses: of the feet (beginning stage of penitential devotion), of the hand (linked to practice of a holy life), and, finally, of the mouth (Matter, p. 125, on Bernard, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, Sermo III.i.1).

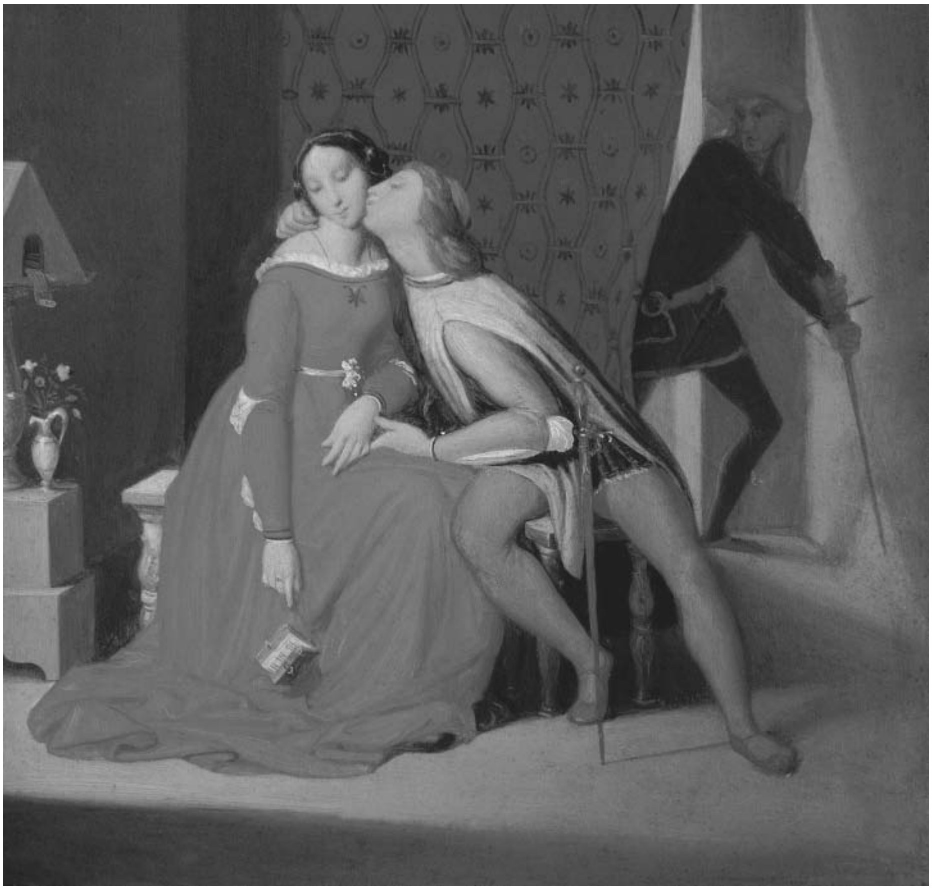
Despite this spiritualization of the kiss, mystical union with Christ was usually described in highly eroticized terms. In an example analyzed by Schmitt (1990, p. 297–299), Rupert of Deutz (c. 1070–1129) describes how in a vision Christ not only received his kiss as a gesture of love (*gestum dilectionis*) but opened his mouth so that Rupert could kiss him more deeply (*os aperiret ut profundius oscularer*) (Rupert of Deutz, *De gloria et honore filii hominis super Matthaeum*, as quoted by Schmitt, p. 298). Rupert's use of the word *dilectio* is particularly striking since this term was commonly used to refer to physical love between a man and a woman or, as in this case, two men.

In the liturgy of the medieval church (which seems to inform Bernard's three-step mystical kiss) and in feudal ritual, one sees most clearly how the kiss was *the* constitutive gesture of sanctified social bonds. In the Gospels the kiss does not seem to possess a ritualized significance, but Saint Paul's use of the formula for leave-taking with a sacred kiss (*en philemati hagio*) is highly suggestive of such a function. By the time of Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) the exchange of a kiss before the Offertory as a sign of charity was clearly the practice between Christians regardless of sex. Here again, tensions inherent in the kiss led to divergent understandings: The fact that the "sacred kiss" was exchanged between men and women in the early church was criticized by non-Christians. Its use was subsequently limited to those of the same sex, then further to specific contexts, such as the welcoming of newly baptized members, the reconciliation of penitents, or the consecration of bishops. The *osculum pacis*, or Kiss of Peace, given by the clergy to the faithful during mass, was similarly limited in the later Middle Ages to the clergy alone, with the substitution of a sacred object for the faithful to kiss. The Kiss of Peace was omitted from mass on Maundy Thursday (doubtless so as to avoid all reference to the Kiss of Judas) and from the Mass for the Dead (during which the Eucharist was not distributed to the faithful, perhaps in order to prevent the placing of a consecrated host in the mouth of the deceased). Thus, within the liturgy of the church the kiss was a gesture so highly charged that its practice underwent numerous changes, the thrust of which was to limit all possible ambiguity or contamination (Cabrol 1907).

The possibility of ambiguity in the kiss given by the feudal lord to his vassal in the ritual granting of a fief also seems to have elicited containment. This ritual, analyzed by Jacques Le Goff (1977), typically consisted of three aspects: a verbal declaration of faith by the vassal; homage, signified by the vassal's placing his hands between those of his lord (*immixtio manuum*); and finally the *osculum*, a kiss bestowed by the lord to the vassal mouth to mouth, *ore ad os*. Women, however, were apparently exempted from the *osculum*; nor did it figure in oaths of allegiance made by serfs. Indeed, while homage indicated the subservience of the vassal to his lord, the kiss denoted the recognition of mutual responsibilities and a thus a kind of parity. Its practice was therefore limited to noblemen (Le Goff 1977, p. 357).

There were also strikingly transgressive or subversive dimensions to the kiss. In a number of saint's legends, the kissing of a leper—sometimes followed by miraculous healing—indicated that the saint rejected his worldly status, as in Thomas of Celano's *Second Life of Saint Francis*, and embraced a bond of community with the most wretched (Peyroux 2000). In an entirely different register, courtly texts typically represent the kisses and embraces of lovers, often in a formulaic manner. A notable case of a transgressive kiss occurs in Canto V of Dante's *Inferno* (lines 127–138), when Francesca and Paolo, incited by their reading of a Lancelot romance, seal their fate by exchanging a kiss. Another couple whose reading, in the context of master and pupil, was interrupted by kissing with equally disastrous results is Abelard and Heloise, as related in the former's *Historia calamitatum* (c. 1132).

Sometimes, as has already been seen, a kiss could be given in the context of a game, as at the beginning of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (late fourteenth century),



Paolo and Francesca. *Two young lovers kiss in* Paolo and Francesca, *a painting by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres.* © THE ART ARCHIVE/CORBIS.

where the lady who loses the game must receive a knight's kiss. This text then stages another kind of game in which Gawain and his host Bertilak swear to give each other what each has garnered over the course of three days, during which Bertilak is on the hunt and Gawain back at the castle, passively receiving the advances of his host's wife. Gawain dutifully renders to Bertilak the kisses received from his wife, first *comlyly* (line 1505, in a comely way), then *hendely* (line 1639, in a courtly way), and finally *sauerly* and *sadly* (line 1937, tastily or feelingly, and seriously or solemnly) (Dinshaw 1994, p. 206). In her discussion of this text, Carolyn Dinshaw notes that the exchange of kisses of a carnal kind was severely condemned by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who wrote in the *Summa theologiae* that kisses and embraces for the sake of carnal pleasure were mortal sins. For Peter Damian (1007–1072), a moral reformer obsessed with the prospect of sodomitical behavior among the clergy, such kisses were especially egregious when they occurred between men (Dinshaw 1994, p. 210). How then was a medieval reader (or hearer), who had certainly heard the sin of sodomy condemned from the pulpit or in the confessional, to understand the pleasurable kisses given by Gawain to Bertilak? As Dinshaw argues, the text presents rather perversely a test case in which the possibility of a homosexual—as opposed to a homosocial—bond is entertained, only to be ultimately contained.

A final example of a kiss between men that is fraught with sexual ambiguity occurs at the conclusion of the Pardoner's Tale in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (VI, lines 943–955), when the Pardoner invites the Host to kiss his relics. After the latter angrily responds to this sexually ambiguous invitation with the threat of castration, the Knight's suggestion that the two should exchange the Kiss of Peace, as Robert Sturges notes, "ironically raises exactly the sodomitical possibilities that the Host angrily disavowed" (Sturges 2000, p. 9).

The above examples, chosen from among many, demonstrate that the kiss, overly invested as it was with multiple meanings of both a sexual and non-sexual nature, could be deployed in the interest of social cohesion but could in certain circumstances result in a cultural incoherence that threatened the very bonds it was meant to create.

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KISS, MODERN

Kissing is the placing of the lips on some part of a person, animal, or thing, sometimes accompanied by a smacking sound. The word may come from the Old English *coss*, and has variants in both old Germanic and old Romance languages. Kissing in modern times can serve as a gesture of affection, a greeting, a parting, a romantic overture, a sexual practice, a sign of respect, a blessing, a sign of reverence, or an indicator of subordination. It seems to have historically been more important in the West than in many Asiatic, Polynesian, and sub-Saharan societies, and its ceremonial use in the West in the last thousand years has diminished as its erotic significance has grown. In nineteenth-century America, kissing was part of publicly conducted courtship, but became more private among middle-class couples as courtship moved indoors to sitting rooms and private parlors. The 1920s saw a resurgence of more public forms of kissing in the "petting parties" of teenagers and young adults, and public kissing between men and women has been viewed as a normal part of young adulthood ever since, though such tolerance in the United States has historically demanded that participants adhere to the American norms of heterosexual courtship; which is to say that those kissing should be of different genders and have the same racial background.

METHODS OF KISSING

In the United States, methods of kissing vary with degree of intimacy. An intimate form of social kissing used between good friends, family members, and lovers involves one person placing his or her lips directly on the lips of someone else. A slightly more formal kind of kissing is the greeting where one person places his or her lips on another person's cheek, a greeting or leave-taking usually practiced by friends and family, and a traditional gesture of respect—and, some would argue, domination—bestowed by men on women in the earlier and middle twentieth century. As the social relations between men and women began to change because of feminism and more women entering the workplace, this gesture, once considered a part of masculine decorum even in political and business settings, has been replaced by the more gender-neutral and less awkward handshake. Confusion as to the propriety of the old-fashioned chivalrous kiss of greeting can be seen fairly often in the breaches of protocol that occur when U.S. presidents, foreign diplomats, or Olympic athletes accidentally proffer the queen of England or other female royalty gentlemanly kisses on the cheek instead of the more proper bow and handshake.

Air kissing, where the lips of one person do not touch another's body but instead make only kissing sounds, evolved as a gesture of affection in the mid-twentieth century between women of the middle and upper classes who did not want to touch each other directly either because of physical squeamishness or, as is more likely, to avoid smearing each other's makeup. This gesture is sometimes still used by older women and women wearing a lot of makeup, but has fallen out of fashion, parodied in films and on television to comic effect as a superficial and hypocritical gesture of affection between social rivals who loathe each other in private but must keep up appearances of ladylike civility in public. The European gesture of touching one's cheek to either side of another person's face, a form of greeting that does not involve touching the lips anywhere, is related to the air kiss in that smacking sounds are sometimes made with the lips at the same time, but this form of greeting is less practiced in the United States than it is abroad.

Contemporary lovers and married people are allowed—and even expected—to kiss each other on the mouth in a more prolonged fashion, as a sexualized form of greeting and farewell. This type of kissing may be repetitive, open-mouthed, and more intense, though it is generally considered in poor taste to be overly sexual in public. Open-mouthed kissing, also known as "French" kissing, is always considered to be sexual, and its public use is determined by individual taste and social and cultural propriety. Marriages are sealed with a kiss that is expected to have some erotic significance, and kissing in public between men and women or boys and girls of the same race is met with general societal approval almost everywhere in the United States and Europe. Tolerance for interracial relationships is increasing in many parts of Europe and the United States, though it can still be dangerous to display sexual affection for someone of another race. Same-sex erotic kissing, however, is prohibited in all but the most liberal enclaves in the United States and abroad. It is often permissible to kiss a same-sex partner in gay-friendly neighborhoods, businesses, and countries where gay marriage or domestic partnerships are legal, such as Canada, the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands. Women kissing each other is generally more tolerated than male-male kissing because women are often not perceived to be sexual without men and many heterosexual men find lesbian displays of affection attractive and titillating. Nevertheless, kissing anyone of the same sex is usually read as indicative of homosexuality, and can be dangerous when performed in homophobic parts of the United States and the world where gay bashing is common.

Kissing is not as sexualized elsewhere to the extent that it is in the United States, and same-sex kissing may therefore be more freely tolerated even in parts of the world that severely punish homosexual acts. For example, it is considered normal in many Mediterranean countries and parts of the Middle East for men to kiss each other, hold hands, and keep their arms around each other, and affection between women is the norm in most of the world. Furthermore, in Muslim countries such as Malaysia, even men and women can be arrested for kissing each other if they are not married.

Kissing is not, of course, confined to the lips or face. It is common to kiss the hands of friends and loved ones as a gesture of affection in many parts of Africa. Kissing the hand can be a gesture of respect or reverence, such as when clerics kiss the rings on the hands of archbishops, cardinals, or popes. Presidents and kings are expected to kiss the heads of children in a gesture of blessing, and a kiss on the head by a parent or authority figure is commonly understood to sanction and favor the undertaking of a young person, such as a marriage or journey.

Sexualized kissing can involve any area of the body, from mouth kisses to the genital kisses of oral sex. Kissing the neck, breasts, stomach, genitals, or anus of a lover or lovers can be either a prelude to other types of genital sexual activity or a sexual activity in itself. This type of kissing in the context of heterosexual sexual intercourse is commonly referred to as "foreplay" for those interested in differentiating coitus from the types of sexual acts that precede it. Prolonged kissing of all kinds is considered crucial to sexual arousal as long as participants view these types of kisses as attractive, and physiological responses to kissing include all the signs of arousal, such as increased heart rate, increased breathing, flushed skin, dilated pupils, vaginal lubrication, swelling and tenderness of the nipples, clitoral or penile erection, swelling of the testes, and thickening of the scrotum.

TABOOS AND CENSORSHIP

Some types of kisses are considered unacceptable in certain contexts. Some people find genital kissing to be repugnant, and many people consider anal kissing, or "rimming," taboo. Kissing or licking in such a way as to suggest sexual activity with other traditionally taboo objects, such as animals or dead people, is almost universally held to be taboo. Open-mouthed, or French, kissing, is the most erotically charged kind of social kissing, and therefore is generally taboo between people who are not socially approved as lovers in various contexts, such as between adults and children in countries where child marriage and sex between adults and minors is illegal, people of different races or religions in areas of prejudice and racial and religious strife, unmarried men and women in Muslim countries, same-sex partners in homophobic countries, married people and partners other than their spouses in places that condemn adultery, and those related by blood ties that are deemed too close for marriage, such as siblings, children or grandchildren, parents or grandparents, and sometimes, first cousins. The term *kissing cousins* can refer to married first cousins, people related to each other by marriage but not by blood, or simply cousins who know each other so well that they greet each other with kisses.

The media has traditionally censored kissing in much the same way as it has other kinds of sexual behavior. In India, any type of kissing was until recently unacceptable to portray on film. In the United States, the Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors Association adopted its Production Code, also known as the Hays Code, in 1930 to regulate moral standards in its films. The Catholic National Legion of Decency was formed in 1933 to monitor sexual content in the movies, introducing a rating system that was later adapted by the Motion Picture Association of America, which released its first rating scheme in 1968. The Hays Code of 1930 forbade the sympathetic portrayal of sinful, criminal, and perverse behavior, and forbade lustful kisses of any kind. Kisses were limited to quick pecks and the closed-mouthed pressing of lips between men and women in such a way as to suggest fierce but contained passion. Gay or lesbian romantic kisses were almost never shown on film and never shown on television until 1991, when *L.A. Law* had female coworkers kiss, and when they were, such as the 1994 *Roseanne* episode in which Roseanne kisses Muriel Hemingway, the network broadcast a parental advisory. One of the loveliest tributes ever made to the power of the screen kiss remains Giuseppe Tornatore's 1988 film, *Cinema Paradiso*, the story line of which includes a village priest who censors and excises film kisses, a boy who loves the movies, and a final scene where the boy-turned-man, heartbroken and alone, returns to the little town and movie house of his childhood to find an old reel of all the censored passionate kisses spliced together, one after another, in glorious succession. As this film suggests, the kiss in modern culture is understood chiefly as a romantic gesture, and it is this aspect of kissing that enjoys the most social significance in film and television.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay.*

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Alexandra Kollontai. KEYSTONE/GETTY IMAGES.

KOLLONTAI, ALEXANDRA
1872–1952

Alexandra Kollontai, née Domontovich, Bolshevik feminist and diplomat, was born in St. Petersburg on March 31 (March 19, old style), 1872, the daughter of a Russian general and a half-Finnish mother. Her girlhood radical sympathies arose from reading French and Russian novels and from news about the executed assassins of Tsar Alexander II in 1881—one of whom was female. Alexandra was briefly married to Vladimir Kollontai, son of a Polish political exile. In the 1890s, she aligned herself with the Russian Marxists who in 1903 divided into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. At first a Menshevik, she published anticapitalist works and distributed illegal pamphlets to St. Petersburg factory workers. After witnessing Bloody Sunday in 1905, when tsarist troops shot down unarmed workers, Kollontai became a full-time revolutionary. At the same time, Russian feminists, after the establishment of a parliament, were agitating for women's suffrage. Kollontai, outraged that feminists ignored the class struggle, worked to enlist female factory workers into a proletarian women's movement that would join the struggle for a socialist revolution. She launched an assault on what she called "bourgeois feminism" while attempting to bring issues of women's lives to the attention of her largely indifferent male socialist colleagues.

During World War I, Kollontai sided with the Bolsheviks on their antiwar positions. In 1917 she organized women against the war and the Provisional Government. When the Bolsheviks took power that year, she gained a temporary appointment as commissar of public welfare and a few years later headed up Zhenotdel—the women's section of the Bolshevik (now Communist) Party. In the early 1920s, she used her position to fight prostitution, recruit women into politics, propagandize their right to divorce and abortion, and work for the emancipation of Central Asian Muslim women. But she also incurred censure for leading an opposition faction within the party. Kollontai's factionalism and her sexual writings led Vladimir Lenin and his successors to remove her from Soviet domestic politics by appointing her to diplomatic posts in Norway and Mexico, and eventually as ambassador to Sweden. She survived Joseph Stalin's lethal purges and World War II and died in Moscow on March 9, 1952.

Kollontai, more than any other Bolshevik—male or female—delved into gender issues before and after the revolution. While condemning prostitution, which "smothers love in human hearts," she allowed for sex outside formal marriage for both genders. She viewed marriage practices of her day as emotionally constrictive and failing to allow for incompatibility. Her ideal partnership was a comradely union of equals, whose offspring would be raised, if the couple wished, with the help of the state. She considered free unions just as legitimate as legal marriage, but warned women of the traps set by consuming passion that could drain their energy and often flatten their egos. For Kollontai, reproductive freedom was essential, though she saw the 1920 Soviet legalization of abortion a necessary evil that a socialist society would obviate through the state's ability to care for of all children. Going beyond legal and social policy, Kollontai developed the notion of "winged eros," sensuous and rarefied "love play" that required mutual sensitivity and independence for both partners. Opposing any restraint on sexual and reproductive life, she posited a "New Woman" of self-discipline, individuality, sexually, and economic independence in a future collectivist society where those who chose parenthood cared for their own and for others' children under a state umbrella of communal housekeeping.

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Richard Stites

KRAFFT-EBING, RICHARD

1840–1902

Richard Freiherr (Baron) von Krafft-Ebing was one of the great modern sexologists, and is remembered for his exhaustive catalogue of modern sexual desires and practices, the landmark *Psychopathia Sexualis*, first published in German in 1886. Krafft-Ebing was born August 14, 1840, in Mannheim, Baden, Germany, to a family from the minor nobility. His grandfather encouraged him to study medicine, which he did, attending the University of Heidelberg and specializing in psychiatry. He then worked as an alienist, or psychiatric doctor, in various insane asylums, before becoming a professor. He taught first at Strasbourg, at that time only recently acquired by Germany, then later at Graz, in the Austro-Hungarian empire, and then in Vienna. In those days alienists were wardens without a proper medical procedure for classifying and treating the insane, so Krafft-Ebing provided a system for categorizing and classifying mental disorders in his first major work, *A Textbook of Insanity*, published in 1879. He continued his system of classification in his second major work, *Psychopathia Sexualis*.

Psychiatric interest in sexual deviance in the mid-nineteenth century was part of a larger interest in criminal behavior, including the psychological makeup of criminals. Psychiatrists stressed the need to look at underlying mental illness as well as criminal behavior in treating offenders, and more specifically, at the relationship between sex and psychology. In *Psychopathis Sexualis*, Krafft-Ebing introduced four categories of sexual abnormality. The first, "paradoxia," described sexual desire at the wrong time of life, such as infancy or old age; the second, "anaesthesia," referred to lack of sexual desire; the third, "hyperesthesia," to excessive desire, and the last "paresthesia," to the "wrong" object or aim of sexual behavior, also known as "perversion." It is for cataloging this last group of so-called abnormalities that *Psychopathia Sexualis* and its author are best remembered in the early twenty-first century.

Most of *Psychopathis Sexualis* is concerned with sexual perversion, or "the perversions." Perversion is an old-fashioned diagnostic term that once served as a label for sexual activities considered outside the norm of heterosexual sexual desire and activity. Sexual perversion was defined as any type of sexual activity, regardless of the sex of the participants, other than heterosexual coitus. *Psychopathia Sexualis* defines sexual perversion as a disease of the sexual instinct, as opposed to sexual *perversity*, which is defined as vice rather than pathology. The sexual perversions delineated by Krafft-Ebing included sadism, masochism, fetishism, bestiality, sexual inversion in men and

Richard Krafft-Ebing. *One of the great modern sexologists.* IMAGNO/GETTY IMAGES.

women (understood either as what is now termed homosexuality, on the one hand, or gender dysphoria, on the other, or both), rape, nymphomania, onanism (masturbation), pedophilia, exhibitionism, necrophilia, and incest.

Krafft-Ebing spent a major portion of *Psychopathia Sexualis* discussing homosexuality, primarily in men. He developed three categories of homosexual: Psychosexual Hermaphroditism, Congenital Inversion, and Acquired Anti-Pathic Sexual Instinct.

He theorized that some men with degenerate heredity suffer from Psychosexual Hermaphroditism, which makes them attracted to both women and men. He believed that hypnosis, electricity, and the avoidance of masturbation could be used to cure psychosexual hermaphrodites of their homosexual desires. He also thought that patients with Congenital Inversion suffered from degenerate heredity, but concluded that since most congenital inverts felt that their inclinations were natural, treatment was unlikely to be effective. He classified two types of Acquired Anti-Pathic Sexual Instinct, the first as an acquired awareness of perverse feelings brought on by excessive masturbation; the second resulting from over-indulgence in heterosexual activity, where bored men then turn to men and boys for new sexual thrills. Krafft-Ebing diagnosed these men as "cultivated pederasts," and sternly condemned their unrestrained lust.

Krafft-Ebing's book was criticized by doctors who thought homosexuality was pornographic and best ignored, so to mollify them, Krafft-Ebing described sex acts in Latin. This also had the effect of discouraging non-medical readers from accidentally learning something new. This practice of Latin encoding continued in editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis* until well into the middle of the twentieth century, and many of these copies can still be found. Other critics complained that the booked lacked an underlying theory to account for the practices and desires it classified. This lack of a grand theory may be one reason why the book lasted so long as a scholarly resource; its classifications do not require that one buy into one school of psychiatric medicine or another, and the book functions equally well as a work of cultural history.

Krafft-Ebing's work helped transform society's view of sexual deviants from criminals needing punishment into patients needing treatment. To do this, he distinguished between the perverse and the pervert. Those who commit "abnormal" sex acts for thrills or money are, in Krafft-Ebing's terms, perverse, and deserve punishment because they act against their normal heterosexual natures. Perverts like congenital homosexuals, on the other hand, are acting in accordance with their natures, and cannot help themselves without medical treatment. Krafft-Ebing thought that these people were sick and deserved treatment, not punishment. Later in life he revised many of his prejudices about homosexuals, eventually coming to believe that homosexuality should be decriminalized.

Despite the Latin phrases in many editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Krafft-Ebing's work helped incite and proliferate the very sexual diversity it sought to classify and control. His categories helped people name themselves and their desires, and served to break down the isolation many of them experienced as homosexuals, fetishists, masochists, and sadists, among others. Krafft-Ebing coined the words *masochist* and *sadist*, the first after the author of *Venus in Furs*, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, whose protagonist wants to be enslaved by a beautiful women; the second for the Marquis de Sade, whose writings celebrated the pleasures of sexual cruelty. *Psychopathia Sexualis* was the first book to discuss homosexuality scientifically, and one of the first to discuss female sexual pleasure in any depth. Readers contacted him throughout his lifetime, some to seek treatment, others to discuss their particular cases and sexual desires.

Krafft-Ebing retired from teaching at sixty-one, but continued to write and see patients. He died a year later, on December 22, 1902, just three years before the publication of Sigmund Freud's revolutionary *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Freud's work would radically blur the line between normal and abnormal, heterosexual and homosexual, and healthy and deviant sexuality. Krafft-Ebing, however, laid the groundwork for a greater tolerance of sexual diversity in society at large by taking sexual behavior seriously, lending it the dignity of scientific examination, and separating sexual issues from criminal and moral ones. In the early 2000, he is rightly revered as one of the great nineteenth-century pioneers of sexual science, whose painstaking research helped bring modern, twentieth-century notions of sexual expression into existence.

SEE ALSO *Sexology.*

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Jaime Hovey

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LABOR AND WORKFORCE IN AFRICA, ASIA, AND THE MIDDLE EAST

In an era of globalization, labor and workforce patterns in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East are linked to transnational trends and economies, as skilled and unskilled workforces compete in increasingly mobile and interconnected labor markets. A skilled workforce with strong female participation plays a key role in building a healthy economy, just as the buffering effects of long-term employment arrangements contribute to economic, social, and political stability. Conversely, extended periods of high unemployment and weakened economies can lead to instability. Women, children, and unskilled workers are the most vulnerable to exploitation in weak or failing economies.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

Although the link between human development and economic growth is complex, many countries in these regions that have invested heavily in human development have reaped the benefits of skilled and diverse workforces able to compete in the global economic market. Other countries that were faced with a legacy of sluggish economic systems, outdated infrastructures, and weak human capital, are ill-equipped to face the challenges of the twenty-first century. To compete in an increasing global market and ensure economic growth, countries must invest in human capital and promote women's empowerment.

The East Asian experience demonstrated the effectiveness of economic models based on labor-intensive, light manufacturing for export that are highly reliant on female labor. Investment in the workforce contributed heavily to the strong economic growth of the Asian economic "Tigers"—Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea—beginning in the 1960s and continuing through the late 1990s. These export-driven economies required an educated, trained, skilled, and disciplined workforce.

Malaysia and Singapore heavily promoted science and technology for undergraduates, whereas approximately half Taiwan's university population studied engineering or business development. Improved education for girls from the 1970s through the 1990s played an important role in increased women's employment in Malaysia, where women account for just under 36 percent of the workforce. In Cambodia, women represent 84 percent of the garment industry workers—estimated at 200,000.

Because of the sheer size of its workforce, low wages, and new models of production, China has begun to impact global markets in a significant way. The restructuring and privatization of state-owned and urban collective-owned factories in the late 1990s initially brought about massive layoffs, but increased labor productivity. In the early twenty-first century China's manufacturing industry is among the most competitive in the world, albeit highly dependent on stable energy costs. The vast majority of China's manufacturing jobs lie outside city boundaries, while an estimated 100 to 150 million rural workers subsist on part-time, low paying jobs.

The Asian financial crisis of 1997–1998 devastated many economies in the region, but most have since

Japanese Department Store Workers. *"Service girls" are trained at a Matsuya department store in Tokyo. Women learn how to bow to the correct angle and practice bowing to customers entering the store or riding the escalators.* © KAREN KASMAUSKI/CORBIS.

recovered despite lingering structural weaknesses. Between 1990 and 2002, increasing numbers of East Asian women have moved out of agricultural work and into industrial and services sectors. Cambodia saw an 8 percent increase of female employment in manufacturing, while Indonesia and the Philippines witnessed 10 and 6 percent increases respectively.

India is another economic giant in Asia. Unlike China's export-driven manufacturing economy, India's greatest strength lies in the service sector, catering to the information technology needs of other countries. At the center of India's success is a well-educated workforce, skilled in the digital world of information technology, and proficient in English.

By contrast, much of the Arab world suffers from sluggish economies that have failed to invest in human capital and integrate women into the formal sector. Education systems in the Arab world fail to consistently produce graduates with solid marketable job skills, and the influence of conservative Islamic influences greatly hinders the entry of women into the formal sector. Unemployment rates remain at double-digit levels in many countries of the Middle East: Yemen 35 percent, Libya 30 percent, and Algeria 17 percent. Over-reliance on oil production in the Gulf region has created lopsided economies, large and inefficient public sectors, and workers heavily reliant on government jobs. Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait, for example, depend greatly on imported labor from South and Southeast Asia to fill vacancies for jobs deemed undesirable or inappropriate by locals.

Research indicates that women traditionally work more than men in most environments. In developing countries, however, women's labor accounts for an even larger share of the workload: 13 percent higher than men in society as a whole, and 20 percent higher in rural areas. In more traditional Muslim communities, the bulk of women's work is typically unpaid and lies in the informal sector—agriculture and family enterprises, for example—while religious and cultural traditions prevent a high participation of women in the formal sector. In 2004, women only represented approximately 15 percent of the

2006 World Development Indicators

Country	Estimated Annual Wages for Manufacturing	Female Percentage of Workforce
East Asia & Pacific		**43.8**
China	$729	44.6
Hong Kong	$10,353	45.8
Indonesia	$3,054	37.8
Malaysia	$3,429	35.6
Singapore	$22,317	39.8
South Korea	$10,743	40.7
Middle East & North Africa		**27.2**
Algeria	$2638	30.2
Egypt	$1863	21.8
Kuwait	—	24.8
Saudi Arabia	—	14.8
Yemen	$1291	27.7
Sub-Saharan Africa		**42.2**
Lesotho	—	44.7
Madagascar	—	48.4
Mauritius	$1973	35.3

SOURCE: http://devdata.worldbank.org/wdi2006/contents/Section2.htm.

2006 World Developmnet Indicators. THOMSON GALE.

formal workforce in Saudi Arabia, 25 percent in Kuwait, and 22 percent in Egypt. Where Islamic restrictions on interaction between the sexes are strong, even in professional settings, men work almost exclusively in many service industries—hotels, restaurants, and retail shops. Domestic workers in Pakistan are routinely men, boys, or Christian women. Saudi Arabia and Jordan hire large numbers of non-Muslim women from South and Southeast Asia to serve as domestics.

Under the 1996 to 2001 rule of the radical Islamist sect, the Taliban (meaning "the students," because they had formerly been educated at radical madrassahs in Pakistan proper and the Pakistani tribal areas, where they fled during the rule of the Afghan warlords following the collapse of the Soviet-dominated government), Afghan women suffered from extremist interpretations of Islamic norms. Officials from the government's Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice department—modeled after Saudi and Iranian virtue and vice law enforcement systems—enforced restrictions preventing women from working outside the home. Women caught in the street, shops, or taxis without a male family member escort ran the risk of beatings. Girls' education in many parts of Afghanistan was strictly forbidden. Female teachers and health-care workers forced out of the public's eye often provided underground services out of their homes. As a result, education and health care for girls and women suffered. By contrast, the Taliban recognized the indispensability of female labor in the agricultural sector, and women were regularly found in the fields.

In sharp contrast to the skilled workforce of the Asian economic "Tigers," gender inequalities related to education and formal sector employment have contributed to slow economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa. According to one estimate, women perform 60 to 90 percent of the agricultural work. Women play a smaller role in the textile and garment industries, with the exception of a few African countries, such as Lesotho, Mauritius, and Madagascar. Women entrepreneurs also face a variety of gender-based obstacles. In Uganda, one study cited restrictive access to finance, assets, justice services, and information as a reason for limiting economic expansion.

MIGRANT WORKERS: BENEFITS AND CONSEQUENCES

Many economies in the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia rely heavily on remittances sent from abroad. Migrant workers often send remittances to their native countries to support families, construct homes, start businesses, and build "nest eggs." An estimated 20 million Asia migrant workers worked abroad. Migrant workers from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Indonesia, Cambodia, and other countries migrate to the Middle East, Europe, and North America in search of better paying jobs. In 2000 alone, remittances to the Philippines amounted to $6 billion, while migrant workers sent $1 billion to Indonesia.

Oil-producing Gulf states have traditionally imported workers from other Arab countries, and from South and Southeast Asia to fill gaps in the labor market. Reliance on remittances from family members abroad has masked failing economies in the Arab world that otherwise would be vulnerable to unpredictable oil markets, economic shocks, and political uncertainties. Palestinian and Jordanian economies, for example, suffered after the Gulf War with Iraq in 1991. As a result of Palestinian and Jordanian support for Saddam Hussein, oil-rich Gulf countries, such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, expelled 700,000 workers to return to their native countries to face high unemployment, low salaries, and limited prospects.

Although most adult, voluntary economic migrant workers find legitimate employment, others suffer various types of exploitation and fall prey to human traffickers. Women and children are often the most vulnerable. The majority of Filipino and Sri Lankan female migrant workers serve as domestics. An estimated 1.5 million Filipino women work throughout Asia, while 84 percent of migrant workers from Sri Lanka are women. Some 200,000 foreign domestic workers can be found in Hong

Kong and 155,000 in Malaysia. The majority of the one million female workers in Saudi Arabia work as domestics. Sub-Saharan African women also work as domestics: Ethiopian and West African women migrate to Lebanon, and Ethiopians and Cape Verdeans can be found in Italy.

Female domestic workers may fall victim to physical and verbal abuse, long hours, sexual exploitation, low wages, and exploitative conditions in the Arab world and elsewhere, where employers are known to seize passports, intimidate, and threaten victims with deportation. In Singapore, an estimated 147 domestic workers died—most as a result of suicide or falling from buildings—between 1999 and 2005. Approximately 19,000 women fled their domestic employers in Saudi Arabia in 2000 alone.

The International Labor Organization estimates that nearly 2.5 million victims of human trafficking suffer exploitative conditions. Most of these victims come from South and Southeast Asia—approximately 375,000 men, women, and children. Some 50,000 Africans are trafficked each year. Women and children from Nepal are routinely trafficked to the Arab countries, India, and elsewhere for commercial sexual exploitation. According to one estimate, between 100,000 and 200,000 Nepalese women and girls are forced to work as prostitutes in Indian brothels against their will. Indian and Pakistani women and girls are trafficked to the Middle East. According to an anti-trafficking nongovernmental organization (NGO) in Iraq, criminal gangs traffic local women through Northern Iraq to Syria, Jordan, Turkey, Iran, and other countries. Women and children from Eastern Europe, China, Thailand, Malawi, and Mozambique are trafficked to South Africa.

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Craig Davis

LACAN, JACQUES
1901–1981

Jacques Lacan was born in Paris, France, on April 13, 1901, and died there on September 9, 1981. Lacan began his career as the *chef de clinique* of psychiatry at Sainte-Anne, the major psychiatric hospital in Paris. His doctoral dissertation had been on the subject of paranoid psychosis, although he was not to publish it until 1975. It was written in 1932 and was entitled *De la psychose paranoïaque dans ses rapports avec la personnalié*. Lacan argued in this thesis that narcissism can be the cause of psychosis when two people, seeming to merge into one, have not individuated into one. For example, the infant and the mother are identified in the infant's psyche as one between about six to eighteen months of age. With the advent of language and "no," individuation—psychic separation—occurs for most people. His thesis gave a whole new meaning to narcissism, which, indeed, he later rethought and argued was a cornerstone of the "I" in every person and not in and of itself pathological, as Sigmund Freud thought.

From the beginning of his career, Lacan was a leader in psychoanalysis in France. Fluent in German, he had access to Freud's texts in a way that most of his colleagues did not. Given that one of his early assignments was to design a formal institutional training program for analysts, it follows that he would critique the various methods, ultimately coming up with his own seminar that could be attended by anyone, with credit for courses given to those in psychoanalytic training.

Lacan's ideas began to take on a radical cast as he attended Alexandre Kojève's lectures on Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) at the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s. Lacan ended up rethinking the master/slave relation, viewing the slave as the master, as well as making use of Kojève's idea that the synthesis was not about unity but about the plethora of contradictions that each thesis and anti-thesis give rise to in

Jacques Lacan. RUE DES ARCHIVES/THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

their sublation. He also began to meet with the surrealist circle of writers, painters, and philosophers in whose journals he began to publish short essays, such as "Logical Time" (1945), a reply to Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) on the three prisoner conundrum. This means that three prisoners are offered freedom for the first one who can ascertain the color of the disk that has been pinned on his back. The warden has three white disks and two black disks and does not tell them he will not use any black disks, although he does not. They cannot see their own backs, nor is there any mirroring device in the room. They all figure out at the same time that if anyone had seen a black disk on his neighbor's back, he would have first exited, having figured that he had a white disk. They exit together. The logic has to do with what they do not see, a black disk. This gives rise to a different way of thinking about the logic of time. There is the moment for seeing, the time for understanding, and the moment of conclusion. Unlike Freud, however, Lacan did not publish his major writings regularly throughout his career. Although he published some papers from 1926 on, he did not publish his first major collection, the *Ecrits*, until 1966 when he was sixty-five years old. His twenty-seven volumes of Seminars are being published one by one by Lacan's chosen literary and intellectual inheritor, Jacques-Alain Miller. More than half have appeared in French and Spanish and are being translated into multiple languages.

Miller has discerned three major periods of Lacan's teaching. It has been said that Lacan's first two periods of teaching are similar to Freud's first period of studying the subconscious, preconscious, and conscious mind, and his second period studying the id, ego, and superego. Lacan's shift from work on language and identifications to his topological placing of different subjective effects in the third period of his theory, though, was so profound that it is distinct from his own previous work and the work of Freud.

LANGUAGE, SEXUALITY, AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

Lacan's first theoretical period was 1953 to 1964, when Lacan elaborated the rereading of Freud he had begun in the 1920s and 1930s and worked on the assertion that "the unconscious is structured like a language." By that he meant that the unconscious has order, structure, and that it speaks the language of desire, different from the language of conscious thought. But unconscious language is nonetheless made up of concrete letters of thought and works according to the laws of metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor means that one signifier is substituted for another one in meaning making, and metonymy means that we displace primary references into a primordial period that cannot itself be remembered—only unary traits of them are left over. There is no memory possible before language, but there are unary traits of early experiences that seem to dwell outside language. Lacan's work on the metaphorical/metonymical structure of unconscious language laws was taken from his putting together Freud's work on condensation and displacement as well as linguist Roman Jakobson's work on metaphor and metonymy as the two major tropes of speech, as well as the two different ways in which the brain works by motor (dis)order or sensory (dis)order.

Not only is the unconscious structured like a language, and in concrete letters such as A, B, or C, but it is also not some mystical unconscious, nor some Freudian mechanistic id. The unconscious also functions in sexuality, Lacan says in Seminar XI. Unconscious language enters conscious language through jouissance, which gives libidinal quality to language. The unconscious projects libidinal meaning of desire—whose home is the unconscious—into language, images, and thought, materializing language for jouissance, not only representational meaning. Desire—unlike jouissance, which is absolute—functions as an oscillation between wanting and having. We cannot want something if we have not lost it. Refinding any object we have desired means momentary fulfillment, with the structural lack always reinserting itself. In one sense, this is a new theory of motivation. Lacan's *Che vuoi?* (What do you really want?) graph is marked by the signifier for desire which is the subject as lacking (∃), (Lacan's macheme for the dividing subject) aiming itself via the path of the voice, castration, jouissance, and fantasy to the place of the ideal ego that is an unconscious formation. We only get glimpses of the ideal ego through the partners we choose, whom Lacan calls ego ideals or Others. The first period of his teaching is also marked by a development of the imaginary order; that is, the order of narcissism and identification with the Others of one's surrounding universe. This first occurs in a mirror-stage period that lasts approximately from three to eighteen months and is a first fixation of identification with immediate Others and the Other of the social order.

In Lacan's first period of teaching, when he was preoccupied with the function and field of speech and language in psychoanalysis, he pushes the study of language away from its empiricist, behavioral, and developmental positivistic roots in the ideas of a consciousness of self. He flies in the face of cognitive theories that would have the brain speak itself to show us, rather, how the symbol system comes to reside in the brain in the first place. Lacan argued that there was no ego synthesis and that developmental psychology tries to equate the development of mentality with biologically based cause, be it via the theories of Charles Darwin (1809–1882), Jean Piaget (1896–1980), or Noam Chomsky (b. 1928). Psychic causality does not lie in organodynamism, but in a series of structures that are laid down from the beginning of life on, such as the mirror-stage logical structure, the experience of the objects-cause of desire (the breast, the feces, the urinary flow, the [imaginary] phallus, the voice, the gaze, the phoneme, and the nothing) (''Subversion,'' p. 303). It is important to know that Lacan has no innate structures nor any biological explanations for the cause of being or behavior. All these structures continue to function throughout life. So we have a root cause for aggressivity and jealousy in the mirror-stage structure, a root cause for desire in the primordial objects that cause it and drive us to seek to refind the jouissance of an object desired.

Lacan also comes up in his first period of teaching with the object *a*. At first he stressed the importance of the Other (*Autre*) in the seeking of objects to fill our lack-in-being. Then, he dropped the idea of a person qua object and argued that anything can work as a filler for lack. Thus, he coined the term object *a*. Experiences surrounding these early moments—object-cause of desire, mirror-stage, Oedipal ''castration'' by the Name-of-the-Father function—build into fundamental fantasies that operate consciousness from the unconscious realm of ''fictions'' that Lacan wrote as *fixions*. The infantile is replaced by structure, that which gives order, but does not speak its fantasy. Rather, bits of the unconscious are welded to language and appear also in the phenomena of the slip, humor, repetitions, and so on, that Freud named. Nor is there a self-knowledge preceding consciousness, only a series of emergent forms of images, words, and traumata of the real. Lacan's imaginary dimension displaces Freud's concept of sexual developmental stages (the oral, anal, and genital), arguing that we depend on others and a universe of language to satisfy and multiply our desires. And our primary desire is for the satisfaction that is jouissance, meaning both enjoyment and an excess in enjoyment that can border on pain of the repetitious, fixations. We refind the function of our organs in language where the signifier is incorporated, materializing or corporifying language and the imaginary body by the real.

SIGNIFIERS AND SYMBOLS

The second period of Lacan's teaching lasted from approximately 1964 to 1974. Lacan set forth his major concepts at the *École normale supérieure* and the Law Faculty adjacent to the Sorbonne and Panthéon. He not only developed the symbolic order as the order of language and conventions, of law and the Name-of-the-Father signifier (which interdicts psychic oneness between a child and its mother), he also rewrote Freud's Oedipal complex in what he called a paternal metaphor. In this formula the Name-of-the-Father signifier supercedes the mother's desire. Thus the Name-of-the-Father places the social order of language and law—the Other—over the phallus, or the child as the beloved person between the parental couple. The child will be alienated into the desire of the Other by language and intentions, starting even before birth. He or she is further set apart from any direct access to the unconscious by the continual cuts or losses of things that satisfy. There is a constant movement of seeming consistency among the imaginary and symbolic orders, but the real of conflict or discontinuity continually inserts itself into these two other orders, making vague anxiety and trauma the order of the day as opposed to any holistic sense of an ongoing harmony of being.

During this period, Lacan also came up with a theory of the drives that displaces Freud's idea of them as id ''motive forces.'' The drives are made up of the images and signifiers, the cuts and alienations, the material of everyday life, and Lacan calls them a montage. They still bear the Freudian vicissitudes of aim, goal, object, and force, but the aim misses its goal and the object remains just out of reach, although it can be temporarily grasped to fill the void in being that Lacan places at the center of all experience. Lacan developed this matheme, meaning that the ensemble of the Other is not whole. There is always loss at its center because this is the way that objects are invested with desire in the first place, having value only once they are lost.

In the second period of his teaching, Lacan was rejected by the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA). Various reasons were given for this, including the fact that Lacan had sessions of varying length. Given that language is operated on by the real, the moment of ending of a session is enunciated by the analysand, not the analyst. Lacan was rejected, as well, for criticizing various theories of the ego in his first period of teaching and for showing how the social enters the individual through language. He had called into question the sacred theories of classical-psychoanalytic biological drive theory and ego defense theory, as well as the whole person theories on which object relations theories based themselves. Although the IPA shortly thereafter tried to get Lacan to rejoin them, he refused and carried on his development of Freud's work in what is now called the Freudian Field.

TOPOLOGY OF SUBJECTIVE EFFECTS

The third period of Lacan's teaching was from 1974 to 1981. In this period, he reworked his category of the real, making it the basic binding of flesh to thought via unary traits. He also developed a topology based on the Borromean knot, illustrating his reconsideration of the interlocking categories of the real, symbolic, and imaginary. A revolutionary moment occurred when his *Seminar XXIII* on James Joyce, *Le sinthome*, appeared. A major rethinking of the Name-of-the-Father signifier was articulated. He argued that the Name-of-the-Father is not the only way to bring law and order into the dyad of the infant and mother, thus creating a social order, but that the function of such a name can be pronounced and effected by anyone to whom such authority is granted. This took away the Oedipal family idea of how one comes to be a speaking being with desire, fantasy, drives, and so on. In one tribe, Lacan remarked, the Name-of-the-Father function was not even linked to reproduction; the function was given to a river god. Moreover, Lacan made a distinction between the symptom, which is a sign of bodily discontent, and the *sinthome*, which is the way in which the Name-of-the-Father binds the orders of the real, imaginary, and symbolic together such that they are more than a vast associative linking of orders that work by different laws, but which work together to effect any conscious act. They only work because a certain "ideological" knotting joins them together. In psychosis, this knotting does not exist, because the condition of psychosis is a refusal of the separation Lacan called castration, a refusal of twoness in the name of an ongoing mental identification with the maternal One.

In the third and final periods of his teaching, Lacan brought into question what it is that we call mind, knowledge, even science. Generally *mind* is taken as a kind of metaphor for identifications with language, images, and others, or as a brain function. This is not to say that the brain is not affected by our mental activities. Lacan simply reversed the order of cause and effect. By arguing that the symbolic and the imaginary constitute not only subjectivity, but also the real of the drive, Lacan showed how mind and body are linked via desire/lack, jouissance, fantasy, unary traits, and so on, thus obviating both the mind/body dualism of centuries of Western thought, and the phenomenological split between the subject of consciousness and objects of the world. The subject is consistent with an image of his or her body in the imaginary, fading and covered with holes and gaps in the symbolic, and absolute in the real. Thus, the subject dwells—qua object—in the gaps between signifiers, in the language materialized by jouissance effects.

LACAN'S INFLUENCE

What is most relevant for theories of sex and gender in Lacan's teaching is not only that he rethought them in a revolutionary fashion, but that he made sexuality the *cause* of being and knowing, making childhood sexuality itself the base of the four different categories of desire that mark each person's resolution of the trauma of sexual difference as a matter of not being whole—of identifying with the difference between the sexes as itself a third thing, an abstract signifier. These four ways of resolution are: the normative masquerade marked by repression of the sexual difference as having any meaning; the neuroses (hysteria and obsession) marked by denial that the difference makes any difference; perversion marked by a repudiation of this difference that is replaced by a fetish; and psychosis that forecloses the difference, remaining imprisoned in the logic of One. The normative person plays out the sexual roles of a given cultural moment. Within the neuroses category, the hysteric, usually female, is split between identification with the father and brothers and the mother and sisters, while the obsessional's question is one of guilt, having been preferred to his father by his mother. His question is "Am I alive or dead?" The obsessional has identified so strongly with the mother that he is hard put to act "manly" in the symbolic. The hysteric's basic question is "Am I a woman or a man?" The perverse subject practices masochism or sadism. The masochist is one who is not intent on desire, but on directly bringing jouissance to the Other. The sadist is concerned, rather, with making the Other feel anxious, thus protecting himself from anxiety. This is quite a different coupling than the linking of perversion with homosexuality, or sadism and masochism as a binarily happy couple. The psychoses (paranoia, schizophrenia, and manic depression) all cluster around a foreclosure of the sexual difference itself, and aim at retaining a mental symbiosis of Oneness with the primal mother. The psychotic is marked by rigidity of personality because he or she has few identifications to go on; fragility because the symbolic order threatens his or her tenuous hold on it; and a compensatory identification with the symbolic (there being no imaginary, except a prosthetic one, for the psychotic).

For feminists, what is perhaps most relevant in Lacan's theory is his formalization of a logical subject instead of a biological one. Each sex coheres as an identity only by losing its sense of wholeness vis-à-vis the other who is sexually different. Little boys tend to confuse having the penis with being the desired object—the phallus—while little girls must substitute something else of value for not having this imaginary phallus—the body itself, a baby, a husband, a career, and so on. But the little girl can also believe unconsciously that she has the phallus—having and being concerned with the difference itself. Lacan calls this experience of learning sexual difference "castration," dealing with the lack of being whole. The body is represented in parts, not as one whole. Lacan argues that the phallus is symbolic, representing the lack of being whole; imaginary, as its appearance seems to concern *having* and *being*; and real, in that its presence or absence can set up a trauma.

Lacan also set out a sexuation graph in *Seminar XX* demonstrating his theory that the sexual difference is discovered in such a way that it not only gives birth to culture—identifying with a third term—but is the key to gender identity, equated with identification of the masculine with the feminine rather than with biological sex. He argues that sexuation is not gender specific, but that each person identifies as predominantly masculine or feminine within a given culture. The logic at play in sexuation is complex and involves a rethinking of universals and particulars. Moreover, sexuation—sexuality plus identity—is established as an asymmetry between the masculine and feminine. Opposing Freud, Lacan theorizes that to identify as a male, the boy is required to give up his primary identification with the mother and identify with an abstraction of the symbolic order—difference per se—while the girl can identify with her mother, but must work with the problem of the logic of sameness. Vis-à-vis the phallus, the male is asked to bond together in a group of "brothers" (see Freud's *Totem and Taboo* [1913]) who live together under the law of castration, of not being the one exception to the group who is the Urfather, structural exception to the law of castration.

The female also participates in the symbolic law, but since she does not have to eradicate the primary mother, and, further, since there is no essential woman, no essence of the feminine, she is, so to speak, free to go her own way, one foot in the symbolic order camp and the other in the real of the experiences of the effects of loss and lack. Woman, like man, is a signifier. But the logic of marking sexual difference as a third thing, apart from the reality of the man and the woman make it seem that there is a feminine essence, because there is a logic of the feminine, which can characterize a man or a woman. On the side of the masculine, which is one with the symbolic order, the logic is that of "all." The discourse spoken here is totalizing, that of the master. On the feminine side of sexuation, the logic of the "not all" marks the point that this side is identified with the reality of loss and the void. The reason has to do with the identification of the feminine with the social idea of the woman as "not all" under the interdiction of the symbolic order conventions. The "not all" is also of a part with the incompleteness of the other which is registered on the feminine side. These concepts are developed at length in Lacan's sexuation graph.

SEE ALSO *Freud, Sigmund.*

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Ellie Ragland

LADYBOYS (*KATHOEYS*)

Kathoey, or "ladyboys," are biological males who openly function in Thai society as transsexuals or transvestites. The ladyboy represents a gender position that is unique in that it has a national identity. Although *kathoey* (pronounced "kateuyee") may embody gender in ways familiar to cultures outside Thailand (most similar to transsexuals or transvestites), they are different in that their gender operates in society in a sanctioned way. They are part of Thai society and history and apparently have existed openly for hundreds of years. "Northern Thai legend suggests that the pre-modern Thai sex/gender system was based on a model of the three genders: male, female and kathoey" (Totman 2003, p. 82). Thailand is the only nation in its region that resisted colonization by European powers and sometimes is seen as having a set of cultural values less influenced by outside pressures, including normative heterosexuality and binary gender.

The *kathoey* are analogous to marginalized genders in other cultures but have qualities that make them distinct from those categories. Like drag queens, they often work in cabarets as performers. It is this group of *kathoey* to which the term *ladyboy* applies and with which most tourists and non-Thais are familiar. Their performance is seen as a manifestation of a unique talent, however, rather than as a camp identity-based expression. In short, they perform as ladyboys because they are *kathoey* rather than being people who might be understood as drag queens because they perform. As with other marginalized gender categories, there is a high incidence of sex work among *kathoey*, and they also function as objects of fetishistic desire.

Kathoey is a more inclusive term than *transsexual*, *transvestite*, *drag queen*, or *hermaphrodite*, although it can encompass all those categories. Some *kathoey* undergo sex-reassignment surgery, others take female hormones and have breast implants, and some undergo no physical alterations other than dress and makeup. All are recognized as *kathoey*. Although individual *kathoey* may meet resistance from their families and friends, culturally there is a high degree of acceptance. Most *kathoey* realize and announce their intentions to transform before or during puberty, and many begin hormone treatment at that age with the knowledge of their families. *Kathoey* take on new feminine names and live as *kathoey* for their entire lives. The transformation is permanent; unlike drag, it is not a part of their life that emerges at specific moments or in specific situations.

A kind of femininity is expected of *kathoey*, and there is a high incidence of normatively feminine physical traits (particularly hairless faces) among them that has led to biologically based theories of their origin. Femininity is not universal among the *kathoey*, however. Some are accomplished athletes, including volleyball players and kickboxers. *Kathoey* are part of national sports teams, for which some choose to deemphasize their femininity but do not abandon it entirely. They are thus a part of mainstream culture outside their perceived sexual roles.

In terms of sexual activity the majority of *kathoey* are homosexuals, but some are heterosexual or bisexual. Not all homosexuals are *kathoey* in Thailand. There is a large gay community in Thailand, especially in Bangkok, to which the *kathoey* do not specifically belong. As in other cultures, homosexuality in Thailand is accepted or rejected to various degrees by individuals but does not enjoy the widespread cultural sanction of the *kathoey*.

There is widespread cultural acceptance of *kathoey*, and several have become celebrities as models and singers. Thai universities maintain dormitories specifically for *kathoey* students and provide them with support. There is discrimination against them as well, however. Their value as performers demonstrates respect for their unique talents, but this is one of the few legitimate occupations open to *kathoey*. Traditionally feminine employment (as hairdressers, shop sales clerks, and waitresses) is possible in some circumstances, or they may find work as non-skilled laborers or in situations in which they can be kept out of the public eye by their employers. Professional careers are rarely open to *kathoey*, and they are not employed in large corporations, business, or academia. This often is seen as a function of the growing global role of and the influence of other cultures on Thailand. This explanation is not fully convincing, however, because *kathoey* had limited occupational options long before Thailand entered the global community.

SEE ALSO *Hijrās; Transsexual M to F.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER

In 1926 the novelist D. H. (David Herbert) Lawrence began writing a novel about Sir Clifford and Lady Chatterley, a young couple living on a British Midlands estate supported by a coal mine. Sir Clifford was injured in World War I and paralyzed from the waist down. A writer and intellectual, he entertains groups of male friends at the estate, often leaving his wife, Lady Constance, a young and healthy woman, bored and unoccupied.

THE STORY PLOT

After an affair with an upstart Irish playwright Constance begins to take walks through the estate's woodlands, where she meets Mellors, the gamekeeper, a former soldier and the son of a local coal miner. The novel describes in poetic detail the sexual relations between Lady Chatterley and Mellors, which in the end result in Lady Chatterley's pregnancy. The novel ends with the breakup of Lady Chatterley's marriage to Sir Clifford and her anticipation of a life with Mellors. As an expression of Lawrence's interest in the harmony between men and women as well as the naturalness of sexual rhythms *Lady Chatterley's Lover* fits with other Lawrence novels, such as the less explicit *Women in Love* (1921).

PUBLICATION HISTORY AND OBSCENITY TRIALS

Lawrence completed the novel in 1928 after writing three versions. The explicitness of his descriptions of sexual relations between Mellors and Lady Chatterley, including elaborate descriptions of erections, female orgasm, and anal sex, were well beyond the degree of explicitness tolerated at that time. The novel also used vivid four-letter words that were not considered part of legitimate artistic endeavor.

Knowing that he would have difficulty with censors as well as public opinion, Lawrence had the book printed privately in Florence and distributed through friends. Because the book was published privately, there was no copyright, and the novel quickly became the object of piracy. Several of the pirates wanted him to authorize their versions, but Lawrence refused, instead republishing the novel in Paris in 1929 with a run of three thousand copies that sold out quickly. In this version Lawrence included a brief prefatory essay defending the novel. However, his explanation carried little weight with a public that rapidly denounced the book and declared that the author was obsessed with sex. Lawrence, who was in failing health, wearied of the public's reaction and never was able to publish the book with a copyright before his death in 1930.

After Lawrence's death publishers released reworked and expurgated versions of the novel, including one endorsed by his widow. In the United States a bookseller who sold a copy of the unexpurgated novel was convicted of selling obscene material. Expurgated versions removed all language that might be objectionable and all explicit sex scenes, calling the version "abridged." The abridged versions, however, rarely noted where the omissions had been made and had a certain inconsistency caused by the deletions.

The novel, however, was popular even as it remained the object of scorn. In 1944 Dial Press published one of Lawrence's earlier versions of the novel, *The First Lady Chatterley*, which lacked both the vocabulary and the finely drawn relationship between Lady Chatterley and Mellors of the final text. Although Dial Press was raided and copies of the novel were seized, the court did not declare the novel obscene.

They were pressuring to publish an unexpurgated original of Lawrence's third version. In 1959 Grove Press undertook the publication of the original *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and faced not only an obscenity trial in the U.S. district court but public castigation by everyone from the postmaster general to President Dwight Eisenhower. The postmaster was charged with making sure the U.S. mail was not used to distribute obscene materials, and so when Grove Press mailed the first copies of *Lady Chatterley*, the postmaster refused to let Grove mail the book, calling it "an obscene and filthy work." Grove challenged the ban in the U.S. district court, where luminaries such as Aldous Huxley and even the judge in the case in his written opinion, Judge Bryan, as well as literary critics and others argued for the novel's artistic merit.

The judge found that the novel's artistic quality outweighed any obscene passages and that it could be mailed. The government appealed, but in the end Grove Press won. Although conservatives felt that public morality was endangered by what they saw as the left-wing intellectualism of the court's decision, the easing of censorship contributed to a more tolerant environment in the United States. Quickly following the novel was a film version of *Lady Chatterley*, made in France. The film was banned by the state of New York, and the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the state's judgment of obscenity.

In England the novel had a similar fate. Its publication by Penguin was challenged under the Obscene Publications Act, which permitted the publication of morally obscene material if it could be shown to have literary merit. As in the United States, the trial evoked support from writers, including E. M. Forster, who was called as a witness. The court found that the novel's merit outweighed its obscene passages, which were an intrinsic part of its art.

Other countries also banned *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, including China, Japan, and Australia. Countries such as Denmark and Portugal allowed the publication of abridged versions.

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Judith Roof

LADY MACBETH

Lady Macbeth is Macbeth's wife in Shakespeare's 1606 play *Macbeth*. The play, a celebration of the family history of James I, was presented to mark the establishment of James's line as the ruling family of England and Scotland after the death of Elizabeth I. *Macbeth* is based on Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577), which was based on Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* (1527), but Shakespeare altered Holinshed's account so that he could present a more positive portrait of the newly enthroned King James I's mythical ancestor Banquo. After defeating Duncan, the historical Macbeth ruled southern Scotland from 1040 until 1054, when he was defeated by Earl Siward and forced to flee. Lady Macbeth is Shakespeare's rendition of the historical wife of Macbeth, Gruoch, who was the granddaughter of King Kenneth III of Scotland, the widow of Gillacomgan, and the mother of Gillacomgan's son, Lulach the Simple, whose nickname came from his apparent stupidity.

Shakespeare portrays Lady Macbeth as ambitious for her husband and unscrupulous. She contrives a plan by which Macbeth and she can murder the reigning leader, Duncan, although she is unable to murder Duncan because he looks too much like her father. She frames Duncan's servants by leaving bloody daggers in their hands and feigns surprise and grief when the murder is discovered. Macbeth becomes king but is made uneasy by the prophecies of the play's three witches and plots to murder those who might threaten his rule: Banquo and Macduff. Lady Macbeth stands by her husband but eventually is overtaken by guilt. She begins to walk in her sleep, rubbing her hands and trying to rid herself of spots, presumably the blood of Macbeth's victims. "Out, damn'd spot! Out I say!" she exclaims in Act V, scene I. In Act V, scene iv, a messenger announces her death.

The depth, range, and ambition of Lady Macbeth have made her a favorite multifaceted female role.

Lady MacBeth. *Actress Ellen Terry as Lady MacBeth, c. 1900.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.**

Because of her daring and active part in Macbeth's plotting as well as her dramatic sleepwalking, the role gives actresses a larger part in the staged drama of tragedy. The role was played by Shakespeare when he had to take over after the boy actor Hal Berridge died suddenly before the first performance. It was performed by Mrs. Pritchard in 1768 and 1812, Sarah Siddons in 1775, Ellen Terry in 1889, Mrs. Patrick Campbell in 1895, Sybil Thorndike in 1926, Dame Judith Anderson in 1954, Dame Judi Dench in 1979, and Glenda Jackson in 1988. Giuseppe Verdi composed an opera based on the play, *Macbetto*, first staged in 1847. More than fifty films have been adapted from the play, including the 1948 *Macbeth* directed by Orson Welles and starring Jeannette Nolan as Lady Macbeth and the 1971 *Tragedy of Macbeth* directed by Roman Polanski and starring Francesca Annis in that role.

The character of Lady Macbeth inspired paintings by John Singer Sargeant, who did a portrait of Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth in 1889; Odilon Redon; and Henry Fuseli, who produced several portraits from the play, including one of Mrs. Pritchard as Lady Macbeth in both 1768 and 1812.

Literary critics have been fascinated with Lady Macbeth, seeing her strength and resolve as more masculine than was typical for female characters in tragedies of that era. Lady Macbeth's willingness to dash "the brains out" (Act I, scene vii, line 58) of an infant to achieve her ends casts her as both evil mother and infanticide. As an annihilating mother Lady Macbeth is both a danger to a patriarchal order that depends on maternal kindness to sustain itself and a motivational force for Macbeth, whose actions are spurred by his wife's bravado.

Lady Macbeth is both a threat to the system and a necessary part of it, undoing Macbeth by encouraging his murderous temptations and providing an opportunity for him to prove his manhood in the face of her increasing guilt. Her active presence is a constant reminder of the potentials of birth for Macbeth, who fears the witches' prophecies about the inevitable fate of all those born of women. The fact that Lady Macbeth is initially as murderous as he enables Macbeth to stake his world out as masculine and inhospitable, as being without a woman's touch and, he hopes, without the fate assigned to mothers' mortal children. Macbeth's denial of the feminine in his ambitions results finally in his increased recognition of his own weakness and fears, as they also are reflected in Lady Macbeth when she is overcome by guilt. Lady Macbeth's death spurs Macbeth's recognition of life as empty:

> Out, out brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
> And then is heard no more. It is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.
>
> *(Act V, scene iv, lines 23–28)*

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Judith Roof

LANGUAGE

Language is central both to gender ideologies and to gender and sexual identities as they are performed in the course of social practice. What people say (or write) and, as importantly, what they do not say but imply or take for granted by their utterances, is critical in constructing, maintaining, and challenging assumptions about sex, gender, and gender relations. Different languages offer different resources to their users, and broader sociocultural and historical contexts also affect just how language enters into matters of gender and sexuality. But though details differ, sometimes dramatically, language is always critical for understanding gender and sexuality in social life.

CONTENT

U.S. second-wave feminists in the late 1960s and early 1970s pushed language reform, emphasizing how English represented women and when it seemed to obscure their presence. One target was sexually charged, derogatory, or trivializing terminology to refer to girls and women, such as *cunt*, *chick*, *bitch*, *girl* (for mature women), and *baby* (for nonintimates). Another involved the nonparallelism of male and female forms, as in *cleaning lady* versus the nonexistent *garbage gentleman*; in the absence of marital status information in the male social title *Mr.* versus its presence in *Mrs.* and *Miss* (*Ms.* was introduced to parallel *Mr.* but it cannot do that with *Mrs.* and *Miss* still in use); and in the laudatory ring of *stud* (sexually promiscuous male) versus the derogatory tone of *slut* or *whore* (sexually promiscuous female). Also targeted was *he/man* language, the use of the same forms to talk about both humans in general and male humans in particular—for example, the pronoun *he* in certain generic contexts or the use of *man* in speaking of humanity. Efforts to change such usages often met with resistance (Harvard University linguists of the early 1970s cried "pronoun envy!"), but nonsexist guidelines had been widely adopted by the end of the twentieth century, and *he/man* language was rare in public contexts by the early twenty-first century.

Other cultures have looked at content issues somewhat differently, sometimes apparently for linguistic reasons. For example, in French-speaking Canada and other places using languages with grammatical gender (such as France, Spain, and Germany), rather than seeking to get gender-neutral terminology in occupational terms (such as how Americans substituted *flight attendant* for *stewardess*), shifts have been more toward creating feminine gender forms to pair with traditional male ones. Studies of metaphorical source domains for speaking of women or of sexual activity have been done in many languages. Often women are spoken of using the terminology of food (especially fruits and desserts, but also sometimes less-appetizing substances), small animals, or flowers, and heterosexual engagement is represented in terms of eating or violent combat. But there is considerable variety and ongoing change in many societies using very different languages.

New or reclaimed terminology has helped change gender and sexual relations. Terms such as *sexism* (on the model of *racism*), *date rape*, *queer* (as a prized oppositional identity), and *transgender* do not just label phenomena independently identified but facilitate people's collective work on new political analyses of their situations and their selves. Innovations are not confined to North America or English-speaking countries: Hong Kong activists, for example, adopted *tongzhi* (comrade) to designate those whose erotic preference is for same-sex partners.

Content goes far beyond word meanings. Messages conveyed implicitly in ongoing discourse count as much or more. Conflating humanity with maleness can happen without apparently ambiguous forms such as *man*—as in "pioneers and their wives." And content itself can be debated: Consider the discussion in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries on whether *marriage* is appropriately applied to long-term committed relationships of two people of the same sex. What matters is how people engage with one another in ongoing discourse—drawing inferences (often unnoticed and unintended by the speaker) and actively making meanings, sometimes challenged and sometimes effective.

STYLE

How people say what they say (or write or speak) is as important as what they say, especially in constructing social identities and relations. To explore vocal dimensions of gendered and sexual identities, linguists have looked at vowel pronunciations and voice quality, intonation and pitch, rhythm and tempo, and volume along with many other subtle but significant features of sound. Vocabulary (content domains, slang or learned terminology, euphemisms, obscenities) and grammatical choices (sentence structures, choice of competing forms) have also been investigated, as have higher-level features of language: kinds of speech events or activities, narrative structure, and genres.

Early research on linguistic dimensions of sex and gender seemed to assume that identities somehow automatically produced styles. A woman would speak *women's language* because that was who she was (albeit perhaps made who she was through social forces). A gay man would display *the voice* because he was gay. (Less attention has been paid to the possible social forces that might have led gay men to speak in certain ways.) Male-to-female transsexuals were instructed to choose supposedly feminine vocabulary, breathy voices and swoopy intonations, apologetic requests, and hedged assertions or directives. Research, however, continued to show that real women (and real men) were very diverse, with access to far wider arrays of speech styles than stereotypes might suggest.

By the 1990s much research embraced Judith Butler's notion of *gender performativity*, that is, that gender (and sexual) identities are not (merely) properties people have—ways they *are*—but depend on what they *do* and are sustained in ongoing performances that echo but do not completely reproduce previous performances. Linguists began exploring the fine linguistic texture of the social construction of identities.

How could linguistic resources be deployed to convey (varieties of) femininity and masculinity or straightness or gay or lesbian identification, all interwoven with other identity features? Looking at people who sometimes deliberately perform identities quite different from those they might claim or have attributed to them in other contexts (often thought *authentic* identities) shows what social meanings speech patterns can convey. African-American male drag queens, for example, draw on (and frequently exaggerate) speech features canonically linked to middle-class European American women. Phone-sex operators who in private life identify as lesbian or bisexual or straight and as female or male effectively present themselves over the phone line as heterosexually desirable and desiring young women of various racial and ethnic backgrounds. Discovering how people manage these explicit performances gives some insight into more everyday and less self-conscious uses of language in styling oneself as a certain kind of person.

Exploring how a single individual's speech changes from situation to situation is another good tool for better understanding the social meaning of linguistic choices. A young gay male physician is likely to operate in very different linguistic styles in interacting with patients, in exchanges with colleagues, and in backyard parties with close friends. A middle-aged woman scientist who is also the mother of a school-age child will use different styles in discussing her research with peers at a conference, during a meeting with her child's teacher, and at the dinner table with her partner and children.

As with content, available styles keep changing, and their changes help constitute changes in other social practices. English-speaking students of Japanese are often told about its *women's language*, marked by certain honorification devices, sentence-final particles, pronouns, and verb forms. Letters to Tokyo newspapers in the early twenty-first century continued to bemoan the way so many young women reject these *traditional* forms, speaking *roughly*. But even their mothers and grandmothers may well have seldom, if ever, used the canonically *feminine* forms, which were associated with a Tokyo elite and were foreign to those in other social groups and regions. Miyako Inoue (2006) argues, offering evidence from many different sources, that Japanese *women's language* was given currency as a form to aspire to during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of efforts to develop Japanese national pride and solidify a modern but non-European, non-North American Japanese state. Early twenty-first-century Japanese women (and men wanting to sound feminine) can still exploit some women's language features for various purposes, but linguistic practice in Japan is far more complex and variable than Japanese language classes for foreigners have standardly conveyed.

LINGUISTIC PRACTICE

Ultimately, what matters for both content and style is how linguistic resources enter into doing the many things that constitute gender and sexual dimensions of social practice. Analysts cannot look just at linguistic forms in isolation but must consider their functions in flirting, condescending, bossing, deferring, suggesting, imploring, joking, gossiping, insulting, arguing, and everything else people do linguistically. And such speech acts and activities do not happen in isolation. They are part of parties, classes, job interviews, playground confidences, sports team practices, family dinners, TV watching, backyard barbecues, coming on, coming out, and the rest, and as such they are deeply embedded in social practice.

Since the early 1990s sociolinguists have tended to emphasize how language functions in gender and sexual practice. Of course, this has made research more difficult. It is easy to count linguistic forms: How many times did she say *sorry* or did he say *dude*? How many times did he say *goin'* or *going*? How often does she use the singular *they* ("every student has handed in *their* paper")? It is far more difficult to figure out what those forms are doing—the significance of their use.

Some insight into the work linguistic forms are doing has come from observations of language use in friendship groups, workplace units of various kinds, families, informal play groups, and musical or sports groups—what have been called "communities of practice" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). More abstract and larger communities have been useful for analyzing language in magazines aimed at teen girls or at gay men, or in online discourse of various kinds (chat rooms, blogs, social networking sites).

INTERPRETATION AND METALANGUAGE

Linguistic interpretation has been less systematically studied than has production, with analysts often assuming it is essentially automatic. Assigning functions or meanings to utterances, however, can be influenced by interpreters' assumptions about those who produce the utterances. A woman may be heard as unsure if her declarative ends with a rise, whereas a man doing the same thing may be heard as checking on whether the hearer has understood. (Of course, both might be at play in many utterances.) Even what sounds are detected is affected by assumptions about who has produced them. But it would be wrong to conclude that speakers alone determine the meanings conveyed by their utterances. Though some might intend *marriage* to include same-sex couplings, they cannot always succeed in conveying that. And though some might intend praise by labeling a person or project *feminist*, not all interpreters will so understand that label. Interpretation involves inferences that go beyond simple decoding of linguistic expressions: Interpreters are actively involved in the meaning-making process.

Linguists and other scholars of language have often been dismissive of ordinary people's ideas about how language is used and structured, dubbing them *folklinguistics*, and about self-conscious efforts to regulate language use, called *prescriptivism* and sharply criticized. But since the 1980s, research on language, gender, and sexuality has increasingly highlighted language ideologies as important subjects of scholarly investigation in their own right as well as important influences on actual language use. And attempts by feminists and queer activists to reform language—through, for example, nonsexist language guidelines or hate-speech policies—have been seriously studied along with other instances of what Deborah Cameron (1995) dubs *verbal hygiene*.

Not surprisingly, ideologies of language compete, and students of language themselves are not immune to taking sides. Is language and gender about separate cultures in which girls and boys grow to be women and men? Or is it about male power and female subordination? Even those seen as advocates of the *difference* or the *dominance* approach do not take these questions as adequate for framing investigations of language and gender. Nonetheless, debates about separation versus sexual politics continue to some degree into the twenty-first century. In the area of language and sexuality, there has been debate about what matters in thinking about language: sexual identities—being gay or lesbian or bi or straight or . . ., or sexual desire—how linguistic practices not only express but help shape erotic preferences and activities. Here too, most researchers find this a false dichotomy, pointing to interrelations of identities and desires and to the necessity of studying both.

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Sally McConnell-Ginet

LAWRENCE, D. H.
1885–1930

Most famous for his poetic novels, David Herbert Lawrence often explored the relationships between men and women, and between humans and nature. Riveted by the rhythmic cycles of life and the ways life in the early twentieth century seemed to alienate men and women from one another, Lawrence wrote a series of novels in which he traced families and couples as they grew away from a pre-technological culture and its life-sustaining cycles. Many of Lawrence's novels contain explicit, if lyrical, passages of sexuality, which shocked the public

D. H. Lawrence. **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.**

and which made his work, particularly *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), notorious.

Lawrence was born in Nottinghamshire, the fourth child of a coal miner and a schoolteacher. Lawrence's mother had more education than his father, and her slight class superiority and his father's drinking caused unhappiness in the household. Lawrence was very close to his mother. Lawrence won a scholarship to Nottingham High School, but did not do particularly well. After completing school, he worked in a surgical supply house as a factory worker. Later, he trained as a pupil teacher, a student who works as a teacher trainee. He came down with a serious bout of pneumonia after the death of one of his older brothers, Ernest. When he recovered, he took the university entrance exams and went to Nottingham University to study to be a teacher. After leaving Nottingham, he got a job teaching at a boys' school in Croydon.

Lawrence had begun writing poetry and short stories while working as a pupil teacher, and he had one short story published as a university student. While teaching, he began writing poetry as more than a hobby. Ford Madox Ford (1873–1939) took an interest in Lawrence's work and oversaw the first publication of his poetry in *The English Review* in 1909. Ford was interested in Lawrence's writing about his childhood and encouraged his prose as well. Ford introduced Lawrence to such other writers as H. G. Wells (1866–1946), William Butler Yeats (1865–1939), and Ezra Pound (1885–1972). Also at that time Lawrence had several intense relationships with women, including his friend and writing partner of adolescence, Jesse Chambers, his colleague Agnes Holt, and another friend, Helen Corke. His first novel, *The White Peacock*, was published in 1911.

When his mother became ill, Lawrence returned to Nottinghamshire on and off. He nursed his mother, terminated his relationship with Jesse Chambers, and took up a relation with Louie Burrows, to whom he became engaged. When his mother died, he returned to London, determined to develop a career as a writer, but also renewed his relationship with Helen Corke. He began a second novel, one he never published, and also began thinking of a third, *Paul Morel*, upon which he worked in his spare time. In 1912 he became ill again with pneumonia, quit his teaching job upon the advice of his doctors, returned to Nottinghamshire, and began to write in earnest. He renewed his intellectual relation with Jesse Chambers, and ended his engagement to Burrows.

In Nottinghamshire, he fell in love with a married woman, Frieda Weekley (nee von Richthofen), wife of a local professor and mother of three children. She had a record of extramarital dalliance, but was reluctant to admit her affairs to her husband. Instead she traveled to Germany with Lawrence on the pretext of visiting her family. In Germany, Lawrence completed his manuscript *Paul Morel*, which was rejected by the publisher Heinemann for being too sexually explicit, but which was published after slight revision by Duckworth. After obtaining a divorce, Frieda married Lawrence in 1914 and the two returned to England during World War I, living in Cornwall as Lawrence wrote and tried to avoid being conscripted into military service. He began a small magazine, *The Signature*, which failed, and wrote the novel *The Rainbow* (1915), which was suppressed and taken from distribution soon after publication on the grounds of obscenity. The charge of obscenity was clearly going to haunt Lawrence throughout his career as his vision of life required an expression of all its aspects. His focus on the relations between men and women demanded that he acknowledge the importance of sexuality in those relationships.

After the war, Lawrence and Frieda thankfully began to travel throughout Europe and then to the Far East, Australia, New Mexico, and Mexico. Australia inspired the novel *Kangaroo* (1923), which Lawrence wrote mostly in New Mexico while visiting Mabel Dodge Sterne. Tiring of Sterne, he and Frieda traveled to Mexico, where he renewed his inspiration for *The Plumed Serpent* (1926). He and Frieda returned to New York, planning to spend some time there so Lawrence could write, but after a quarrel, Frieda returned to England and Germany alone and Lawrence traveled solo through the United States. Joining back up with Frieda in England, Lawrence spent time in London, and then returned to New Mexico, where Sterne, now Mabel Luhan, presented him with a ranch. Lawrence continued to write, but his health began to fail; he suffered, first, a bronchial hemorrhage signaling tuberculosis, then typhoid.

In 1925, Lawrence and Frieda returned to England at the death of Lawrence's father, but moved on quickly to Germany and Italy, where Lawrence would spend most of the rest of his life. His health was poor, but he began work on what he originally planned as a short story. Becoming the notorious novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, this work would make him more money than any other writing. Increasingly sick with tuberculosis, Lawrence stayed in Italy, going to Paris only to oversee the publication of this last novel. He died in a sanatorium in Vence, France in 1930.

During his career Lawrence also wrote seven plays, eight collections of short stories and novellas, including *The Fox*, *The Captain's Doll*, *The Ladybird* (1923), published eleven collections of poetry, four collections of travel writing, did translations, and wrote volumes of essays. Through his writing, Lawrence developed a lyrical style that helped define modernism, the literary movement of his time. The poetic quality of his prose made his renditions of explicit sexuality more aesthetic than pornographic, a practice finally acknowledged by the courts of the United States and Great Britain when *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was finally published in the late 1950s.

SEE ALSO *Lady Chatterley's Lover.*

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Judith Roof

LE ROMAN DE SILENCE

Le roman de Silence (The romance of Silence), by the otherwise unknown Heldris de Cornuälle, is a thirteenth-century romance surviving in a single manuscript and consisting of 6,706 lines of octosyllabic verse in rhyming couplets. The foundational medieval romance for the study of cross-dressing and transgenderism and now firmly established in the canon despite its recent rediscovery, *Silence* relates the story of a girl whose parents decide to raise their daughter as a boy because King Ebain of England has declared that women may not inherit property. They name the child Silenti*us*, with the idea that the masculine *–us*, although it is against the *us*, or custom, of nature, can be easily altered to *–a* if Eufemie and Cador—the mother and father—should have a son.

The text stages a self-conscious debate over gender identity when the personification of Nature, revolted by the couple's decision, quarrels inconclusively with her counterpart, Noreture (Nurture), as to which of them has the stronger claim over the child. Sent to an isolated location to be brought up male, the "boy who was a girl" remains ignorant of the sex/gender split until the age of reason, when his father tells "him"—Heldris is remarkably consistent in using male pronouns to refer to his cross-dressed protagonist—that he is in fact a girl. An obedient child, the ambiguously named Silence adheres to her parents' wishes, wearing breeches and excelling at wrestling, skirmishing, and jousting, while carefully concealing her sex from her companions. When Silence reaches the age of twelve, Nature enjoins her to abandon her assumed gender, to "go to the chamber and learn to sew," activities assumed to be "natural" to women. Though troubled at the thought of living a life of deception, Silence decides that being a boy puts her "on top" and that womanhood would be a demotion. Recognizing that there is nothing feminine about herself, she worries, in what may be a veiled reference to sodomy, about what her role as a boy would be in the "game under the covers."

Silence's cross-dressing takes on new complications when, jumping class and perhaps race distinctions, she darkens her skin with an herb from the forest to run away with two minstrels. Ironically, her excellence at minstrelsy ultimately poses a greater threat to her well-being than her cross-dressing—her comrades, jealous of her success, conspire to kill her—just as her prowess as a knight, after her return to Ebain's court, exposes her to the designs of the wicked queen Eufeme (whose name can be read as meaning "Alas! Woman!"), the negative image of her mother Eufemie ("use of good speech").

After banishment to the French court, where her chivalric valor wins the admiration of the French king, Silence is given the impossible task of capturing Merlin. When she succeeds and brings the magician to the court, he reveals Silence's subterfuge as well as the queen's, whose lover is cross-dressed as a nun. Ebain pardons Silence, who declares that she wishes to remain silent no longer and to live according to her biologically assigned sex. Nature reclaims her rights, transforming the handsome warrior into a fair maiden who is married to Ebain while Eufeme is drawn and quartered. Despite its unconventional approach to gender and the sympathetic portrayal of its queer main character, critics have argued that *Silence* ultimately reveals a deep-seated misogyny, but the conclusion's neat reinscription of sanctioned gender roles in no way diminishes the text's insistent interrogation of medieval culture's assumptions and expectations regarding gender.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Clothing; Gender Identity; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Ide and Olive; Literature: I. Overview; Maiden; Manliness; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Passing (Woman); Transgender.*

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LEGENDS AND MYTHS

Myths and legends prescribe and proscribe gender-appropriate behavior and provide categorical associations for each gender that define masculinity and femininity and, by extension, the proper spheres of activity for men and women. Myths, or narratives about gods, typically have more social power than do legends dealing with humans, queens, and so on.

MYTHS AND GENDER STEREOTYPES

When they are connected to active rituals and celebrations, myths are reinforced by both verbal and imagistic repetition. For instance, the story of the incarnation of Jesus Christ is recited aloud in countless churches each December as well as being evoked by holiday cards that depict a young mother and a newborn child in a hay-filled stable, watched over by a kindly old gentleman, a sky full of angels, and a few shepherds. The repetition of culturally significant myths often provides an occasion for exegesis that enforces gender bias, as occurs when the

Christmas story is used as an occasion for sermons decrying abortion or reminding women of their social role as chaste matrons.

However, differing information can be contained in mythic narratives and images. Viewers familiar with the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation typically see Christmas images as illustrating the New Testament story of the birth of Jesus, but the imagery has its source in eastern Mediterranean religions in which a goddess (Anat, Ishtar, Isis, Astarte) was celebrated as the all-powerful force of reincarnating life. Thus, careful instruction is necessary to consolidate the unitary vision of gender found in monotheistic religions and to discourage the faithful from seeing alternative possibilities in those stories and pictures.

Because there has never been a historical monotheism centered on a goddess, monotheistic religions require myths that support a male-dominant heavenly hierarchy. That supernatural reality, it can be argued, must be reflected in a similar hierarchy on earth. Thus, the image of the Virgin Mary as a mother is employed to show that human women are ideally men's helpers rather than independent actors and to promote an ideal of womanhood that does not allow women to practice sexual agency. The early Christian Church deliberately adopted goddess iconography to encourage the embrace of the "mother of God" in place of the "mother of all the gods," but worshippers must be reminded continually that a powerful woman is really a meek helper, whereas her apparently helpless male child is the omnipotent savior.

LEGENDS AND GENDER

Legends, a category that includes fairy tales, folk tales, epics, and fables, depict a greater range of possible behavior for men and women. Many legends are based on premonotheistic goddess images and therefore convey culturally subversive ideas and information. One of the most enduringly popular European legends is that of Tristan and Isolde, who drink a magic potion intended to assure deep and lasting passion between Isolde and her intended husband, Tristan's uncle, King Mark. However, once they mistakenly drink the potion, the lovers are helpless against their desires; the story centers on their failed attempts to remain true to patriarchal marriage vows in the face of overwhelming passion.

The idea of love as an irresistible, fatal power is a staple of Western poetry, fiction, and especially drama, from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* to the 2005 movie *Brokeback Mountain*. However, Isolde's story originally was not one of fated human love; it derives from a Celtic religious myth in which the earth goddess chooses a virile young man over one whose powers are failing, a story also reflected in the British Guinevere–Lancelot–Arthur and the Irish Gráinne–Diarmait–Fionn love triangles. Although the story has been used as a cautionary tale against the social danger posed by women's sexual activities, it shows a broader range of possible action for the heroine than can be found in the official mythos of a monotheistic culture. Isolde may be in the grip of magic, but she consummates her love.

Although sacred narratives that no longer are supported by ritual often are called myths, they are functionally legends, existing as narratives detached from religious observation. An example is the classical Greek story of Demeter and Persephone, which describes the rape of the grain goddess's daughter by the underworld king Hades, the mother's mournful withholding of the earth's fruits, and the eventual partial reunion of the devoted mother and her child.

This myth formed the basis of the Eleusinian mysteries that were celebrated in Demeter's sanctuary near Athens. The rites of that religion are unknown, having been kept secret by thousands or perhaps millions of initiates for as much as two millennia. Although the mysteries have not been celebrated for fifteen hundred years, the story survives, recorded by ancient writers and retold by modern ones, a powerful narrative of intense maternal love in which the male divinity exists only to endanger that relationship. As the story of Demeter's withholding of grain until her beloved daughter is returned shows, the range of behavior for female characters is far greater in legend and nonritualized myth than it is in myths supported by monotheistic religious ritual and practice.

THE GENDERING OF NATURE

Narratives and images are not employed only to encourage or prohibit gender-approved behavior by men or women. Nature itself is envisioned as possessing gender, as are specific aspects of nature, which thus become subject to cultural definitions of approved behavior. This personification of natural objects and powers is found in all cultures. The agricultural Mohawk people of the northeastern American woodlands described their major food crops as Deohako, the "three sisters," with corn, beans, and squash each having unique feminine characteristics; the Inuit saw the sun as a woman forever fleeing her rapist brother, the moon; and the ancient Germans saw the sun as a woman and the moon as a man, her husband.

Although the earth occasionally is seen as masculine, as with the ancient Egyptian god Geb, the planet most often is defined mythically as feminine. The names borne by the earth goddess were myriad: Al-Lat in Arabia, Ala

Tristan and Isolde. *The legend of Tristan and Isolde is a story of forbidden love.* THE ART ARCHIVE/NEUSCHWANSTEIN CASTLE GERMANY/DAGLI ORTI.

among Ibo-speaking Africans, Asase Yaa among the Ashanti people of Ghana, Dzivaguru among the Zimbabwean Korekore, Prakriti among the Hindus, Spenta Armaiti among the Zoroastrians, and Ja-Neba among the Samoyeds of Siberia. She was Kadi in Assyria and the mountain dragon Mamapacha among the Peruvian Incas. In Siberia the earth was Mou-Njami, a green-furred woman in whose womb all the eyes of every creature gestated; in Mali the Bambara people called the earth Muso Koroni, "pure woman of ancient soul," and described her as a dark leopard. In Slavic paganism the goddess was Mokosh, "moist mother earth," a black-faced woman whose image survives in eastern European icons of the virgin mother Mary. Among the Germans she was Nerthus, carried in a wagon through the fields each spring. On the North American continent one finds Agischanak (Tlingit), Atira (Pawnee), Awitellin Tsita (Zuni), Estsanatlehi (Navaho, Apache), Kohkang Wunti (Hopi), Muzzu-Kummik-Quae (Ojibway), Nokomis (Algonquin), Queskapenek (Okanagon), and Tomaiyovit (Luiseño).

These are only a few of the hundreds of names for the earth goddess. Her symbolism varied between agricultural and hunting peoples, with agriculturalists tending to depict the goddess as the dark fertile soil and hunters tending to emphasize her control over wildlife. In both cases, however, the maternal aspect of the earth was emphasized, for she was depicted as the source of human nourishment, as a mother is the source of milk for her infants.

This gendering of the earth as feminine becomes problematic in monotheistic religions. Monotheism leads to dualism: When there is only one god, most of the universe must be "not god." When the god is male, whatever is female is thus not god. Similarly, culturally desired attributes (strength, intelligence, power) are connected with the masculine, whereas culturally rejected or feared qualities (weakness, emotion, powerlessness) are ascribed to the feminine. Maternal qualities thus become devalued whether they are found in individual humans, divinities, or nature. The gender of "Mother Earth" thus leads to assumptions that nature is passively available to provide whatever her children desire. Within this gender construct earthquakes, hurricanes, and similar natural events that are destructive of life or property are read as deliberate "unnatural" violence against humanity, with personified terms such as *raging*, *battering*, and *furious* employed as descriptors. Thus, the mythic and legendary gendering of both humans and nonhuman nature is problematic in societies based on patriarchal monotheism.

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Patricia Monaghan

LESBIAN, CONTEMPORARY

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

The term *contemporary lesbian* refers to a woman who sexually desires other women and who participates in, or is at least aware of, a larger lesbian community or subculture. As a phrase that notes both a temporal frame and a psychosocial subject position, contemporary lesbian posits the term *lesbian* as a cultural construction—an unstable identity category that holds different meanings in various times and places. This encyclopedic outline of lesbian subjects, representations, and cultures in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries traces the general formation of the psychological type and identity group *lesbian*, while at the same time describing erotic, sexual, and social practices that have been associated with lesbians and that have been incorporated into contemporary lesbian histories.

Queer histories (called "queer" in order to contest sexual distinctions and absolute categories such as "homosexual" and "heterosexual") have generally observed a marked difference in the development of lesbian subcultures and gay male subcultures, the latter of which began with the London molly house raids of 1699. Women's subjugation—their domestic isolation, restricted freedoms, relative poverty, controlled sexuality, and lack of political power—impeded the development of recognizable lesbian subcultures. Only with social and economic advances did women begin to articulate their sexualities, acquire social and sexual freedom from men, and occupy public space as self-identified lesbians. Not surprisingly, lesbian subcultures did not develop until the twentieth century. Nevertheless, because women have had sexual and erotic liaisons with one another across time and cultures, the manifestation of the contemporary lesbian has allowed for and even demanded the production of histories that legitimize this behavior in the eyes of an intolerant public. Contemporary notions of lesbianism emerge from and elaborate on four main historical precedents from the nineteenth century on: romantic friendship, passing women, female inversion, and the bohemian lesbian circles of the 1920s.

ROMANTIC FRIENDSHIP AND THE IMPROBABILITY OF FEMALE–FEMALE DESIRE

Feminist scholarship in the 1980s began to explore women's friendships as a site of female homoeroticism and same-sex intimacy. Under the rubric of "romantic friendship," historians revealed a world of passionate female–female relationships that was validated and normalized in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Romantic friendships were often lifelong and involved sharing beds, maintaining an ardent correspondence, and pledging devotion and love to one another. These friendships were conducted alongside traditional heterosexual marriages and were accepted by the participants' husbands and families.

It is difficult to ascertain whether these proclamations of love and displays of physical intimacy were merely social conventions of friendship or whether they represent sexual desire and experience that later came to be understood as distinctly "lesbian" practices. The question of definitively detecting sexual activity or erotic attachment in these romantic friendships is highly problematic because of the "passionlessness" that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women were supposed to possess. Stereotypes about white female virtue and white feminine asexuality (the lack of sexual desire in women) made sexual relations between "proper" women almost inconceivable.

A case that illustrates the cultural implausibility of lesbian relations at the time is that of Marianne Woods and Jane Pirie, two mistresses of a school for girls in Edinburgh, Scotland. In 1810 the friends were accused of "improper and criminal conduct" by a mother whose disobedient daughter had suggested the illicit behavior. The school went under, and Woods and Pirie lost their incomes. They successfully sued for libel. Their lawyers easily convinced the judges that the accusations were unfounded, largely because the judges were predisposed to believe that, for one thing, sex could not occur without a man present. As one judge asserted, "I do believe that the crime here alleged has no existence." The American playwright Lillian Hellman later used the scandal as the basis for her first play, *The Children's Hour* (1934), which was later (in 1961) turned into a movie starring Audrey Hepburn and Shirley MacLaine.

Scholars Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Lillian Faderman have explained how the strict gender segregation of Victorian society effectively divided the world into male and female homosocial spaces. In a climate that distanced women from men, women's affective bonds with one another provided emotional support as young girls embarked on the rituals of marriage and childbearing that structured their lives (Smith-Rosenberg 1983). Faderman's 1981 work, *Surpassing the Love of Men*, traces the development of romantic friendships from the Renaissance through the twentieth century and shows how changing theories of female sexuality impacted experiences and understandings of love between women. Once sexology legitimized female sexual desire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these friendships were increasingly called into question, and "lesbian" desire was eventually condemned.

The ideology of romantic friendship as outlined by Smith-Rosenberg and Faderman does not of course adequately describe all female–female relations and is most relevant to the middle-class white world from which they draw most of their evidence. The mid-nineteenth-century example of the freeborn African Americans Addie Brown and Rebecca Primus offers explicit evidence about the sexual nature of this particular friendship and reveals how expectations of women and friendship differed in an African-American context. Brown, a domestic worker, and Primus, a schoolteacher, shared a long, deeply passionate relationship though they lived in different East Coast towns. In her 1996 essay about this relationship, Karen V. Hansen stresses that the Brown–Primus friendship was overtly erotic and public rather than private: "It was highly visible and deeply enmeshed in the domestic networks of Hartford [Connecticut]'s African-American community" (p. 178). In reading their correspondence, Hansen explores what she terms "bosom sex" in Brown's descriptions of her sexual relationship with Primus. Hansen traces out a specific practice that, she suggests, may have been fairly universal to female friendships of the nineteenth century—that is, the expectation that one share access to one's bosom (one's sexuality) when sharing a bed with a friend.

A subset of romantic friendships, relations between women termed "Boston marriages," flourished in the nineteenth century in New England. Boston marriages were monogamous arrangements between usually professional, bourgeois women and involved sharing a household and encouraging one another in individual artistic, political, or reformist pursuits. Because they took the place of heterosexual marriage, foreclosed the possibility of childbearing, and were instrumental in feminist progress, Boston marriages were typically viewed critically in the public eye.

PASSING WOMEN AND FEMALE INVERSION

Another precedent for contemporary lesbianism is the phenomenon of passing women—female-born people who lived part or all of their lives as men. These women who "passed" as men have represented a more working-class counterpart to romantic friendships in lesbian histories and were a particularly pronounced phenomenon in the nineteenth century, when women first began to infiltrate the public sphere.

Although passing women usually claimed that their motivation to dress and live as men was to seek adventure or better economic opportunities, no doubt some of them wanted to pursue same-sex erotic relationships. A number of passing women courted and married women—some of whom knew the "true sex" of their husbands, but most of whom claimed they did not. As many historians point out, passing women contribute to transgender as well as lesbian history, and in the latter case provide an interesting historical overlay for what much later became familiar as tomboyhood, lesbian butch style, or female-to-male transgenderism.

Similar to the decline of socially accepted romantic friendships, with the influx of the twentieth century's new sexual knowledge, passing women went from social curiosities to social outcasts. The case of Lucy Ann Lobdell illustrates that emerging notions of female homosexuality redefined how passing women were understood in society. Born in New York state in 1829, she took up hunting and other "men's tasks" at a young age in order to compensate for her father's inability to work. She married and had a child with a man who became abusive and deserted them. In fact, she claimed, in her self-published *Narrative of Lucy Ann Lobdell* (1855), it was his announcement of a return that prompted her to dress as a man and seek a living on her own. As "Joe Lobdell," she married a woman who had been similarly deserted and claimed to have reached sexual satisfaction for the first time with this wife. Institutionalized in 1880 for ten years, probably until her death, Lobdell's doctor, P. M. Wise, classified her in terms of homosexuality and perversion, concepts that reconfigured understandings of female independence and feminist revolt.

In fact, passing women and the increasing suspicion around female friendships were both factors in the pathologizing of female–female intimacy, love, and desire that accompanied the advent of sexology and psychoanalysis around the end of the nineteenth century. European sexual scientists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) devised theories that classified sexual behavior and constructed sexual typologies, including the transvestite, the sadist, the masochist, the fetishist, and the homosexual (or "invert"). Specifically, Ellis's theory of sexual inversion sketched the lesbian prototype as a mannish woman. For the sexologists, all of the aforementioned women—passing women and those in romantic friendships or Boston marriages—were instantly understood as "inverts," whether the women had been conscious of same-sex desire or not.

Not surprisingly, these scientific articulations of female–female sexual desires—however pathologizing, condescending, or simplistic—resonated with many women who finally found their experience recognized and named. Among these was the British novelist Radclyffe Hall, who used Ellis's theory of inversion as the theoretical basis for her controversial apologia for homosexuality, *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). The novel centered on the coming-of-sexuality of protagonist Stephen Gordon, an aristocratic woman who possesses exceptional talent and intelligence as well as an inescapable desire for feminine women.

Heralded as the first lesbian novel, Hall's book has been in print since its publication and has had untold impacts on the emergence of a recognizable lesbian culture, the development of lesbian style, and the tone of queer resistance. Although it has been argued that Gordon—and even Hall, whose friends called her "John"—might embody a nascent articulation of transgender identity more than that of a mannish lesbian, Hall's lead character remains fixed in the lesbian imagination, both as a discomforting instance of lesbian self-denial and as a model of lesbian gallantry and integrity.

LESBIAN BOHEMIA

In *The Well*, Hall also provided a fictional description of the "gay life" that was booming in Paris in the 1920s. Like networks of self-identified lesbians in large cities such as Berlin, New York, and London, the Parisian lesbian scene revolved around artistic interest and expression. Painters, writers, poets, and heiresses—female expatriates such as Natalie Barney, Romaine Brooks, Djuna Barnes, and Gertrude Stein—inhabited Paris's Left Bank as artistic and sexual "moderns" alongside other famous modernists, such as Pablo Picasso, Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, Man Ray, and Paul Cezanne. Exiles from their homophobic homelands, these women and their friends populated the fourteenth arrondissement known as Montparnasse.

The lesbian world of 1920s Paris was depicted in fictional form in Djuna Barnes's satirical roman-à-clef *Ladies Almanack* (1928) and her dark novel *Nightwood* (1936), which loosely chronicled her dramatic, real-life relationship with the sculptor and silverpoint artist Thelma Ellen Wood. The novel was published in the United States with a glowing introduction by the poet T. S. Eliot and has been recognized as one of literature's great works by such writers as Dylan Thomas, William S. Burroughs, and Anaïs Nin. Barnes also wrote the famous essay "How It Feels to Be Forcibly Fed" (1914), an indictment of the custom of force-feeding that was used on imprisoned suffragists who were on hunger strike.

A pioneering experimental writer and lesbian and modernist icon, Stein hosted a reputed literary salon in her Parisian home at 27, rue de Fleurus—first with her brother, Leo, and then with her partner of forty years, Alice B. Toklas, who, like Stein, was an American expatriate from California. Artists and writers flocked to see the avant-garde art that hung on Stein's studio walls—an assortment later referred to as the first modern art collection. Stein and Toklas's approach to lesbian life has been understood as old-fashioned and modern, cautious and radical, and is likewise representative of and exceptional among other lesbian relationships of the time. Their lesbianism was an "open secret" to their friends, but Stein and Toklas were extremely reserved when it came to the nature of their relationship. Their lives were structured by propriety, routine, and middle-class values, even in this age of debauchery and experimentation. For those not in the know, Toklas was Stein's companion or secretary, a friend in service to Stein's literary genius, and in many ways she was exactly that. She typed Stein's work, cooked their meals, and arranged their travels. Feminists have critiqued their relationship for its recapitulation of heterosexual roles (Stein as demanding husband and Toklas as subservient wife). Yet, scholars such as Catharine R. Stimpson (1984) have seen in the remarkable symbiosis of the Stein–Toklas relationship a more complicated role-playing that speaks to their creative assemblage of a highly productive life.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme; Dyke; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Homosexuality, Defined.*

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II. POST 1950

Since 1950 there has been an explosion of visible lesbian public cultures. As lesbian identity became a more recognizable subjectivity, stereotypes and experiences of lesbian sexuality shifted from an amorphous, "soft" sexuality to brazen sexual autonomy and pride, from sexual "impossibility" to overt commitments to loving, and seducing, women. Beginning with lesbian bar cultures of the 1950s through the lesbian feminist movement of the 1970s, lesbian self-presentation became a creative, politicized mode deeply tied to community-building. The diverse range of lesbian aesthetics, styles, and tastes—emerging within cultural, political, intellectual, and artistic discourse—is commemorated and displayed in the annals of contemporary lesbian scholarship, art, and literature.

LESBIAN BAR CULTURE

Like Paris in the 1920s, New York City was home to a thriving underground that was instrumental in the codification and expression of gay and lesbian identities. Greenwich Village, Times Square, and Harlem became New York's "gay ghettos." During the period known as the Harlem Renaissance, Harlem in particular was home to a vibrant blues culture. With the presence of gay men's "pansy acts" and lesbian blues performers such as Gladys Bentley, elaborate drag balls, all-night "rent parties," and art salons hosted by New York's queer elites (including the heiress A'Lelia Walker and the novelist and photographer Carl Van Vechten), Harlem's world-renowned permissive sexual atmosphere was also notoriously queer.

Through the 1930s and 1940s, bars in major cities (San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York in the United States) began to cater exclusively to lesbians, with some of the bars fielding lesbian sports teams that competed with rival gay bars and clubs. Gay life was conducted within an underground empire of gay and lesbian boardinghouses, public parks and streets, and bars and nightclubs. These gay haunts were scrutinized and raided by police, and in the 1940 and 1950s patrons were arrested at bars most effectively under a law that required people to wear at least three items of "gender-appropriate" clothing.

With the advent of World War II, the influx of GIs and sailors into port cities contributed to the development of a new type of gay public, one that was urban, young, and commercially driven. With men away at war, unaccompanied women who socialized together were less questionable, and in general the climate provided a "protective covering" for independent lesbians who lived a woman-focused life (Kennedy and Davis 1993).

While gay men cruised in public parks and streets, lesbians congregated in safer environments because of the dangers that faced women who went outdoors alone. This type of restriction established the lesbian bar as *the* central and primary locale for lesbian socializing, support, and acculturation. Lesbian bars facilitated the rise in public visibility of lesbians in the twentieth century, especially because butch–femme communities of the 1950s and early 1960s were rooted in bar life. Butches, observably "masculine women," and femmes, those projecting highly "feminine" characteristics, formed erotic and emotional attachments through their own intricate processes of courtship, seduction, and devotion. The working-class bars where this social life unfolded were dramatic stages for jealous brawls, butch and femme mentoring, refuge from homophobic violence, and the perfection of butch and femme social and physical styles. In the climate of the sexual revolution, lesbian feminists eventually critiqued the specific language and performance of lesbian sexuality represented by the butch–femme relationship on the grounds that it mimicked heterosexuality. Nevertheless, butch–femme relationships persisted, and expressions of these identities have evolved into new guises and new contexts (for example, in lesbian sadomasochism scenes and as theorized in queer theory). Aside from a number of butch–femme anthologies, the authors Joan Nestle (b. 1940), Esther Newton (b. 1940), and Sue-Ellen Case (b. 1942) have considered butch and femme identities and cultures in their writing.

Lesbian bars continue to exist throughout the world but are typically in a more precarious economic situation than gay male bars. More often, lesbian nights occur at gay male bars and clubs. In the 1990s, the lesbian bar cultivated the expansion of a vibrant, global drag king scene and began hosting bar viewing nights prompted by the inauguration of lesbian television shows. Famous examples of lesbian neighborhoods and towns are Park Slope in Brooklyn, Andersonville in Chicago, and Northampton, Massachusetts.

LESBIAN FEMINISM

In 1955 partners Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon founded the first lesbian political organization in San Francisco, the Daughters of Bilitis. While the group derived its name from Pierre Louÿs's faux archaeological find, *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (1894; The songs of Bilitis), in order to sound innocuous, the group became increasingly political and focused on using education to change attitudes toward lesbianism. Chapters were soon founded in other U.S. cities, and the group published their own magazine, *The Ladder*.

As the homophile movement grew in the United States and Europe, it overlapped with the feminist and civil rights movements. Lesbian feminism responded to and critiqued sexism in the homophile movement, homophobia in the feminist movement, and antifeminism and homophobia in the civil rights movement, and was itself critiqued for internal racism and insensitivity to class issues. While lesbian feminism shares a history with nineteenth-century women who lived as independent, feminist women (including passing women, women in Boston marriages and romantic friendships, and female suffragists and Victorian female prostitutes who depended on one another for erotic and emotional attention), lesbian feminism is most closely tied to the second wave of women's liberation. Most simply, lesbian feminism represents both a cultural movement and a critical perspective that empowered lesbian women and promulgated a fierce, political analysis of heterosexism and misogyny that displayed the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality.

The founding of the Radicalesbians in 1970 marks the beginning of formal lesbian feminist organizing. The group reconceptualized what "lesbian" meant, claiming that "A lesbian is the rage of all women condensed to the point of explosion." Taken from their manifesto, titled "The Woman-Identified Woman," this phrase illustrates the group's desire to agitate for social change as well as to critique heterosexist, patriarchal institutions that harm women and do not affirm female–female relationships. In response to the feminist Betty Friedan's statement that lesbians, whom she dubbed the "lavender menace," threatened the feminist agenda, Radicalesbians dispersed their manifesto during a political "zap" of the 1970 Congress to Unite Women in New York City with which they argued that lesbian issues were central to the fight for women's rights.

Lesbian feminism was eventually seen as the ultimate embodiment of slogans such as "the personal is political" and "feminism is the theory, lesbianism is the practice." In addition to consciousness-raising, protests, and zap actions, lesbian feminist politics manifested in the context of linguistics, spirituality, and community living. Lesbian feminists took on woman-identified names and altered words to reflect antipatriarchal values. For instance, *women* became *womyn* or *wimmin*, and *history* became *herstory*—as in the Lesbian Herstory Archives, founded in New York City in 1973. Lesbian feminists also identified with ancient Amazonian female warriors and adopted their legendary weapon, the labrys (double-bladed ax), as a lesbian symbol. Many lesbian feminists explored versions of female-centered, pagan, and pre-Judeo-Christian religions, reclaiming the figures of goddesses and witches as symbols of female power. Spiritual lesbian groups continue to function as feminist spaces that encourage community involvement, female self-esteem, sexual expression, and gynocentric beliefs.

In the face of rampant sexism and homophobia, some lesbian feminists advocated lesbian separatism as the only way to escape the trappings of a deeply male-dominated society. Lesbian separatists viewed all heterosexual relationships as harmful to women and considered the discord between women and men to be irreparable. In both rural and urban locales, lesbians created cooperative living arrangements that were founded on egalitarian ethics, values, and activities. Like feminist consciousness-raising groups, these communities eschewed hierarchy of any kind and supported women-owned businesses.

By the late 1970s and 1980s, lesbian feminist activists and scholars split over the question of sex—its practices, representations, and power. With this conflict, what became known as the "lesbian sex wars" began. Many lesbian feminists had initially charged heterosexuality in its various incarnations as the primary root of women's oppression. Arguments specifically cited pornography as a "how-to" manual for women's sexual exploitation and disrespect, and some writers and activists (including Catharine A. MacKinnon [b. 1946] and Andrea Dworkin [1946–2005]), calling into question notions of consent, compared all heterosexual sex to rape. These "extreme" viewpoints were fetishized in the press and used as evidence for the "ridiculousness" of radical, lesbian feminism. In truth, a strong contingent of lesbian feminist writers, scholars, and activists, including Amber Hollibaugh (b. 1946), Patrick [formerly Pat] Califia (b. 1954), and Ann Snitow (b. 1943), were adamantly pro-sex and defended heterosexual desire. They also critiqued "vanilla" lesbian feminists for their conservative ideals about lesbian sex and openly discussed lesbian sadomasochism and other deviant behavior. Even lesbian bookstores banned pro-sex lesbian books dealing with such topics, including Califia's *Sapphistry: The Book of Lesbian Sexuality* (1980), the SAMOIS collective's *Coming to Power* (1981), and Del Lagrace Volcano's [formerly Della Grace] photography book *Love Bites* (1991).

LESBIANS OF COLOR AND INTERSECTIONALITY

Like most political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the lesbian feminist movement was fraught with internal conflict. Just as lesbians had protested homophobia in the feminist movement, lesbian women of color and working-class lesbian women faulted white lesbians for ignoring and speaking over racial and class-based issues. Two central texts that critiqued lesbian feminism for its privileged silencing are the Combahee River Collective's "Black Feminist Statement" (1979) and Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa's creative and critical anthology *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981). Work by Paula Gunn Allen (b. 1939) and others called attention to the specific struggle of Native American lesbians, and Dorothy Allison (b. 1949) and Nestle addressed questions of class.

It is important to note that all of these women and those in their circles accomplished much for the plight of women in general, especially when it came to sexual expression, professional advancement, and, in the words of the era, "breaking the silence" on many previously taboo topics. On the question of separatism, these lesbian women of color refused to renounce men of color and proudly claimed them as their brothers because of their commonalities as racial minorities and their shared fight against white supremacy.

One of the most profound theoretical contributions of lesbians of color was their carving out of the "intersectional thesis"—that is, the claim that modes of social oppression do not function independently of one another. Intersectionality continues to be a useful concept for social service providers, social theorists, and activists—most of whom continue to explore the ways that race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, religion, ability, and other markers of difference overlap to form specific experiences of oppression and identity.

In 1974 Latina and black New York lesbians founded Salsa Soul Sisters, an alternative place to congregate than the lesbian bars, which were sometimes discriminatory, alienating, and unsafe for discussions of racism or racial and ethnic pride. Chicana, Native American (sometimes called "two-spirited"), Indian, and Asian and Pacific Islander lesbians have theorized colonialism and imperialism from lesbian feminist perspectives, and, in the creation of "third world feminism," have illustrated the ways that capitalist, white supremacist, homophobic, and patriarchal government oppression are interconnected. Important activists and scholars in this decolonizing, feminist thought include Angela Y. Davis (b. 1944), Gloria Anzaldúa (1942–2004), Barbara Smith (b. 1946), Michelle Wallace, and Andrea Smith (Cherokee).

LESBIAN SCHOLARSHIP

As this brief history of lesbian feminism demonstrates, scholarship and theory have played a central role in the theorization, performance, and politics of contemporary lesbianism. As indicated by the aforementioned contributions of black feminist thought, third world feminism, and pro- and anti-sex scholars, lesbianism's intellectual history is rich with diversity and methodologically innovative. Lesbian scholarship is closely related to feminist scholarship and has important origins in Continental poststructuralism.

One important thread of lesbian scholarship is French feminism, a style of intellectual inquiry influenced by

Continental philosophers interested in semiotics, and one that critiqued phallogocentrism (the Western privileging of the "male" word). Julia Kristeva (b. 1941), Luce Irigaray (b. 1930), and Hélène Cixous (b. 1937) are key proponents of French feminism, although they define and address "feminism" in different ways. The three writers analyzed the relationship between sexuality and language and tied modes of communication to gendered and sexual oppression. Their theories of *écriture féminine* (literally, "women's writing") privileged experience over language and circularity (characterized as feminine) over linearity (characterized as masculine). In her famous 1975 essay, "La rire de la Méduse" ("The Laugh of the Medusa," 1976), Cixous challenged woman to "write her self" and analogized women's exile and alienation from their bodies with women's relative absence in literary and intellectual history. In her 1980 essay, "La pensée straight" ("The Straight Mind"), another French feminist, Monique Wittig (1935–2003), claimed that "lesbians are not women" on the basis of their rejection of the heterosexual social contract.

A seminal redefinition of lesbianism that has remained controversial in lesbian cultural studies is the 1980 essay "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," by the poet and writer Adrienne Rich (b. 1929). Arguing for the formation of a new vocabulary for women's relationships with one another, Rich claims that intimacy between women, whether erotic, sexual, or not, will become more and more commonplace and valued once it becomes more visible and nameable. Within this strident critique of heterosexuality as an institution, Rich suggests the term *lesbian continuum* to describe a wide range of woman-identified experiences.

Early gay and lesbian studies, feminist theory, and activism that responded to the HIV-AIDS crisis inspired new scholarship in the field of what became known as "queer theory." The scholars Gayle Rubin (b. 1949), Judith Butler (b. 1956), and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (b. 1950) made important theoretical progress in theorizing pleasure, the body, and sexual identity in relation to nonnormative subjectivities and practices.

LESBIAN LITERATURE, MUSIC, AND ART

Despite the relatively late cultural formation of explicitly lesbian social, erotic, and political identities in the twentieth century, there is a great deal of pre-Stonewall (that is, pre-1968) literature that has been canonized as "lesbian literature." This canon includes the poetry of the Restoration dramatist Aphra Behn (1640–1689), the first English woman to make authorship her livelihood; the poems of the Mexican nun and scholar Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695); the poems and letters of the reclusive American poet Emily Dickinson (1830–1886); and the diaries of Anne Lister (1791–1840), a well-to-do English landowner. Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), the story of the coming of age and failed love affairs of invert protagonist Stephen Gordon, is considered to be the first lesbian novel.

In the 1950s and 1960s, lesbian pulp novels were widely published and distributed. Most of these lurid novels were marketed to a male readership, and the tragic lesbian protagonists of the books reached their formulaic "bad end" among a variety of punishments for their transgressions—insanity or death if she did not recover to heterosexuality. Some pulp novels—notably the Beebo Brinker Chronicles by Ann Bannon (pseudonym of Ann Weldy)—allowed lesbian protagonists to escape these cruel fates and began to present a more positive view of lesbian relationships and identities, though not without dilemmas. Bannon's books were reissued in the 1980s and early twenty-first century by Naiad Press and Cleis Press, respectively, to the excitement of a large lesbian reading public that remembered these books as crucial to their coming out. Another exception to the depressing narrative arcs of early pulps is *The Price of Salt* (1952), by the American mystery/crime writer Patricia Highsmith (1921–1995).

The lesbian feminist publishing boom in the 1970s resulted in the distribution of magazines such as *Lesbian Connection* (East Lansing, Michigan), *Lesbian Tide* (Los Angeles), *Amazon Quarterly* (Oakland, California), and *Azalea: A Magazine by and for Third World Lesbians* (Brooklyn) as well as in the development of a number of women's presses, including Naiad, Diana Press, and Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press. In 1973 Rita Mae Brown (b. 1944), one of the founders of Radicalesbians, wrote the first of several lesbian novels, *Rubyfruit Jungle*, a proud and recuperative coming-of-age tale that is somewhat autobiographical. Other influential writers associated with this era are the African-American poet and activist Audre Lorde (1934–1992), the Jewish-American poet and activist Muriel Rukeyser (1913–1980), the American poet and historian Judy Grahn (b. 1940), and the Native American poet Chrystos (b. 1946; Menominee tribe).

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III. STATUS

Lesbian music was central to the development of lesbian feminist communities in the 1970s through the 1990s. "Women's music" answered the categorical absence of women in the recording industry and spoke to the revolutionary moment by presenting music made by women, about women, and for women. Lesbian artists such as Ferron, Tret Fure, Alix Dobkin, and Ubaka Hill were important voices in the genre's founding. Cris Williamson's album *The Changer and the Changed* (1975) was the first album produced by Olivia Records, which was the first women's music label (founded in 1973 by a collective that included the musician Meg Christian). Christian's playful lesbian anthems, such as "Ode to a Gym Teacher" and "Leaping Lesbians," synthesized folk music with lesbian humor. While local lesbian activists across the United States and Europe organized concerts that showcased these performers and others, annual music festivals began to pop up that operated as weekend- or weeklong feminist "safe spaces" that fostered pride, arts and crafts, and sexual expression. Most festivals continue to function as communal spaces, and some require attendees to sign up for volunteer work shifts. Many lesbian performers have benefited directly from the women's music festival circuit or from the advances that can be credited to this history. Tracy Chapman, the Indigo Girls, Melissa Etheridge, Sweet Honey in the Rock, and Me'Shell NdegéOcello are among these.

The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival (MWMF) is the largest, longest-running, and most controversial of these festivals. MWMF's history illustrates how debates about inclusion, transgender identity, and difference in the lesbian community have evolved—most obviously in their exclusion of men and transgendered or transsexual women from the festival. Founded in 1976 by nineteen-year-old Lisa Vogel, MWMF did not formally institute its "womyn-born womyn" policy until an incident in 1991 in which a security guard banished a transsexual woman from the grounds. Since then, the festival has been boycotted and protested—most notably by the formation of the nearby Camp Trans, which is attended by transwomen, transmen, genderqueers, and their allies.

The lesbian feminist music world of the 1970s and 1980s merged with the American and European punk and post-punk rock cultures that included artists such as Yoko Ono, Patti Smith, Joan Jett, and the Slits to produce the Riot Grrrl movement of the 1990s. Riot Grrrl culture has been important to young, urban articulations of lesbianism in contemporary times. A counterculture that emphasized do-it-yourself (DIY) attitudes and art activities (such as zine writing and publishing), Riot Grrrl promoted feminist issues and was for the most part lesbian-friendly or even lesbian-focused. The founding of Riot Grrrl conventions; the lesbo-queer record label Mr. Lady Records (now defunct); the international all-women Ladyfest music festivals; and slogans such as its famous "Love Rock Revolution Girl Style Now," all indicate the influence of lesbian feminism on this movement, genre, and style of self-expression. Like 1970s lesbian feminism, Riot Grrrl has been critiqued for its inattention to racial issues and was simplified in coverage by the mainstream media. The "riot grrrl sensibility" nevertheless persists in contemporary queer electroclash music, queer activist direct-action groups, and national feminist magazines such as *Bitch: Feminist Response to Pop Culture*, *Bust*, and Norway's *Fett*.

Lesbian visibility in the mainstream media has been further augmented by an emergent lesbian cinema. Films made by lesbians about lesbian issues became more accessible around the globe beginning in the 1990s, and classic lesbian films are remembered as instrumental to the "coming out" of many contemporary lesbians. Pre-Stonewall films such as *Queen Christina* (1933), Alfred Hitchcock's *Rebecca* (1940), and the aforementioned *Children's Hour* (1961) are part of the lesbian cinematic canon, while lesbian classics such as *Desert Hearts* (1985, based on the novel by the lesbian author Jane Rule), *Go Fish* (1994), *The Watermelon Women* (1996), and *Bound* (1996) present lesbianism in explicit terms. Movies such as *Mädchen in Uniform* (1931, Germany), the first movie to address lesbianism; Lizzie Borden's *Born in Flames* (1983, United States); and Deepa Mehta's *Fire* (1996, India/Canada) reveal the diversity in lesbian cinema. Lesbian directors include Dorothy Arzner (1900–1979), who was the only female Hollywood director in the 1930s and 1940s; Barbara Hammer (b. 1939); and Rose Troche (b. 1964).

Lesbian art follows a similar trajectory as lesbian literature and in many cases was produced alongside the novels and poems that defined lesbianism in each generation. In expatriate Paris, well-known lesbian artists included the American portrait painter Romaine Brooks (1874–1970) and the British painter known as Gluck (Hannah Gluckstein; 1895–1978). Lesbian feminist artists include Joan Snyder (b. 1940), Tee A. Corinne (b. 1943), Fran Winant (b. 1943), and members of the Feminist Lesbian Art Collective. Lesbian photographers have a rich and influential history and include, among those already mentioned, Berenice Abbott (1898–1991), Annie Leibovitz (b. 1949), Catherine Opie (b. 1961), and Deborah Bright (b. 1950), who glued her own image onto classic Hollywood film stills in her project "Dream Girls" (1989–1990).

Lesbian theater and performance art held a particularly significant role in lesbian community building in the 1980s. The WOW Café Theater is an East Village (New York City) women's theater collective that has been an important house for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (GLBTQ) theater since 1980. The lesbian theater companies Split Britches and Five Lesbian Brothers came out of the WOW Café and continue to perform across the globe. Comedic lesbian performance artists Carmelita Tropicana (Alina Troyano) and Holly Hughes (b. 1955) were also involved in the WOW Café's early days.

INTERNATIONAL LESBIAN RIGHTS AND GLOBAL LESBIAN FEMINISM

As a social and political identity with specific historical origins in Western cultures, lesbian is not a universal category. Even in Western contexts lesbian possesses varied meanings. According to the scholar Monika Reinfelder (1996a), terms used internationally to refer to "lesbian" practice and women who love women include *lesbian*, *dyke*, *Zami*, *wicker*, *mati*, *khush*, *entendidas*, *sakhi*, *suhak*, and *jami*. Many women who have sex with women do not identify as "lesbians"—a fact that has made mass organizing difficult across the globe and has contributed to a vast lesbian invisibility that reinforces heterosexism in developing nations. Victims of executions, beheadings, stoning deaths, imprisonment, institutionalization, forced marriages, and suicide in these countries, "lesbians" endure a global oppression that hinges on racist, sexist, homophobic, colonialist, and imperialist regimes. As Reinfelder writes, "In many countries the legacy of colonialism/neo-colonialism and the effects of continuing North/South inequalities have given priority to struggles around poverty, illiteracy, famine and national liberation. This has often rendered it impossible for women to engage in issues of sexuality" (1996b, p. 11). Homosexuality (and lesbianism) are made illegal, usually through sodomy laws, across the globe, and in some countries anyone advocating for gay rights is subject to arrest and possible imprisonment. GLBTQ people and their allies in countries such as Jamaica, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Poland, and the United Arab Emirates have been especially persecuted, according to the U.S. State Department's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2005*.

Specific laws against lesbian sexual acts are complex in terms of phrasing and enforcement, precisely because of the issues of implausibility and invisibility of female–female desire that have been previously addressed. A famous illustration of this matter is the legend (most likely apocryphal) of Queen Victoria's response to the clause about lesbianism proposed for the antigay Labouchere Amendment that was drawn up in 1885 in London. The amendment, under which Oscar Wilde was later prosecuted, referred only to male homosexuality because the queen reputedly did not believe sex between women to be possible.

Until the second half of the twentieth century in the United States and in contemporary times in other nations, lesbians underwent corrective therapy including psychiatric treatment, electroconvulsive therapy, or any number of medical procedures, such as hysterectomies, hormone injections, and clitoridectomies. Lesbian invisibility has been sustained through such terroristic threats and violence.

In developing nations, lesbianism and homosexuality have been considered products of the West that have been imported to their purely heterosexual cultures through the media, as an effect of global capitalism, or as a "white people's disease." To combat this mythology, women discover and write histories of lesbianism in their countries and build coalitions to battle the isolation that many lesbians feel. Another impediment to lesbian awareness and organizing in developing countries is linked to culture-specific senses of family duty, reputation, and honor. Often lesbians who travel, study, or work across international borders may live as heterosexuals in their home country and explore their lesbian desires while abroad.

The global AIDS pandemic has indirectly brought homosexuality into public discussion in such areas as Africa and India and in some cases has helped gay men and lesbians to mobilize together for gay rights. Working on

AIDS issues in such countries can sometimes camouflage groups that also function as gay and lesbian assemblies.

By contrast, in some countries (such as South Africa), lesbian socializing is not uncommon or particularly difficult to come by (Fester 1996). Yet, lesbian solidarity has been and is fractured by apartheid, movements for national liberation, and poverty.

There is much overlap between global lesbian cultural practices, including the expression of butch and femme genders, though these go by many different names. In Malaysia, for instance, the term *pengkid* (from "punk kid") refers to working-class queer butches who bind their breasts, wear men's underwear, and are chivalrous and devoted to their girlfriends (Nur and A. R. 1996). Tens if not hundreds of other examples of alternative female genders legitimize this behavior as a cross-cultural practice and draw a suggestive link between queer cultures and gender diversity.

In some cultures, masculine women and/or lesbian relationships are not ridiculed, or at least were not until the Western gender system filtered into isolated villages and cultures. This is the case, for example, in parts of Indonesia and India and in some American Indian tribes. Nevertheless, in the face of the global marginalization of lesbians, these cases are anomalies. Because of the progressive narratives about sexual liberation in the West and a general ignorance about global human rights, many people are unaware of the extreme persecution of lesbians in other countries. Sister Namibia, El Closet de Sor Juana (Mexico), and Can't Live in the Closet (Philippines) are among the most well-known international lesbian groups. More information about GLBTQ international affairs can be found through the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (United States) or the International Lesbian Information Service (Netherlands).

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LESBIANISM

Although the term *lesbian* designating a woman who has same-sex erotic relations first appeared in French in the sixteenth-century manuscript of the *Dames galantes*, composed by memoirist Pierre de Brantôme (1540–1614), it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that it (along with *lesbianism*, used to mean female homosexuality) began to enter into the lexicon in English.

THEORETICAL POSITIONS

If one posits that sexuality itself is the product of diverse discourses in society and thus cannot be viewed as a stable or fixed category, retracing the history of lesbianism intersects with the social construction of female sexuality in different times and cultures.

The interplay of contradictory notions colors any attempt to describe and delineate lesbianism from ancient societies to the contemporary period. If the starting point is a strong notion of lesbianism as constituting an identity in terms of late-twentieth-century social constructionist theory, a careful balance must be maintained between the imposition of modern categories on earlier times while acknowledging that these categories may indeed be appropriate and proactive in some cases. Michel Foucault (1926–1984) argued in his *History of Sexuality* (1976) that sexual preference as an identity only fully developed in the nineteenth century. Sexuality is thus a creation of nineteenth-century medical discourse. This statement is not to deny that groupings of individuals together according to their sexual practices—giving them, as it were, an "identity"—did exist; rather it negates the attribution of the deep psychical core to that identity that came out of the medicalization of sex. It also contradicts an essentialist viewpoint that searches for individuals with a homosexual, heterosexual, or other sexual orientation in a transhistorical, transcultural model. To apply this notion to the study of lesbianism assumes the critical stance that, in one sense, specifically rejects the notion of an identity politics that searches out "gay" people in the past. Thus while contemporary lesbianism will not be found in earlier societies, a diverse spectrum of female homoerotic relations as well as theories and definitions pertaining to them will emerge. These do no not deny the consciousness of same-sex desire; rather, they complicate it in ways productive to understanding contemporary concepts of lesbianism.

ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

The Greek poet Sappho (fl. 610 BCE–c. 570 BCE), from the isle of Lesbos, is frequently cited as the original lesbian. Her poetry, read as autobiographical, provides the bulk of the little is that known about her life. However, the identification of Sappho as lesbian is not universally accepted. She has been variously constructed in literature and literary criticism and biography as heterosexual, bisexual, and homosexual. Jane McIntosh Snyder (1997) has suggested that to pose the question about the real Sappho's sexual preference is perhaps useless, since it can never be answered definitively. Rather, her female-voiced poetry addressed to women with its evidence of same-sex desire merits consideration, can be seen as lesbian, and gives us a model of lesbianism as it appears in early Greek literature.

Gender roles, based on a binary distinction between active (penetrator, gendered male) and passive (penetrated, gendered female) appear to have been the dominant way of categorizing individuals in ancient Greece and Rome. For women, this category meant that women who penetrated (using a dildo or thought of as having a large clitoris) were guilty of gender transgression. Roman authors wrote of tribades as belonging to a distant, Greek past, harking back to stories of Sappho. Following established gender roles, they masculinized them.

Despite these protests by Roman authors, religious studies scholar Bernadette Brooten (1996) was able to establish the existence of female same-sex relationships in Roman society. Drawing on sources in Greek and Latin as well as rabbinical texts and artistic evidence, a wide spectrum of female homoerotic relations can be delineated. Erotic spells commissioned by women to use on women offer a glimpse into an aspect of same-sex desire. In contrast to more tolerant attitudes toward male homoeroticism, early medical literature cast female homoeroticism in a negative light, using terms like *disease*. This negative attitude may derive from the element of disruption of the social order associated with this type of relationship. The active female usurps the male role; the passive female has chosen the wrong partner and subverts the heterosexual model. Brooten argues convincingly that lesbianism in this form was clearly perceived as a real threat to the overarching structure of the active/ passive that was integral to that society. Astrological literature from the period proposes the explanation that as a result of a particular celestial conjunction a lifelong orientation toward same-sex desire exists, giving early credence to the notion of a "lesbian" identity.

EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES

With the rise of Christianity, the Pauline injunction against same-sex relationships began to infiltrate secular law. However, what the literary critic Valerie Traub once labeled the "insignificance of lesbian desire" informs the attitudes toward female same-sex relations in the Middle Ages. Penitential manuals referred to same-sex activities and frequently gave details of proscribed male sexual practices, whereas female homoerotic practices were not frequently elaborated. The "lesbian" did not exist as a separate category; rather, judicial language included female same-sex relations under sodomy, and modeled it to male sexual practices. Mark Jordan (1997) has argued that the category of *sodomia* marks the beginnings of a notion of homosexual identity; however, this identity erases any female specificity. Thus, lesbianism remains marginalized.

The assimilation of the lesbian to the sodomite placed an emphasis on the use of a prosthetic device as a necessary component to substantiate most prosecutions. Given this standard of proof, it is not surprising that prosecutions were uncommon. The infrequent instances of female same-sex relations in legal documents from this period contribute to an understanding of how these relations were viewed by the dominant culture, yet for the most part they contribute only slightly to any understanding of how the individuals involved in the relationships viewed their own identity. One exception may be a fifteenth-century incident found in a letter of pardon, where the recorded testimony tells that one young woman called the other her "sweetheart." Such an expression of affection is a rare glimpse into a homoerotic relationship between two women in that period.

Further traces of lesbian-like behavior can be found in letters exchanged by nuns, expressing longing and affection. The scope of these relationships cannot be determined with any certainty. By their language, they are not dissimilar from what will be termed romantic friendships. However, the atmosphere of the convent as an enclosed female world facilitated strong affective and erotic relationships. The rules of convents that forbade nuns sharing beds imply that the practice may have gone beyond the bounds of friendship. The evidence of Benedetta Carlini's "lesbian" relation, brought to light by Judith Brown (1986), substantiates this possibility. Thus it is possible that in some cases the desire to enter a religious order masked same-sex desire.

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The first significant discussion of lesbianism in the early modern period appears in Brantôme's *Dames Galantes* (Lives of fair and gallant ladies, 1666). In a "discourse" on what constitutes adultery, Brantôme examines various types of female same-sex relations, drawing both on Latin sources and on examples taken from contemporary society, including women in the French court. Although he dismisses these relations, for the most part, as poor imitations of heterosexual relationships, reinscribing the notion of phallic superiority in the Renaissance, and though he cites the dangers for those women who use prosthetics, he does suggest that there might be a certain pleasure involved in lesbian sexual acts.

Despite Brantôme's assertion that lesbianism was a common phenomenon, relatively few instances of same-sex couples are recorded for this period. A poem authored by Madeleine de l'Aubespine (1546–1596) was identified in the nineteenth century as referring to a lesbian relationship, but no verifiable source confirms this. A scattering of legal records cite female same-sex relations, but with the exception of a case cited by Michel de Montaigne in the 1581 edition of his *Essais*, concerning a female cross-dresser who had been living with another woman, these would not have been known to a wide public. In medical discourse, female same-sex relations were often associated with hermaphroditism.

As Valerie Traub (2002) has remarked, "references to female-female desire in English texts increased dramatically over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (p. 7). A similar statement can be made for texts in continental literature as well as medical and legal treatises. To a large extent, facilitated through the rediscovery of Sappho and the circulation of classical texts, the model of penetrator/penetrated that was prevalent in ancient societies reappears in the early modern figure of the tribade, a masculinized woman whose active role in same-sex relationships defines her. Sappho became the model for the tribade in early-modern medical texts. The most commonly perceived characteristic of the tribade was clitoral hypertrophy, thus establishing a physical source for her lesbianism. It would be an overstatement to conclude that this figure can be equated with a modern vision of lesbianism. Nonetheless, it does contribute to the understanding of the complicated notion of what constitutes lesbianism at different historical moments. The French *sapphisme* appeared in dictionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century as the term for lesbianism, and the noun *lesbienne* made its appearance in 1867. English would not adopt the term *lesbian* until the early twentieth century.

The concept of a passionate friendship, modeled on a Platonic ideal, developed in the early modern period as well. Although examples of such friendships were relatively rare among women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the eighteenth century these relationships, termed "romantic friendships," became common. As the literary historian Lillian Faderman (1981) has shown, romantic friendships between women were condoned and often encouraged. In the eighteenth century these passionate relationships were not thought to violate rules of sexual conduct. Rather, they served as a type of apprenticeship for marriage, allowing women to explore feelings of love outside of a sexual relationship. Homoaffective but not erotic, the female romantic friendship was not a threat to the marital economy. The romantic friends, then, can be seen as the counterpoint to the disruptive tribade who usurped the role of the male in a relationship. Romantic friendships continued to be common throughout most of the nineteenth century, but as new discourses arose concerning female same-sex relations, such relationships came under closer scrutiny.

INVENTING LESBIANISM

In the mid-nineteenth century, European sexologists began to formulate a taxonomy of sexual deviance, including homosexuality. The terms *lesbian* and *lesbianism* categorized women whose sexual desire was directed toward their own sex. The lesbian had a particular pathology. Rooted in the paradigm of heteronormativity, *lesbianism* described women whose sexual orientation was the result of a biological anomaly, believed to be genetic or hormonal. The lesbian became associated with manliness, both in dress and in behavior. This version of lesbianism was typically known through the theory of sexual inversion. Works such as the *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) by Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) and *Sexual Inversion* (published first in German in 1896 as *Das Konträre Geschlechtsgefühle* [Contrary sexual feeling]) by Havelock Ellis (1868–1935) disagreed as to whether sexual inversion was a disease—Ellis indeed argued that, although innate, it was not a disease. However, the view of homosexuality as disease prevailed, and thus the late nineteenth century had formulated a pathology of lesbianism within a new paradigm of hetero- vs. homosexuality.

The burgeoning science of psychiatry situated lesbianism in abnormal psychological development. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the founder of psychoanalysis, rejected the genetic/biological models for homosexuality and added the element of penis envy to the lesbian's psychological makeup. As thus constructed, the lesbian was not entirely dissimilar from the earlier tribade, in respect to the association with masculinity; however, the model functions through the developmental analogy of castration. Lesbianism was characterized as a lack. Popularized notions of Freudian theory associated lesbianism with the desire to be a man. The significance of this shift is that it created a purportedly recognizable group with "masculine" attributes being considered a prerequisite to lesbianism. For the most part, the association of lesbianism with masculinity no longer prevails at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

MODERN LESBIANISM

By the early twentieth century, a new consciousness emerged. The lesbian saw herself as an erotic subject, "a woman whose desire for women was felt as a fundamental component of her sense of self" (Duggan 1993, p. 791). There also emerged in this period the figure of the "mannish lesbian," embodied most notably by Radclyffe Hall (1880–1943) in her autobiographical novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). Havelock Ellis wrote the preface to the novel, and Hall presented it as a study of congenital inversion. The "mannish lesbian" has been considered a problematic figure for her adoption of masculinity and for embracing the characteristics of lesbianism developed by the sexologists. Some mediating factors are pertinent in understanding this figure. A masculine style of dress was not limited to "mannish lesbians" in the early twentieth century. It also was prominent in the fashion of the 1920s and was equally associated with the appearance of independent, educated women who were not lesbians. Modern style broke with the ornamentation of female dress during the Victorian period. Additionally, Esther Newton (1984) posits that masculine dress enacted a conscious rebellion against the paradigm of romantic friendship.

The definition of lesbianism that privileged the "mannish woman" had a secondary consequence of displacing the "feminine woman." The femme lesbian became an occulted figure, existing outside popular imagination and marginalized in scientific discourse. The lesbian couple created in this paradigm, prefiguring the later butch-femme couple, only consisted of one recognizable lesbian. In this context, the femme can be viewed as a type of passing, since the feminine lesbian defied facile identification. The butch-femme categories that developed later in the twentieth century recognized the femme as lesbian, refuting the "mannish lesbian" as the only model for lesbian identity.

LESBIANISM IN LATE TWENTIETH-CENTURY THEORY

In the late twentieth century, the definition and origin of lesbianism became the subject of debates between those working in the fields of poststructuralism and psychoanalytic theory. Most notably, the psychoanalyst Melanie Klein (1882–1960) and French theorists, including the writer and critic Hélène Cixous (b. 1937), psychoanalytic theorist Luce Irigaray (b. 1930), and Julia Kristeva (b. 1941), influenced the opinion that lesbian desire originates in the experience gained through bodily contact in the pre-Oedipal relationship between the mother and the daughter, categorizing female homosexuality in terms of sameness.

This view is congruent with lesbian feminism, a political movement that flourished in the United States in the 1970s and combined feminist ideologies and lesbian sexuality, and with that movement's precept of female identification (woman-identified woman). Lesbian feminism created lesbian communities in various parts of the United States, as well as a subculture including coffee houses, bookstores, newspapers, and so on. As a political force, these communities attempted to exist outside the patriarchy. Many lesbian feminists espoused a separatist ideology, dissociating themselves not only from men, but also from women who were not lesbians. They viewed with irony a culture that defined lesbianism as male-identified. Their political stance functioned as a rejection of the early-twentieth century "mannish lesbian" since they refused the identification of lesbian with the desire to be a male.

Poststructuralist theory, following the French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) and French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), called into question all sexual and gender categories, stressing the role of society. No category is natural or stable; rather, lesbianism is a social construct. That construct informs a self-conscious recognition of a sexual identity, in this case the lesbian, and produces the definition of lesbianism. The emergence of queer theory, building on the work of the poststructuralists and Foucault, and elaborated in the writings of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (b. 1950) and Judith Butler (b. 1956), moves beyond what Sedgwick (1990) called the "hetero/homo binary." Since that binary itself serves as the foundation for the nineteenth-century medical discourse—that theory of lesbian as identity and as self-conscious subject—the very notion of lesbianism as a transparent category is called into question. Although such discussions take place primarily in the academy, their effect is not totally unfelt in popular culture. Certainly within the essentialist viewpoint, the category is clear-cut and unproblematic.

Despite the influence of social construction and queer theory, it would be an exaggeration to maintain that the understanding of *lesbian* as a woman who engages in homoerotic activities and *lesbianism* as the specific term denoting female homosexuality no longer exists. Thus, it may be possible to both problematize sexuality and at the same time understand what lesbianism is.

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LESBIAN-LIKE

Lesbian-like is a term introduced in 1998 by medieval historian Judith Bennett in response to the gap between scholars who speak of lesbians in all historical periods and those who deny the very possibility of their existence before the end of the nineteenth century. Bennett's theory advances the task of retracing the history of lesbianism in the distant past and of theorizing early lesbian existence. The term has been widely applied or at least referenced by scholars discussing contexts in which the category lesbian seems adumbrated, but not realized. The concept acknowledges the objections of strict constructionists to the claim of early lesbian existence, as well as antihomophobic resistance to this exclusion from history.

The term lesbian-like designates social and familial positions and experiences that, albeit not of a "lesbian" nature in the contemporary sense, are indicators of lives led independently by women outside the constraints of marriage and male domination, creating the possibility for the historical, or actual, existence of women who might have focused their lives on other women. The usage eschews sexuality as the sole determining component of same-sex lives, emphasizing the absence or fragmentation of male control. Thus women who live alone, by their own means, or who live with other women in communal arrangements represent social and behavioral choices previously underprivileged in attempts to define what a lesbian is, or what she might have been, in early European societies.

While some scholars feel strongly that the term usefully "destabilizes" notions of single sexual identity and returns attention to behaviors instead, others object that, by shifting "the focus from a noun (lesbian) to an adjective (lesbian-like)," the reference ends up "uncomfortably concentrating on the unknowable, rather than the knowable" (Vicinus 2004, p. xxi).

SEE ALSO *Homoaffectivity, Concept; Lesbianism; Same-Sex Love and Sex, Terminology.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

LESBOS

Lesbos is the third-largest Greek island in the Aegean Sea. It is a mountainous, green, volcanic island with a temperate Mediterranean climate. Devoted in the early twenty-first century to tourism, the cultivation of olives, fishing, and the manufacture of the Greek national drink, Ouzo, the island is visited regularly by Greek island cruise ships and is often the destination of lesbian tourists from around the world. It is the birthplace and was the home of the ancient Greek poet Sappho, who wrote verse that was occasionally addressed to women. The contemporary word *lesbian*, meaning female homosexual, comes from the name of the island—the imagined site of an ancient women's artistic and romantic culture.

Its location in the Aegean Sea has meant that Lesbos has often changed hands politically, gaining, for example, its Greek language and culture when Greeks from Thessaly migrated to the island in the late Bronze Age. The island was conquered by the Persians, was retaken by the Greeks, was a part of the Athenian confederacy, and was ruled by Macedonia, then the Romans. It was a part of the Byzantine Empire after the fall of Rome, was turned over to the Italians as that empire fell apart, and was conquered by the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century. It finally returned to Greece in 1913.

These political upheavals affected the island's artistic culture. When Sappho flourished sometime between 610 and 580 BCE, Lesbos was already a thriving cultural center. Its main city, Mytilene, where Sappho resided, was the site of literary creativity. According to myth, the head and lyre of the singer Orpheus are interred on Lesbos. Sappho, born to an aristocratic family in the Lesbian city of Eressos, resided primarily in Mytilene. Her wealthy background is reflected in the kinds of celebrations, court occasions, parades, and society described in her poetry as well as in her complex and elaborate language. During Sappho's youth, the government of the island was toppled, and aristocrats such as Sappho went into exile in Sicily. Some of Sappho's poetry laments this exile. In 581 BCE Sappho returned to Lesbos and continued to develop her lyrical verse.

The survival of Sappho's work and stories of her community on Lesbos have occasioned conflicting critical interpretations and speculation, especially about the extent to which her community practiced what is understood in the early twenty-first century to be lesbian relations.

Sappho's verse served as a model for lyrical poetry for quite a long time. Her work was studied by the Romans, but was dropped by the Byzantines, and it ceased to be copied by them. Some believed that her work, focused as it is on both paganism and erotic love, was deliberately suppressed by the Roman Catholic Church. During the Renaissance her work was revived, and the Victorians understood her poetry and culture as something like a girls' finishing school with Sappho as the headmistress, one not above a few dalliances with her female students. In the 1950s Mary Barnard retranslated Sappho's work in a way that better conveyed Sappho's clean, clear language.

Sappho and Alcaeus on Lesbos. *Sappho and another woman listen as Alcaeus plays the lyre. Sappho and Alcaeus, both poets, are the most famous inhabitants of the island of Lesbos and are rumored to have been lovers.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.**

Although there are no references to an academy in Sappho's work, the idea of a female artistic community charged with erotic energy has made Lesbos the mythical center of lesbian tradition. Lesbos provides a geographical site for a history and practice that, in the same way that Greek culture affords a classical model for gay men, endows lesbian sexuality with an ancient and cultured derivation.

Some of Sappho's love poems are addressed to women, and many of the poems describe the poet's romantic interest in and even infatuation with other women. The poems in general do not describe specific sexual acts or physical relations between women, but present instead emotional longing. Whether or not Sappho's poetry complies with contemporary notions of lesbian ardor depends on how one understands emotional and romantic ties among women. Her poetry is considered to be more personal and emotional than that of her contemporary, the poet Alcaeus, who wrote about more civic themes.

Every year in the middle of August lesbians from around the world gather at Eressos, Sappho's birthplace on Lesbos. During this time there are lesbian celebrations, events, and parties. Lesbians also visit at other times, seeing Lesbos as their site of spiritual origin. Those who travel to Lesbos report varying experiences. Some are impressed with the tolerance of year-round residents. Others have experienced some negative reception on the part of residents, but because tourism is a large part of the local economy, clashes between demonstrative lesbian tourists and Lesbos natives seem to have calmed recently.

In contemporary Internet culture, the term *Lesbos* often refers to pornographic web sites featuring images of women having sex. It is also often used in lesbian romance novels or as a sign indicating some lesbian activity in a movie or a novel or on a web site.

SEE ALSO *Lesbianism; Love Poetry; Sappho.*

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LEWINSKY AFFAIR

There is a middle-aged man whose business is in a crisis. A young woman on his staff who has been assigned to help during the crisis flashes her thong underwear at the man in an attempt to seduce him. This could be a summary of the Lewinsky affair except that the middle-aged man was William Jefferson Clinton, the president of the United States, and the young woman was Monica Lewinsky, an intern at the White House.

Although the seduction is successful, sexual intercourse is not consummated. Instead the couple indulges in oral sex provided to the male, anal sex (nongenital), and phone sex, all instigated by the young woman. The young woman confides in someone whom she considers a friend but who betrays and exposes her. This perhaps banal tale of a sexual encounter provokes the most important sex scandal in the history of the country and only the second impeachment of a president of the United States. The Lewinsky affair did that because it came at the confluence of a set of events that were direct or indirect results of the sexual revolution and because the legal issues in the affair turned on the precise kind of sexual activities indulged in by the couple.

Of course, Clinton was not the first president to have affairs (those of John F. Kennedy were legion and notorious), but Clinton did not have the social and political support network of the earlier politician, and the presidency itself had become more vulnerable. Independent prosecutors could investigate executive malfeasance without control or financial limitation, and sexual harassment had become a more pressing legal and political issue partly as a result of a law that Clinton had signed. An independent council was named to investigate possible crimes surrounding an earlier Clinton family business affair called Whitewater. At the same time Paula Jones, a former Arkansas public official, was encouraged to pursue a sexual harassment case against Clinton with the support of some of the president's political opponents (hence the charge of "a vast right-wing conspiracy" made by Hillary Clinton). Clinton and Lewinsky began their sexual relations in 1997.

Within a year Paula Jones's lawyers learned about the Clinton-Lewinsky connection and subpoenaed the young woman. She and Clinton tried first to hide and then to minimize their relations. They ultimately were unsuccessful, and the independent prosecutor, Judge Kenneth Starr, added perjury and obstruction of justice charges against Clinton.

Clinton tried to defend his denials by pointing to the fairly obscure definition of sexual acts used in the Jones depositions. The president claimed that he had remained completely passive and had been unconcerned about any potential pleasure for his partner; if taken together, those factors would have failed to satisfy the definition of sex in the Jones depositions.

Starr displayed great zeal in his investigation of Clinton's sex life, encouraged by Republicans. The president's defenders, mostly on the left, argued that he was being prosecuted for sex acts or at most for lying about sex, and thus the prosecution was unfair and hypocritical. The right insisted that Clinton was being held to account not for his dalliances but for the disrespect for the law shown by his perjury. That point later was weakened by the claim by some of those politicians that the 2007 perjury conviction of Scooter Libby did not involve a serious crime.

Larry Flynt, the publisher of an extremely explicit pornographic magazine and a defender of the First Amendment, took it upon himself to out leading Republican lawmakers who were guilty of adultery. Congressman Robert Livingston, who was forced to resign, was his most visible victim. The conservative *National Review* published a special issue claiming that Clinton's tawdry doings had ruined sex.

In 1998 Kenneth Starr and his office published their findings in a government document that became known as *The Starr Report*. The report became a political and cultural sensation, was translated into several languages, and provided salacious reading in the form of an official U.S. government document. Ultimate proof of the affair was provided by a semen stain that had been preserved on one of Lewinsky's dresses.

Clinton was impeached in the House of Representatives by a narrow margin but in January 1999 was acquitted in his trial in the Senate. The entire discussion brought the practice of oral sex out of the closet, with many adolescent Americans apparently deciding that it was not "real sex" and hence could be practiced with less moral reprobation. In Spain an act of fellatio became known as *una Monica*.

Many observers considered the Lewinsky affair and the subsequent impeachment a low point in American politics at a time when Osama bin Laden was preparing the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. However, the affair showed the increasing centrality that sexual matters were taking in American politics generally and contributed greatly to more open discussion of sexual practices.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

LIBERACE
1919–1987

Wladziu (Walter) Liberace, who was born on May 16 in West Allis, Wisconsin, was a famous pianist and entertainer known for his flamboyant style and his insistence that he was not a homosexual. Despite what are now recognized as quintessentially, if not stereotypically, homosexual mannerisms and affectations, plus his long-term relationships with male partners, Liberace publicly maintained that he was a heterosexual until his death on February 4 in Palm Springs, California.

Liberace rose to fame on television in the 1950s, achieving celebrity status as an attractive and flamboyant pianist who presented a very middlebrow idea of refinement to mass audiences. As a musician he was mostly a critical failure, often accused of playing in a flashy style without a great deal of technical proficiency. His weekly television show *The Liberace Show* debuted in 1951 and quickly became one of the most popular in the United States. At the same time, he began to perform at large concert venues like the Hollywood Bowl and Madison Square Garden. He became a regular performer in Lake Tahoe and Las Vegas (which is now the home of the Liberace Museum), and also headlined several performances at Radio City Music Hall in New York City in the 1980s that broke box office and attendance records for the venue.

His trademark was overblown style, and included elaborately coiffed hair, a gleaming white piano, and a huge, ornate silver candelabra. These were all stage techniques designed to make every detail of the set visible even from the last row of a huge theatre. His style was particularly evident in his stage costumes. Over time simple flashiness was replaced by bright, feminine colors, as well as capes encrusted with rhinestones and sequins. His style became a model for other Las Vegas performers (including Elvis Presley), and embodied a camp sensibility that was recognized and imitated by the gay community even though Liberace denied its significance.

Liberace's relationship to the gay community is unquestionable but complicated. While all indications are that Liberace was a homosexual, he denied it even as he was dying of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) (at that time a disease mainly associated with

Liberace Performing at Radio City Music Hall in 1984. AP IMAGES.

male homosexuals). His dramatic weight loss prior to his death was attributed to a watermelon diet, rather than acknowledged as a symptom of AIDS or any other disease. Liberace was involved in at least two court cases involving claims that he was a homosexual. In 1957 Liberace successfully sued the London tabloid *The Daily Mirror* for libel after it published an article that mentioned his *neuter* quality and hinted at his homosexuality. During his testimony Liberace claimed that he was not and never had been a homosexual, nor had he participated in any homosexual acts.

In 1982 Liberace was sued by Scott Thorson, his longtime partner, for palimony. Thompson claimed that he was owed $113 million, but eventually settled for $95,000 after the bulk of his claims were dismissed in 1984; Liberace argued that he did not have a homosexual relationship with Thorson. Despite his protestations, Liberace is remembered more as a gay performer and icon than as a classical pianist.

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LIBIDO

The term *libido* comes from the Latin word *libere*, meaning "to please." Libido refers generally to desire or lust, or as a psychoanalytic term, to the drive or force that directs sexual instincts toward an object. Contemporary slang terms for libido would include such words and phrases as "horny" or "hot for."

The concept of a libido came from the ideas of nineteenth-century dynamic psychotherapy, which asserted that mental diseases were the effects of a balanced mental economy gone wrong. These doctors were interested in female hysteria, used hypnosis and rapport with the patient as modes of treatment, thought that individuals were comprised of conscious and unconscious minds as well as clusters of sub-personalities, and believed that nervous disorders were partly caused by the activities of a fluid force that existed within us all. This "fluid force" is the basis for the concept of the libido as a sexual desire and instinct that develops and differentiates through human development. Neurologist Moritz Benedikt (1835–1920) used the term *libido* to characterize one of the causes of female hysteria, a nervous disorder in which women displayed nervous ticks and general discontent and malaise. Others, including Richard von Krafft-Ebing, used the term to refer to desire, though biologist Albert Moll endowed the term with the broader meaning of a sexual instinct as that has developed through evolution.

Sigmund Freud, who incorporated the idea of libido into his understanding of the psychical system, adapted the concept of the libido from Moll's broader, more evolutionary version. Moll's concept itself came from a long line of thinkers beginning with Plato, who believed that humans had a sexual instinct that compelled them towards sexual activity. Like Plato, Freud believed that individuals were originally bisexual and that often the sexual instinct, or libido, was sublimated or ignored in favor of a higher purpose. Freud thought the libido was masculine in character. Freud also adopted Moll's idea that the libido went through stages of development, beginning as the asexual impulses of infancy in the form of an undifferentiated force in which anything can be an object, working through a bisexual stage, and evolving finally into a differentiated force which takes the other gender as its object. After Freud, Carl Gustav Jung extended the meaning of libido to include all life forces.

Freud developed his ideas about the relation between libido and psychosexual development in his 1905 study, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. The first essay of this collection treats sexual deviations, seeing all sexual behavior as arising from the basic bisexual disposition of all human beings. For Freud there was not a large distinction between a "normal" or heterosexual aim and such "perverse" aims as homosexuality or fetishistic behaviors, since they all derive from the same sexual predisposition. In all varieties of sexuality, libido is at least partially repressed and redirected, and also persists throughout life in its undifferentiated, infantile form.

In Freud's second essay, he explores the phenomenon of infantile sexuality, in which various "zones" become the object of the libido. In the autoerotic phase, any body part can be an erogenous zone, although attention tends to focus on the mouth. This constitutes what Freud calls the oral phase. During the second phase, the anus becomes the primary zone for libidinal attention (the anal phase), and in the third phase, the genitals become the focus (the genital phase). During all of these phases the libido fixes only on what Freud calls "partial" objects.

In the third essay, Freud traces what he believes are transformations in the object of the libido that occur at puberty. Individuals move from the autoeroticism and partial objects of infantile sexuality to sexual objects of the opposite sex with reproduction as the end result. This development joins libido with the sexual instinct to reproduce seen as a biological force. Freud thought that the libido was masculine for both men and women and throughout the psychic and sexual development of both. In addition, males can accomplish the transition to mature reproductive heterosexuality more easily than females, since for both males and females, the mother is the first libidinal object outside of themselves. Males, thus, can simply transfer sexual instincts to another woman, while females must alter the gender of their objects of desire. For Freud, this partly accounts for why women are more likely to become hysterics, as their libidos can more easily become misdirected or repressed.

In Freud's later work, the concept of the libido developed into a larger instinct Freud called "the sexual instinct," or "eros": In his 1922 work *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, he describes this instinct as the desire to come back together with a long lost other half. This sexual instinct works in relation to both the desire to stop and be quiescent (the pleasure principle) and the instinct to die, which Freud called the Death Instinct, seeking the pleasure of the release of sexual tensions and perpetuating the libido. In this context, libido constitutes the "first instance of force of sexual instincts directed towards an object" ("A Short Account of Psychoanalysis," 1924). The force towards an object was then joined by another libidinal urge towards one's own ego. The combination of forces produces a complex interaction that accounts for many processes of mental life.

Although libido is primarily a psychoanalytic term derived from a long tradition of explanations about life forces, it is also understood as the effect of hormones in the body. Libido understood as sexual desire is the effect of a combination of testosterone and dopamine. Both males and females produce testosterone and dopamine, although males produce far more testosterone than females. Libido may also be stimulated or depressed emotionally. Libido may be inhibited by certain medical conditions such as heart conditions and diabetes or by such drugs as antidepressants or barbiturates.

There is an entire industry of remedies for stimulating the libido, particularly the libidos of women. A range of herbal formulations promise to increase libido and enhance women's sex lives. The only accepted medical pharmaceutical treatment is estrogen replacement therapy. For males, stimulating the libido seems to be less of a problem than sustaining an erection, for which there are also a number of pharmaceutical cures, including Viagra.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay.*

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LILITH

Lilith is the most infamous Jewish she-demon, a figure of considerable mythic power. She is likely of Babylonian origin, bearing characteristics of two Babylonian demonesses, Lilitu, a succubus, and Lamashtu, a child-strangling witch. The Jewish Lilith takes on characteristics of both—she serves as the incarnation of lust and as a mortal threat to newborn infants. The word *Lilith* appears only once in the Bible, in Isaiah 34:14, where it says, "Lilith shall repose there." But the major development in the Lilith myth is found in the rabbinic interpretations of the verse "Male and female He created them" (Gen. 1:27). This passage appeared to contradict the sequential creation of Adam and Eve, leading the rabbis to conclude that Adam had a wife before Eve, whom they identified as Lilith.

While there are a few scattered references to Lilith in the Talmud, alluding to her long hair and the danger she poses to men who sleep alone in a house, a comprehensive myth emerges in chapter 5 of *The Alphabet of Ben Sira* (c. eighth–tenth century). Here God is said to have created Lilith so that Adam would not be alone. Lilith and Adam fought over everything, including the missionary position, which Adam insisted on as his natural right. Finally Lilith pronounced the secret Name of God, the tetragrammaton, and flew out of the Garden of Eden to the Red Sea, where she encountered a great many male demons, took them all for lovers, and prolifically gave birth to baby demons. This serves to explain the proliferation of demons. God sent three angels to command her to return to Adam, but when she refused they agreed to use an amulet against her, with the words "Out, Lilith!" on it, which would protect women during pregnancy and children after birth. This amulet is still in use in some Orthodox Jewish circles.

In the Middle Ages Lilith took on the role of queen of demons, married to Ashmodai, the king of demons. A multitude of Jewish folktales recount her dangers as a seducer of men and as a child-strangling witch. At the same time, Lilith came to symbolize the feminine side of evil in kabbalistic texts. One shocking myth in the *Zohar* (thirteenth century), the central text of Jewish mysticism, describes how after God's bride, the Shekhinah, left God, Lilith took her place (*Zohar* 2:118a–118b).

In a strange twist, modern Jewish feminists chose Lilith as a role model in the 1960s and later (in 1976) founded the still-active *Lilith* magazine. Feminists admired Lilith's independence and especially her sexual independence and tended to ignore her dark baggage. This most recent evolution of the Lilith myth demonstrates Lilith's primary role in Jewish lore, which persists to this day.

SEE ALSO *Judaism.*

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LITERACY

SEE *Education: I. Gender in America.*

LITERATURE

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

All cultures have literature, which consists of the various genres through which stories might be told. Although many cultures consider oral traditions and less formal genres of written storytelling (such as pulp or popular fiction, pornography, and comic books) as "low" literature and more formal, complex, and challenging written genres as "high" literature, all literature reflects the practices, mores, and aesthetic values of the culture within which it is produced and read.

Literature treats the most central and important patterns of life and death, including heroism, courtship and marriage, and the rites of passage of growing up. For this reason, literature, whether prose fiction, plays, or poetry, reproduces, reflects, and meditates upon the events, emotions, and elements that make up human lives. As basic elements of life, sex and gender play a crucial role in all literature in so far as literature considers what it means to be human—to be a good woman or man or to have families. Many plays, poems, and stories valorize ideal men and women, showing what it means to be masculine or feminine in a particular culture at a particular time.

ORAL LITERATURE

Oral literature includes the stories, poems, and songs that preserve and perpetuate the important myths and history of a society. These stories describe the creation of the world and its people, the rhythms of the seasons, the meaning of life and death, and the place of the individual in the order of things. They may also preserve tales of the feats of gods and famous heroes, celebrate famous love stories, and impart wisdom and traditions. Because these stories are repeated from generation to generation, they tend to be formulaic and preserved as poems or as ritual performances linked to specific contexts. They are also closely linked to the myths and rituals of religion.

Written literatures began partly as attempts to preserve oral traditions in cultures that had developed writing technologies and the ability to preserve texts. Although not all writing was devoted to storytelling, tales about gods and heroes began to be preserved, often as epic poems, but also as parts of religious traditions. The Greeks, for example, recorded tales about their gods and such heroes as Achilles and Odysseus. Tales about heroes not only preserved a sense of cultural history and identity, but also illustrated the qualities of ideal men, what their roles were in culture and history as well as the often less important and active roles of women. Myths about gods often linked gender roles both to the actions of gods and to the rituals of seasons and fertility. The Greek myth of Demeter and Persephone, for example, linked seasonal changes to a story about how the cereal goddess Demeter lost her daughter Persephone for four months of each year to the jealousy of Hades, god of the underworld, a myth that accounted for winter. Chinese mythology understood creation as a war of emperors.

WRITTEN LITERATURE

Early cultures with forms of writing such as the various peoples of the Middle East, Greece, and later Rome began to record the feats of gods and heroes. In Greece, this emerged in the eighth century BCE as two epic poems, the *Iliad*, about the feats of Achilles in the Trojan War, and the *Odyssey*, about the return of Odysseus from the Trojan War. Attributed to Homer, these poems demonstrate a sophisticated set of rhythms (metrics) and a formal style, aspects that would come to distinguish written from oral literature. At approximately the same time, the Chinese were also inscribing the sayings of Confucius as well as the love poems of *Shi jing* (1200 to 600 BCE). The lyrical parts of the Hebrew Bible were also inscribed during this time. Later cultures such as Rome inherited the idea of a written literary culture from those who preceded them. Roman literature began around 300 BCE and continued even after the disintegration of the Roman Empire between 200 and 500 CE as literature written throughout Europe in Latin. Like Greek literature after which it was modeled, Latin literature often recounted the feats of heroes as the poet Virgil does in *Aeneid*, a poem detailing how Aeneas, a hero of the Trojan war, founded Rome. As did the Greeks, the Romans composed love poetry and produced philosophical writings.

During and after the reign of Augustus Caesar (27 BCE–14 CE), the poet Ovid composed his poetical rendition of the history of the world in *Metamorphoses* and was banished from Rome for writing *Ars amatoria*, a sophisticated and cynical poem about the arts of love and courtship. Ovid's work was influential throughout the Middle Ages in Europe where Latin was still a major language for literary composition. Gradually from 500 to 1000, various European peoples began to evolve their own languages, derived from Latin, but developing independently. These so-called Romance languages—including French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Romanian—also began to develop their own literatures. These literatures still followed the style of Rome in that they consisted of poetry describing religious or heroic accomplishments—or like Ovid, concerned themselves with romance, a word that derives from the Romance language group in which they were composed.

In France, the first written literature was religious—plays and saints' lives derived from church ceremonies beginning in the tenth century. Epic poems about heroes quickly followed in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Beginning with the *Song of Roland* (c. 1100), which extolled the tragic virtues of Roland as he fought the Saracens threatening invasion from Spain, French chansons de geste, or songs about heroic deeds, became elaborate stories about the virtues and flaws of heroes, their kings, and their ladies, and the social order of feudalism in general. The chansons de geste were joined by sets of sophisticated love poems written and performed by traveling poets called troubadours. Nourished in the royal courts of the south of France, such poetry, which expounded a set of romantic relations called "courtly love," moved throughout France as Eleanor of Aquitaine, a prime patron of courtly poetry, married the future king of France in 1137.

Courtly love was perhaps more of a formal convention than a description of actual relationships between a high-born lady and a poet (often a nobleman) who could never hope to do more than court the object of his affections. The suitor owed the lady homage, self-sacrificing duty, and tokens of love. Her response was minimal, but even her glance could keep the lover's hopes alive. The rules of courtly relations were described in detail by Andreas Capellanus (also known as André le Chapelain) in *The Art of Courtly Love* (c. 1185), and combined with tales of heroic accomplishment, made up the subject of many tales of chivalry, including Arthurian legend. The chivalric ideal of courtly love spread throughout western Europe in such tales as *Tristram and Isolt*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (c. 1370), and Dante's famous *The Divine Comedy* (completed 1321). It became more allegorical in the *Romance of the Rose* (c. 1237–1280) composed by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun.

Stories of courtly love and heroism depended upon a strict gender code in which heroic lovers acknowledged their duties both to their lord and to their beloved lady. Other stories existed, however, which travestied these relations and made fun in general of those with excess pride, gluttony, and wealth. These *fabliaux*, as they were called, represented the other side of literary culture. Bawdy, fun, and irreverent, these tales of tricksters make their way into such later collections of tales as Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1348–1353) and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (c. 1387–1400), alongside more serious renditions of courtly heroics.

That difficult and often ill-fated love relations became the stuff of poets was true not only in Europe but also in China's Ming dynasty (1368–1644), where the opera had developed as the vehicle for telling such stories. In the Middle East, an Arabic collection of stories called *Arabian Nights* also treated issues of love, sex, murder, and adventure. Composed from the ninth through the fifteenth centuries, *Arabian Nights* consists of the stories a newly married queen Scheherazade tells her husband, a cruel sultan who has vowed to kill every woman he marries after one night because his first wife was unfaithful to him. Entertaining the king with stories keeps Scheherazade alive until the sultan relents and allows her to live.

Throughout the later Middle Ages to the present, poets have continued to write about the difficulties of love. Most of these writers have been male writers writing about beloved women, though there were women writers even in the late Middle Ages. Christine de Pisan (1364–c. 1430), for example, wrote lyrical love poetry in France. Until the nineteenth century, however, women were not generally prominent as writers.

From the Renaissance to the modern era, literature continually expanded its genres and subject matter, though love and its difficulties have always been a staple literary topic. The plays of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) treated history, but almost always love as well. Though courtly relations are still present in Shakespeare's work, his plays often combine the attitudes represented by both chivalric poetry and the more earthy aesthetic of folktales about the trickster. His plays also accomplish a certain social satire or commentary that identifies and pokes fun at the pride and presumptions of certain kinds of people such as the conceited Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* (c. 1600). In France other dramatists were refinding inspiration in classical stories of love, sacrifice, and heroism; Jean Racine (1639–1699) and Pierre Corneille (1606–1684) wrote about the tragic effects of love, while Moliére (1622–1673) satirized the foibles of the bourgeoisie.

Love and heroism continued to dominate the literary landscape until the development of the novel in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Novels such as Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749) and Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767) satirized the heroic, the idea of a hero, and the conventions of writing itself, while novels written by women increasingly introduced hearth, home, and the loves of ordinary people as a subject for literature. The wry tales of bourgeois manners and courtship of Jane Austen (1775–1817) established the novel as a highly successful form for a rapidly enlarging reading public. Until the nineteenth century, literacy was restricted primarily to the upper classes. With the invention of cheaper printing technologies and ideals of universal education, more people began to read. The novel replaced lyric poetry as the major genre of literature, and because of its length, range, and audience, the novel began to shift the focus of literature from events of public importance such as heroism or the poetical difficulties of love and existence to the more commonplace happenings of individuals and families. The characters of novels were no longer noble or larger than life, but instead were interesting, often quirky members of bourgeois or even poor families.

In the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States, the novel became the primary means by which gender relations, proper social conduct, and heroic ideals were examined and disseminated. For the first time, women writers such as Austen, Charlotte (1816–1855) and Emily Brontë (1818–1848), George Eliot (1819–1880), and George Sand (1804–1876) joined such male writers as Charles Dickens (1812–1870), Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), Thomas Mann (1875–1955), Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821–1881), and Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) as prose fiction explored individual conscience and social issues, class difficulties, and the tragedies of poverty.

Dramatic literature gained renewed vigor in the late nineteenth century as playwrights as well began focusing on the social problems of contemporary society, focusing often on the inequities of gender relations. Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), Anton Chekhov (1860–1904), and George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) wrote plays that explored the irrational excesses of gender assumptions.

By the twentieth century, literature had become less a recorder of social conventions and cultural myths and more a means of individual expression, especially as conventions and myths were reworked by such writers as Marcel Proust (1871–1922), T. S. Eliot (1888–1965), Virginia Woolf (1882–1941), James Joyce (1882–1941), William Faulkner (1897–1962), Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986), Samuel Beckett (1906–1989), and Toni Morrison (b. 1931). Often experimental, twentieth-century literature focused on aesthetics, as did the modernist writers of the first half of the century, or on the problems of expression and the meaning of existence itself, as did the postmodern writers of the second half. By the twentieth century writing had become a profession shared by women and men. Sexuality had become much more openly described, and the conventions of gender themselves had come into question.

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II. THE STUDY OF

Since the late 1960s the relations between gender and literature have produced a rich, new perspective in literary studies. Recognizing that Western cultures were biased toward the masculine and patriarchal, literary critics influenced by feminist insights devised modes of criticism that focused on images of women, critiques of patriarchy, the rediscovery of women authors and their works, examinations of the differences between masculine and feminine writing, and an acknowledgment of women's particular perspective on the world. Following feminist insights, lesbian, gay male, and more recently queer theorists have deployed similar critical questions and methods to examine images of lesbians and gays in literature, critiques of homophobia, the rediscovery and identification of lesbian and gay male writers, and an acknowledgment of specifically lesbian and gay literary aesthetics.

The various women's movements of the twentieth century—the women's suffrage movement that occurred between 1890 and 1920 in the United States and from 1903 to 1928 in Britain and the feminist movement that began in the 1960s—invited a critical focus on the relations between gender and literature. The analysis of these relations commenced with Virginia Woolf's 1929 essay *A Room of One's Own*, which answered the question of why there were few women authors with an investigation of the material conditions within which women lived, and the received ideas about female capabilities that limited women to only a few roles. Woolf followed this first essay with *Three Guineas* (1938) in which she continued her analysis of the ideological and material disadvantages of women. Woolf's work was joined by Simone de Beauvoir's 1949 treatise *Le deuxième sexe* (*The Second Sex*, 1953) to provide the critical basis for the emergence of feminist criticism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Feminist criticism paved the way for gender studies, which considers the ways literature reflects and critiques the male/female system as a whole; and sexuality studies, which focuses on the ways concepts about sexual orientations and sexuality have influenced and are reflected in literature.

TEXTS BY WOMEN AND WOMEN IN TEXTS

Feminist literary criticism began with an investigation of how various literatures have portrayed female characters. Work about images of women in literature occupied the first decade of feminist critical endeavor, from 1968 until approximately 1978. Critics such as Kate Millett examined the ways patriarchal assumptions in literature demeaned women. Other literary critics, noting that many female authors had been hidden and/or ignored by male literary critics, began to "rediscover" and analyze literary works by such modern women authors as Woolf, Gertrude Stein, H. D. (Hilda Doolittle), Elizabeth Bowen, and Djuna Barnes, as well as make more prominent female authors from the past such as Christine de Pisan, Aphra Behn, the Brontë sisters, Jane Austen, and Rachilde. This process, called "gynocriticism" by critic Elaine Showalter (1998), revealed the large number of women authors and their works that had been omitted from critical consideration by an academy that believed that women writers had little worth. The rediscovery of these female authors and their works contributed to a revision of the literary "canon," or set of works deemed worthy of critical study, which now includes many literary texts by women.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, feminist critics also began to consider much more seriously literary works by women of color, including the narratives of female slaves, the poetry of colonial black women authors such as Phillis Wheatley, and the writing of more contemporary black and Hispanic women writers such as Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, Audre Lorde, and Gloria Anzaldúa. During this time as well, feminist critics began to pay more attention to the work of lesbian authors, such as Stein, whose descriptions of their experiences flew in the face of mainstream expectations about and images of women.

FRENCH FEMINISM AND PSYCHOANALYTIC CRITICISM

By the late 1980s, feminist criticism had developed a sophisticated set of methods for understanding and elucidating the relations between gender and literature. Some feminist critics and theorists, particularly such

French writers as Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, and Marguerite Duras, believed that because males and females occupy different places in the social order and thus have different perspectives on the world, women's use of language and style reflects both that different positioning and female bodily differences. Women's writing is an *écriture feminine*, a feminine writing that picks up and conveys different rhythms, images, economies, and values than writing premised on a more phallocentric worldview.

Other feminist critics such as Jane Gallop, Jacqueline Rose, and Barbara Johnson took up models of gender and identity from psychoanalysis, using Sigmund Freud's and Jacques Lacan's understandings of sexual difference as a way to understand how gender is inscribed in literary texts as well as how, if ever, the relative empowerment of masculine and feminine can be altered. Yet other feminist critics such as Lillian Robinson and Judith Newton took up issues of how women's material existence affected both what they wrote and how they wrote it. Many feminist critics, including Shari Benstock and Jane Marcus, continued to examine the relations between the sociocultural conditions within which specific female writers lived and wrote and the writing they produced.

Since the early 1990s, feminist criticism has focused increasingly on issues of race and transnationalism, trying to understand the interrelationships of gender, race, and national location as those different frameworks define the literatures women produce. This work has been stimulated by the critical writings of Gayatri Spivak and others and has been instrumental in making the writings of such Anglophone writers as Bharati Mukherjee and Anita Desai more visible.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Feminist engagements with issues of sexuality also provided a model for understanding the ways sexual orientation operates as both a theme and a set of styles in literature. Thinking about the relation between femininity and literary production invited a reconsideration of the relations between masculinity and literature as well as questions about how the sexual orientation of authors inflects what they write and how issues of sexual orientation themselves are conveyed in literature. Although issues of masculinity and literature have formed an important but less innovative area of study, primarily because literary practice itself was always understood as a masculine endeavor, issues of sexual orientation stimulated a much larger new critical project.

Issues of sexuality in literary study employ two broad strategies. The first is to understand the relation between a hidden identity such as homosexuality and the ways such a hidden identity is conveyed in literature through codes, allusions, and other indirect means. These encodements produce their own dynamic and literary aesthetic, defined by critic Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990) as an "epistemology of the closet." The other critical tack is to analyze the configurations through which homosexualities and lesbian dynamics appear in literary and popular cultural texts, from the apparitional or invisible figuration of the lesbian identified by Terry Castle and Bonnie Zimmerman to the camp, burlesque, and hypermasculinization identified in gay male texts by such critics as Michael Warner and Robert K. Martin.

Issues of sexuality also inaugurated the more political category of "queer" studies, which examines literary and textual phenomena that play against the heterosexual and heteronormative impetus of mainstream culture. Inspired by homosexualities, the category of the queer positions itself less as literally gay or lesbian identity, and more as a position defined by its play on and perversion of sexual, patriarchal, capitalist, and other economies aligned with normative cultural practices.

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III. POPULAR

Popular literature refers to fiction intended to please large audiences. Consisting primarily of novels, serialized novels, and short stories, popular literature is a market commodity aimed at specific target audiences defined often by gender, class, race, and age, such as housewives, teenage boys or girls, men, urban black populations, or gay or lesbian readers. The main purpose of popular literature is to entertain by providing predictable and formulaic stories often about extraordinary occurrences that happen to ordinary people. Such stories feed the fantasies, hopes, and frustrations of the groups who read them. Although some literature intended to be merely entertaining may also be innovative and have artistic value, most popular literature is unremarkable as art even if enjoyable as a pastime.

Popular literature appears in such genres as romance novels, westerns, detective fiction and urban crime tales, thrillers, science fiction, children's literature, and gothic horror novels. Each of these genres has a set recipe of plots and character types, which is repeated with variations in each successive publication. Each genre also has subgenres that also appeal to specific audiences, defined mainly by the gender and the age of the reader. There are heterosexual, gay male, and lesbian romance novels, for example. Detective and urban crime novels may involve white or black protagonists. Science fiction stories may appeal to those interested in hard science or in fantasy. There are adventure stories for children with girl heroines for girls and boy heroes for boys.

Literature in the form of oral stories for group entertainment has been present throughout history as epic poems about heroes' adventures and love affairs or folk stories about tricksters such as Renard the Fox or William Shakespeare's Falstaff. Still familiar are such Greek heroes as Achilles and Odysseus as well as the knights of the Round Table from Arthurian legend. And variations on jokes in which various categories of dupes (people from other states, women with certain colors of hair) are tricked continue to be told and enjoyed. These traditions of oral literature are the foundations for the romance, horror, action, and detective genres that nineteenth- and twentieth-century publishers gradually developed for sale to a reading public.

The phenomenon of popular literature as printed books to be purchased by individuals arose mainly in the nineteenth century as literacy became more widespread in the middle and lower classes, and especially as more women learned to read. Popular books and serials were also enabled by technological innovations in the paper and printing industries as well as the evolution of strategies for marketing and distribution. The invention of mechanical typesetting, the availability of cheaper, machine-made paper, and the development of faster printing presses helped make printed material cheaper and more affordable to greater numbers of people. Printed material was distributed through the mail as newspapers, and later as serialized stories and penny novels. Serialized stories had first appeared in England in 1698 as a way to avoid the extra tax on paper. Although popular, serials appeared less often as the British government imposed a tax on newspapers in 1712. The serial reappeared as a popular phenomenon in 1836 with the serial publication of Charles Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*. The first serial novel appeared in the United States in 1839, according to Radway, and serials became popular as a supplement pamphlet sent with newspapers at reduced rates through the mail. Although the U.S. Post Office Department determined in 1843 that these newspapers and their serialized supplements could no longer be sent at newspaper rates, the market for cheap books had been established.

GENDER AND GENRE

By the twentieth century the establishment of a large middle class with stay-at-home wives and mothers in the United States offered a large market of readers to whom romance novels might be sold. The practice of identifying specific groups of readers, such as middle-class housewives, and finding both products to please them and marketing and distribution strategies aimed at their habits and convenience, became a large part of paperback book publishing. Despite, however, the tendency to link popular literature in the form of romance novels to women as the primary consumers of such literature, the first scheme for distributing popular literature paperbacks as magazine supplements involved mystery stories sold with magazines at book and newspaper stands. Mercury Books' mysteries were joined in 1939 by Pocket Books' romances. The monthly publication of new volumes required that new books conform to the set formulas and characteristics of the genre that had been calculated to appeal to specific kinds of reading audiences—mysteries and horror thrillers to both men and women, westerns and science fiction to males, children's adventure stories to children, and romances, the largest category, to women. Paperback books began to be distributed through drug and grocery stores as well as magazine stands where people regularly shopped.

The formulaic character of popular mystery fiction helped refine the development of formulaic genres to targeted readerships. From the late 1930s to the 1950s the mystery genre spawned many popular protagonists regularly featured in entertaining but predictable narratives. Such characters as Ellery Queen, Perry Mason, Nero Wolfe, Lord Peter Wimsey, Mike Hammer, Miss Marple, and Hercule Poirot figured in paperback novels purchased regularly by both male and female readers. The formulas of most of these novels involved an ingenious solution by a very sympathetic but somewhat idiosyncratic, often amateur, sleuth. Many mystery novels involved the kinds of courtly behavior practiced by Arthurian knights. Ladies in distress were rescued by unlikely and often cynical heroes. Although the mass market for mystery paperbacks seems to have died out somewhat in the 1950s, these characters spread from the pages of books to films, television series, and later reprintings of their series.

In the 1960s and 1970s, urban crime, thriller, and horror novels became widely popular. Like mystery stories, these novels appealed to both men and women and included some of the best-selling novels of all time. Iceberg Slim's and Donald Goines's novels about black urban existence were best-sellers targeted toward a black audience. William Blatty's *The Exorcist* (1971) and Peter Benchley's *Jaws* (1974) are still near the top of the all-time best-seller list, while Ian Fleming's James Bond series has been widely influential. Thrillers by Robert Ludlum, Tom Clancy, John Grisham, and more recently Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code* (2003), sell to huge audiences. These cliff-hanger novels extol the virtues of the clever, brave hero against the odds presented by international espionage, financial wrongdoing, and extensive, conspiratorial criminality. On their actions lies the fate of the Western world.

Like mystery, science fiction developed its pulp formulas and audience in the 1930s, more often in magazine and story collections than in novels. Although the genre was always linked to real or speculative science and often took place in the future, its renditions of culture and society, particularly of gender relations, tended to be conservative or anachronistic, preserving the secondary role of women in relation to the intrepid and heroic roles of men. Its primary audience was male.

Children's serial novels such as *The Bobbsey Twins*, *The Hardy Boys*, *Nancy Drew*, *Trixie Belden*, and *The Motor Boys* presented attractive children and teens from well-parented families who had extraordinary adventures and resolved all dilemmas ethically and generously. The mystery-adventure format of *The Hardy Boys*, *Nancy Drew*, and *The Motor Boys* combined daring and virtue in formulaic encounters with greedy but nonpedophilic villains. *The Bobbsey Twins* provided tame adventures for both boys and girls that modeled bravery mixed with common sense. Unlike the deliciously dangerous dilemmas of gothic heroines, the child heroes of children's popular literature were models of behavior and virtue, teaching proper, but not constrained gender roles, the virtues of curiosity and work, and the attractiveness of gumption. More recently the huge best-selling *Harry Potter* series has captivated boys and girls as well as adult readers with issues of power and ethics in the fantastical, yet grounded world of a wizard's academy.

While mystery novels appealed to both men and women, science fiction to males of all ages, and children's books to boys and girls depending on the gender of their protagonists, romance novels were aimed primarily at women. Initially romance novels were modeled after Daphne du Maurier's best-selling gothic romance, *Rebecca* (1938). Looking for similarly exciting mixes of mystery, heroines in peril, and cross-class romantic involvement, other paperback publishers sought their own versions of the story. In 1960 Ace Books published Phyllis Whitney's *Thunder Heights* and Doubleday published Victoria Holt's *Mistress of Mellyn*. These gothic romance tales created worlds of glamour, darkness, and mystery in which a heroine, whose qualities and upbringing are more like those of her readers, encounters a mysterious set of circumstances and conquers an enigmatic upper-class suitor.

Gothic romances were romantic, thrilling, and immensely popular, accounting for 24 percent of Dell's sales of paperbacks in 1971 (Radway 1984). Overall at that time, paperback publishers were churning out more than thirty-five gothic romance titles per month, but the genre soon saturated the market. There was renewed interest in romance novels in the early 1970s as they began to appear in more sexually explicit subgenres such as "erotic historicals," "Sweet savage romances," and "Bodice-rippers" (Radway 1984, p. 34). The increased explicitness of the romance sex scenes followed the taste for more scandalous material incited by the publication of two best-selling books in the two previous decades: Grace Metalious's *Peyton Place* (1956), a novel about small-town scandal, adultery, and sex, and Jacqueline Susann's *Valley of the Dolls* (1966), depicting a group of pill-popping women, reported to be the best-selling novel of all time.

In the 1970s as well, the gothic romance was joined by the historical romances of Barbara Cartland and the more modern romances involving wealthy powerful people, written by such best-selling authors as Danielle Steel, Judith Krantz, Harold Robbins, Colleen McCullough, and Sidney Sheldon. Scholars and critics have given many possible reasons for the popularity of the romance novel. Some suggest that romance fantasies enable women to escape their humdrum existence by offering a more exciting world in which ordinary women become the paramours of rich, enigmatic men. Others, such as Ann Douglas (1980), suggest that the popularity of romance novels reflects women's unhappy rebellion against feminist challenges to traditional female roles in the 1970s era of rising feminist activism. Certainly their popularity is due to a number of factors, including the availability of leisure time in which to read, the pleasures of repetition, the reassuring possibility that daily lives might still be exciting, and the availability of cheap books.

Most recently, popular fiction has developed a new genre, aimed at young women and teenage girls, involving sexually active, hip, urban career girls whose encounters with employers and family members result in absurd and humorous situations. Lauren Weisberger's *The Devil Wears Prada* (2003) and Emma McLaughlin and Nicola Kraus's *The Nanny Diaries* (2002) are examples of this genre.

POPULAR FICTION AND SEXUALITY

While the typical gothic romance novel did not include anything more than suggestions of torrid sexuality, the explicit character of these best-sellers made the public hunger for more graphic depictions of sex. Romance novels in their various genres supplied titillation short of pornography, which could not be distributed as openly as lurid romances. More graphic depictions of sexuality such as Terry Southern and Mason Hoffenberg's *Candy* became scandalous best-sellers in the youth rebellions of the late 1960s as sexual mores became less repressive. At the same time the relaxation of the film production codes by which sexually explicit material in films had been repressed made film a more attractive medium for openly sexual material. By the 1970s, sexually explicit popular novels had to compete with the growing availability of films featuring nudity and explicit sexual situations and behavior, as well as with sexually explicit pornographic videotapes.

The overwhelming majority of popular books assume the heterosexuality of their characters and present a world grounded in male–female romance. The emergence of gay male and lesbian populations beginning in the late 1960s offered a new set of markets to popular literature publishers, though not markets with a large enough audience to justify mass publication and marketing of gay-themed books. Popular literature aimed at gay male and lesbian audiences tends to be published, at least initially, by smaller niche presses such as Alyson, Plume, and Naiad. In the 1970s and 1980s books treating gay male protagonists by such authors as S. E. Hinton, James Kirkwood, and Larry Kramer became more mainstream. Kirkwood's novel *Some Kind of Hero* (1975) was made into a film, and Kirkwood also cowrote the Broadway play *A Chorus Line*. Rita Mae Brown produced more mainstream lesbian novels, the most famous of which, *Rubyfruit Jungle* (1973) has continued to sell large numbers of copies. Lesbian mystery writers such as Katherine V. Forrest have become widely popular among lesbian audiences.

Although electronic media may eventually replace books, reading continues on the World Wide Web. Some writers now post serialized novels on their web sites, and the formulas for popular fiction continue to evolve.

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Judith Roof

IV. GAY, CREATIVE

In its widest sense gay literature is writing that expresses, describes, or otherwise represents a spectrum of intense friendship, love, erotic desire, and sexual contact or relationship between male individuals as well as engaging with the social context of the ways in which those matters are received by the broader society. Such literature may be produced in any literate culture at any point in human history. More narrowly, some commentators argue that the concept of gay literature should be confined to a specific period since the late-nineteenth-century conceptualization of sexual "identities"—in this context homosexuality, heterosexuality, and bisexuality—are regarded as psychological states or conditions that affect the whole nature of the self and its social circumstances. In its narrowest definition gay literature dates from the mid-1960s in the West and is written only by gay authors, especially openly gay authors who subscribe to the aims and ethos of the gay liberation movement, which, following the models of the American civil rights and feminist movements, has demanded equality of rights and treatment for gay people across the spectrum of social institutions.

Throughout the history of literacies, the predominant mode of male homoerotic writing has been determined not by a universal essence of homosexual love but by broadly common social and cultural conditions that center on sexual segregation and male privilege. Wherever female virginity was prized above the education of girls, men made deeper alliances with one another than with women. Honored as a bearer of sons and strengthener of the bloodstock more often than as a soul mate, the highborn woman was protected against the acquisition of knowledge as much as she was protected against the eyes of the wrong men. Relationships between men were built on common interests stemming from shared levels of education, and relationships between men and boys were pedagogical, educating the boy up to the level of the man. Ideally, therefore, a meeting of bodies eventually would develop into a meeting of minds.

GAY LITERATURE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

The *Greek Anthology*, the medieval collection of more than 6,000 Ancient Greek and Byzantine poems, is a repository of such celebrations of boy love in its different moods. Most fully theorized in Plato's *Symposium*, Greek pederasty was governed by strict conventions that protected the reputations of male citizens and the boys—future citizens—they loved. Although not arguing against sexual relationships, or at least those tempered by rational self-control, Plato's dialogue recommends the refinement of love that transcends bodily need. Similar affirmations of institutionalized pederasty can be found in the literatures of China, Japan, India, Persia, Turkey, and the Arabian diaspora.

Much Greek poetry cites the precedence of the febrile passions of the gods in justifying the self-evident frailty of humankind in matters of the heart and the lower organs. Where Zeus and Ganymede or Apollo and Hyacinth went before, mortal men and boys were apt to follow. Indeed, men's taste for boys was traced meticulously back to its origins in a moment of divine inspiration on the part of an individual man. This candidate for the honor of being the first mortal man to desire those of his own sex sometimes was identified as Orpheus, sometimes as Thamyris, and sometimes as Laius. Significantly, the first two of those men were poets.

Many Roman poets wrote erotic verse about boys—with Virgil, Martial, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Catullus being prominent examples—but they also wrote about women. The love of boys never was regarded as being incompatible with that of women. Correspondingly, Roman literature often is insulting about men with an exclusive interest in the same sex and even more insulting if any adult man showed signs of sexual passivity. Juvenal's satires are exemplary in their contempt for such abdications of the manly duties of citizenship.

GAY LITERATURE IN THE CHRISTIAN WEST

In the classical literature of male love Plato's *Symposium*, Theocritus's *Idylls*, Virgil's *Eclogues*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* had the most radical impact on man-loving and many more generally humanist poets of the Renaissance period. In England, Christopher Marlowe's passionate shepherd and Richard Barnfield's Ganymede were produced by writers obviously steeped in the homoerotic classics. Shakespeare's sonnets, though relatively sparing in classical references, clearly are derived from an ethos the poet had taken from his extensive reading of southern European literature and adapted to his northern emotional life. The controversy of the sonnets is not a recent one, as is often claimed, imposed on them by the irrelevant obsessions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century homosexuals. As early as 1640 John Benson reissued the poems, cutting some of them altogether (19, 56, 75, 76, 96, 126), changing the gender of the pronouns in others (101 and 108), and toning down phrases such as "sweet boy" (108) and "fair friend" (14) to "sweet love" and "fair love," respectively. The publisher wanted to avoid any impression of sinful practices.

In Christian Europe the condemnation of all sex except a narrow range of acts in the marital bed gave forbidden love a new status among the upper classes. In literature diverse figures such as Pietro Aretino, Théophile de Viau, John Wilmot (the Earl of Rochester), and the Marquis de Sade made a virtue of vice, boastfully expatiating on the ambisexuality of the libertine. This tradition helped shape a particular kind of fictional character. The Byronic hero and the antihero of the Gothic novel, perhaps derived from darkly seductive figures such as Milton's Satan, evolved, by way of major characters such as Vautrin in Honoré de Balzac's *La Comédie humaine* and the Baron de Charlus in Marcel Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu*, into the gay villain of mid-twentieth-century fiction. The demonization of Oscar Wilde in 1895 added a fresh resonance to this stereotype of the sodomite as criminally seductive and subversive.

Across cultures and eras one of the most acceptable and therefore common ways of celebrating passionate friendships between adult men has been in circumstances or through representations of mourning. In the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Gilgamesh extravagantly mourns the death of Enkidu. In the Bible, David laments the loss of Jonathan: "I am distressed for you, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant have you been to me; your love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Samuel 1:26). In the *Iliad*, Achilles laments the loss of Patroclus. In the *Chanson de Roland*, Roland laments the loss of Olivier.

The English pastoral elegy celebrated male love, usually in its most conventional guise as temperate friendship, through literary history from Edmund Spenser to A. E. Housman and Wilfred Owen. Again, the circumstance of mourning released writers from some of the restraints on intensity of expression where male love was concerned. Spenser's "Astrophel" commemorated Sir Philip Sidney, who had died in 1586. John Milton's "Lycidas" commemorated Edward King (died 1637); Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard" commemorated Richard West (died 1742); Percy Shelley's "Adonais" commemorated John Keats (died

1821) (Shelley's heart would be wrapped in a manuscript of the poem during his cremation on the beach at La Spezia); Alfred Tennyson's "In Memoriam" commemorated Arthur Hallam (died 1833); Matthew Arnold's "Thyrsis" commemorated Arthur Clough (died 1861); and Walt Whitman's poems from the American Civil War, culminating in the great elegy on Abraham Lincoln, "When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd," resonated with echoes of the same sources.

Although it often was received by man-loving male readers in England as being "Greek" in spirit, Whitman's quintessentially American poetry was far more inclined to celebrate the adult male—and the working-class male at that—as something new and particular to the physical geography and social structures of the United States. In Whitman spiritual refinement is derived not from education and class but from bodily health and liberty.

GAY LITERATURE IN THE MODERN ERA

Heterosexuality and homosexuality, the new definitions of sexual identity that emerged through the popularization of sexology and psychoanalysis in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth, coincided with other major technological, aesthetic, and social developments that have come to be seen as having the characteristics of modernism. In literature the modernist experiment was especially concerned with tempering the objective focus of high realism with more subjectivist approaches to a reality that increasingly was assumed to be pluralist and fragmented. The objective, omniscient narrator of the realist novel gave way to a stream of individual consciousnesses.

Under those new conditions writers seemed especially capable of scrutinizing the voluntary and involuntary bases of sexual desire in its protean manifestations. Many of the great modernist writers were homosexual or bisexual and took same-sex desire as one of their major topics. In France, Marcel Proust, André Gide, and Jean Cocteau combined major technical innovations with penetrative explorations of the nature of desire. In Germany, the novels of Thomas Mann and the poetry of Stefan George wrestled with the relationship between physical desire and spiritual desire as embodied in ethereal boys. In Greece, Constantine Cavafy elaborated a comparison between classical pederasty and modern homosexuality in poems that gave modern urban cruising its finest early expression. At opposite extremes of seriousness and frivolity Henry James and Ronald Firbank approached the matter of love from an oblique angle that is identifiably "queer" or even camp, subjecting heterosexuality to the distanced scrutiny of a discriminating aestheticism. Indeed, there is so much gay writing in modernism that one might go so far as to describe that movement as being intrinsically queer.

The antihomophobic novel of the twentieth century almost invariably suffered the consequences of its inherent flaw. Needing to argue politically the ordinariness of homosexuality and the moral neutrality of homosexual love, those novels were burdened with the necessity of a dull central character. This explains the unremarkable suburbanism of the eponymous central character of E. M. Forster's *Maurice* (written in 1913). Setting himself the task of countering prejudicial assumptions that homosexual men must be decadent, effeminate, and untrustworthy—a stereotype largely based on the version of Oscar Wilde that had been constructed in newspaper accounts of his trials—Forster had to contrast the dullness of the middle-class Maurice with the far more interesting figure of Risley, an aristocratic aesthete who is witty and seedy and ends up in jail.

This also can be said of the protagonists of some of the best-known gay novels published in the middle of the twentieth century. Many of those men are tediously self-absorbed. In Gore Vidal's *The City and the Pillar*, Jim Willard is given a strong backhand at tennis so that he will not be assumed to be effeminate by homophobic readers, but that is his only talent. The literature informed by the postwar homosexual and gay movements was concerned principally with conveying what came to be called "positive images" by which the author was expected to counter negative public representations of homosexuals as untrustworthy, unpatriotic, unmanly, neurotic, immature, and generally unlikable. Positive gay literature had to convey the possibility of homosexual happiness within the requirements of social convention. The central characters of those novels would overcome the adversities of having to endure homophobia, would experience true love, and would settle down eventually to a solidly happy ending. Subsequent literature by and large has been released from these restrictive imperatives.

In light of the restrictive tendencies of politically influenced literary texts, it is not surprising that much of the most striking fiction about male-male relationships was the most transgressive, often elaborating on the interplay between eroticism and violence. In this respect the major figure of the mid-twentieth century was Jean Genet, whose work depended for one of its main effects not on the idea that men who love men can be as decent and unobtrusive as one's next-door neighbor and that books about them can be similarly unexceptional but on the idea that all love involves personal betrayal and that male bodies are the weapons with which both love and betrayal are effected.

CONTEMPORARY GAY LITERATURE

In Japan, Yukio Mishima superimposed the Samurai and ancient Greek traditions of homoeroticism on the everyday details of modern life, enlivening a realist perspective with his personal sadomasochistic interests. In the United States, encouraged by younger beat writers such as Brion Gysin and Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs combined an aggressive social critique with the celebration of a taste for adolescent boys in heroin-fed fantasies of a womanless universe. The technique of randomly cutting up his prose denies his characters any sentimental identification on the part of sympathetic readers. In the Netherlands, Gerard Reve based his radical aesthetic on an obsessive regard for the corporal punishment of socially deviant boys. In France, Tony Duvert wrote as if the *nouveau roman* had been hijacked for the purposes of a militant pederasty.

The changing possibilities for more assimilationist gay writers may be exemplified best in the career of the postwar British poet Thom Gunn. Gunn began as a poet of restraint, guarded and edgily ironic; his poems were virtuosic in their application of seventeenth-century techniques and forms to decidedly modern topics (Elvis Presley, leather-clad bikers). His tone of voice combined Cambridge refinement and erudition with a held-in masculinity derived from American movies. However, as the 1950s and 1960s progressed and Gunn moved to San Francisco to live with his American lover, he discovered a more flexible technique to accompany his newly relaxed California lifestyle. Gunn adopted a syllabic line that owed much to the American models of William Carlos Williams and Yvor Winters and associated the consequent lightening of tone with his own coming out as a gay man. The later collections were all openly and relaxedly gay.

The elegiac tradition of earlier centuries offered a ready template for consolatory lamentation when the AIDS epidemic affected gay men in Western cities in the 1980s. In the face of intense hostility from the political classes and the mainstream media, gay men sought understanding voices within their own suffering communities and were answered in the United States by poets such as Thom Gunn and more recently Mark Doty and Rafael Campo. What was distinctive about such writers was their ability to turn personal involvement in the epidemic and personal grief into a reaffirmation of the highest principles of gay liberation, akin to the *amor vincit omnia* (love conquers all) of the ancients.

One of the most common themes in contemporary gay fiction is the family, that is, the families from which young gay individuals emerge, the families that closeted individuals construct by marrying and having children, and the alternative families that "liberated" individuals develop out of new social circumstances. Informed by the feminist critique of the coercive nuclear family as well as by conservative retrenchments claiming the nuclear family as the only socially and morally responsible mode of living, gay novelists have tried to show how oppressive and harmful the heterosexual family structure can become and how protective and nurturing different structures, imaginatively constructed according to the needs of individuals, can be if the concept of the family is allowed to expand and develop flexibly, encompassing fresh sexual and affectional arrangements. Major late-twentieth-century gay novelists included Alan Hollinghurst and Patrick Gale in Great Britain, Edmund White and Andrew Holleran in the United States, and Yves Navarre and Dominique Fernandez in France.

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V. LESBIAN, CREATIVE

Since the emergence of lesbian and gay studies in the Euro-American academy, literary scholars have struggled with the question of definition, trying to answer the question of what counts as a lesbian text. Should the author be a self-defined lesbian, or is it enough that a number of readers have taken a text to be a lesbian one? Can male authors writing about female same-sex desire be legitimately included in the domain of lesbian literature? And what if self-proclaimed lesbian authors choose not to write about lesbian themes—should such texts still be included in a lesbian literary history? These questions have been answered in different ways, leading to different demarcations of the field and different processes of canonization.

TRACING SAPPHO

Female same-sex desire has figured in Western literary history since the ancient Greek poet Sappho of the isle of Lesbos (fl. c. 610–c. 580 BCE) penned the passionate lines that would associate her name and place of origin with women's love for women to this very day. The increasing availability of literary texts with explicitly lesbian characters and themes, written by openly lesbian novelists and poets, in the final decades of the twentieth century, issued, somewhat paradoxically, in a narrower critical scope than would appear to be warranted by the continuing significance of this mythical predecessor. As a result, a dominant approach in late twentieth-century literary historiography has been to see the process of lesbian canonization as one of excavation, of rediscovering a tradition of creative writing that has been obscured or repressed by and within an overwhelmingly heterosexist and lesbophobic mainstream culture. Obviously, there have been periods in which moral and social codes have prevented writers, male and female, from explicitly naming the object of their fascination and literary imagination. This is not to say, however, that there have not been more covert ways of giving expression to the love that reputedly *dare not speak its name*, or to represent characters and develop narrative strategies that render lesbianism textually present.

The first pioneering attempts at mapping out a history of lesbian literature in the second half of the twentieth century—most notably the classic bibliography *Sex Variant Women in Literature*, first published by Jeannette Howard Foster (1895–1981) in 1956 at her own expense—as well as later literary historiographers, such as Lillian Faderman, in *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (1981), and Terry Castle, in her monumental *The Literature of Lesbianism: A Historical Anthology from Ariosto to Stonewall* (2003), adopt a much more inclusive perspective on what counts as lesbian literature than the *hidden from history* approach that, mainly for sound political reasons, prevailed in the latter decades of the twentieth century. If, however, the need for social recognition is provisionally left aside, so that the notion of lesbian literature is allowed to encompass a much wider range of writings than those authored by self-declared lesbians, the putatively *forbidden* topic turns out to have had a much richer and much more varied existence in the world of Euro-American letters than the idea of *lesbian invisibility* might suggest.

Crossing both generic and national boundaries, literary expressions, representations, and configurations of female same-sex desire appear in various guises in Euro-American literature from the mid-sixteenth century onward. Recurring patterns of imagery and a number of persistently returning telltale scenes jointly combine into landscape in which lesbianism as a theme—as a site of the cultural imagination—could grow into a full-fledged literary topos. Rather than merely reflecting changing social perceptions of female same-sex desire, such elaborations have, as Castle points out, played a considerable role in furthering the development of the *lesbian idea*, that is to say, in making the possibility of female same-sex eroticism not only thinkable but also practically available to a general audience.

There is little evidence to suggest that, before the recovery of Sappho's poetry in the late Renaissance, there was much cultural awareness that women might desire women. Although Sappho's work endured well into Roman times, inspiring such authors of antiquity as Ovid, Martial, Lucian, and—famously—Gaius Valerius Catullus, the near obliteration of her work during the reign of the Roman Christian and Byzantine churches rendered the notion of what later would be called *sapphism* culturally unavailable for almost ten centuries. The rediscovery of ancient texts and learning, and their incorporation into European art and science at the end of the Middle Ages, also (re)introduced the conceptual possibility of female same-sex desire into the Euro-Western cultural imagination. Because Renaissance poets, from Petrarch (1304–1374) and Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), through Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1584) and Louise Labé (c. 1524–1566), to Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) and John Donne (1572–1631), found a source of inspiration in the gradually rediscovered lyrics of the muse of Lesbos, Sappho and the form of love to which her legendary reputation has subsequently given its name was firmly planted in the Euro-Western collective consciousness by the end of the sixteenth century. Whether maligned or revered, dismissed or embraced, the Sappho legend continued to be explored by poets and novelists well into the twentieth century. She figures directly, for instance, in Alexander Pope's *Sappho to Phaon* (1712), Madame de Staël's *Corinne* (1807), Charles Baudelaire's *Les fleurs du mal* (1857), A. C. Swinburne's *Lesbia Brandon* (posthumously published after the author's death in 1909) Paul Verlaine's *Scènes d'amour saphique* (1870; first published as *Les Amies* [1867]), the pseudonymous Pierre Louÿs's *Les chansons* *de Bilitis* (1894; real name, Pierre Louis), Compton Mackenzie's *Extraordinary Women* (1928), Colette's *The Pure and the Impure* (1933), and Marguerite Yourcenar's *Sappho; ou, Le suicide* (1937). Sappho also frequently surfaces in the poems of Natalie Barney (1876–1972), the pseudonymous Renée Vivien (1877–1909; real name, Pauline Tarn), Amy Lowell (1874–1925), H. D. (Hilda Doolittle; 1886–1961), and numerous others.

TOPOI OF LESBIAN DESIRE

Generating one of the more enduring literary topoi in which lesbian desire is likely to prosper, the significance of Sappho's native island Lesbos, where she was assumed to have initiated young girls into much more than what later ages would consider proper female accomplishments, reverberates in the secluded setting of an all-female environment in which a great many stories and novels of lesbian desire from the sixteenth century onward evolve. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature, such a space is usually a convent or a nunnery—there were, at that time, very few other places where women could live in complete separation from men. Male writers of the period tended to satirize such spaces, presenting them as morally unhealthy and corrupting, such as Andrew Marvell in "Upon Appleton House" (1650). Others, while whetting their pornographic appetites, presented them in lurid terms as the breeding grounds of perverse female desires, as suggested by Denis Diderot's lewd novel *The Nun* (written 1760, published 1796).

The fascination with the erotic possibilities opened up by an all-female environment extends into nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, especially in stories and novels written by women, in which, reflecting the changing social contexts, the convent or nunnery is usually replaced by a girls' school or women's college. Starting with Sarah Scott's *A Description of Millenium Hall* (1762) and Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* (1853), and through Colette's *Claudine à l'école* (1900), the pseudonymous Clemence Dane's *A Regiment of Women* (1917; real name, Winifred Ashton), Christa Winsloe's *The Child Manuela* (1933), a novel based on the more famous film, *Mädchen in Uniform* (1931), for which Winsloe also wrote the script, Lillian Hellman's *The Children's Hour* (1934), Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961), Brigid Brophy's *The Finishing Touch* (1963), and Violette Leduc's *Thérèse et Isabelle* (1966), the secluded, safe space of the girls' school has continued to offer imaginative possibilities for literary lesbianism.

Such possibilities, however, primarily arise from the fundamental restrictions this literary topos implies: not only is the all-female environment quite literally cut off from the "real" world of heterosexual relations, the same-sex passions and desires—whether for admired teachers or for fellow pupils—flaring up within its seclusion, also remain confined to the protagonists' pre-adulthood, and can thus be conveniently reduced to adolescent *crushes*. What is more, these passionate affairs must necessarily end when the girls finish their education and leave school. Still, as an enabling space, the all-female environment—whether in its earlier form of a girls' school or women's college, or in one of its later permutations, such as a hotel, a female prison, a summer camp, a sport's team, or commune, has also given rise to another recurring configuration, that is, the combination of an older woman and a young girl entertaining—usually quite explosive, or destructive—amorous relations, as in Elizabeth Bowen's *The Hotel* (1927), Naomi Royde-Smith's *The Tortoiseshell Cat* (1925), Rosamond Lehmann's *Dusty Answer* (1927), Dorothy Strachey's *Olivia* (1949; married name, Bussy), and Harriett Gilbert's *The Riding Mistress* (1983).

CROSS-DRESSING, MEDICAL MODELS, AND THE LESBIAN VAMPIRE

Another figuration in which female same-sex desire has traditionally found expression is that of mistaken (gender) identity or cross-dressing. William Shakespeare (1564–1616) may well lay claim to the most delightful early renderings of the erotic possibilities generated by such (deliberate) gender confusion, as, for instance, in *Twelfth Night* (1601), while later male authors have often taken up this theme to expose the monstrous or degenerative aspects of women who impersonate men, or appropriate male (nuptial) privileges. Examples here include Henry Fielding's *The Female Husband* (1746) through Wyndham Lewis's *The Apes of God* (1930). Female authors of the early twentieth century, largely under the influence of the new sexological accounts of homosexuality that explained women's desire for women as the result of gender inversion, tended to explore the more tragic aspects of the lesbian's terrible fate, most notoriously represented by Radclyffe Hall's tormented heroine Stephen Gordon in *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). Butch/femme culture of the 1950s and early 1960s can be argued to extend both the erotically titillating possibilities of cross-dressing, and to have absorbed the pathologizing aspects of sexological and psychological discourses. The self-torture and psychic confusion of many butch protagonists, as, for instance, in Ann Bannon's *Beebo Brinker* series (1962) and Maureen Duffy's *The Microcosm* (1966), show that, by the mid-twentieth century, the latter appears to have won out over the former in the cultural imagination. In contrast, a series of novels featuring the figure of the tomboy (Carson McCuller's Frankie, for instance, in *The*

Member of the Wedding [1946] or Scout Finch in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* [1960]) can be placed in the more lighthearted, Shakespearean tradition, even if these works also partake in the (Freudian) idea of female same-sex desire as an adolescent, hence passing phenomenon.

The pathological notion of female same-sex desire prevailing in the first half of the twentieth century, and the literary depiction of lesbians as freaks of nature, can be linked to the earlier association of love between women with the monstrous or the supernatural, or to that nineteenth-century invention, the lesbian vampire. From its inception, the vampire in art and literature, falling outside the bounds of nature as much as it is excluded from polite society, has consistently been linked with homosexuality. With predecessors in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Christabel" (1816) and in Sheridan Le Fanu's gothic story *Carmilla* (1872), contemporary authors have, however, succeeded at once in exploiting and perverting this tradition by presenting lesbian vampires as enabling female figures whose unnatural powers are often wielded in attempts to overthrow patriarchal society. Whereas Zoë Fairbairns, in *Benefits* (1979), and Sally Gearheart, in *The Wanderground* (1978), primarily use the transgressive sexual and gender potential of their bloodsucking heroines, Ellen Galford additionally oversteps religious boundaries by making her undead heroine in *The Dyke and the Dybbuk* (1994) Jewish, while Jewelle Gomez, in *The Gilda Stories* (1991), takes the transgressive aspect another step further by presenting her readers with a black lesbian vampire.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BEFORE STONEWALL

Although the appearance of a black lesbian is no longer so remarkable in late-twentieth-century literature, there are relatively few literary texts predating the civil rights movement and the Stonewall riots (1969) that focus on the intersection of racial difference and female same-sex desire. This is all the more remarkable, because, from the emergence of modern science in the eighteenth century onward, all forms of sexual degeneration, including lesbianism, have been associated with racial difference, savagery, and primitivism. Still, even during 1920s and 1930s, when African-American culture generally flourished—a period known as the Harlem Renaissance—lesbian self-expression occurred only in highly coded fashion. Exemplary are the writings of Alice Dunbar-Nelson, the love poems of Angelina Weld Grimké (suppressed by the author herself, and rediscovered only in the 1980s), Nella Larsen's novel *Passing* (1929), and the lyrics of the bisexual blues singers Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Josephine Baker, and Ethel Waters. Jane Bowles's novel *Two Serious Ladies* (1943) offers one of the first explorations of a white woman's desire for a brown prostitute. It is only in the 1970s, with writers such as Audre Lorde (*From a Land Where Other People Live* [1973]), Ann Allen Shockley (*Loving Her* [1974]), and Pat Parker (*Movement in Black* [1978]), that a tradition of African-American lesbian writing begins to take off. While increasingly politically motivated, most of such literary representations emphasize the strength and endurance of friendship and love among black lesbians faced with the overall racism of white society as well as the homophobia in black communities, as, for instance, in Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* (1982), Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* (1982), and Ntozake Shange's *Sassafrass, Cypress, and Indigo* (1982).

Lesbian writers on both sides of the Atlantic began to use a variety of traditional literary genres, as well as develop new ones, to give overt expression to their feelings, preoccupations, and outlooks on life and society. Earlier in the twentieth century, few had followed Radclyffe Hall in thematizing their sexual love for women, preferring to couch such concerns in modernist experimenting or behind sociocultural critiques, as in the works of Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) and Djuna Barnes (1892–1982), or to enfold it in a fantasy figure such as Virginia Woolf's ageless, intermediately sexed Orlando, the eponymous hero/ine of her comic romp of 1928, believed to be a love letter to Vita Sackville-West, with whom Woolf was having an affair at the time. Stein's openly lesbian text *Lifting Belly* (1953) was not published until after her death, the same fate as was suffered by H.D.'s novel *Paint It Today*, which did not appear in print until 1992. What the novels, poems, and short stories of the early decades of the twentieth century often quite liberally do depict, however, are strong bonds between women, often tinged with eroticism, echoing what in earlier centuries had been called *romantic friendships*.

Dorothy Miller Richardson's *Dawn's Left Hand* (1931) explores the close interrelations between intense female friendship and homoerotic passion. Sylvia Townsend Warner's novel *Summer Will Show* (1936) equally concentrates on the erotic bond between its two female protagonists, albeit in a story displaced into the nineteenth century. Most of the early novels of Elizabeth Bowen (1899–1972), and quite a number of her short stories, feature women developing passionate relationships with each other. Though not offering a particularly pleasant portrait, Mary McCarthy's inclusion of a lesbian character in her best-selling novel *The Group* (1963) suggests that, in the early 1960s, lesbianism was becoming an acceptable topic in North American literary writing. The British novelist Brigid Brophy's *In Transit*

(1969) therefore quite literally marks a moment of transition, not only because its protagonist has no determinate gender, and the text offers its readers a distinctly eroticized bi-textuality, but also because it represents a moment of transition between the occluded, indirect, or ambivalent representation of female same-sex desire in literature before Stonewall, and the outspoken, sometimes defiant, and often celebratory expressions of lesbianism in the literature since then.

AFTER STONEWALL: GENERIC AND STYLISTIC DIVERSITY

The genre of the picaresque, with its lone hero fighting against the world, proved particularly fruitful in the politicized early days of gay and lesbian liberation. In sharp contrast to the rather quiet, reflective novels of the early 1960s, such as May Sarton's *The Small Room* (1961), Jane Rule's *The Desert of the Heart* (1964), and Isabel Miller's *A Place for Us* (1969; reissued as *Patience and Sarah*, 1973), the quintessential lesbian hero of the early 1970s was Rita Mae Brown's feisty and outrageous Molly Bolt, protagonist of her semi-autobiographical coming-out story *Rubyfruit Jungle* (1973). Whereas Elana Nachman's *Riverfinger Women* (1974) similarly revolves around a picaresque lesbian hero, Monique Wittig, on a rather grim note, presents the main characters of her *Les guérillères* (1969) as social warriors, expressing the elation and rage of many lesbians fighting at the barricades against the oppressions of the heteropatriarchal system. Some Stonewall writers took up the Sapphic tradition by imaginatively exploring the possibilities—and problems—of all-female societies, including June Arnold in *The Cook and the Carpenter* (1973), Gearheart in *The Wanderground*, or, in a more utopian vein, Joanna Russ in *The Female Man* (1975).

Where older lesbian poets, such as May Swenson (1919–1989), Elizabeth Bishop (1911–1979), and Sarton (1912–1995), still tended to avoid overtly lesbian subjects, the new generation of poets showed no such qualms. With Audre Lorde (1934–1992) and Adrienne Rich (b. 1929) as two of the most articulate voices of the period, the 1970s gave rise to an astonishingly rich tradition of explicitly lesbian poetry, especially in the United States. Much lesbian poetry first appeared in such newly founded women's journals as *Heresies*, *Conditions*, *Sinister Wisdom*, and *off our backs*, but many also succeeded in getting their work published as books, including Olga Broumas's *Beginning with O* (1977), Judy Grahn's *Edward the Dyke* (1971), Lorde's *From a Land Where Other People Live* (1973), Pat Parker's *Child of Myself* (1971), June Jordan's *Pit Stop* (1973), and Rich's *The Dream of a Common Language* (1978).

As suggested, few African-American writers, with Shockley's novel *Loving Her* a rare and important exception, explored lesbian issues before the 1980s. Lorde published her autobiographical novel *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* in 1982. The landmark publication, one that opened up the literary field to lesbians from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds, was *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981), edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. Inspired by the then prevailing emphasis on the *politics of difference*, this anthology of essays, fiction, and poetry gave eloquent voice to the frustrations and anger experienced by all lesbians of color within the overwhelmingly white (lesbian) feminist movement. Anzaldúa later published the influential prose poem *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987). Paula Gunn Allen is one of few lesbians writing from a Native American perspective (*The Woman Who Owned the Shadows* [1983]), while Willyce Kim is probably the best-known Asian-American lesbian novelist, and Michelle Cliff explores the racism of Jamaican society in her novels *Abeng* (1984) and *No Telephone to Heaven* (1987).

Prose genres that proved particularly amenable to lesbian appropriation include such forms of formula fiction as romance, mystery, and detective novels. Growing out of the 1970s coming-out stories, the lesbian romance became one of the most popular genres of the 1980s, with representatives such as Doris Grumbach's *Chamber Music* (1979), Nancy Toder's *Choices* (1980), and Katherine V. Forrest's *Curious Wine* (1983). Among the spate of lesbian detective novels by, among others, Camarin Grae, Claire McNab, Barbara Wilson (later known as Barbara Sjoholm), and Vicki McConnell, those by Sarah Schulman (*The Sophie Horowitz Story* [1984]) and Mary Wings (*She Came Too Late* [1987]) stand out by being less formulaic, and, stylistically as well as thematically, more inventive than many of their contemporaries.

Schulman's later prose style shows the influence of postmodernism, but her stories also move beyond the strict political and cultural constraints of mere lesbian expectancy, complicating the sexual lives of her protagonists with issues of ethnicity and social economics. Another lesbian writer who presents a wider vision of contemporary society than even her best-selling debut, *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit* (1985)—adapted for BBC television in 1990—might have suggested, is the British author Jeanette Winterson (b. 1959). Like some of her North American counterparts, such as Bertha Harris (*Lover* (1976) and Carole Maso (*Ghost Dance* [1986]), Winterson has succeeded in reaching mainstream audiences, by developing what might be called the postmodern lesbian novel of ideas, especially through her later works, *The Passion* (1987), *Sexing the Cherry*

(1989), *The PowerBook* (2000), and *Lighthousekeeping* (2004). Other important novelists of the 1990s include Jenifer Levin (*The Sea of Light* [1993]), Paula Martinac (*Home Movies* [1993]), and Dorothy Allison (*Bastard Out of Carolina* [1992]), whose novels engage lesbian characters, but whose main focus is on social issues such as death, AIDS, and poverty.

One of the most successful genres that continues to thrive, and one equally finding its origins in the 1980s, is what might loosely be called lesbian erotica, especially in its S/M variety. Pat Califia (*Macho Sluts* [1988]), Robbi Sommers (*Kiss and Tell* [1991]), and Tee Corinne (*Dreams of the Woman Who Loved Sex* [1987]) were the forerunners in a tradition that as of 2006 makes up most of the titles produced by a quick search for lesbian literature at the online bookseller Amazon.com. If this suggests that lesbian literature has, since the early sixteenth century, developed from a relatively obscure, often submerged, and frequently maligned form of cultural expression, into a fully commercially viable enterprise, there are also quite a number of lesbian authors who have made it into the mainstream through somewhat different channels. Especially in the United Kingdom, there are highly respected and successful novelists whose focus on lesbian subject matter has in no way prevented them from gaining widespread general recognition. With prize-winning novels such as *Hotel World* (2001) and *The Accidental* (2004)—the latter short-listed for the Man Booker Prize in 2005 and winner of the Whitbread Novel of the Year Award—the novelist Ali Smith finds her match not only in Winterson, who has continued to keep up her reputation as one of Britain's most successful lesbian novelists with *Weight* (2005) and *Tanglewreck* (2006), but also in the best-selling Sarah Waters, whose debut *Tipping the Velvet* (1999) and *Fingersmith* (2002)—short-listed for the Man Booker Prize—were both adapted for television by the BBC, in 2002 and 2005, respectively. Waters's next novel, *The Night Watch* (2006), again features lesbian characters, this time against the setting of World War II. The increasingly widespread cultural resonance of such writings only goes to show that the lesbian novel continues to be redefined—the ultimate results of which are as yet unknown, but can definitely be awaited with great anticipation.

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LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD

Little Red Riding Hood is a fairy tale or children's story common to many European cultures in various forms. While probably an ancient tale of the oral tradition, the earliest known written form is contained in Charles Perrault's 1697 work, *Contes de ma mère l'Oye* (*Tales of Mother Goose*, 1729). His version is much simpler than the version later popularized by the Brothers Grimm: A young woman in red encounters a wolf, tells him her destination, and then is eaten by him when he lies in wait for her farther down the path. A postscript explains it as a cautionary tale, an example of what can happen when a young woman talks to a strange man. The name of the story derives from the red hood and cape that the young girl wears, a detail believed to have been original to Perrault's version.

The Brothers Grimm included the tale in their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812–1815; Children's and household tales; known in English as *Grimm's Fairy Tales*). The story tells of a young village girl who travels into the woods to visit her grandmother. Along the way, she encounters a wolf who wishes to eat her, but does not because there are woodcutters nearby who would defend her. Instead, the wolf engages her in conversation and learns her destination. He gets there before her, eats the grandmother, and disguises himself in her clothing to lure the girl into the house. He then eats Red Riding Hood, but is soon attacked by a woodcutter who has followed them. The woodcutter cuts the wolf's belly open with his ax, freeing the grandmother and girl who are inside, whole and unharmed. The wolf's belly is then filled with heavy rocks that hold him in place until he dies. No specific moral is indicated in this version, although its similarity to Perrault's is unmistakable. There are important differences, though: In the Brothers Grimm version, two women are victimized through the carelessness of one, and rather than being killed by the wolf, the women are rescued by a man. The danger in the later version is doubled, and it is made clear that male intercession is needed to protect the women. Critics have claimed that the Brothers Grimm version portrays women as essentially vulnerable and in need of help from men. The Perrault version, while a worse ending for Red Riding Hood, did allow her to succeed or fail on her own merits.

Many critics have analyzed the tale, both as a work of literature and as a cultural document. The American child psychologist Bruno Bettelheim used the story as a basis for his discussion of fairy tales as models for child psychological development in *The Uses of Enchantment* (1976). Many twentieth-century retellings of the story have been based on Bettelheim's understanding, including the 1987 Broadway musical *Into the Woods* by Stephen Sondheim and James Lapine. In this adaptation, Red Riding Hood consciously uses her experience as a means of constructing whom she will be as an adult, having left childhood behind in the belly of the wolf. This understanding of the story as one of growth and transition to maturity is also common. Many critics have seen the conversation between the wolf and Red Riding Hood as a seduction, a distinctly sexualized interaction. The meeting, therefore, is likened to a first sexual experience. The red color and flowing nature of the hood and cape are likewise linked to menstruation. Some critics have interpreted Red Riding Hood's willingness to put herself in danger as a desire for sexual experience, and others have linked her actions to prostitution.

SEE ALSO *Big Bad Wolf; Fairy Tales.*

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LOLITA

Lolita, a novel by Vladimir Nabokov (first published in Paris in 1955; published in the United States in 1958), details the sexual obsession of its narrator with his young stepdaughter. The novel's depiction of a sexually abusive relationship between an older man and a young girl generated a great deal of controversy in both the United States and in Europe, leading to its banning in France and England and to confrontations between those who lauded its artistic integrity and those who deemed it pornographic. *Lolita* achieved great success worldwide and, in the United States, shot to the top of the bestseller list within weeks of publication. In 1962, Stanley Kubrick released a film version of the novel, with a screenplay credited to Nabokov himself; Adrian Lyne directed a second adaptation in 1997. In popular culture, the name Lolita has come to refer to any sexually precocious young girl.

***Vladimir Nabokov, Author of* Lolita.** GERTRUDE FEHR/ PIX INC./TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

THE NOVEL

In 1950, Nabokov, having relocated to the United States and taken a teaching job at Cornell University, began working in earnest on the manuscript that would eventually become *Lolita*. The novel details the pursuit, conquest, and subsequent sexual abuse of twelve-year-old Lolita by Humbert Humbert, the debonair European boarder her mother takes in. Humbert is immediately obsessed with Lolita, whom he identifies as a "nymphet": a young girl of no more than fourteen in whom Humbert can discern a preternatural sexual power and allure. In an effort to gain continual access to Lolita, Humbert seduces and marries her mother, who dies (rather conveniently) shortly thereafter. Fearing any interference with his custody of Lolita—and indeed, anything at all that might divert her attention from him—Humbert isolates Lolita to a great degree from her peers and other adults. Though Humbert casts himself as a dutiful parent figure, his every worry for Lolita's health, safety, and upbringing is underwritten by his concern that she remain sexually available to him at all times. Lolita eventually makes her escape, and Humbert is reduced to a fanatical search for both Lolita and the man whom he believes stole her away.

Controversial as the storyline may be, *Lolita* is notable both for its aesthetic commitments and its ethical stance. Though many have read Humbert's often ecstatic and beautiful narration as evidence of a Nabokovian project to aestheticize child abuse, both the narration and the novel are much more subtle and complex. While Humbert is disturbing for the degree to which he is able to charm and placate his readers in spite of the increasingly unsavory behaviors in which he engages, both Humbert's fundamental unreliability as a narrator and his sorrow, despair, and self-disgust at the novel's end suggest that, as Nabokov once claimed, *Lolita* is indeed "a highly moral affair."

PUBLICATION AND RECEPTION

Nabokov was well aware of the controversy that his novel might incite. For many years, he showed no one at all his manuscript and, when he began searching for a publisher, he seriously considered publishing the novel anonymously. Most American editors who saw the manuscript responded favorably, but publishers were deeply concerned about getting embroiled in a costly obscenity trial. After rejections by five American publishing houses, the manuscript made its way to Maurice Girodias, the owner of the newly founded Olympia Press in France. Olympia Press, though it had several titles of literary repute, primarily produced cheap English-language pornography. In 1955, Girodias offered to publish the novel, and *Lolita* was quietly published in France that same year.

While Lolita's publication initially went largely unnoticed by both reviewers and the public, British novelist Graham Greene, in the London *Sunday Times*, listed it as one of the three best books of 1955. Shortly thereafter, John Gordon, editor of a London weekly, took issue with Greene's choice of best books and devoted a column to an attack on *Lolita*. Greene retaliated, and the beginnings of a controversy began to stir in London. In February 1956, an American paper picked up the story, igniting American interest in *Lolita*. Papers began receiving letters about the novel, critics began speaking out in favor of its literary qualities, and American publishers began expressing interest in the book. In France, a well-respected, mainstream publishing house noted the controversy and offered to bring out a French translation. Other countries also began inquiring about rights to the book.

In spite of the increase in its publicity and renown, *Lolita* still faced a number of obstacles to publication in the United States. Both Britain and France had banned the book. Several American publishers were eager to publish *Lolita* but were still concerned that it would ultimately be banned in the United States as well. Additionally, Nabokov and Girodias were embroiled in a dispute over copyright that made it difficult for Nabokov to negotiate a contract with another publisher. In 1957, Nabokov published an essay called "On a Book Entitled *Lolita*," which argued for the artistic merit of the novel and attempted to lay the groundwork for a defense against any obscenity charges that might be leveled against the book. In spite of brisk American black-market sales of the book and numerous favorable reviews, however, it was not until March 1958 that a contract for publication in the United States was negotiated and signed.

G.P. Putnam's Sons finally published *Lolita* in mid-August 1958, almost five years after Nabokov had completed the manuscript. Public response to the novel was overwhelming. Advance reviews of the book were primarily favorable, though occasionally outraged. Sales were high, and *Lolita* went into a second printing almost immediately. Many were offended or outraged by the book's subject matter and some localities went so far as to ban it, but these adverse reactions seemed only to fan its popularity. By the end of September, *Lolita* had topped the bestseller list and its author had become a celebrity.

FILM ADAPTATIONS

Even before *Lolita* was published in the United States, Harris-Kubrick Pictures had expressed interest in attaining the movie rights. In late 1959, after rejecting an early version of the screenplay written by Calder Willingham, Kubrick approached Nabokov about writing the script for *Lolita*. Though Kubrick and producer James B. Harris professed complete admiration for the script that Nabokov eventually submitted, his screenplay was gutted during the film's production and the final product bore little relationship to either Nabokov's novel or his screenplay. The film, which premiered in June 1962, starred James Mason, Peter Sellers, and Sue Lyon as Lolita. Lyon looked decidedly older than the actual Lolita's twelve years, and she portrayed Lolita as a young woman rather than as a mix of child and adolescent. Due to pressure from censors, the physical relationship between Lolita and Humbert could only be hinted at. Kubrick did, however, translate some of the linguistic play of the novel into a darkly comic, often farcical scenario. For both Kubrick and Nabokov, the film was a disappointment. In 1974, Nabokov published his original, unaltered screenplay of the film.

Kubrick's movie, although severely constrained by the requirements of the Production Code, was brought to the screen with minimal difficulty. Lyne's 1997 version of *Lolita*, however, faced much the same problem that Nabokov's original novel did. Starring Jeremy Irons, with Dominique Swain as Lolita, the film was financed independently, but Lyne was unable to find an American distributor for the film. Ultimately, the cable channel Showtime purchased the distribution rights to the film and, after a one-week limited theatrical release meant to enable Academy Award consideration for the film, *Lolita* premiered on Showtime in 1998. The furor over the film's release—already somewhat surprising in a era when young women are routinely sexualized and commodified in popular culture and when the onscreen depiction of sexuality is increasingly graphic—is all the more notable for the tepidness of Lyne's actual film. Though it does depict more physical contact between Humbert and Lolita than Kubrick's film was ever able to do, Lyne's *Lolita* is a lyrical, pretty film that portrays Humbert's love for Lolita as more befuddled and passive than the overwhelming lust and passion of Nabokov's Humbert.

LOLITA IN POPULAR CULTURE

Although Humbert Humbert gives a quite specialized meaning to his term *nymphet*, in popular culture the name Lolita has come to signify very generally a sexually precocious pubescent or, more often, adolescent girl. Cultural critics have often invoked the term *Lolita* in the context of child pornography, the JonBenet Ramsey murder, and the sexualized depiction of young females in film and television. Most famously, perhaps, the name Lolita was linked with the 1992 attempted murder of Mary Jo Buttafuoco by her husband's teenaged lover, Amy Fisher, whom the media quickly dubbed "the Long Island Lolita."

Often the banning of books by groups or governments appears in retrospect as a somewhat hysterical overreaction to a text that later audiences consider tame. *Lolita*, on the other hand, still generates controversy, and that it takes pedophilia as its subject continues to bother even those who venerate the novel for its artistic and aesthetic achievement. The continuing controversy over *Lolita* and the widespread application of the term to issues of child sexuality and the depiction of women and girls in popular culture suggest the degree to which *Lolita*, even as it forces its audience to grapple simultaneously with Humbert's compelling personality and perverse sexuality, forces society to confront its own complicity in enabling the Lolita phenomenon.

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Literature: II. The Study of.*

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Maureen Lauder

LORDE, AUDRE

1934–1992

Audre Lorde was born in Harlem, New York City, on February 18 to Linda and Byron Lorde, Caribbean immigrants. The youngest of three daughters she was raised in a strict household. In 1951 she enrolled in Hunter College. In 1952 she began to define herself as a lesbian. Lorde married Edwin Rollins, a white man, in 1962; they had a son and a daughter. After their separation in the late 1960s, Lorde and her children lived with Frances Clayton, a white female psychologist.

In her career, as in her life, Lorde actively resisted categorization. Referring to herself as a "black, feminist, lesbian, mother, poet warrior," she consistently challenged all definitions of identity (De Veaux 2004, p. 367). She stretched the limits of several literary genres, publishing ten volumes of poetry, two noted collections of essays and speeches, and one *biomythography* titled *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982). She blurred

Audre Lorde. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

the boundaries between the personal and the political by mining her experiences in her work.

Lorde published her first book of poetry, *The First Cities*, with the Poets Press in 1968. Her third collection of poetry, *From a Land Where Other People Live* (1973), was nominated for a National Book Award for poetry in 1974. Lorde accompanied the prize-winning poet Adrienne Rich (b. 1929) on stage when she accepted the award. As part of her acceptance speech, Rich read a *feminist manifesto* that she, Lorde, and novelist Alice Walker (b. 1944), a conominee, drafted together.

In her poetry Lorde explores relationships between women. Her work examines the power of voice, language, silence, and anger. After a visit to Africa in 1974, her work took on a diasporic dimension as she embraced her west-African cultural heritage. Lorde also published poems that explicitly depicted intimate same-sex encounters between women. Her decision to remove a poem with a lesbian speaker, *Love Poem*, in *From a Land Where Other People Live*, was the result of a homophobic response from Broadside Press' black male publisher, Dudley Randall (1914–2000). She included the poem in her fourth collection, *New York Head Shop and Museum* (1974), which was also published by Broadside Press. In 1991 Lorde became the first African-American woman to be named New York State Poet.

Through her essays and speeches, Lorde made a significant contribution to the development of feminist theory. In *The Uses of the Erotic* (1978), Lorde posited a theory of sexuality as a creative force in women's lives. In this speech she argues that many feminists distanced themselves from the power of female sexuality because, throughout history, white, European and North American, masculine definitions of the erotic disempowered women by objectifying their bodies. Lorde argues that feminists must claim the erotic as an empowering connection between work and life. In one of her most popular essays, *Poetry is Not a Luxury* (1977), Lorde argues that poetry can help women to claim their subversive, creative power and, in doing so, help them realize social change: "The white fathers told us: I think, therefore I am. The Black mother within each of us—the poet—whispers in our dreams: I feel, therefore I can be free" (Lorde 1984, p. 38). Positioning herself on the margins of the feminist movement's second wave, she challenged white, middle-class feminists to acknowledge their privileged positions in an inherently racist and classist society and realize the importance of difference. In *The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House* (1979), she persuades white feminists to take a more inclusive stance toward acknowledging the multiplicity of women's experiences in their theoretical articulations. From the margins of the black community Lorde's essays and speeches questioned the role of women, gays, and lesbians within that community.

In *The Cancer Journals* (1980) Lorde chronicled her experiences as a breast cancer patient. The essay collection garnered the Book Award from the American Library Association Gay Caucus in 1981. Critics argue that her reflections have made a crucial impact on breast cancer patients' perceptions of themselves as survivors. When the cancer returned Lorde reflected on her experience in another collection titled *A Burst of Light* (1988). Lorde spent her final years in St. Croix with her companion and caretaker, Gloria Joseph. She died on November 17. Her final collection of poems, *The Marvelous Arithmetics of Distance* (1993), was published posthumously.

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Cherise A. Pollard

LOVE—DEVOTIONAL AND EROTIC

Love in religious poetry modulates through many keys: *eros*, *agape*, *amor*, *minne*, *bhakti*, *prema*, and *'ishq*. The biblical author declares, "God is love" (I John 4:16). The cherubic archer of Bernini's *Teresa in Ecstasy* and the alluring song and dance of Lord Krishna convey intense experiences of devotional love. Sufi poet Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207–1273) is drawn toward God like a moth to the flame: "Let go all your scheming, lover / let yourself go mad / go mad / just step into the heart of fire / make yourself a moth / a moth . . ." (Lewis 2003, p. 385). Such examples evoke a powerful and pervasive analogy between human love and love of a divine Other.

God's lovers often express their longing in terms of human love relationships. Sufi saint Rabi'a al-Basri (d. 801) refused all offers of marriage due to her all-consuming desire for God, maintaining that "the groaning and the yearning of the lover of God will not be satisfied until it is satisfied in the Beloved" (Smith 2001, p. 122). Men as well as women employ the trope of female submission and dependence for the human-divine relationship. But passion for God transposes into masculine as well as feminine modes. Margaret Malamud has demonstrated that medieval Sufi *ghazals* and Rumi's poetry about his spiritual master project desire for divinity in homoerotic terms.

These Islamic cases occur at the intersection of East and West. This discussion illuminates cross-cultural dynamics of the *eros* analogy for devotional love, beginning with Augustine's influential work. Examples from medieval Christian and Hindu contexts test the boundaries of the analogy in the West and the East. Finally, orthodox boundaries dissolve with the contemporary feminist suggestion that the erotic is divine.

THE EROS ANALOGY

The confluence of devotional and erotic love may be at the heart of *eros* in the West. *Eros* is an ecstatic movement of the self toward a divine or human Other. Desire for an Other draws one out of egocentric existence; it embraces difference and yearns toward the future. When Psyche of classical Greek mythology abandons herself to the unknown, she finds herself in the arms of Eros, the god of love. "Because Psyche possessed the courage to live in that open space," Wendy Farley explains, "she gave birth to Joy. Desire is this absurdity that holds open the infinity of possibility" (Farley 2005, pp. 15–16). As a type of love that opens toward an Other, *eros* includes sexual acts but is not reduced to them.

Teresa in Ecstasy. Teresa in Ecstasy, *sculpture by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1645-52, in the Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome.* THE ART ARCHIVE / ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN.

In the Jewish and Christian traditions, theologians usually argue that the primary case in the love analogy is divine love, from which all other loves derive: "We love because [God] first loved us" (I John 4:19). Following Ludwig Feuerbach and Sigmund Freud, however, other theorists view devotional love as a human projection of ideal relation. Conscious of the limited usefulness of human experience for understanding spiritual reality, Saint Augustine elaborated the famous analogy for the Trinity as lover, beloved, and the love between them (Augustine 1991, VIII.5); but he emphatically attested to the shortcomings of such comparisons when applied to divine mystery.

Regardless of the rationale for the *eros* analogy, several features are salient. A love relationship requires at least two discrete subjects. Confronted with the alterity of the beloved, the lover longs for the intimacy of knowledge and touch. Love implicates particular faculties, typically those related to desire and the will. Certain emotional experiences, such as those associated with the beloved's presence and absence, travel on both sides of the analogy. Furthermore, poetic metaphors (ecstasy, loss of self, madness, and religious devotion) translate the effects of love in both cases. Augustine's early teachings on desire set the stage for the development of these themes.

AUGUSTINE AND THE DIRECTIONALITY OF DESIRE

For the influential bishop Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE), the Christian life is an ongoing process of the transformation of desire. One trains the faculties to ascend from attachment to lower, material things to the pure love of God. Without denying the goodness of material and human goods, the Christian orders their value in relation to the source of all good. A virtuous circle of action and understanding ensues. In love of neighbor, human beings come to know the love of God, and this knowledge further purifies the practice of love.

In his *Confessions*, Augustine admirably illustrates his process of transformation as a desiring being. Examples as mundane as an infant's hunger reveal desire as the root of human actions. Augustine writes of his childhood theft of a neighbor's pears, "it was not the fruit that gave me pleasure, I must have got it from the crime itself, from the thrill of having partners in sin" (Augustine 1961, II.8). Desire for the approval of his comrades and the initial rush of wrongdoing later give way to other finite objects such as entertainment, friendship, fame, and physical intimacy. Addiction follows the serial of temporary satiation: Augustine famously prays, "Grant me chastity and continence, but not yet" (VIII.7). Sex is particularly illustrative of a dynamic that applies equally to many objects in his work. Some accuse Augustine of positing sex as the basest desire—its power over him certainly encapsulates the problem of desire and the need for physical and volitional discipline.

"I badly wanted to love something . . . I felt no need for the food that does not perish, not because I had had my fill of it, but because the more I was starved of it the less palatable it seemed" (III.1). Given his thralldom to misdirected desire, Augustine credits divine providence for the events leading to his conversion. Philosophical and scriptural readings cultivate his scholarly desire for knowledge into longing for the Beauty, Goodness, and Truth beyond all beautiful, good, and true things. Purified of their cloying hold on his will, physical and intellectual pleasures—pears, companionship, sex, and so on—are transmuted into praise for their creator.

The end of the process of Christian formation is uninterrupted enjoyment of God. There can be fleeting tastes of eternity in the present life, as Augustine recounts of a vision he shared with his mother before she died.

> As the flame of love burned stronger in us and raised us higher towards the eternal God, our thoughts ranged over the whole compass of material things in their various degrees, up to the heavens. . . . At length we came to our own souls and passed beyond them. . . . And while we spoke of the eternal Wisdom, longing for it and straining for it with all the strength of our hearts, for one fleeting instant we reached out and touched it.
>
> *(IX.10)*

Augustine's vision limns the trajectory of desire over the course of the Christian life. As one realizes the insufficiency of material reality, one's longing turns heavenward, gradually ascending through cosmic and intellectual realities, to God. Redirected, desire modulates from concupiscence to the love of God and all things in relation to God as their creator.

THE EROTICIZATION OF DEVOTIONAL LOVE

Numerous religious traditions address the problem of competing loves: Hindus warn against craving the fruits of action, Buddhists teach that the origin of suffering is attachment, and Martin Luther elucidates the bondage of the will. Desire for liberation or salvation, however, is nearly always salutary. Two examples can be cited as testing the limits of the *eros* analogy for the divine-human relationship. In both, the other-directed movement of the self strongly resembles the colloquial use of the word "erotic." Images of courtship and sexual union guide the devotional imagination in medieval Christian mystical traditions and Hindu *bhakti* movements.

Christian Mysticism of the High Middle Ages Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090–1153) sermons on the biblical Song of Songs amplify traditional bridal imagery for Christ and the Church into an allegory for the relation between God and the soul. His exegesis of the staples of bridal mysticism—the kiss, the bedchamber, and sexual union—leavened the medieval Christian imagination. William of St-Thierry (d. 1148) and Richard of St-Victor (d. 1173) further divided the Christian life into various "ages" or "degrees" of love. Communities of celibate women religious consumed such writings as patterns for their experience of their divine Bridegroom.

Though "only" allegorical, the gendered symbolic operates powerfully at many levels. Latent misogyny shows through explanations of the soul's "female" qualities (its weakness, fickleness, or submission). Ostensibly the pattern is hetero-normative, with a male Christ's betrothal to a female soul; yet even as male devotees perform an imaginative gender reversal, homoerotic overtones persist. When transplanted into women's houses and communities of celibate lay women like the beguines, the implicit sexuality is equally complex. The thirteenth-century Flemish beguine Hadewijch employs conventions from troubadour poetry and styles herself as a knight in pursuit of the divine Lady Love. Barbara Newman (1995, 137–167) has demonstrated that rather than identifying with the female soul as Christ's beloved, Hadewijch performs her own reversal and takes on "virile" qualities toward a feminized divine.

The writings of Mechthild of Magdeburg (c. 1208–c. 1282) contain some of the most overt allusions to sexual intimacy in orthodox Christian treatments of devotional love. In one exemplary concatenation of biblical motifs with the conventions of courtly love poetry, the bride-soul enters the secret bedchamber of her divine lover.

"Stay, Lady Soul."
"What do you bid me, Lord?"
"Take off your clothes."
"Lord, what will happen to me then?"
"Lady Soul, you are so utterly formed to my
nature
That not the slightest thing can be between you
and me. . . .
And so you must cast off from you
Both fear and shame and all external virtues.
Rather, those alone that you carry within
yourself
Shall you foster forever.
These are your noble longing
And your boundless desire.". . .

Then a blessed stillness
That both desire comes over them.
He surrenders himself to her,
And she surrenders herself to him.
What happens to her then—she knows—
And that is fine with me.
But this cannot last long.
When two lovers meet secretly,
They must often part from one another
inseparably.

(Tobin 1998, i.44)

For Mechthild and many Christians, human nature mirrors the divine: the desiring soul is "utterly formed to [God's] nature." Though this statement may be an innuendo ("nature" refers to body in some medieval conventions), in Mechthild "noble longing" and "boundless desire" belong equally to God and the soul. The deity is no unmoved mover but the creative fount of flowing love. God "surrenders . . . to her" in the powerlessness of *eros*. Divinity meets the soul in the mutual self-abandonment of desire.

The Latin editors of Mechthild's book, *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, weakened its eroticism, troubled perhaps by the extreme claims of contemporary heretics in the Swabian Ries of southwest Germany to have known Christ physically. Religious ecstasies were becoming increasingly common among women like Mechthild. These intense spiritual experiences blur the line between spirit and body in their physical effects. But Mechthild remains within the fold of orthodoxy by calling upon the analogical nature of theological speech. Her visions are "not of the flesh" but spiritual in nature (VI.36). The Lord takes Lady Soul into the bedchamber "in a manner beyond what is human" (I.44). The above scene teaches that one must "cast off" off all that stands in the way of one's pure desire for God. Mechthild also emphasizes that ecstatic union is fleeting in this life; the lovers remain united in desire while anticipating a permanent embrace after death.

Krishna Bhakti In Hindu traditions, devotion (*bhakti*) flourished in various regional movements beginning in the sixth century CE. The Sanskrit root *bhaj*, from which *bhakti* derives, connotes sharing, partaking, and even carnal enjoyment. *Bhakti*, then, is a love relationship to the deity. In the *Bhagavad-Gita*, Lord Krishna upholds the superiority of *bhakti* over other paths to God. He declares to his disciple, "Not through sacred lore, / penances, charity, or sacrificial rites /. . . By devotion alone / can I, as I really am, / be known and seen / and entered" (Miller 1986, 11.53–54). This kernel contains a basic principle of *bhakti*: love, not good works and asceticism, is the most effective means of reaching God.

John Stratton Hawley and Mark Juergensmeyer (1988) delineate the personal and non-personal dimensions of *bhakti*. Some great poets including Kabir, Ravidas, and Nanak (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, North India) loved a deity transcendent of all images and attributes. They exemplify *nirguna bhakti*, devotion to God without qualities; and their teachings were often iconoclastic and ecumenical. Other devotees name divinity Ram, Krishna, Siva, or the goddess Kali; they explore the mythology and characteristics of their chosen deity in the modalities of *saguna* (with qualities) *bhakti*.

In *saguna bhakti* devoted to Krishna, the vocabulary of eroticism predominates, but not to the exclusion of imagery depicting love between parent and child, servant and master, or close friends. Devotees in Vrindavan, the legendary place of Krishna's childhood, foster the spiritual identities of Krishna's associates in the *Bhagavata Purana*. Scriptural stories, community singing, temple worship, and service to a guru cultivate the emotional tenor associated with their chosen roles. Many identify with the *gopi*s, the cowherd women who leave their sleeping husbands at home to tryst with the youthful Krishna. The following poem is attributed to a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Bengali, Govinda-dasa.

> . . . I was alone, a woman; the night was so dark,
> the forest so dense and gloomy,
> and I had so far to go.
> The rain was pouring down—
> which path should I take?
> My feet were muddy
> and burning where thorns had scratched them.
> But I had the hope of seeing you, none of it
> mattered,
> and now my terror seems far away . . . .
> When the sound of your flute reaches my ears
> it compels me to leave my home, my friends,
> it draws me into the dark toward you.
> *I no longer count the pain of coming here,*
> *says Govinda-dasa.*
>
> *(Dimock and Levertov 1967, p. 21)*

He elsewhere writes of listening to the sound of Krishna's flute, gazing at the beauty of his body, and desiring his touch. *Bhakti* poetry evokes a full range of senses and emotions, from the bliss of union to longing in separation.

Lest the reader misinterpret sensual language as crassly physical, exegetes of *bhakti* poetry clarify its analogical character. The devotee's intimate knowledge of God is *akin* to seeing or touching, but is *not quite* external sensation. Nampillai (thirteenth-century, South India) interpolates one devotee as saying, "You tell me that you give me mental experience which is the same form of perception—but that is not what I want!" (Clooney 1996, p. 137). Theologians also clarify the adulterous character of Krishna lore as a metaphor for the spiritual relationship of the soul to God: that the *gopi*s are married women illustrates the passion and risk inherent in loving God; it does not promote promiscuity in "real" life. Hawley and Juergensmeyer cite explanations "that the Gopis had never consummated their marriages with their husbands [and] that Krishna had by his magical power caused the Gopis to be replaced by likeness of themselves at crucial moments" (p. 78). So complementary are the modalities of erotic love and devotional relation, however, that "[n]one of the poets paid much attention" to these scruples (ibid.).

FEMINISM AND DESIRE

While the orthodox Christian and Hindu theologians cited above worry about the collapse of the analogy between sexual passion and devotional desire, feminists are more apt to explore the overlap. At its best, the immanence of physical intimacy is a transcendent experience, a mutual opening to the other that touches divinity. Luce Irigaray (1993) posits a "sensible transcendental," in which revelation comes not at the expense of particular bodies but through them. In theological terms, human love participates in the erotic outpouring of divine love for humanity. The incarnation of mutuality and diversity not only resembles but reveals the divine. The theoretical qualification dividing carnal from devotional love proves necessary only insofar as it calls human beings to an ever more expansive openness to alterity.

According to Grace Jantzen and Pamela Sue Anderson, desire is not merely of topical interest to theology and philosophy. Desire is integral to method. Often unacknowledged or even repressed, desire fuels critical reasoning about the divine. Many read Feuerbach's theory of projection as a critique of religion; but in bringing theology's hidden basis into the open, Jantzen encourages feminists to employ their desires for divinity strategically. As faculties of imagination and desire stretch toward the transcendent "horizon" of divinity, women's desires may alter the dominant symbolic. If the divine, "that which is most to be respected and valued," encompassed "mutuality, bodiliness, diversity, and materiality . . . the implications for our thought and lives would be incalculable" (Jantzen 1999, 269).

Caution is imperative as feminists reconstitute divine and human love, for the openness to the Other inherent in *eros* can prove even more troubling than any violation of the limits of theological analogy. Gendered constructions of selfless love weigh heavily on women, as when Christian *agape* is construed as "the gift of the superior to the abject dependent" (Keller 1986, 168). Rarely in "superior" positions, too often women's sense of selfhood dissolves as they exercise "unilaterally self-giving, sacrificial love" (ibid., 214) toward the lovers, dependents, and institutions that make claims on them.

Rita Nakashima Brock clarifies that as an "open, interactive self-expressiveness [*eros*] is different from either the need to impose our will on the world or the need to lose ourselves in the feelings and needs of others" (Brock 1998, p. 33). As a model for men and women, *eros* never dissolves the identity of the lover, for in love there must be at least two. Nor does it appropriate the Other—Plato's Socrates advises Phaedrus that the best lover does not to rush in to possess the beloved but holds back in awe.

The boundaries of the confluence of erotic and devotional love shift widely across contexts. From Augustine's cautious assertion of a limited analogy, through imaginative and aesthetic explorations of erotic devotional imagery, to experiments with the collapse of the metaphor, the analogical nature of divine and human love persists due to the inexhaustibility of the divine horizon.

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Michelle Voss Roberts

LOVE POETRY

The apparent timelessness and universality of love poetry may suggest that as a literary genre it can reveal little about historical and social dimensions of sex and gender in individual societies and different cultures. There is more than a grain of poetical truth in Robert Graves's definition of Love as "a universal migraine" in one of his own love lyrics. A cursory look at love poetry in different languages in different eras would reveal similar symptoms worldwide: poems describing the first encounter, the *coup de foudre*, the beauty of the beloved and her or his responses, the pains and the joys of falling in love, the union and the parting, all providing substance to the remembrance of encounters long past. The poems, whether in the shape of lyrics or long narrative poems, attempt to capture some or all of these emotions' evanescent beauty. But this uniformly universal dimension co-exists with a more varied and culture-bound dimension: the game-play and the dramatic elements contained in love poems, long and short. It is here that wider social and historical implications appear refracted in these often deeply personal and strongly felt moments.

The cast of characters varies from poem to poem. There is the poet himself and what is known of him or her through his or her own words elsewhere or through other external sources, and there is the persona of the poet, often actively involved in his or her own lines in the role of the lover. And there is yet a third perspective: the poet as the maker of the poem, the shaper of both the lover and the beloved, the puppeteer who pulls the strings. The beloved too comes in many shapes and costumes: he or she can be a cross-dresser, can refer to the poet's patron in flattering terms fit for an ideal of beauty, or may be conjured up in a much more ethereal and sublime manner, almost nebulous, as a mystical reference to God. Other characters too can inhabit the poem: the rival lover or mistress, the jealous husband, the *dueña* as a co-conspirator, along with the chorus of public spectators, often commenting on this piece of human love or folly and voicing their dismay or approbation. All these figures appear wearing various masks and with different accents and can tell us much, mostly *sotto voce*, about their own regions and time and the notions of sex and gender from a synchronic and diachronic perspective.

Here at the outset one must, however, take note of cautionary reservations often cited against such attempts at using literary works, and particularly love poetry, as social documents, no matter how obliquely. For example Camille Paglia (1993, p. 706) writes:

> A love poem cannot be simplistically read as a literal, journalistic record of an event or relationship; there is always some fictive reshaping of reality for dramatic or psychological ends. A love poem is secondary rather than primary experience; as an imaginative construction, it invites detached contemplation of the spectacle of sex.
>
> We must be particularly cautious when dealing with controversial forms of eroticism like homosexuality. Poems are unreliable historical evidence about any society; they may reflect the consciousness of only one exceptional person. Furthermore, homoerotic images or fantasies in poetry must not be confused with concrete homosexual practice. We must speak of tastes and tendencies in early poets but not of sexual orientation: this is a modern idea.

The matter-of-fact tone of the above, its confidence in its own epistemological presuppositions and the hierarchies of fact and fiction that it sets up, and its warnings against anachronistic approaches and the failure to distinguish artistic imagination from hard historical evidence, are echoed by many other critics who make similar sweeping judgments. Their view of social history appears to be almost entirely based on evidence from recent or contemporary history of the West, with its abundance of easily accessible information in the form of archives, statistics, and searchable data on the screen. But even in this multimedia realm of plenty there is much that a social historian can glean from a perceptive analysis of poems by poets as diverse in their outlook as Adrienne Rich and Philip Larkin without doing violence to their work as imaginative constructs. On the contrary, it can even be argued that imaginative literature is as much part of the history of a society as other evidence—theological, scientific or statistical. In other regions and other eras, where an annalistic chronicle can contain long eulogistic declarations in honor of a ruler or patron, the lines become even more blurred. Historical "facts," as always, come in all shapes and sizes, and the social historian is even more driven to take more than one tack, using all the documents available, if he or she wishes to get even an inkling of the way the people who populate this distant world saw themselves and described their relationships and arranged their lives.

This should not be confused with drawing false analogies and anachronistic glosses. In his short poem "The Scholars," W. B. Yeats ridicules the way old scholars shuffle and fret over verses:

> . . . that young men, tossing on their beds,
> Rhymed out in love's despair
> To flatter beauty's ignorant ear.

Such are the perils of "problematizing" love poetry.

The history of love throughout the ages runs the gamut from improvised songs (improvisation is often cited as a divine gift bestowed on women) to long and serious or not-so-serious treatises establishing rules and regulations and elaborate codes of decorum in different ages and languages, such as Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, Andreas Capellanus's *De amore*, Avicenna's *treatise on love* (*Risâla fi'l-'Ishq*), and the long sections devoted to love in the belles-lettres of many languages, eastern and western. Much of the material in these manuals treats love and its symptoms and cures with a light touch, with the urge to entertain far outweighing any didactic intentions. Still, as any reader who has dipped into anthologies of both love poetry and religious verse knows, many kinds of poems inhabit the pages of both selections, and there is a long and complex historical relationship between the two, as exemplified in such well-loved and celebrated "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love is better than wine" of the first lines of the Song of Solomon, or John Donne's "Batter my heart, three person'd God," the opening salvo of one of his Holy Sonnets. This fusion of religion and love enriches both love poetry and the theoretical frameworks and commentaries proliferating around it, and makes the task of interpreting its social and sexual context more arduous. In the case of long narrative poems with love as a dominant theme, the task of interpretation and contextualization is comparatively better delineated than in lyrical poetry. In Hellenistic romances or in the stories of paired lovers in Persian and Arabic (which are derived mostly from pre-Islamic Iranian sources as well as pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and lore), it is usually heterosexual love of two young lovers that takes center stage, with the different episodes consisting of a series of setbacks attributed to a variety of factors. For example, the two lovers may come from families at war with each other, or they may be constrained by arranged marriages to others without their will. Other forces may conspire against the lovers, like storms at sea or unexpected invasions by hostile armies.

Although the stories of such love poetry are projected into a distant past, they are essentially celebrations of physical love, even when they idealize unrequited love. And, clearly, they are contributions to the literature of entertainment.

This function of love poetry helps explain the dismissive view adopted towards it in the course of later centuries. When both in the lands of Christianity and Islam, the sacred and the profane began to converge into each other in ever changing mutations, influenced by a host of social factors such as the spread of feudalism in its widest sense as well the growth of interest in intellectual legacies such as Neo-Platonism not only in learned discourses in Latin and Arabic written by scholars for scholars but also in more popular vernacular languages that began to develop a wider and more diffuse readership in the course of the Middle Ages. Thus the earlier types of narrative love poems were dismissed as devoid of significant contact and serving as a device for inflaming carnal passions. Medieval texts of love poetry are typically prefaced by the cautionary comments suggesting that such poetry should not be read out loud to women, as it would surely inflame their latent sexual desires and lead them astray.

As alternatives to the earlier and less inhibited forms of love poetry, there now appeared such intricately woven long poems as Shot'ha Rust'haveli's *The Knight in the Panther Skin* in Georgian and Nizami's *Khosrow and Shirin* in Persian, where heterosexual love becomes a vehicle for moral education and perfection. Such alternative forms, however, should not be interpreted as ushering in a new era in gender relations, empowering women with new status and new possibilities. The audiences of these poems remained predominantly male, and the market for other genres of literature remained as strong as ever: there was still a plethora of stories in which the wiles of women, and their apparently insatiable sexual desires, were the main topics for entertainment disguised as admonition.

The treatment of love in short lyrical poems poses even more problems and has resulted in a much wider debate. On the one hand there are poems in many different languages of the world and in many different eras that express similar feelings of ecstasy and despair associated with love poetry. On the other hand, in some languages and in some specific eras, lyric poetry develops its own distinct vocabulary and its own allegorical techniques, which in turn encourages scholars to create their own taxonomies and theories of borrowings and origins. For example, in the introductory pages to his classic study, *The Allegory of Love* (1936, p. 2), C. S. Lewis has no hesitations in offering a set formula:

> Every one has heard of courtly love, and every one knows that it appears quite suddenly at the end of the eleventh century in Languedoc.... The sentiment, of course, is love, but love of a specialized sort, whose characteristics may be enumerated as Humility, Courtesy, Adultery, and the Religion of Love. The lover is always abject. ... There is a service of love closely modelled on the service which a feudal vassal owes to his lord.

Lewis's confident assertions, themselves based on the preceding scholarship of the nineteenth and early twentieth century (the term *amour courtois* was coined by the French scholar Gaston Paris in 1883), brought this academic debate into a wider public arena, and his ex cathedra comments were soon challenged by scholars on several fronts. Critics better acquainted with medieval Islamic civilization expressed their dismay at such parochial presuppositions, pointing out that many of the characteristics formulated by Lewis existed also in other cultures and time periods. To quote the wording of one of the more sustained criticisms of Lewis: "courtly experience might occur at any time or place" (Dronke, preface to his first edition, 1965–1966, p. xvii). Other critics have gone as far as to call the term "courtly" an imaginary construct informed by nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century notions of romantic love and by the eroticized medievalism of the Pre-Raphaelites.

The debate is pertinent to our understanding of sex and gender in historical terms as an illustration of a tendency of oversimplification in critical studies that combine social history and literature. One can point to many theological and philosophical debates in the medieval period, both East and West, and both in Christian and Islamic theological writings, that make clear-cut divisions between love and lust. In much of both, and particularly in literature influenced by mysticism, one is constantly aware that the perceived world is a God-centered one. This is to say, however, as some critics claim, that the elaborate vocabulary of love and the codes described in troubadour poetry or *'udhri* love tradition in Arabic have no bearing on the history of civilization and more particularly on notions of sex and gender. At the very least, they draw attention to other important aspects of the time. There is for example the element of play, so entrenched in pre-modern history. And, more generally, there is the perpetual re-creation of past traditions and structures. To expel such elements from the history of the Middle Ages in favor of "more secure historical sources" on the grounds that they "are subject to controversial interpretations" (Benton 1968, p. 19) is to neglect important aspects of the past that do not fit the modern concept of verifiable data.

Once one makes the obvious distinction between a medieval lyric and a modern realistic novel, love poetry and its reception and criticism can do much to clarify one's notions of the past and, in the process, make one aware of one's own present day assumptions and attitudes towards sex and gender. When the specific question of "Courtly Love" is broadened into more general questions of "the courtly experience," other important factors appear. Homoeroticism, for example, was part and parcel of notions of idealized and not so idealized love in many cultures, including that of classical Greece and medieval Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures. It too had its own specialized vocabulary and its code of decorum. There is no ambiguity in these simple lyrical lines from a Persian poet in the eleventh century:

> O boy, if you wish to gladden my heart,
> You must give me kiss after kiss having served
> me with wine.
>
> *(Divan-e Farrokhi [d. 1038], p.46, quoted with minor emendations from Encyclopaedia Iranica vol. XII/4, 2004, Art. Homosexuality III. in Persian Literature, p. 445)*

Here it is apt to return to the claim, quoted earlier, that "homoerotic images or fantasies in poetry must not be confused with concrete homosexual practice." In terms of this claim, "We must speak of tastes and tendencies in early poets but not of sexual orientation: this is a modern idea." While there is some validity to such formulations, too violent a disjuncture between premodern and modern cultures is unhelpful and promotes a monolithic view of romanticism and modernity. These forces in fact made themselves felt in different ways in different cultures. Even the tempo varies. There are no fixed timelines for hetero-normalization, and even in the context of decades or centuries, different cultures followed their own trajectories. In many literatures, including Persian and Turkish, the ideal of beauty envisaged in love poetry in the pre-modern period was based predominantly on male attributes, and much of the poetry had a homoerotic flavor. But to associate this feature with notions of honor and shame—or with the way women were barred from the public arena—would be to misconstrue the nature of much of this poetry and its multipurpose vocabulary. In poems almost uniformly bereft of personal names or recognizable idiosyncrasies, one fails to see how questions of specific personal scandal or shame could arise or be substantiated. Ironically, the usual exceptions to this rule occurred when the love poem served a dual purpose and was partly intended as a panegyric to an identified patron, depicted as the ideal beloved. In all these, it is "beauty," "love," and "desire" that hold center stage. And these features can easily be removed from their particular context to fit the emotions of the audience, whether male or female.

It is with the advent of modernity and with the fusion of nationalism with literary history that the criticism of love poetry, rather than love poetry itself, becomes a helpful indicator of attitudes to sex and gender. Many of the accounts and overviews of love poetry in Persian, Arabic, or Turkish written in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century are tinged with both pride and nostalgia for a long golden era of fine poetry and beautiful artifacts. Faced with homoerotic poetry at a time when such feelings were not only unequivocally branded as a perversion but also attributed by many western accounts as one of the defining characteristics of "the decadent Orient," some resorted to various methods of denial and rebuttal. This was done partly through a radical re-reading: in their commentaries and paraphrases of these poems the beloved was now always imagined in a skirt, a task made easy in some languages, like Persian, which does not distinguish gender in pronouns, as well as by wider semantic considerations: the vocabulary of aesthetic praise in most languages is asexual. And such nuances as implied by the English words "handsome" for men and "beautiful" for women were something of a rarity. The other strategy, with roots well established in already existing premodern mystical commentaries, was to interpret almost all love poetry in allegorical and symbolic terms as celebrations of divine love. While this latter strategy has had a lasting influence, buttressed by the perennial interest in mystical poetry, the older readings and assumptions have recently been challenged by a new generation of literary historians who have shown the flaws in the argument by citing numerous examples where the beloved cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be female. The newer readings have been enhanced by the emergence of gay and lesbian poetry in literature worldwide and by new attitudes towards gender relationship.

Most love poetry, ancient and modern, is about love as desire and not, as in the more sober theological texts, an incentive for procreation. Matrimony and the joys of harmonious wedlock do appear from time to time, as in Edmund Spenser's *Epithalamion*, or they become dismantled and less harmonious in time as in Louis MacNeice's lines:

> Divided by the morning tea,
> By the evening paper,
> By children and tradesmen's bills.

This ironic and detached approach, so characteristic of the poets throughout much of the twentieth century, persists to this day and is brought to mind again whenever the Beatles song "When I'm Sixty-Four" is heard on the air. The strong connection between music and love poetry has become stronger. MacNiece's view, as expressed in "World is crazier and more of it than we think" and his "The drunkenness of things being various," can be taken as perceptive. The poets, song-writers, and performers of today may continue to reinvent previous genres and create new vocabularies that may, in time, subvert once again that "modern idea: the notion of sexual orientation."

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LUBRICANT

Lubricant, or lube, is used to moisten the vagina or anus for sexual stimulation and penetration by a hand, penis, or sex toy. Lubricant can also be used for masturbation. There are many kinds of lubricant, and the choice of which one to use is a matter of personal preference as well as health and safety. There are water-based, oil- or petroleum-based, silicone-based, and performing, or specialty, lubricants such as those that increase blood flow in the areas where they are applied, and ones that are warm to the touch or breath, are flavored, or tingle on the skin. Household items such as hand lotion, cooking fat, Vaseline, Crisco, butter, or the gel from Aloe Vera leaves can be used as lubricant. Most safe-sex and health advocates encourage the use of water-based lubricant by everyone under most circumstances, because lubricant helps prevent the anal and vaginal skin tears associated with friction that can allow the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and other sexually transmitted diseases to enter the body. Silicone lubricants hold up longer than water-based lubricants in the water, and thus are recommended for aquatic erotic play. Old-style petroleum-based lubricating products such as Vaseline are discouraged, because they can break down latex, and so are unsafe to use with condoms. Other oil-based lubricants are also discouraged because they can cause vaginal irritation, which is less likely with water-based lubricants.

Some safe-sex advocates still support using lubricant that contains nonoxynol-9, a spermicide thought to help prevent HIV transmission. Nonoxynol-9 was invented as a contraceptive, and laboratory tests have found that nonoxynol-9 in certain strengths also kills the HIV virus in the test tube, yet there are also widespread reports of the toxic effects of contraceptives and lubricant containing nonoxynol-9. Some women using spermicides and contraceptive sponges with nonoxynol-9 have contracted yeast infections and experienced vaginal and cervical irritation, and little research has been done on the spermicide in relation to anal intercourse.

Lubricant has long been an important accoutrement of the homosexual subcultures of Europe and North America. Gay men in early-twentieth-century New York named the path stretching from the southeast corner of Central Park to the mall "Vaseline Alley" because it served as such an important cruising spot for them. The French writer Jean Genet's tube of Vaseline was for him a symbol of his resistance to normative bourgeois culture and its harassment of gay men, because carrying it on his person would immediately identify him as a homosexual to the police if arrested. The contemporary cultural critic Dick Hebdige has seen in Genet's defiant tube of Vaseline an object that helps explain how the objects and clothing of various subcultural groups can serve as social signifiers more generally. Crisco, like Vaseline, suggests the kind of spontaneous sex that requires the use of household products that come readily to hand. For decades cities all around the world have featured gay bars and sex clubs called Crisco, and no doubt this trend will continue, despite the widespread availability of safer and more sophisticated lubricants on the market. Since the 1990s, the widespread popularity of dildos among lesbians has helped foster an equally widespread use of lubricant in that population.

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Jaime Hovey

LUST

This article will define and distinguish lust and illustrate its role in representative mythologies and theologies. Etymologically the Anglo-Saxon word *lust* and the French borrowing *desire* were very close synonyms. As late as the fifteenth century, lust could mean something as benign as preference or wish, but in modern times, at least since the English renaissance, the word lust has generally been restricted in meaning to something more powerful, something more unreasonable or unethical, and certainly something more sexual, while desire remains the more general and more benign term. Unlike the medical term libido, which connotes the normal and perhaps instinctual sex drive, lust usually has connotations of conniving, excess, or the otherwise abnormal. Libido is also generally undirected, whereas lust is for someone or something.

Lust is frequently contrasted with love, especially by moralists of adolescent sexuality, who fear that the one somehow might be mistaken for the other. With the demise of dynastic marriage, in European and North American cultures at any rate, in which money is the primary inducement to marry, this fear that lust will be mistaken for love now drives most modern romantic narratives. It is for this reason, perhaps, that so many Americans popularly understand a marriage of convenience to be about satiating lust rather than accomplishing some social, political, or legal goal. Science might someday collapse distinctions between love and lust, but until then it might be said that love is generally considered to be the purer of the two emotions, not quite as concerned with sex.

Myths often explore the role of lust in relationships or in the psyche. The Greek myth of Ares and Aphrodite, in which the god of aggressive war is caught the very act of sex with the goddess of sexual love, suggests the passions in lust and war have something in common. In Hindu mythology Brahma, the creator, lusts for his daughter Shatarupa and in attempting to follow her with his gaze, grows three additional heads. After her apotheosis, Brahma grows a fifth head to follow her to heaven, but Shiva, the destroyer, cuts it off since his lust is incestuous. In another myth Shiva incinerates Kama, god of love, after he has attempted to stir Shiva's sexual passions. Rati, Kama's wife, pleads with Shiva to restore him, which he does, but only as an incorporeal image, representing true love rather than physical lust.

Lust is the popular translation of *luxuria*, the last of medieval Catholic theology's seven deadly or capital sins. Like all capital sins, lust is a sin of thought that leads to sinful actions, such as sodomy or incest. St. Augustine's (354–430) distinction between *use* and *enjoyment* is valuable in understanding how lust works in this system of sin. All things, Augustine reasons, may either be used to bring oneself closer to God or may be enjoyed in themselves, self-indulgently, separating one further from God. In this sense sexual activity is not necessarily lustful if it is engaged in for the purpose of generation: Sex may be used to do God's will, following his injunction to be fruitful. In this system lust is not simply the desire to have sex but the self-indulgent desire to have sex. The logical consequences are myriad. As the desire for sexual pleasure itself, lust is therefore still possible within lawful sexual relations, so even a married couple must be on guard against lusting after one another. This logic helps inform the Catholic Church's stand on artificial birth control, which enables couples to have sex without intending to reproduce, indulging lust. Another logical consequence of this definition of lust is that it must be distinguished from adultery or fornication in that lust is considered a root cause of these actions, not an action in itself. Such theoretical distinctions are notoriously difficult to keep in practice, as Jesus himself suggests when he says, "Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart" (Matthew 5:28).

Dante's *Inferno* (1307) contains perhaps the best symbolization of lust so conceived. Dante devotes the second circle of the underworld to the lustful, who are driven incessantly round the vast ring by harassing winds, just as lust torments the living, driving them from one unsatisfying partner to the next. Dante's chief example of the lustful are Paolo and Francesca, whose lust for one another was inspired by reading a romance about Launcelot, another famous figure for lust and adultery. As noted before readers must be on their guard not to confuse the love Paolo and Francesca so clearly feel for one another with the lust that they indulged.

SEE ALSO *Abstinence; Libido.*

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Erick Kelemen

M

MACROPHILIA

SEE *Dwarves and Giants.*

MADWOMAN IN THE ATTIC

Madwoman in the Attic (1979), Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's critical study of British and American nineteenth-century women's literature, attempts to define a "distinctively female literary tradition." The authors also try to unearth significant women's literature and rescue previously disregarded women's history. Gilbert and Gubar's analysis of authors such as Jane Austen, Emily and Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Mary Shelley, and Emily Dickinson signals a shift in literary studies from examining how male authors write female characters toward a definition of female authorship, or how women authors construct female characters. Gilbert and Gubar take into account the cultural and political climate in which those authors wrote as well as the texts that those authors read. With those issues in mind, Gilbert and Gubar explore "images of enclosure and escape, fantasies in which maddened doubles function as asocial surrogates for docile selves, [and] obsessive depictions of diseases like anorexia, agoraphobia, and claustrophobia" (Gilbert and Gubar 1979, p. XI). In some ways, Gilbert and Gubar contend, the trapped position of female authors within patriarchal literary constructs manifests itself in the literal and metaphorical enclosures about which many of them wrote.

The title of the book refers to the character Bertha Rochester in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), who not only suffers from madness but also serves as a double for the character of Jane. Gilbert and Gubar contend that Jane's central confrontation of the text is not with Mr. Rochester but with Bertha and her manifestation of Jane's emotions. In Jane's coming-of-age journey, she must face oppression, starvation, madness, and coldness at each of the estates in which she lives and works. At Thornfield, Jane meets her "dark double" Bertha, who acts out Jane's feelings of "rebellion and rage." Bertha is the only true "madwoman in the attic" in Gilbert and Gubar's critical study.

Moreover, the authors explore the figure of the madwoman as a double in writings by Mary Elizabeth Coleridge and George Eliot, for example, to demonstrate how nineteenth-century women writers and poets employed mirrors to create the madwoman. These madwomen emerge "over and over again from the mirrors women writers hold up both to their own natures and to their own visions of nature," and they appear "from a silence in which neither [they] nor [their] author[s] can continue to acquiesce" (Gilbert and Gubar 1979, p. 77). The figure of the mirrored madwoman signifies a strategy authors and poets such as Mary Shelley and Emily Dickinson utilized to represent themselves as split or, more specifically, deploying a "female schizophrenia of authorship." This approach also prefigures authors such as Virginia Woolf, Doris Lessing, and Sylvia Plath, who divide and project themselves onto particular characters.

This groundbreaking book on women's literature drew on work by historians such as Gerda Lerner, Alice Rossi, Ann Douglas, and Martha Vicinus as well as literary-cultural studies conducted by Ellen Moers (*Literary Women*) and Elaine Showalter (*A Literature of Their Own*). Gilbert and Gubar's study elicited a range of responses from feminist, literary, and historical critics, who have worked to expand the field of women's literary studies.

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Michelle Parke

MAGIC

Until fairly recently European and North American scholars continued the ancient and widespread practice of defining magic as something other people do, reserving the more exalted category of religion for their own culture and a few other high cultures. One example of this is the demonization of classical paganism and the religious practices of colonized subjects. An earlier example involves the etymology of the English word *magic*, which comes from the Latin *magice* and the Greek *magike*, both of which derive from the Persian word *magi*, meaning a Zoroastrian priest. This was an expression of the ancient Greek and Roman belief that magic was something foreign or at least marginal. Other examples include famous characters from myth and literature, such as the foreigner Medea, and Circe on her faraway island. Those two figures call attention to the widespread association of magic with women or as being achieved through the agency of goddesses such as Diana, Hekate, and Isis.

WOMEN AND MAGIC

The association of women with magic is so pervasive that in some societies, such as Nepal, male magicians dress and wear their hair like women. However, many religions present vivid portrayals of male magicians such as Zoroaster, Moses, Solomon, and Jesus, whose activities are described in relationship to the "true" god and characterized as *theurgy*, or philosophically grounded magic, especially as the concept was developed by Neoplatonists such as Plotinus (c. 205–270) and Porphyry (c. 232–304). Despite the fact that Proclus (c. 410–485), the head of the Platonic school in Athens, learned theurgy from Plutarch's daughter, Asclepigeneia (Dickie 2001), female magicians are described in more sinister terms. The positioning of women as practitioners of lesser or malevolent forms of magic parallels their exclusion from the most sacred aspects of male-dominated religions, a situation that holds in diverse cultures such as the Hellenistic world and modern Nepal (Levine 1982). Magic is mainly about obtaining power, and whether it is spiritual or secular power, it is illegitimate for women to have it unless they use it to serve men.

Hekate was an important goddess to theurgists as well as to less sophisticated magicians. Both invoked Hekate to gain access to and control over wandering ghosts known as daemons who could carry out their wishes. For theurgists Hekate took on increasingly celestial and benevolent characteristics, commanding as she did celestial daemons, whereas for more common magicians she maintained her earlier role as the goddess of the underworld whose daemons could be put to malevolent uses.

The fact that the tensions between high and low forms of magic often were categorized by gender can be observed in the many magical contests in world literature in which men easily defeat women. For instance, Saint Symeon tricked a woman magician into wearing an amulet that he said would protect her from the evil eye, but he wrote on it "Let God render you ineffective and let him stop you turning men away from himself to yourself" (Dickie 2001, p. 306). As soon as she started wearing it, the woman lost all her magical powers. In a South Asian folk tale the male hero, Gopi Chand, went to Bengal, one of the Indian equivalents of Thessaly, the land of witches and magic, where he successfully battled a band of female magicians by using his superior male religious powers. Rabbis also were believed to have superior powers with which to combat female sorcery; when necessary, rabbis could exhibit greater supernatural powers. In one tale two rabbis were about to start a journey by ship when a woman asked them to take her along, but they would not. She then pronounced a spell, and the ship was held fast. They then pronounced a spell, and it was freed.

LOVE MAGIC

Historically sexual or love magic always has been associated with women, especially courtesans and prostitutes (Dickie 2001, Golomb 1993), who are believed to introduce substances such as hemlock and menstrual blood into men's food. Inevitably this is connected to the belief that women are poisoners, as when Deianira accidentally poisons her husband Hercules through the potion she concocts to regain his love. In other tales love potions are deadly in their consequences rather than their contents, such as the potion Queen Grimhilde gives Sigurd to make him forget Brunilde in the *Nibelungenleid* and the one made by Isolde's mother that dooms Tristan and Isolde.

In his amusing second-century CE novel *The Golden Ass*, Apuleius describes the many adventures of an eager but hapless student of sexual magic and the association of magic with the goddess Isis. Ironically, in his own life, after he married an older wealthy woman who later died, Apuleius was accused by his former in-laws of having won her love by magic. He was put on trial but defended himself successfully. This brings out the legal sanctions that could be brought against practitioners in the ancient world and is an important indicator of the widespread belief in the power of magic to bewitch or harm people.

The power of menstrual blood in sexual magic derives from pollution beliefs that assert that contact with a menstruating woman can render a man incapable of communicating with the sacred and thus make him vulnerable to the demonic. Such ideas are found all over the world and express belief in the power of women, accidentally or on purpose, to control men, a power that is turned against them to justify men's actual control of women. The antinomian practices of Tantric Buddhism and Hinduism reify ideas about women as polluters and utilize them for the benefit of men by advocating contact with menstrual blood as a path to supernatural power. They also positively incorporate the connections between women and magic in the figure of the *dakini*, semidivine women who can confer magical powers, though they do so mostly for the benefit of male practitioners (Sanford 1991).

Despite male anxiety about female pollution and magical powers, the archaeological evidence in tablets that contain spells and surviving magical texts in Egypt from the Hellenistic period reveals that sexual magic was done predominantly for and by men, as do the practices recommended in the appendix of the *Kama Sutra*. This does not mean that women did not practice magic or hire those who could, but such evidence undermines the idea of their predominance in this area, especially when added to the widespread use by men of binding spells carved on sheets of lead that were buried in the hippodrome to influence the outcome of chariot races. In other words in the Hellenistic period men appear to have resorted to magic more often than women did.

A relevant contrast comes from modern Thailand where both women and men are heavy consumers of magic but women are the primary customers for love magic. Louis Golomb attributes women's precarious marital status to their use of magic. In Thailand polygamy is officially illegal but widely practiced with impunity, and this leaves a deserted wife with few legal rights and second wives and their children with none (Golomb 1993). As a result women believe the only control they have comes through magic.

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN MAGIC

Jewish magic had great currency in the Hellenistic world and later periods among both Jews and non-Jews. Two major biblical figures are the locus of magical practices: Moses and Solomon. The association of Moses with magic is represented most clearly in his contest with the magicians of the Pharaoh (Exodus 7–10, especially 7:11–13), who can do some of the things Moses can, such as turning staffs into snakes and water into blood. The distinction is clearly not a matter of what is done but of who is doing it and/or what the source of their supernatural power is. It was reasoned that Moses had God's sponsorship; therefore, the magicians must have had a demon's. It is also a matter of miracles. Moses and the Jewish sages who followed, in their mastery of the Torah and with God's help, can perform miracles. Women, in contrast, partly because they were excluded from Torah study and were deemed incapable of any direct experience of the divine, were considered incapable of performing miracles. Consequently, if they showed supernatural powers, they had to be practicing sorcery. The Talmud also contains examples of male sorcerers, but they are fewer in number, reinforcing the idea that magic is a female preoccupation.

The association of magic and healing is found frequently in Jewish sources and is claimed to be one of the special benefits of extraordinary Torah learning. For centuries Christians resorted to Jews because of their supposed magical powers of healing, as is attested to by John Chrysostam's fourth-century sermons against Christians who went to synagogues to be cured of illness (Dickie 2001).

In Judaism and Christianity the connections between magic and healing can be traced back to Solomon, whose renowned wisdom came to include knowledge of magic and healing, whereas his prodigious literary output easily subsumed his authorship of magical texts, such as the widely circulated *Testament of Solomon*. In it Solomon uses a ring given to him by God to bind various demons and make them help build the temple at Jerusalem. However, it is questionable whether this is a Jewish or a Christian text. The biblical citations in it could have been made as easily by Christians as by Jews, especially in light of the syncretic nature of magic in the Hellenistic period.

THE MODERN PERIOD

Nineteenth-century Europe saw a revival of interest in occult and magical practices, and organizations such as the Order of the Golden Dawn in England, which attracted prominent women and men, had a lasting impact on the practice of magic. In the 1960s the upsurge of interest in the occult met with the women's movement. An offshoot of this is modern feminist magic, which is represented most popularly by Starhawk, who defines magic as "changing consciousness at will" (Starhawk 1997, pp. xiv–xvi) and has utilized ritual and magic in political demonstrations for the rights of women and the protection of the environment.

Throughout America and Europe mostly middle-class women have embraced magic as a form of spirituality that affirms and empowers women (Luhrmann 1989, Pahnke 1995). Donate Pahnke's thoughtful analysis of Starhawk's writings, as well as that of Heide Göttner-Abendroth, a leading figure in the women's spirituality movement in German-speaking countries, illustrates the illusory distinction between religion and magic. Both Starhawk and Göttner-Abendroth conflate those terms, most often in their references to ancient goddess religions, although both are opposed to patriarchal religions, and in representing magic as a spiritual path for women. Pahnke makes the point that these remain politically loaded terms that must be used with a fuller understanding of their complexity and history.

SEE ALSO *Witchcraft.*

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Serinity Young

MAIDEN

This entry considers different European concepts embodied in the word *maiden*, both in folklore tradition and in literature. In folklore tradition, especially in some folk tales such as *The Banished Wife or Maiden* and *The Maiden without Hands*, the heroine's hands are cut off because she refuses to marry her father. She is banished, but later on marries a king and recovers her hands. In these examples, the word maiden could be replaced by the phrase *young girl*, because the heroine is in a period of transition between childhood and adulthood, between being a daughter and becoming a wife. These maidens leave a father for a husband, and even though they undergo a series of ordeals and journeys, they always end up (re)united with the husband in the prescribed order of society.

The category of maiden also includes young women who are not directly attached to fathers or husbands. In the Arthurian romances, for example, maidens are the young women that heroes encounter during quests. In Chrétien de Troyes's (1991) *Perceval* (written in the twelfth century), the young knight meets a maiden who spends the night with him and is even ready to help him fight. In *The Knight of the Cart,* for example, Lancelot meets a maiden who offers lodging to him on the condition that he agrees to sleep with her. In these examples, the maiden, who should be chaste, is not, and thus virginity is not a requirement for her to be considered a maiden. All these maidens are young women who act as their own agents. Desired and desiring, they are in control of their relationships with men until they marry and leave maidenhood for wifehood.

A famous maiden in the tradition of the Valkyries and warrior maiden is Brynhild, the heroine of Icelandic and Old Norse literature. In the Volsunga Saga, Brynhild chose war over marriage but was condemned to marriage after killing Odin's (the most important god in the Norse pantheon) favorite warrior. She decided that she would only marry a man who proved to be fearless. In The Nibelungenlied, she agrees to marry a man who can defeat her in athletic games because she will lose all her powers once she gets married. In both stories, the man who marries her receives help from another warrior. In The Nibelungenlied, even on her wedding night, her husband cannot conquer her and ends up tied up to the bed. The second night he gets help again from the same warrior and wins her. In the Volsunga Saga, when Brynhild finds out her husband needed help to win her, she asks him to kill the warrior and later kills herself (Andersson 1980). Unlike other maidens who willingly accept becoming wives, Brynhild puts many barriers between herself and marriage to delay the loss of her independence and powers.

The story of Brynhild is similar to that of Atalanta—a virgin huntress and the daughter of Boeotian king Schoeneus—who would only marry a man who could win a race against her. Many suitors failed and died, but Hippomenes, with the help of the goddess Aphrodite, distracted Atalanta by throwing golden apples, and won the race. Brynhild and Atalanta are forced into marriage by trickery because both Gunther and Hippomenes need outside help to win their maiden.

Joan of Arc (1412–1431) also embodies the concept of the maiden. Named *La Pucelle d'Orléans* (The maid of Orléans), the young Joan took up arms to free France from the English. In addition she dressed as a man and had short hair, which, she argued, befitted a maiden and protected her from sexual advances. Although fully inscribed in a feminine body, she nevertheless pushed the boundaries of gender roles prescribed by society. During her trial for heresy, the prosecutors were most disturbed by the fact that Joan would not wear women's clothing.

Like Joan of Arc, the *sworn virgins* of Albania showed strength and independence. These women were usually chosen at birth, but could also elect to fulfill the role of the son when there was no heir in a family. They had to renounce marriage and dress and behave as men. Once they became sworn virgins their were changed and they were no longer referred to as women in the community. Thus what may first appear as an example of female independence can also be seen as a reinforcement of the patriarchal system and its values.

These examples, drawn from European sources and mostly from premodern literature, describe maidenhood as a state between childhood and woman/wifehood where the maiden has the virtues of "chastity, purity, delicacy and beauty of body, modesty, humility and lacks the 'feminine passions'" (Phillips 2003, p. 7). Whereas some maidens do fit this description, many do not but, because they are maidens, their excesses are tolerated, probably because they are going through a transient phase of their lives. However, despite such tolerance, maidens who resist their roles as wife and/or traditional woman may lose their lives.

SEE ALSO *Abstinence; Folklore; Virginity.*

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Patticia Sokolski

MAIL-ORDER BRIDES

The history of the mail-order bride stretches back centuries in world history, with many examples in U.S. history. In the early eighteenth century, Louis XV sent women from France to settle in the New Orleans area, to serve as companions for the men who had already settled there. They were called casket brides, referring to the single trunk of goods each woman was allowed to bring with her. American men living in the West in the nineteenth century would write to family on the East Coast, requesting assistance to find them a bride. In the early twentieth century Japanese settlers in the United States

Mail-Order Bride Agency. *Lawrence Lynch and his Thai wife, Thapenee, run a mail-order bride agency through the internet.* CHRISTOPHER FURLONG/GETTY IMAGES.

and Canada were introduced to prospective brides—picture brides—through photographs sent through the mail. Through the middle of the twentieth century, marriage agencies would help men find women through the publication of catalogs containing descriptions of potential brides. Men would initiate correspondence with women of interest.

In the 1990s, the mail-order-bride industry changed drastically. The paper catalogs and pen and paper correspondence were supplanted by the Internet and electronic mail. By the late 1990s the U.S. Department of Immigration estimated that there were 100,000 women advertising their availability as foreign brides on hundreds of web sites in the United States (Scholes and Phataralaoha 2006). By the 1990s the term mail-order bride had negative connotations; many in U.S. society condemn both men and women who engage in the practice.

Most often women listed on marriage web sites live in economically underdeveloped or newly developed countries in Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe (especially Russia and Ukraine), and to a lesser extent, Latin America and South America. The men who seek foreign brides typically reside in the economically developed world—Western Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan, and Australia. In 1995 more than 19,000 Japanese men married women from Korea, the Philippines, China, Brazil, and Peru. In 1998, of the 202 Internet marriage broker sites, more than one-quarter featured Asian women, more than one-quarter featured women from Latin America or women of multiple ethnicities, and just a little under one-half featured women from the former Soviet Union (especially Russia and Ukraine). Among the Asian women listed on the sites, more than 70 percent were from the Philippines (Scholes and Phataralaoha 2006).

Most often, women seek these international arrangements as a means to overcome the socioeconomic limitations in their country. And most men seek women who are the embodiment of the traditional wife: attentive in terms of affection and content with the role of housewife and mother. Men believe these women to be untainted by European and North American feminist ideas of equality, uninterested in careers, and focused on the home. The men may perceive themselves as rescuers of women in need. Whereas these beliefs may underpin the actions of men and women involved in the mail-order-bride industry, the reality can be entirely different—the men may not be economically secure and the women may have interests outside of the household.

International marriage agencies that operate on the Internet provide photographs of potential brides. The focus is on women's physical appearance and age rather than their personalities or interests. In addition the agencies sponsor tours that allow interested men the opportunity to travel overseas to meet a large number of eligible women in person.

There are examples of abuse on both sides of this issue. Women have utilized Internet marriage services to exploit the desires of men, fraudulently receiving money in advance of a potential marriage that never materializes. Men, from their position of power and control in the relationship, have abused their brides. There are examples of physical abuse, in some cases resulting in homicide. Some women who immigrated to marry Americans were reluctant to press charges of domestic violence against their husbands, fearing divorce and deportation. As a result, the United States now has mechanisms in place to deter this. Immigration laws allow a woman to remain in the United States if she divorces her husband due to domestic violence. However, because of language or cultural barriers, some women may not be aware of these legal protections.

Critics of mail-order-bride arrangements view the practice as an example of women treated as commodities in the international arena—moved across national borders for the pleasure of men. Brides are brought to a new country with the promise of economic support by their intended spouses. In exchange women provide sexual and domestic services. Thus mail-order brides are part of the continuum of trafficking in women, along with sex tourism, the international migration of women for labor, and the forced migration of women across national borders to be sold into sexual slavery. Many argue that men hold an inordinate amount of power in these relationships—that in addition to men's economic dependence, cultural and language barriers also make foreign wives dependent on their husbands. Proponents of these international arrangements argue that they fulfill a need by providing an opportunity for men to find traditional spouses while offering women a chance to improve their socioeconomic circumstances.

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Julie L. Thomas

MAKING OUT

Making out is a slang term for extended bouts of amorous kissing, which may include other forms of petting and sexual foreplay. The term exists as both a verb, to make out, and an adjective that describes various people known to make out or places in which making out occurs. As with its synonym, *necking*, making out describes both a courtship activity and a practice that only became publicly acceptable in the second half of the twentieth century. Whereas in the early twentieth century a couple's public and even private courtship activity rarely advanced beyond holding hands and the polite kiss, the introduction of the automobile and the gradual invention of a separate teenage culture in high schools, drive-in restaurants, and movie theaters enabled more adventurous sexual activity. Making out, like necking, refers primarily to kissing, though the adjective *make-out* may suggest more advanced and involved sexual activities by implying the measure of success and achievement that the phrase *to make out* connotes in other contexts.

The term making out enters a public vocabulary around the middle of the twentieth century, first as an adjective describing a man who tries to make sexual advances on women. In 1949, *The New York Times* printed the following sentence: "They use washed-up expressions like 'wolf' when the correct description for such a fellow is 'make-out artist.'" In the 1950s the expression making out begins to replace the expression necking. The 1959 film *Gidget* has the following line: "Gidget: 'no sweaty hands, no making out in drive-in movies.' Larry: 'Making out?' Gidget: 'My God, Larry, where've you been living? I guess you still call it necking.'" In the 1960s the adjective make-out, referring to sexually adventurous men, appears in the film *The Graduate* when Ben is trying to find out where his ex-girlfriend is getting married: "You don't happen to know exactly where the Make Out King is getting married, do you? I'm supposed to be there."

Although when applied to males the adjective make-out implied an aggressive Romeo, when referring to women, the term had a less flattering connotation. A *make out* is a girl who is a little too loose or willing to give sexual favors.

Make-out also refers to various sites where making out could occur. Vans and other vehicles with provisions for horizontal activities were sometimes called *make-out vans*. Spots where couples parked to make out had such nicknames as *lovers' lane* or *make-out central*. There were *make-out parties*, and places such as drive-in theaters and parks where there was *make-out action*.

In an era during which a significant transition was occurring in sexual mores and possibilities, making out provided a euphemism or catch phrase for a range of sexual activities that had previously been illicit and forbidden. During the mid-twentieth century, these activities were still illicit—that was part of their attraction—but they were tolerated. Such phrases as making out that referred to such activities were vague and suggestive instead of explicit. Not only did the phrase suggest kissing and petting, it also implied success, as another meaning of the phrase *to make out* is the successful completion of a task.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay; Kiss, Modern.*

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Judith Roof

MALE

Male is a term descriptive of sexual differentiation within a species. The human male is distinct from the human female in that the type of gametes it (or more properly, he) produces are spermatozoa rather than ova. The successful combination of a spermatozoon (a single sperm cell) and an ovum (a single egg cell) is necessary for fertilization in the reproductive process. The term male is relevant within the field of biology: It indicates a specific chromosomal and physical configuration. It is often seen as related to (and erroneously, interchangeable with) the term *masculine*, which indicates a gender formation. Whereas there is a significant coincidence of biological maleness with masculine gender traits (as there is between biological femaleness and feminine gender traits), there is also a great variety of possible alignments between and among these categories. The study of the possible manifestations of sex and gender, as well as the cultural expectations of those manifestations, is the realm of gender studies.

MALE CHROMOSOMAL AND EMBRYONIC FORMATION

The human species typically has 46 chromosomes, consisting of twenty-two pairs of autosomes (nonsex chromosomes that appear in both sexes) and one pair of sex chromosomes. The sex of a human is determined by the number and type of sex chromosomes, classified by an XY sex determination system. That is, both males and females have an X chromosome (named for its four-armed shape), but females have a second X chromosome whereas males have a three-armed Y chromosome. The presence of a Y chromosome, then, determines maleness in humans. The chromosomes are made up of genes that are themselves made of DNA and carry all of the genetic material from both parents. The first X sex chromosome is contributed by the mother, whereas the second chromosome (X or Y) is contributed by the father. In humans, a single gene on the Y chromosome (the SRY gene) is thought to trigger the development of male expression (primarily the development of testes). Other genes are necessary for the mature male to be able to produce sperm, to develop physical characteristics of the male, and so on. In humans the Y chromosome contains 78 genes, of which more than 50 are also common to the X chromosome, meaning that the genetic differences between male and female humans are very few in number.

Whereas the type of chromosome (X or Y) can determine the sex of an individual, so can the number of chromosomes. Typically, humans have one pair of sex chromosomes, but there are individuals with only a single sex chromosome (XO) or with three or more: Klinefelter syndrome (XXY), triple X syndrome (XXX), and XYY syndrome (XYY), as well as other possible variations. Klinefelter syndrome and XYY syndrome produce male individuals. XYY syndrome individuals have few or mild physical symptoms and generally are not even diagnosed, whereas Klinefelter syndrome causes sterility and can have physical symptoms ranging from almost unnoticeable to a moderate degree of androgyny or atypical feature formation.

After fertilization male and female embryos develop identically for the first several weeks. By the sixth week, gonads develop in a bipotential state. That is, they may further develop into either testes (male) or ovaries (female), the gonads that produce gametes in the adult. The gonads develop into testes in the XY embryo at about eight weeks of development. Another bipotential structure, the Wolffian duct, develops into the vas deferens, seminal duct, and prostate gland in the male. The Wolffian duct typically disappears in females (as the Müllerian duct does in males), although vestiges of it may remain as Skene's glands in the female. The testes begin to produce testosterone, and by birth, the majority of XY embryos have become recognizably and functionally male.

MALE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES

The primary structures specific to the male are the penis, the testes, and the prostate. The penis, or phallus, is actually less important to reproduction and virility than are the testes, but it is the focus of the most attention. Partly this is because the penis is a highly sensitive apparatus that can bring great pleasure to the male when aroused and partly because it is a particularly visible indicator of maleness. The fact that it can vary in size from individual to individual makes it a focus for potential competition in a way that the testes are not. The penis is a fleshy organ that protrudes from the male body at the groin. It has a shaft and a head, the glans penis. The glans is highly sensitive and contains the urethral opening, through which urine and semen are discharged from the body. It is usually flaccid but when sexually aroused becomes erect. The head of the penis is also covered in a sheath of skin called the foreskin. Although the amount of foreskin can vary considerably, in most cases it will slide back and expose the head of the penis when the penis is erect. If it will not, or if there are religious or other concerns, the foreskin can be surgically removed through circumcision. In the twentieth century, particularly in the United States, it became common practice to circumcise newborn males for reasons of hygiene; the necessity for circumcision has become disputed and the practice, while common, is considered less mandatory in the twenty-first century. The penile erectile tissue comprises three cylinders within the shaft of the penis, two along the top and one on the bottom. During sexual arousal these cylinders fill with blood, causing the penis to increase in length and girth. The penis also rises to an angle similar to that of the vaginal canal in the female, making intercourse both possible and comfortable.

The inability to achieve or maintain an erection is called *erectile dysfunction*. For most of the twentieth century erectile dysfunction was thought to be a largely psychogenic problem, with only rare cases linked to organic causes. Mechanical remedies were available, such as penis implants, vacuum pumps, or other devices, which could generate an erectile response, but they were costly and unpopular. In the late 1990s the first of a series of pharmaceuticals was developed that could alleviate some of the effects of erectile dysfunction. The medical community responded by treating erectile dysfunction as an organic issue, as it could be treated pharmaceutically, although the psychiatric community maintains that the cause is still likely psychogenic.

The other visible male sexual structure is the scrotum, a fleshy sac that contains the testes. It emerges from the groin along the underside of the penis and is usually covered in pubic hair. The scrotum is rather loose flesh until an erection occurs, and the positions of the two testes can usually be easily seen. In embryonic males the testes are located high in the abdomen, near the kidneys. As development proceeds in utero the testes descend through the abdomen, finally becoming located in the scrotum in about the eighth month of pregnancy. Testicles that do not descend properly can be surgically relocated. The gonadal structures that become the testes in males are the same as those that become ovaries in females; the presence of estrogen or testosterone causes the transformation into the appropriate gonads. The testes produce spermatozoa, which require a temperature slightly lower than core body temperature to survive, which is why the testes are positioned outside of the body proper.

After the spermatozoa are produced they move into the epididymis to mature and acquire the capability to move in the swimming fashion (motility) that helps them progress to the ovum. They are then transferred via the vas deferens, a long muscular tube-like structure, to the seminal vesicle, which stores the spermatozoa until they are ejaculated. This occurs when the seminal vesicle empties into the urethra, the tube through which the bladder empties via the penis. At that point the semen can be ejaculated through the urethra.

The final major male sexual structure is the prostate gland. The prostate is located immediately below the bladder; the urethra bisects the prostate as it leaves the bladder and before entering the penis. The prostate's primary function is to produce a clear seminal fluid that makes up about a third of the volume of semen. It is a highly sensitive region and can be stimulated by rubbing the region between the testes and the anus or by anal stimulation. The rectum abuts the prostate, which means that the prostate can be stimulated through the wall of the rectum, usually digitally, with the use of a toy or implement or through anal sex with a male partner. Much of the pleasure of receptive anal sex for men comes from prostate stimulation.

PUBERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

Puberty is the developmental stage during which a child's body matures into an adult body capable of reproduction. It is largely coincidental with adolescence, a stage of emotional, social, and psychological maturation, but the two are not identical. In the human male the first stage of puberty is generally gonadarche, the enlarging of the testes. The end physical result of male puberty is the ability to ejaculate viable sperm, so the development of the testes is crucial to this goal. Prior to gonadarche the testes cannot produce sperm, thus making it impossible for the male to engage in reproduction. Other physical changes in the male body are triggered hormonally, and the testes are the primary site of production for testosterone and other hormones needed to trigger later stages of puberty.

The penis increases in size during puberty and is more likely to experience erection. Although erections occur prior to puberty, they are generally in response to manual stimulation or are due to a predictable biological cause, such as a full bladder. In puberty erections occur spontaneously, often due to sexual arousal. Males often begin to masturbate at this stage in response to their emerging libido, and also often experience wet dreams or nocturnal emissions, ejaculations that occur while asleep.

The male body changes significantly in puberty. Males usually grow taller as well as developing heavier bones and increased muscle mass. These increase the overall size of the body in general make the male taller, leaner, and stronger than females. The larynx also enlarges causing the adult male voice to become lower that that of the adult female. The male body will also grow hair, particularly at the groin, the underarm area, the face, and the abdominal region, although a wider pattern of hair growth may occur.

MALE CULTURAL FUNCTIONS

Much of male social expectations revolves around the actual or imagined size of the erect penis; it is assumed that the larger the erect organ, the more virile and powerful the man, as well as the better sexual partner. Whereas it is evident that the size of the male's body, or of his penis, has nothing to do with his social or cultural function, this association remains. Masculinity is often assumed to correspond to penis size; this gender construction is likewise not based in fact, yet is commonly held to be true. The length of the erect penis has little to do with bringing pleasure to the female sexual partner or with the ability to impregnate. The majority of nerve endings in the vagina are in the lower third, meaning that only a few inches of erect penis, at most, are needed to fully stimulate the female. Instead, the firmness of erection seems to be a greater factor in that respect. Similarly, the length of the penis does not correspond to any particular success in impregnation. Once the sperm is ejaculated, the vagina pulsates to move the sperm to the cervix, thus making the specific position of the penis within the vagina somewhat irrelevant.

The ability to father offspring is perhaps the most basic function expected of males, and much of an individual male's role in society is determined by his willingness and ability to do so. Human males are capable of having sex and reproducing with multiple female partners. Many researchers have claimed that the stereotypical male desire to have multiple partners is in fact an evolutionary trait designed to spread their genetic material as broadly as possible, thus preventing any community from becoming genetically impaired by a limited gene pool (Bribiescas 2006). Others, of course, have claimed that no such evolutionary predisposition exists, but the stereotype remains. Females are just as capable of having sex and reproducing with multiple partners as males are; the cultural and gender expectations for females may make this a more difficult or less desirable option than it is for males.

Biologically, the male is required only until the moment of ejaculation in order to conceive a child. Unlike the female, who carries the child to term and then possibly nurses the child after it is born, the male plays no necessary physical role in fatherhood after conception. The concept of *fatherhood*, therefore, is by its nature sex-based yet socially determined. The most common role for a male to play in reproduction is to father one or more children with one woman, with whom he raises the child or children. The vast majority of world cultures expect a male to be a father according to this model, but there are many exceptions (Dowd 2000).

Polygamy is a practice in which an individual has multiple spouses simultaneously. The most common form is polygyny, in which a man has multiple wives, but each wife is monogamous with her husband. This formation has been accepted at some times in some cultures, primarily in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, India, and China. Islamic law allows a man to have up to four wives, and the majority of polygynous marriages in the twenty-first century are in Islamic countries, particularly in Iran and sub-Saharan Africa (Afshar 2005, p. 73; Majid 2002, p. 64). The practice was originally associated in the United States with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS) but was outlawed by the Church in 1890. Some fundamentalist Mormons (FLDS) still practice polygyny, mostly in the western United States, but it is illegal and remains unrecognized by the LDS Mormons. In most cultures that do or did allow polygyny, it is still not widespread, as the economic reality of one male supporting multiple females and their children puts the practice out of reach of most. Therefore, even in cultures known as polygynous or polygamous, most males probably have no more than one spouse.

Unofficial partners, known as lovers or mistresses, are common and appear to have been so throughout recorded history. This structure allows males to have multiple partners without the strictures of plural marriage. The economic, emotional, and fatherly obligations of such relationships are varied, usually negotiated between a specific male and female. The practice is often seen as one in which males wish to have sexual partners without the need to procreate, but children born outside of wedlock have always been somewhat common, meaning that the reality is that males become fathers regardless of marriage ties.

Homosexual males have a different relationship to the concept of fatherhood than do heterosexual or bisexual males. Many homosexuals do not consider fatherhood to be a necessary or definitive part of maleness (which is true for many heterosexual males, as well), and if they wish to have children, have to adopt or find some means to have a woman conceive and carry their child. Social pressures have often forced homosexual males to marry women and have children, conforming to heterosexual expectations, and those who did not were usually expected to remain childless. As homosexuals have gained increased rights in some countries, including marriage or marriage-like status with their same-sex partners, the possibilities for becoming a father have increased.

SEE ALSO *Female; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

MALE BONDING

Male bonding refers to the homosocial, and largely heterosexual, connections that are forged between two or more men. These homosocial connections are usually considered in terms of friendship, but male bonding can be conceptualized in a wider scope to encompass all beneficial relationships between men that exclude women. In an effort to emphasize the importance of male bonding to all social interactions, it has been categorized as an evolutionary imperative. As such male bonding has been theorized to have biological origins and to be the primary interaction of society.

From the 1970s on some psychologists and lay observers have envisioned a masculine crisis. For these writers male bonding is a largely empty act that does not allow men to relate to each other in a meaningful way.

Attempts to conceive of male bonding as a biological inheritance find suggestive evidence of male bonding in other primates. Male bonding is known to occur in baboons and chimpanzees, where, particularly in the latter, groups of males show overtly aggressive tendencies. Male chimpanzees have been known to form groups for the express purpose of attacking other chimpanzees. In addition to these acts of aggression, male-bonded primates prove to be of mutual benefit to all the members of the group. Male bonding allows for a social hierarchy to develop within a group, it provides a more effective means for a group to defend itself, and it provides the opportunity for a group to serve as a hunting party. In *Men in Groups*, Lionel Tiger (1969) finds the possible connection between male bonding and hunting of particular significance to human male bonding. According to Tiger's evolutionary argument, the transformation of human society into hunting societies made male bonding necessary and created a division of labor on sociosexual grounds.

Tiger is not the only researcher who has suggested an anthropological basis for male bonding. In *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1969) suggests that male bonding is a primary means by which society perpetuates itself. According to Lévi-Strauss, marriage is, at foundation, a relationship based on male bonding. In marriage one man (or group of men) forges a relationship with another man (or group of men). In such a dynamic women are the objects of exchange that bring men closer together and allow communities to prosper. This idea illuminates a seeming contradiction in male bonding. Whereas male bonding is ostensibly the homosocial activity of men organizing in groups to the exclusion of women, it has been suggested that this homosocial bond is always, to some degree, about women. In *Between Men*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985) suggests that male homosocial relationships always reflect on the relationship between genders and the role of women in society. Many writers in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s on the topic of male bonding reflect on the importance of women to the male bond. These researchers point to men sharing drinks in a bar and talking about women as one of the most clichéd images of male bonding.

In addition to her emphasis on the importance of women in all male-bonding interactions, Sedgwick illuminates the troubled relationship between male homosocial and homosexual bonds. Whereas the word *homosocial* is entomologically linked to homosexuality, homosocial male bonds are notoriously characterized by intense feelings of homophobia. In his 1985 book, *In a Man's World*, Perry Garfinkel also recognizes the homophobia that characterizes so much male bonding. Garfinkel hypothesizes that homophobia may be part of the reason that so many male homosocial relationships are characterized by men refusing to talk about their feelings and that men feel uncomfortable in situations requiring physical contact with other men.

The characterization of the male homosocial bond as men getting together for companionship and understanding yet afraid to talk about their feelings is related to the socialization of men. In literature of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s men are frequently portrayed as competitive with each other and afraid to confide feelings because that is what they have been taught from their fathers and because men are afraid of being betrayed or made fun of. Yet men group together because of a desire for companionship. In addition male bonding provides initiation rites from childhood to manhood and a sense of belonging. These homosocial initiation rites can vary from culture to culture—from the Gahuku boys of Papua New Guinea who are taken from their village for 6 weeks by some of the men in the village only to return as men (Schechner 1985), to circumcision, and to fraternity hazing. The segregation of women from men, as in Muslim cultures, can also increase the importance of both male bonding and homosociality.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Homosexuality, Defined; Male; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Lance Norman

MALINCHE
c. 1505–1550

Very little is known about the woman variously called Malinalli, Malintzin, Doña Marina, and La Malinche. She was born around 1505 in the Aztec province of Coatzacoalcos to a *cacique* (chief or leader) and his wife. She was given or sold into slavery after her father died and her mother remarried and gave birth to a son.

FROM SLAVE TO INTERPRETER

On March 15, 1519, Malinalli, or La Malinche, was one of twenty female slaves, along with gold and food, given to Spanish military explorers under the command of Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) as a peace offering from a Mayan village in present day Yucatán. The women were baptized immediately so that the Spaniards could have sexual relations with them, and Malinalli was given the name Marina. Cortés initially granted Marina to one of his captains, Alonso Hernández y Portocarrero. Shortly thereafter, however, Cortés dispatched Portocarrero to Spain and Marina became Cortés's concubine as well as his trusted assistant.

The Spanish recognized Marina's usefulness as *lengua* (tongue), or interpreter, when emissaries from Moctezuma boarded Cortes's ship as the flotilla was exploring the coast of Mexico. As the only person to understand the messengers' language, Nahuatl, Marina became part of a diplomatic linguistic triangle; she translated the emperor's message into the Mayan language that she had acquired as a slave. Franciscan friar Jerónimo de Aguilar, who also spoke Mayan, then translated the message into Spanish. A shipwrecked Spaniard from an earlier expedition, Aguilar had survived slavery and disease and escaped sacrifice until his countrymen—hearing of a white, bearded man—sought him out and bought his freedom. Thus the young Nahua (or Aztec) woman, twice given in slavery, was catapulted into the annals of Spanish and Mexican history and became a part of the myth of the genesis of the Mexican nation.

HEROINE OR TRAITOR?

Malinche reaches us largely through Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España* (*The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517–1521*), originally published in 1632. Díaz del Castillo, a

Aztec Princess Depticted Between a Tlaxcalan chief and Hernando Cortes. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

former soldier among Cortés's troops who took sixteen years to write his memoirs, some thirty years after the conquest, speaks highly of Marina, using the respectful title of *doña* and on several occasions signaling her instrumental role in the success of the expedition. He used generic descriptions, as often found in chivalric and picaresque novels; thus literary critic Julie Greer Johnson concludes that far from providing an objective, transparent portrayal of Doña Marina, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España* transforms her into a literary figure endowed "with the physical strength and courage of the Amazons and the spiritual stamina and zeal of Amadís" of Gaule, the most well-known hero of sixteenth-century Iberian chivalric romance (Johnson 1984, p. 75).

The very instances that Díaz del Castillo cites as occasions when Doña Marina saved the day and the lives of the Spanish soldiers became, for Mexican nationalists, evidence to indict La Malinche for cavorting sexually with the invader, serving as native informant and spy, and bearing the bastard, mixed-race son of Cortés. The shift from the respectful Doña Marina to the deprecatory La Malinche reflects the vilification of the female interpreter as a traitor. In fact Malinche was a native term that referred to Cortés, as Malinalli's *amo*, or lord, seen in the suffix *che*. By adding *La* to Malinche, the term is deflected onto Marina. Her name exists only through its identification with Cortés, carrying with it the indictment of sell-out. La Malinche became a derogatory term, and the historical woman is invoked as an archetypal traitoress, as the Mexican Eve, at key historical junctures of the construction of the Mexican nation, in the period after Independence from Spain and the decades following the Mexican Revolution.

Mexican Nobel laureate Octavio Paz's seminal piece, "The Sons of La Malinche," in his 1950 collection of essays, *Labyrinth of Solitude*, served to foment an image of La Malinche as the willingly seduced betrayer of the indigenous people, the cursed mother of the Mexican nation. Although *mestizaje* (miscegenation between European and indigenous peoples in the New World) is celebrated as a defining factor of *mexicanidad* (Mexican national character), Paz shows how La Virgen de Guadalupe (The Virgin of Guadalupe) embodies the good mother of the Mexican nation, while La Malinche is cursed as *La Chingada* (The fucked one). During the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s, the term *Malinchista*, as defined by Paz, was invoked as an epithet against Chicanas (young Mexican American women) who were seen to adopt U.S. cultural values, most notably by articulating a feminist agenda. Feminism was represented as an affront to the Mexican patriarchal family, considered to be the foundation of Chicano culture, and precisely what the Chicano movement was defending.

MALINCHE RECONSIDERED

From the 1970s forward, Chicana feminists embarked upon the reinterpretation of the woman whose myth had been used as a means of silencing their voices and limiting their political participation. As part of the work of dismantling the virgin/whore dichotomy—enmeshed in the largely Catholic Chicano culture and in the Mexican national mythologies of La Virgen de Guadalupe and La Malinche—Chicana feminists sought to provide a counter-narrative to that of the latter's betrayal and sexual objectification. In addition to pointing out that Spanish alliances with enemies of the Aztecs and extermination of the native population through disease played huge roles in the success of the Spaniards, Chicana historians, creative writers, literary critics, and others have restructured the myth of La Malinche's betrayal, often through a paradoxical gesture of recognizing her victimization and lack of agency as a slave and at the same time reinterpreting her so-called betrayal as the politically astute intervention of a woman bent on preserving lives.

Three texts were instrumental early on in defining this revisionist project. Adelaida del Castillo's essay "Malintzín Tenépal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective" (1977) sought to historicize La Malinche, and defended her as a convert to Christianity. Carmen Tafolla's poem *Malinche* (1985 [1978]) adopts the *Yo soy* structure of the epic poem of Chicano ethno-nationalism, *Yo soy Joaquín* (I am Joaquín) (1967), by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, and proclaims proudly "I am La Malinche." Tafolla stakes out a privileged position for La Malinche as a visionary who imagines the new world to come because only she can serve as a bridge between the two cultures. Cherríe Moraga's essay "A Long Line of Vendidas" (1981) demonstrates how the myth of La Malinche perpetuates the idea of women's corruptibility and untrustworthiness, thereby undermining the potential for female solidarity. Like Tafolla, Moraga accepts the appellation La Malinche, if lesbian sexuality, feminist ideology, and human rights activism are what define her as a traitor to her culture.

Since the late twentieth century, Chicana writers have sought to break free of the stranglehold of Octavio Paz's "colonial imaginary" (Pérez 1999, pp. 5–6). Chicana historian and feminist theorist Emma Pérez identifies an *Oedipal-conquest-triangle* that the *mestizo* son deploys in the effort to identify with the powerful European father (the phallus) through the denigration of his Indian mother. Following this line of reasoning, Chicana scholar Rita Cano Alcalá relates La Malinche to the repressed feminine power of the ancient sister goddesses, Malinalxochitl and Coyolxauhqui, and reinterprets the myth of La Malinche as the resurgence of a Mexican feminist political unconscious, or as the recuperation of the repressed and silenced female voice that resists patriarchal constructions of the proto nation.

SEE ALSO *Colonialism; Nationalism.*

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Rita Cano Alcalá

MANICHAEISM

The dualism preached by the Iranian prophet Mani (lived 216–277 CE) was one of spirit (Greek: *pneuma*, Latin: *spiritus*), equated to light, versus matter (Greek: *hyle*, Latin: *corpus*), equated to darkness. Good was thought to be inherent in spirit and light; evil was believed to be inseparable from matter and darkness. Mani drew upon Zoroastrian, Jewish, Christian, Gnostic, Hindu, and Buddhist doctrines, literature, and rituals to create a syncretistic faith that was intended to be open to followers of all social, economic, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and devotional backgrounds.

Originally preached in Mesopotamia (now southern Iraq) and Iran, it was spread by male and female missionaries to Egypt and North Africa, to the Roman Empire, to Central Asia, and to China. Manichaeism flourished in Egypt and North Africa into the sixth century CE before being eclipsed by Christianity, but nonetheless influenced dualist Christian heresies such as the Bogomils of the Balkans from the tenth through thirteenth centuries and the Cathars (also known as the Albigensi) of Western Europe (especially Provence) in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Manichaeism became the religion of the Uighur state in Central Asia from 762–840. It continued to be practiced by Central Asians of Iranian and Turkic backgrounds, especially in monasteries along the Tarim Basin, until the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century. The religion was recognized officially in China from 732 until 863 and continued to have a following there into the fourteenth century.

IMPACT OF GENDER ON DOCTRINE AND MYTHOLOGY

Distinct in both origin and essence, according to Manichaean cosmogony, spirit and matter or light and darkness became mixed in the world through a sequence of violent events set into motion by the devil, or Evil Spirit, known as Ahriman, who left his residence in the material hell of darkness to attack the spiritual heaven of light. Salvation was thought to occur, at the end of time, through the final reseparation of the good spirit, or light, from evil matter, or darkness. The realm of light was supposed to be ruled by a god known as the Father of Greatness, or *Pid i Wuzurgih* (known in Latin as Benignus Pater); he is also known as the Father of Light, or *Pidar Roshn* and as Time, or *Zurwan*. So, for Manichaeans, the primordial universe was divided between two masculine spirits, equally powerful but diametrically opposed to each other. The Father of Greatness had as his consort the Holy Spirit, or *Wakhsh Yojdahr*, a female entity about whom few details has survived. The Father of Greatness was surrounded by his twelve sons, the *Aeons*, in the spiritual heaven of light. The Evil Spirit, who was both the personification and prime manifestation of matter, dwelt in hell with a host of demons and demonesses.

As his first act of creation, it is believed that the Father of Greatness evoked the Mother of Life, or *Madar Zindagan*, also known as the Mother of the Righteous, or *Ardawan Mad*. She, with aid from the Father of Greatness, then created through divine words a spiritual son known as the First Man. In Iranian sources the First Man was referred to as *Ohrmizd*—drawing upon Zoroastrian belief in a god (*Ahura Mazda* or *Ohrmazd*) by the same name—and, by extension, his mother was referred to as the Mother of the God *Ohrmizd*. The First Man was overwhelmed by the forces of darkness in battle, was imprisoned by *Ahriman* in hell, but succeeded in calling to his mother for help. The Mother of Life turned to the Father of Greatness for her son's salvation. The maternal image of intercession and assistance became a powerful indicator to female devotees of an important religious role within the community and within their own families. The Mother of Life, like the Father of Greatness, did not, however, create the First Man—and other divinities male and female—through a physical or sexual process. Her creations, like those of the Father of Greatness, supposedly were evoked or summoned forth in absolute chastity and purity—that is, creation by divine word rather than actions, from piety rather than sexuality. As such, she would have been a powerful image to the Elect or clerical members of Manichaean congregations, men and women for whom the third religious seal and one of the five religious commandments—complete abstinence from sex, marriage, and procreation—was prescribed as a prerequisite for salvation. Influence of the emerging veneration of Mary the Mother of Jesus in Christianity should not be overlooked when assessing the rise of the Manichaean Mother of Life as an ideal, even stereotypical, model each female votary was supposed to emulate to achieve salvation of her spirit from her material body.

In stark contrast to the Mother of Life stood the demonic female spirit *Az* or Concupiscence. *Az* was feared as the diabolic feminine manifestation of insatiable lust and avarice. *Az* was coupled with the Evil Spirit and other ghouls in phrases such as "Concupiscence, the Evil Spirit, the demons, witches, demons of wrath, giants, and archfiends" (Manichaean Middle Persian or Parthian Text 487 b I). This demoness was deemed, by Manichaean doctrine, to have produced male and female human bodies as well as sexual intercourse to serve as material prisons for the spirit or light of god—traps that were multiplied across the world and through time through sex and childbirth. She had "to be cast off" by members of both strata of the Manichaean community; Hearers, or laypersons; and Elect, or clerics, for their spirits to escape the material confines of their bodies and return to the realm of light (*M* 505a). At the end of time Manichaeans hoped *Az* would be defeated and bound with her paramour *Ahriman* in an eternal prison. Devotees were told that *Az* was assisted in her quest to enslave the divine spirit present within human bodies by desire, hunger, thirst, pain, disease, famine, and torment, much like her Zoroastrian demonic counterpart. *Az's* direct evil connection to women was established by scriptural passages in which it was claimed that Concupiscence modeled the first mortal woman's physical form as a parody on the spiritual image of a benevolent female divinity called *Kanag Roshn*, or Maiden of Light. Menstruation, because it was associated with the reproductive cycle, was said to have been generated by *Az* in women as a form of "filth of the female demons" specifically for polluting women and transmitting impurity to men so that they would not be ritually pure for religious duties (Sogdian Text 9 R II).

MAJOR CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY ON COMMUNAL PRACTICES

All members of Manichaean communities were enjoined "to fight lust and evil" by focusing on the spiritual realm rather than the corporeal one (*M* 49 II). Manichaean communities followed a sectarian social order composed of *Hearers*, or auditors whose ranks included all individuals who performed secular occupations, and Elect, or clergy whose ranks included elders, bishops, and religious teachers. Men and women could belong to both segments and all ranks within each community.

Manichaeans, owing to the dark corporeality ascribed to *Ahriman* and the lewd insatiability ascribed to *Az*, viewed procreation as a means whereby the spirit from god was entrapped in each human's body and polluted through physical impurities. Therefore, they despised the human body as "a prison" (*S* 9 R ii 30). Manichaean theologians seeking to ensure every portion of divine spirit or light could be saved were compelled to conclude, despite the close connect they perceived between *Az* and women through sexuality and menstruation, that the spirit trapped within female bodies could be salvaged when women cast off their material desires or affiliation with *Az*, became members of the Elect, and sought salvation beyond matter and darkness. Hymn cycles often were cast in the style of praise uttered by the souls of nuns gazing down upon the corpses and mortal desires they had abandoned at death. So, although still only Hearers, women were instructed to serve the community and restrain their sexual desire and greed—thereby ensuring that they presented no danger and temptation through thoughts, words, deeds, and physical form to the male members of the Elect. Such circumspect behavior, it was thought, would result in those women or "sisters perfecting themselves with fulfillment" so that they could become "holy virgins" as the female Elect or clerics were called (*M* 36).

Given such negative perceptions of the feminine as a major source of lust and greed, it is hardly surprising that all members of the Elect, both men and women, were expected to remain chaste. Elect individuals were expected to practice celibacy, monasticism, and proselytism because they had "abjured the whole world," including secular careers and pleasures (*M* 8251 I). The residences of those clerics were monasteries, their family included other bearers of faith, or *Dendaran*, and each individual cleric depended on "a hearer who brings alms" (*M* 221). Lay persons or hearers, called *Niyoshagan*, could live within family units but were encouraged to disavow that social arrangement in favor of an austere life focusing on the spirit. Hearers were urged to renounce sexual intercourse if at all possible so as to separate themselves from sin. However, the clergy recognized that sexuality and women were required for the bearing of children so souls yet in metempsychosis could be redeemed. Hence, sexual intercourse was permitted among the laity or Hearers, who could marry and have children. Yet, as a token of faith, they too were required to abstain from all material acts, including sex, for 1 day each week.

Manichaean women were expected to be particularly cautious not to spread ritual pollution to the community while menstruating nor to sexually arouse men by their appearances and actions. The best women were said to be "holy virgin sisters," or elect women (*M* 801). The worst women, like their male auditor counterparts, were those who could not obey the injunction to "keep away from lewdness and fornication" (*M* 49 I). Consequently, physical beauty was not accorded praise by Manichaeans, whereas temperate behavior was extolled. Ultimately, the purpose of life was supposed to center around the need to liberate—through abstinence, celibacy, purification, and attaining of mystical religious knowledge or gnosis—the spirit or light trapped by the evil spirit, *Ahriman*, within the darkness of matter and passed through cycles of human birth by the demoness *Az*.

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Jamsheed K. Choksy

MANLINESS

Manliness as a concept designates traits, both moral and physical, that a given culture views as desirable in a man. Although closely related linguistically and conceptually to *virility* and *masculinity* and occasionally interchangeable with those terms, *manliness* may carry a moral charge that the other terms, more descriptive in nature, do not necessarily convey. Virility is the more closely related of the two terms, designating in certain contexts a virtue viewed as desirable in women as well as men. More clearly a relational term, masculinity has been the focus of late twentieth-century scholarship in which scholars have sought to apply the insights of feminism and women's studies to the study of men so as to achieve a fuller understanding of the complex process of gendering. Manliness may most usefully be seen as entering into the construction of extremely varied masculinities across a wide array of social groups, in some instances as something to be valued or pursued, in others to be eschewed or redefined.

THE CONCEPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Physiological and moral conceptions of manliness in the Middle Ages were strongly marked by the heritage of the moral and natural philosophy of antiquity. Theories about masculine and feminine types in medieval natural science drew on ideas from anatomy, physiology, alchemy, physiognomy, embryology, and astrology, in a complex interplay of factors that included "four qualities, seven uterine cells, two seeds, seven planets" (Cadden 1993, p. 209) The four qualities or humors were a constant of the Aristotelian tradition, according to which males were hot and dry, females wet and cold. Planetary influences, the position of the fetus in the uterus, and the relative strength of the male and female seed (both of which were thought to be necessary for conception) all were held to play a role in determining the sex of the child and also the greater or lesser presence of masculine and feminine traits. While all creatures were seen as possessing a mixture of masculine and feminine traits, Aristotle and his followers considered the male principle to be superior to the female and men more "perfect" than women. Theories about the body were extrapolated to the moral qualities of the spirit or the soul. Thus the Italian physician and philosopher Peter of Abano (1250–1316) writes: "The male's spirit is lively, given to violent impulse; [it is] slow getting angry and slower being calmed. He is long-suffering at the tasks of labor; in deeds eager, able, noble, magnanimous, fair, confident; less flighty and less assiduous and maleficent than the female."

Natural philosophy was of course but one facet of medieval culture for which, broadly speaking, manliness was defined as the ability to impregnate women, protect one's dependents, and serve as provider to one's family (Bullough 1994). Or, in another formulation, for eleventh-century society the markers of manliness were "violence, the pursuit of wealth and—above all—sex" (McLaughlin 1999, p. 25). A great deal of the cultural work of the Middle Ages was the effort, in the service of different ideologies and to different social or political ends, to control and channel the given of violent and impulsive male behavior, particularly that of knights. Yet, it is also apparent that random violence and uncontrolled sexuality on a large scale posed the problem of intolerable social disruption. Beginning in the late tenth century, the *Pax Dei* (Peace of God) movement was an attempt on the church's part to protect itself and civilians from the violence that had become endemic in western Europe. In the mid-eleventh century, the *Treuga Dei* (Truce of God) sought to prohibit warfare from Thursday through Sunday, on major feasts, and during Advent and Lent, and the Council of Narbonne (1054) declared the principle that to kill a Christian was to shed the blood of Christ (Cowdrey 1970). The formulation of the triadic model at the same time, with its division of Christian society into *oratores* (those who pray), *bellatores* (those who fight), and *laboratores* (those who plow), was similarly an effort to control violence by assimilating knights into an order like the clergy and by making the former subservient to the latter (Duby 1980). The Christianization of knighthood through the dubbing ritual, with its establishment of the principles of hierarchical relations and reciprocal obligations between lord and vassal through the gestures of homage and the exchange of the kiss, was part of this broad attempt to curtail the ravages and exactions of uncontrollable knights.

Medieval literature, both secular and religious, abounds in expressions of how masculinity was articulated. In a French text of the twelfth century, Marie de France's *Guigemar*, the eponymous protagonist is sent by his parents to the king's court, as was the custom, to receive his education as a knight. He excels at the preeminent knightly pastimes, tourneying and hunting, but is indifferent to women, a failing that Marie ascribes specifically to nature. His encounter with a sexually ambiguous white doe while hunting and the symbolically sexual injury he suffers when he wounds the doe result in his healing and sexual initiation at the hands of his *amie*, but before his ultimately successfully integration into the heteronormative sex-gender system, he must win his lady by killing the knight who has kidnapped her. In *Guigemar* Marie thus traces both the path the young knight must follow and the pitfalls he may experience before fully achieving manhood, including the complete expunging of sexual ambiguity, or, in William E. Burgwinkle's reading: "What we have witnessed is a queer young buck led to the heterosexual trough and taught to drink" (2004, p. 160).

The church also led a campaign to eliminate clerical marriage and the keeping of concubines. This effort, which met with fierce resistance among the secular clergy, was part of a larger project of restructuring the medieval gender system that sought to limit severely the participation of women in the public sphere, to force an absolute separation of men and women in monastic contexts, to regulate contacts between the clergy and laywomen, and to limit lay sexuality to marriages sanctioned by the church (McNamara 1994).

CASE OF PETER ABELARD

The case of Peter Abelard (1079–1142 or 1144) is emblematic of the problems the church and individual clerics encountered in defining maleness at this time. As a celebrated dialectician and theologian, Abelard had eschewed relationships with prostitutes, ladies of the nobility, and commoners, but when Fulbert, a canon in Paris, entrusted his niece Héloïse to Abelard for instruction, the two quickly became lovers, exploring all the delights of lovemaking. Once discovered, they consented to a secret marriage, although Héloïse argued against it on the grounds that it would interfere with Abelard's work as a philosopher and impede his advancement in the church hierarchy. After his castration at the hands of Fulbert's men, Abelard found consolation, despite Old Testament condemnations of eunuchs and others with damaged testicles, in the example of his predecessor, Origen (c. 185–c. 254), who had castrated himself to be rid of sexual desire. Abelard's greatest challenge, however, was determining how to fashion a new role for himself as a man, a husband, and a theologian (Irvine 1997). His special relationship with Héloïse and her nuns, despite the former's unhappiness over the circumstances of her changed relationship with Abelard after his castration and her entry into a convent, was paramount in that it allowed him to combine successfully these three roles in imitation of other men who had been spiritual advisors to holy women, St. Jerome (c. 347–419 or 420) in particular. Manliness in Abelard's case thus did not repose on procreative power or genital integrity but did embrace marriage and a striking deployment of male aggression in service, as he put it, not of Mars but of Minerva.

Abelard's example is useful for the way it so clearly illustrates that manliness or virility was not limited to procreation and violence. Nor was it limited to the male sex, for the manly woman, or virago, promoted by the early church as an alternative to the prevailing sex-gender system of late antiquity, remained a powerful symbol throughout the medieval period. Some medieval saints' legends recount not only the steely resolve of Christian women martyrs in the face of torture, usually because they refused to marry or to sacrifice to the pagan gods, but also cases of women who grew a beard to thwart their suitors or cross-dressed as men, living undetected in monastic communities until their death. For such women, cross-dressing was not only a practical solution to an untenable plight: It also allowed them to accede to what medieval culture generally held to be a higher social station, that of the male.

The reverse was, of course, not the case. Men who cross-dressed as women were objects of scorn because they relinquished the superior station that was "naturally" theirs (although certain "feminine" virtues, such as nurturing, were seen as a positive attribute in male religious from the twelfth century on). Historical and fictional examples of women who could "fight like a man" show that "family and class interests could supersede gender without threatening the right order of things" (McNamara 1994, p. 4). In the case of Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431), doubtless the most famous virile woman of the period, both her success and demise depended heavily on national interests. Among literary examples of virile women, in addition to the eponymous protagonist of *Le roman de Silence* (thirteenth century; The romance of Silence), one may cite the heroine of *Yde et Olive* (thirteenth century), who cross-dresses as a knight to escape her father's incestuous affections and whose valor the poet attributes to her noble blood. When Yde hews off the hand of an adversary, she proudly proclaims (with unintended irony): "Well should I possess valor and courage when I am the daughter of the powerful king Florent!"

In sum, one can say that manliness was both a constant in medieval culture but also a forever shifting and at times elusive quality that was highly dependent on social context. The construct could be inflected in service of religious or courtly ideology, take on positive or negative value, or be applied to men or women.

MANLINESS IN POST-MEDIEVAL ERA

In the court culture of the late medieval and early modern periods, there was a new emphasis on honor won through military or administrative service that complemented the continued importance of hereditary privilege. The valorization of inner moral worth, learning, and courtly refinement as desirable manly virtues was propagated throughout Europe in the sixteenth century by such works as the *Book of the Courtier* (1528) by the Italian humanist Baldassare Castiglione and the writings of the Christian humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536). Nor was the gaining or defending of personal honor limited to the nobility, among whom the private duel became widespread at this time. The slander of a burgess's profession or guild was a serious offense that required redress, as were degrading remarks about one's wife or daughter.

The rise of the bourgeoisie and the generalization of the values of "polite society" brought about further shifts in the construction of manliness. In the eighteenth century, manly behavior was no longer limited to performance in the public sphere but embraced men's roles at home as husbands and fathers, and displays of sensibility, including weeping, were positively construed as signs of a refined and generous moral nature. Effeminacy, however, was to be eschewed at all cost, and perhaps for this reason the nineteenth century saw the resurgence of the cult of male virility, a particular concern during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras in Great Britain. Emblematic of this trend was the "muscular Christianity" most often identified with the reform-minded English writers Charles Kingsley (1819–1875) and Thomas Hughes (1822–1896), which sought to combine Christian moral fiber with physical vigor. Sport was emphasized in England, where it was perceived as good training for empire building, and in the United States, where intercollegiate athletics, greatly developed at the end of the nineteenth century, were thought to prepare men for the competitiveness of public life. The cult of virile manliness was dealt a serious blow, however, by World War I, while in the United States the concept of the "man of action" was counterbalanced by that of the gentlemen guided by Christian values. In the late-twentieth-century United States, the men's movement of Robert Bly (b. 1926) sought to provide a virile response to the perceived threat of feminism.

Although somewhat demoded as a category of analysis in cultural theory of the early twenty-first century, by which time *masculinity* had become the term of choice, manliness and virility remain important and useful concepts in the study of medieval gender.

SEE ALSO *Heloise and Abelard; Ide and Olive; Le roman de Silence; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Masculinity: I. Overview; Medicine, Ancient.*

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Robert L.A. Clark

MANLY (MASCULINE) WOMAN

Masculine or manly women are female-bodied individuals who possess qualities that are perceived to be masculine. These women are masculine in appearance, have masculine interests, prefer the company of men, and/or perform masculine tasks or jobs. Most generically masculine or manly women do not conform to feminine stereotypes. Social concepts of masculine women and effeminate men rely on the binary gender system that directly ties gender (masculinity and femininity) to sex (maleness and femaleness). In this system where activities, styles, bodies, behaviors, and even objects are all definitively gendered, females and males who exhibit characteristics of the opposite gender are seen as at best, gender variant and at worst, gender deviant. Because she is seen as a deviation from the feminine standard, the figure of the masculine (manly) woman helps to uphold the moralizing "normalcy" of traditional femininity, which itself confirms contemporary heterosexuality as the natural, default sexual orientation (McGann 1999).

Yet, the qualities that masculine women possess—confidence, assertiveness, independence, and daring—are not scientifically or biologically male attributes. Rather, these qualities are constructed as being masculine even though they are commonly found in women. Feminist initiatives have encouraged these values in women and girls. The term "female empowerment" refers to the transformation of power relations between men and women and advocates a redefinition of femininity that would expand traditional concepts of femininity and femaleness.

The observation and identification of a woman as "masculine" or "manly" is highly dependent on race and class. For instance, women of color and working-class women may be seen as more "masculine"—strong, independent, and/or self-reliant—because of the challenges and struggles particular to their racial and socioeconomic reality. The racialized division of labor in many Western countries allocates work that requires manual labor for women of color and working-class women. These women may also be identified in masculine terms because they do not reflect white female beauty standards that, aside from "whiteness," require money and leisure time to attain. For that matter, women of color are often seen as being more masculine simply because of racist stereotypes. Historical discrepancy in the treatment of women's sexuality according to class status also accounts for various embodiments and understandings of femininity that result in some women seeming more "masculine" than others (i.e., women of color are stereotyped as being more sexually aggressive, or "masculine," than white women). Middle- and upper-class women may be afforded more *or* less range of acceptable behavior when it comes to gender. In the first sense, money, privilege, and whiteness can excuse the "eccentricity" of gender variance (as was the case with English author Radclyffe Hall [1886–1943]). On the other hand, affluent women may have "more to lose" when it comes to defiant or deviant gender expression.

HISTORY

While masculine women have existed throughout history in reality and the cultural imaginary (in folklore or religion, for instance), several historical moments are marked by a greater attention to masculine women. Moments of global and sometimes national conflict, such as the Crusades or the World Wars, have encouraged as well as bemoaned the rise of women to positions of increased power or to the masculine, public sphere (such as the job force). The figure of Rosie the Riveter, created in the United States during World War II to promote women's work in munitions factories, represents a masculine woman celebrated in a patriotic, if paternalistic, vein. As a cultural icon, Rosie the Riveter later became a feminist symbol that embodied woman's strength, capability, and ambition.

Another important historical manifestation of the masculine woman is the "passing woman"—any woman who lived part or all of her life as a man. The term is usually used in an historical sense to describe women who passed as men to secure better wages, seek adventure, or fight in wars in the nineteenth century. Famous passing women include Jeanne Bonnet (1849–1876, leader and liberator of a San Francisco gang of former prostitutes), Deborah Sampson (1760–1827, a soldier in the Revolutionary War), Murray Hall (d. 1901, a prominent New York City politician), Lucy Ann Lobdell (b. 1829, hunter, minister, and author), Babe Bean (1869–1936, writer), Mountain Charley (1812–1879, stage coach driver), Billy Tipton (1914–1989, jazz pianist and saxophonist), and the legend of Joan English, who was said to have reigned as Pope John VIII in medieval times.

The formation of butch-femme identities in the twentieth century represents one of the earliest public lesbian cultures and, as such, has served a pivotal role in the solidification of the masculine (manly) woman in popular consciousness. While passing women were usually seen as curiosities rather than as social threats, sexology's pathologizing definitions of female inversion made the "mannish woman" a visibly deviant typology that was to be feared, demonized, and discriminated against throughout the twentieth century. However, in 1950s lesbian subculture, butch or masculine women came to define a celebrated and eroticized lesbian style characterized in part by physical strength, chivalry, emotional reserve, and sexual expertise.

Despite repressive efforts by lesbian feminists in the 1970s, butches continue to operate socially as the "face of lesbianism," or in Esther Newton's terms, as a "magical sign of lesbianism" (2000), with the unfortunate side effect of obscuring the experience of more feminine lesbians. As Judith Halberstam observes in her recuperative work on "female masculinity," turf wars that began in the 1990s between butches and transgender female-to-males have become a political preoccupation for lesbian communities that likewise push the concerns of femmes to the margin. Despite such discussions within queer circles, mainstream depictions of lesbianism underrepresent butch or masculine lesbians, in instances that reflect the simultaneous shame and phobia that accrues around the figure of the butch lesbian as symbol of "the stigma of lesbianism" (Newton 1989, p. 283). Although the butch lesbian is occasionally seen as an "embarrassing" figure for gays, queer culture has an expansive vocabulary that recognizes the nuances of female masculinity. Some of these terms are soft butch, baby butch, hard butch, stone butch, tomboy femme, dyke-fag, boi, stud, soft stud, and aggressive.

SOCIOLOGY

As this historical sketch suggests, masculine women may be motivated by the exigencies of their circumstance, identification with men and masculinity, or female same-sex desires. Masculine women may feel they are born this way, or may see their "masculinity" as an extension of childhood interests or as a conscious rejection of the feminine role. Sociologist PJ McGann has observed that motivations for masculine behavior may shift as the individual develops. At an early age, a child may "choose clothing, toys, and activities based on their *intrinsic* interest" to her, whereas later tomboyhood may be a more pronounced reaction to "imposed meanings of femininity" and the "fusion of restriction and femininity" (1999, p. 111).

CULTURE

Masculine (manly) women have been identified by many different names. Some of these include: tomboy, mannish woman, passing woman, butch, lesbian, *homasse*, invert, cross-dresser, tribade, female husband, bulldagger, transgender, he-she, *marimacha*, drag king, drag queen, and aggressive. So-called "cross-gender behavior" has been observed in females across the globe, though the meaning of this behavior is culturally specific and thus cannot automatically be dubbed butch, tomboy, or transgender. In many societies, cross-gender behavior is not punished or abnormal and is instead woven into the fabric of the culture, as is—or was—the case in many North American Indian tribes (Lang 1999). Other examples are females who become social men, known as *sadhins*, in northwest India (Phillimore 1991) and the *tombois* of West Sumatra (Blackwood 1999). As Jason Cromwell points out in his survey of historical and cross-cultural gender variance, these examples reflect a global gender diversity and should not be subsumed under or simplified within histories of lesbianism (1999, p. 61). As he and others point out, there is a political tension and conflict of interest in the claiming of historical and cultural figures as "transgender" or "lesbian." Some masculine women may have cross-dressed in order to cover for or pursue their lesbian desires, while others may have identified as men but their transgenderism has erroneously been construed as lesbianism in historical accounts.

Masculine women and girls are often comedic secondary characters or the sidekicks of feminine female protagonists in narratives centered on heterosexuality in literature or film (Roof 2002). Well-known masculine women in literature include the character of Jo March in *Little Women*, Sula Peace in the novel *Sula*, Scout Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Esperanza in *The House on Mango Street*, Frankie Addams in *The Member of the Wedding*, Jess Goldberg in *Stone Butch Blues*, and the heroine of the Chinese poem "Ballad of Mulan." Tomboys are eventually "tamed" in many of these narratives, as seen in their adoption of a more conventionally feminine attitude and appearance at the onset of puberty. Those who do not are usually seen as suspect (McGann 1999), or are viewed as abnormal, asexual, or lesbian.

Masculine women have a visible presence in women's sports. Conservative disapproval of these activities has directed much homophobia toward women's sports (Cahn 1993). Famous masculine female athletes include Babe Didrikson Zaharias (c. 1913–1956, all-around athlete), Martina Navratilova (b. 1956, tennis player), and Jackie Joyner-Kersee (b. 1962, heptathlete). Many female hip-hop and rap artists get their start as tough, masculine women but soften their looks to maintain mainstream success (Queen Latifah [b. 1970, rapper, actress, and beauty spokesperson], Missy Elliott [b. 1971, rapper and record producer]). Not surprisingly, the sexuality of these women and many female athletes is under constant scrutiny. Historical figures that fall into the category of masculine woman, and that show the diversity of experience among them, include the Greek goddess Athena, Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431), female pirates Anne Bonny (c. 1697–1782) and Mary Read (c. 1690–1721), diarist Anne Lister (1791–1840), Running Eagle (d. 1850) and Blackfeet *ninawaki* ("manly-hearted women"), abolitionist Sojourner Truth (c. 1797–1883), Radclyffe Hall, blues singer Gladys Bentley (1907–1960), author Leslie Feinberg (b. 1949), and electropunk musician JD Samson (b. 1978).

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme; Transgender.*

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Emma Crandall

MAPPLETHORPE, ROBERT
1946–1989

Robert Mapplethorpe was a visual artist most famous for his photography, which frequently dealt with homoerotic themes and multiracial sensuality. He was born in Queens, New York, on November 4, 1946, and died in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 9, 1989 from complications associated with AIDS. His ashes were buried in his mother's grave, but his name has never been added to the headstone. He is remembered for his artwork, which combined fine art aesthetics with quasi-pornographic subjects, as well as for the political controversies over federal funding for the arts in the 1980s that centered on his work.

EARLY WORK AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Mapplethorpe was an artist from an early age, demonstrating as early as high school his interest in work whose form and subject matter were nontraditionally paired. He was first exposed to pornography in the summer between high school and college while working in Manhattan. The images of naked men became a source of inspiration to him. Much of his early work was collage, using images cut from magazines. As his own style developed, images from pornographic magazines became more prominent in his work. Mapplethorpe enrolled at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, New York, in 1963, where he was a member of Reserve Officers' Training Course (ROTC) and a military fraternity, both at the insistence of his father. Whereas he never pursued a military career, the experience did expose him to a kind of eroticized hypermasculinity, which would later emerge as sadism and masochism (S&M) iconography in his work.

During college Mapplethorpe met musician, singer, and poet Patti Smith (b. 1946), who would become one of his most important and influential lovers and collaborators as well as being the first in his pattern of using people he was sexually attracted to as models. Smith's physical androgyny and sexual ambiguity matched his own, making them an ideally paired couple in some ways. They wore each other's clothes and collaborated on artistic projects while living together in the iconic Chelsea Hotel. In 1968 Smith ended their romantic relationship, and Mapplethorpe began to explore his sexual attraction to men. He and Smith reconciled in 1969, but Mapplethorpe's sexual and artistic life continued to involve male subjects, and they both openly had other relationships with men.

He began to work on collages of images from male fitness and physique magazines of the 1940s and 1950s, as well as from homoerotic artist Tom of Finland (1920–1991). He became increasingly inspired by leather and bondage fetishes, and his work began to reflect those influences. In 1970 Mapplethorpe moved from collage work and assemblages to photography. One of his early photographs of Smith became the cover image for her debut album *Horses* in 1975. The image is typical of Mapplethorpe in many ways: it is black and white; the androgynous Smith, dressed in men's clothing, defies typical categories of gender or sexuality; the pose (based on an Albrecht Dürer [1471–1528] self-portrait from 1500) shows an informed and academic interest in the formal qualities of the visual image while being used for a radically nontraditional purpose.

LATER WORK AND FAME

Throughout the 1970s Mapplethorpe cultivated connections to the international art scene through his friendships and affairs with influential men. He had his first one-person show on his twenty-fourth birthday in November 1970. His work became increasingly erotic over time, and in February 1977, he had his first exhibition of what he called his *dirty pictures*, small-format Polaroid erotic images. On the same night a separate showing called "Portraits" opened in a different gallery. This splitting of material between multiple venues would become a pattern in his career: the erotic, quasi-pornographic material brought him fame, particularly among the gay community, whereas the portraiture was admired by a larger audience and assured an income. The two forms often merged in some of Mapplethorpe's most mature work. The image from the "Erotic Pictures" exhibit of 1977 that gained the most notoriety was "Mr. 10 ½," an image of porn star Marc Stevens with his penis on a butcher block. The bulk of the images in the exhibit were of an S&M theme, although most were obviously staged. His later work would become known for the sense (or actuality) of having captured an actual sexual moment in progress.

In 1979 Mapplethorpe and Smith opened a joint exhibit called "Film and Stills," which brought a great deal of media attention and secured Mapplethorpe as a major figure in the New York arts scene. This fame not only made people want to model for him, but made him a desirable sexual partner. During this period Mapplethorpe juggled multiple long-term lovers and a constant stream of one-night stands and anonymous sexual encounters. One sexual and artistic partnership was with Robert Sherman, whom he met at a gay bar in Manhattan. Mapplethorpe was fascinated by Sherman, who was pale and entirely hairless (including eyelashes and eyebrows), the result of a rare form of alopecia. This made him a unique and fascinating subject. Between 1983 and 1985 Sherman was paired with Ken Moody, an African-American bodybuilder who also suffered from alopecia. The juxtaposition of the two hairless bodies, one dark and one light, became one of Mapplethorpe's most famous images.

CONTROVERSY AND ILLNESS

Mapplethorpe's first *succès de scandale* was his 1979 show "Censored" in New York. He knew that his hard-core S&M photographs, including images of anal fisting, would not be viable for a show in a major gallery under normal circumstances. To make his work desirable to exhibitors, he created a sensation by requesting a showing in a San Francisco gallery, knowing he would be refused. When it became public that his images were too scandalous even for San Francisco audiences, galleries became interested.

"Censored" opened in San Francisco on February 1979 in an exhibition space funded by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), his first interaction with this source of federal funds for the arts.

In the 1980s Mapplethorpe became famous on a national scale for his portraits of celebrities. This fame made him even more popular in the gay community, for he had managed to develop a gay aesthetic in photography, focusing on erotic, violent, and multiracial scenes while also maintaining a high profile among mainstream clients. His fame, therefore, contained an element of subversiveness that was a good deal subtler than many of his gay-themed images. Much of his work as a fashion photographer also focused on nude male images, which made the male form central to national ad campaigns while often ignoring the clothing. Whereas the female nude was common in advertising of the period, male models were usually fully clothed. Mapplethorpe was thus instrumental in making the naked male form a suitable subject for everyday images.

Mapplethorpe developed a series of illnesses in the 1980s, most probably opportunistic infections associated with AIDS. In September 1986 he developed a form of pneumonia common among people with AIDS, thus confirming the diagnosis he had suspected for several years. As Mapplethorpe's health declined, his images became more personal. While still violent and disturbing, they focused upon bodies that had become damaged, not bodies engaged in violence. One of his major works is *Self Portrait, 1988*, which showed his body emaciated and frail from disease. This image helped to create a kind of unique gay aesthetic that found dignity in suffering and brought meaning to illness.

His work remained controversial, however, and sparked a national battle over censorship of art. In 1989 Mapplethorpe contributed an image of a bloody penis to a group exhibit called "The Perfect Moment." Earlier that year an NEA-funded exhibit including Andres Serrano's (b. 1950) *Piss Christ* had been protested in North Carolina, causing Congressional action to limit federal funding for *obscene* or *indecent* work. Depictions of homosexual or sadomasochistic themes fell into the definition, bringing Mapplethorpe's work directly into conflict with federal guidelines. The institutions showing the Serrano and Mapplethorpe exhibitions were specifically defunded, causing the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C. to cancel its participation in "The Perfect Moment." The Senate eventually decided to temper its restrictions and limit its involvement in specific funding decisions, but the debate continued. In 1990 the director of the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati, Ohio, was tried on obscenity charges stemming from his decision to show "The Perfect Moment." Although many artists were involved, the case became known as "the Mapplethorpe obscenity trial," and hinged on the prosecution's contention that the images lacked any artistic merit to offset their offensive subject matter. Nobody from the artistic community would testify that the images were without merit, causing the case to end in acquittal.

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Brian D. Holcomb

MARBOD OF RENNES
c. 1035–1123

Marbod of Rennes was a French writer, theologian, and teacher who grew up in Angers and became chancellor in 1069. Other significant positions he held included archdeacon of Angers and bishop of Rennes. Along with the writings of his contemporaries in the "Loire Circle," Baudri of Bourgueil (1046–1130) and Hildebert of Lavardin (1056–1134), Marbod's poetry has a tantalizing erotic voice that seems to be incongruous with his religious vocation.

Marbod's writings are wide-ranging in scope and theme. His surviving prose works include official letters and local saints' lives; his extant poetic works include biblical stories in verse, poems on the suffering and martyrdom of saints, a lapidary (a text describing the uses of various rocks, stones, and gems, often focusing on their pseudo-scientific curative properties) titled *Liber lapidum* (The Book of Gems), and a rhetorical work *De ornamentis verborum*, (On the Adornments of Words). *Liber decem capitulorum* (The Book of Ten Little Headings) often is considered Marbod's most impressive accomplishment; it is a ten-chapter meditation on the human condition that addresses themes such as writing, time, women, old age, astrology, death, and the resurrection of the body. This work masterfully and poetically discusses the condition of humanity in a fallen world.

Marbod's epistles and poetry strike many modern readers as disarmingly sexual in terms of both heterosexual and homosexual attraction. For example, "Dissuasio amoris venerei" (Argument against the love of Venus) describes a love triangle that ultimately leaves the speaker unfulfilled:

> Hanc puer insignis, cujus decor est meus ignis,
> Diligit hanc, captat, huic se placiturus adaptat;
> Quae, puero spreto, me vult, mihi mandat: Aveto:
> Et mihi blanditur, quia respuo, pene moritur.
> Si fecisset idem mihi turpis femina pridem,
> Ad Venerem motus fierem lascivia totus;
> Pectore nunc duro, nec verba, nec oscula curo.

> This distinguished boy whose beauty is my fire,
> Loves her, desires her, changes himself to please her;
> She, disdaining the boy, wants me and commands me [to] desire [her].
> She coaxes me, [but] because I scorn [her], she almost dies.
> Once if a base woman had done the same thing to me,
> I would have been wholly lascivious, moved to Venus;
> Now with a hard heart, I care neither for [her] words nor [her] kisses.

The sexual desires expressed in this poetic love triangle are surprisingly fluid as the speaker suggests that he formerly was attracted to women but now finds this young man more to his taste despite the boy's apparent heterosexual inclinations. It is difficult to understand the cultural milieu of this strikingly erotic verse, and theories to explain its brash voicing of illicit desire include the idea that Marbod was writing for a small community of like-minded men, that such depictions of love conceived of as an ennobling force ultimately bereft of sexual connotations, and that such desires were expressed only to be repudiated to sanctify the poet within a Catholic understanding of salvation.

Marbod's oeuvre represents some of the finest medieval Latin verse. The declarations of apparently transgressive sexual desires in his poetry remain intriguingly difficult to contextualize as he appears to celebrate flagrantly sexual sensibilities that mostly were taboo in the medieval world.

SEE ALSO *Alan of Lille; Boswell, John; Dante Alighieri; Homosexuality, Defined.*

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Tison Pugh

MARGINALIA IN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

Marginalia are illustrations or notations in the margins of manuscripts. In medieval illuminated manuscripts figurative marginalia provide a rich terrain of artistic expression, with distinctive characteristics according to period, locus of production, and school or scriptorium. Marginalia could reflect, mirror, or expand the main illustration of a text page, as has been the case for some works, such as the late-fourteenth-century allegorical poem the *Romance of the Rose* (Waters 1992). Medieval scholar Lilian Randall's *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (1966) is largely responsible for calling the attention of many medievalists, beyond manuscript specialists, to these remarkable marginal illustrations.

Medievalists have argued for a tight interfacing of text and image in many manuscripts where full-fledged illustration provide a kind of wordless commentary on the work; and this can be a model for reading a relationship between text and marginalia as well. However, marginalia often graced the margins of the manuscript independently from the text and expressed a content that seemed fairly remote from it.

According to art historian Michael Camille, medieval books of hours are filled with "visual noise"situating the pious believer at the edge of the profane and sacred that coexist on the manuscript page (Camille 1992, p. 12). In these marginalia he sees nothing surrealistic or surreal, or even fantastic, as comparative art historian Jurgis Baltrusaitis (1903–1988) would have. Further, Camille refuses the term grotesque, "a negatively loaded term coined in the sixteenth century to describe antique wall painting." Instead, Camille suggests, the marginalia were conscious creations and, in the terminology appropriate to the time, they might have been called *fabula* or *curiositates*. From these terms he moves semantically to "babuini, babewyns" (baboons or monkeys), and by association, to "monkey-business," the French word "singe"(monkey), thus "becoming the dubious status of representation itself, being the anagram for signe"(sign) (p. 13).

IMAGINING SEX AND GENDER IN MEDIEVAL MARGINALIA

Medieval marginalia are an important reflection of the imaginary, inflected, in particular, by attitudes towards sex and gender. They may simply represent scenes of daily life that are precious indications of how the culture perceived work, divisions of labor, domestic environments, violence between the sexes, and more, thus providing glimpses of the place and gendered vision of women in vernacular culture.

Many marginalia boldly and unassumedly portray scenes with a flagrant and transgressive sexual content, often by displacing forbidden human behaviors onto animals or hybrid creatures that combine several animal and/or human features. These marginalia skirt obscene and/or erotic art and are about the only place available for such representation in medieval painting until the fifteenth century. Yet these categories are modern ones, and the evidence is that such representations are far from being reserved to *special* books: on the contrary they are just as likely to be found in the margins of books of hours and psalters as in secular literature. For instance a folio of the Ormesby Psalter shows a man blowing a trumpet into the anus of a two-legged, horse-headed boy, and the Rutland Psalter contains an image of a naked man flaunting his posterior as a simian figure, armed with lance and shield and mounted on an ostrich or goose, charges right at him. In a book of hours fromTrinity College at Cambridge, England, a man is seen defecating in a toilet-like basin as a servant carries a basket-full of the apple-shaped product to his lady.

A look at one entire manuscript might shed light on the ways these illustrations may have blended in with the work's aims. The 190 folio *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, executed in the 1470s in Flanders, contain many marginalia realized by a number of established artists who contributed to the work and who were by no means insignificant in their artistic inventiveness. Among these, playful or transgressive, images are recognizably gendered and often sexually explicit. Thus, a female monkey, its sex indicated by the presence of a spinning tool called a distaff, instructs a fuzzy infant, as does a spinning sow. A woman armed with the identifying distaff chases after a thieving dog with a hen in its mouth. The letter *D* (meaning *Domine labia mea* … [The Lord opens my lips …]) contains a pieta, the body of Christ seated across God's lap, but in the margins, there are two human couples whose lower bodies emanate from masses of flowers: one finely clad woman placing a crown on the man's head while another plays the harp to her devotee. An impish simian exposes his rear to a farmer pushing a farm implement. Now a woman underlines her barely hidden nudity with a transparent strip of cloth, and a naked, winged androgyne shoots an arrow at the next page of the manuscript.

These images take their full meaning in the gender lexicon as types in the corpus of medieval marginalia: Women are easily recognizable by clothing and body shape, but the addition of the distaff and spindle, incorporated into numerous variants, conveys the message that they are not just women but seen according to a gendered script, the more obvious when it is Eve who figures with distaff and spindle. Further, the distaff-wielding woman is shown as combative, charging on horseback at a frightened knight or at another woman, both mounted on rams, and this type of imagery creates tension between a normative gender code and codes of a female unruliness that even has devilish associations.

Thus, as carefully combined visual codes, the standardized motifs of medieval marginalia at once provide commentary on sex and gender, and, mirroring text, a parallel space where the illicit and the transgressive can be scripted.

SEE ALSO *Art; Bosch, Hieronymus; Erotic Art; Obscene.*

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MARIE ANTOINETTE
1755–1793

The youngest daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Franz I (1708–1765) and Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780), the archduchess Marie Antoinette married the dauphin Louis Auguste, future Louis XVI (1754–1793), in 1770. The marriage was intended to cement the alliance between France and Austria, but powerful factions at Versailles opposed the pact, and dubbed the dauphine *l'Autrichienne*, emphasizing *chienne*, which means *bitch*. Marie Antoinette's extravagance and unwillingness to submit to French royal protocol, coupled with the kingdom's declining finances, contributed to her unpopularity, drew

Marie Antoinette. **MANSELL/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.**

virulent attacks on her allegedly deviant sexual behavior, and fueled monarchical destabilization.

Between 1774 and 1780 Marie Antoinette's reputation for recklessness was established: incognito journeys from Versailles to balls at the Paris Opéra, astronomical sums spent on lavish clothing, excessive gambling losses, all of which, she explained to her mother while dutifully reporting on her menstrual cycles, to which she referred as *la générale*, resulted from anxiety over being childless. It was seven years before the royal marriage was consummated (Louis XVI may have suffered from phimosis), and vicious gossip about the king's impotence and the queen's alleged sexual escapades accorded her a host of lovers, including the comte d'Artois (the king's youngest brother) and the Swedish count Axel von Fersen. Among the slanderous pamphlets that began to appear in the 1770s, *Le Lever de l'aurore*, transformed the queen's peaceful viewing of the sunrise into an orgy at which she hid her adulterous couplings in the shrubbery.

Fantasies about what Marie Antoinette might be hiding were fueled by her frequent withdrawal to the Petit Trianon, a private house in the park at Versailles presented to her by the king in 1774. Most of the court, excluded from this intimate realm and unable to witness what happened there, imagined it instead, and always to Marie Antoinette's detriment. In 1779 the queen chose to recuperate from the measles at Trianon, accompanied by only a few ladies and four gentlemen, providing ample material for titillating gossip. The impact of such behavior culminated in the disastrous Affair of the Diamond Necklace (1785), when the Cardinal de Rohan, hoping to gain the queen's favor, purchased an excessively valuable necklace at the instigation of the so-called Comtesse de Lamotte-Valois, whom he believed to be acting secretly on the queen's behalf but who confiscated the jewels and fled. Believeing that Rohan was attempting to slander her, the queen insisted on his arrest and a public trial before the Parlement. Openly hostile to the queen, the Parlement acquitted the cardinal and humiliated Marie Antoinette. The scandalous plot was largely possible because of the queen's sexual reputation, and hinged on a fictitious meeting between the Rohan and the queen alone at night in a bosquet at Versailles. The queen's nocturnal jaunts to Paris, nighttime strolls in the gardens, and gallant male companions predisposed many to believe the story.

Already accused of moral and sexual disorder, Marie Antoinette's influence over royal politics was criticized as that of a virago bullying her impotent husband. When the revolutionary leader Mirabeau's (1749–1791) remark declared that Marie Antoinette was the only man supporting Louis XVI, the remark was meant as a compliment but might be construed as referring to what the queen's enemies considered inappropriately mannish behavior. At Trianon, Marie Antoinette's small private domain, postings *by order of the queen* were accepted, but they caused scandal at Saint Cloud, likewise the queen's private property, but a much larger one, and it was declared *immoral* for a queen of France to own palaces and give orders in her own right, because, as the pamphlet *Les Crimes des reines de France* (The crimes of the queens of France, 1791) proclaims, "A people is without honor and merits its chains,/When it bows its head to the scepters of Queens."

Marie Antoinette's alleged sexual proclivities were illustrated, embellished, and magnified in pornographic pamphlets, which invented a nymphomaniac queen equally voracious for women as she was for men. The queen was frequently portrayed engaging in sex with her closest friends, the princesse de Lamballe and the comtesse de Polignac. In the pamphlets Marie Antoinette sometimes takes a dominant male role, as in *Le Godmiché royal* (The royal dildo, 1789), where she appears in the guise of a dildo-wielding Juno. Other pamphlets, including *Les Fureurs uterines de Marie-Antoinette* (The uterine ragings of Marie Antoinette, 1791) and *La Vie privée, libertine et scandaleuse de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche* (The dissolute and scandalous private life of Marie Antoinette of Austria, 1793), venomously construct a phantasmagorically deviant, sexually omnivorous creature more insatiable and dangerous than Agrippina or Messalina, Roman empresses reputed to have had insatiable sexual appetites.

Not only was Marie Antoinette accused of weakening France in favor of her homeland, but the uncontrollable *uterine ragings* that supposedly provided her alleged lovers liberal access to the queen's sexual organs placed the kingdom in jeopardy. As tribade the queen dominated the king (and through him the kingdom), forsaking her marriage and the production of heirs; sexual activity with men cuckolding the king and threatening the legitimacy of the Bourbon succession. Some purported Marie Antoinette's children to be bastards:

> Louis, if you want to see
> A bastard, a cuckold, a whore,
> Look at your mirror,
> The Queen, and the Dauphin
>
> *(de Decker 2005, p. 101; Zweig 1999, p. 170).*

The most perverse sexual accusation against Marie Antoinette was made during her trial in 1793: incest with her eight-year-old son, the duc de Normandie (Louis XVII, 1785–1795), whose alleged corruption by his mother would ultimately empower the *Austrian pantheress*, ravenous to gorge upon French blood. By dominating her son sexually, the queen would control him and dispose of the kingdom as she pleased.

Marie Antoinette's unwillingness to submit to the performative demands of her station proved personally deadly and ultimately hastened the fall of the monarchy.

SEE ALSO *Lesbianism; Political Satire; Sex, Race, and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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MARRIAGE

Marriage is an unusually pervasive social institution that confers social status by joining social actors together in sexual and procreative partnerships. It often serves as a rite of passage to adulthood and a means of enfranchising young people in society. Marriage standardizes, normalizes, and legitimates some sexual partnerships and family formations while marginalizing others as abnormal. As an institution that contributes to social stability through the legitimating of offspring and the conferral of rights of inheritance, marriage canalizes sexual urges into formations regarded as legitimate and worthy of social sanction.

Marriage may be, as some social conservatives aver, the bedrock of civilization in its contribution to social stability. But there is no denying that marriage has taken vastly different forms in different societies. Polygyny (meaning multiple wives joined to one husband), polyandry (multiple husbands joined to one wife), complex marriage (polyamorous or multiple-partner arrangements), and temporary marriage all have a place in the history of marriage and in the history of religions. What constitutes marriage, even within a single marital form such as monogamy, has fluctuated so immensely over the centuries that the term *traditional marriage* simply has no meaning.

In ancient Rome, for example, marriage vows were spoken by the groom and the bride's father, as was appropriate in a society that deemed many categories of women unable to make legal decisions for themselves. Major religious traditions recognize a wide variety of marital forms as ideal, and have diverse views on the question of whether marriage is an absolute social good for all persons. Historically, marriage as an institution that contributes to social stability has sometimes been welcomed and legitimated by religious authorities and has sometimes been deemed contrary to the religious goals that religious leaders hold dear. Precisely because it contributes to social stability, because it perpetuates a social world deemed problematic, marriage did not win the approval of many early Christian and early Buddhist authorities, for example. As these religions became more established and less countercultural, both had to reckon with and find a place for marriage and family life. But many early Christians, as with early Buddhists, tended to devalue mainstream society to the extent that they were either indifferent to marriage or regarded celibacy as the proper path of religious practice.

Marriage exists as both a civil affair, in which civic authorities (such as a justice of the peace) preside over a secular ceremony of marriage, and as a religious affair, in which clergy preside. Some religions, like Buddhism, leave marriage largely in the hands of civil authorities and have no set liturgy for marriage. Other religions have canonical forms, but these are not always rooted in scripture.

ASSESSING WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND AGENCY

Gender relations in marriage are often built out of assumptions about essential differences between women and men, girls and boys. The study of marriage is instructive as a window onto diverse historical interpretations of gender differences. It can help one see that whereas many marital formations crystallize unequal relations between women and men, endowing husbands with more rights (and sometimes with more responsibilities, it should be said) than wives, there are other modalities of marriage that challenge familiar assumptions about the fixity of gender and the differences between male and female gender roles. Some marital formations seem to grant women more agency, or allow for more autonomy in some spheres of life, than do other marital forms.

Given the wide variety of marital forms and the differing expectations of the spouses within these forms, it is interesting to consider what marital form might be best for women. Which marital form best ensures that a woman's legal and human rights will be protected? Within a given marital form, what are the conditions for divorce, and do both women and men have the right to ask for divorce? Which marital form gives women the broadest scope for agency in terms of their education and the vocations they can pursue? Are women's rights better protected in monogamous arrangements, where a woman is paired with a single spouse, than in polygynous arrangements, where a woman potentially competes with co-wives for affection, attention, and enfranchisement? These questions are asked for heuristic purposes here as a prompt for future research. But one might take up the last question as an example of what can be learned by investigating marital forms in a comparative manner.

MONOGAMY AND THE DOUBLE STANDARD

Monogamy would seem to put women on equal footing with men by taking the element of competition between women out of the picture. But much depends on whether a double standard prevails in a monogamy-dominant culture or subculture. Prescriptive literature on monogamous marriage in the major religions often construe marriage as a set of norms that both spouses must follow to win social sanction and religious merit. However, these normative rules are often more assiduously applied to wives than to husbands. There are a number of reasons why this is often the case. Men's inability to conceive children certainly makes male extramarital sexual activities less conspicuous and thus less subject to detection, stigmatization, and punishment.

Dominant religions supported by the state tend to reinforce social hierarchies, and when those hierarchies favor men over women and children, enfranchising men as autonomous social actors while disenfranchising women and children as dependents, one is more likely to see that men's sexual affairs are considered to be their own business. In patriarchal societies where women are sexually and economically subordinated to men and only gain access to material resources and power through their ties to men, men are likely to be held to less rigorous standards of behavior in terms of sexual ethics, as was the case with the elite men of classical Athenian society. Wives are more likely, across vast spans of history and cultural terrain, to be rewarded for sexual loyalty to their husbands and socially stigmatized (if not physically punished) for conducting extramarital affairs, whereas husbands have enjoyed relatively more freedom in this regard.

This double standard in marital ethics must be taken into account, for the latitude that is often implicitly permitted to husbands can make the social labor of monogamous marriage unequal and unfair to wives. When double standards permit monogamously wedded males to go outside the marriage for sex, romance, and companionship, the monogamously wedded wife may be doubly disadvantaged. To secure her husband's affections the licit wife may need to compete with illicit partners whose social influence, level of education, wealth, and power the wife may or may not be in a position to discern. The wife's relative lack of knowledge inevitably disempowers her in this competition. Compared with the position of a woman in a polygynous arrangement who is given some role in the process whereby licit co-wives are formally brought into the family, the monogamous woman may lag behind her polygynous counterpart in terms of agency. Only if the husband of the monogamously wedded wife chooses to be faithful to her (thus eliminating the element of suspense and competition) can it be said that she enjoys more agency than her polygynous counterpart.

FEMINIST ARGUMENTS FOR POLYGYNY

Polygyny seems on the face of it problematic for women. Once again, the specter of competition between wives rears its ugly head. But in societies where polygyny is allowed, it is often the practice of the wealthiest and most powerful men, and not universally practiced by all. The wives of wealthy and powerful men have their own social burdens, as will be seen below, but in general polygynous families are endowed with more material resources than monogamous families in the same society.

In addition to the relative wealth that a polygynous wife might have at her disposal, there is the argument that in cases where women select their own husbands, a woman can select as a mate a man who has already proved himself by the manner in which he cares for his other wives. Some Mormon women who practiced polygyny in the nineteenth-century American West expressed preference for a system in which a woman could select for herself a proven breadwinner by consenting to marry only a man who had done well for himself. Not all Mormon women's accounts are propolygyny, by any means. Some women saw it as a burden to be accepted because it was divinely ordained and laid down as a holy precedent by the patriarchs of the Bible, such Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But as Mormon women tended to be pragmatic in their marital choices and there is little discussion of love and romance in accounts of their lives, the opportunity to secure a proven mate may have been appreciated by many Mormon women, who are raised to make practical and not romantic choices in marriage.

Another feminist argument for polygyny is the possibility that women can share the burden of child care with co-wives. Because household arrangements in polygynous societies differ considerably, with some grouping co-wives together in separate apartments under one roof and some spreading co-wives out under separate roofs, sometimes in distant compounds, the degree to which child care could be pursued collectively depends on the context. But the potential for a set of helping hands to share the labor of child care can free women up for other tasks. Again, there is the testimonial of some Mormon women on the American frontier to suggest that collective mothering and the organized division of labor among co-wives could be a positive arrangement for those women who were blessed with a set of cooperative co-wives. Those Mormon women temperamentally suited to tasks other than childrearing had more opportunities than their non-Mormon counterparts (especially middle-class urban American wives) to pursue other forms of work. The nineteenth-century Mormon Church encouraged women to set up commercial enterprises outside the home and to be entrepreneurs, unlike the wider Victorian bourgeois society that discouraged financial and vocational independence in women. The accounts of some of the polygynous Mormon women of the American West show considerable self-sufficiency.

WEDLOCK AS SOCIAL LABOR

Institutions such as marriage and the ownership of private property do a great deal of social labor and can be regarded as twin pillars upholding a civilized society. In societies around the world, marriage and private property regulations are often the twin foundations of social stability, two primary means of contributing to the perpetuation of a social structure that is perceived as divinely mandated. (Indeed, careful regulation of property exchange and marriage have historically gone hand in hand, with exchanges of property being negotiated by families in establishing the marriage or betrothal contract.)

For those who hold utopian social visions and see the dominant social structure as antithetical to divine purposes or humanistic ideals, attention to property and sexual partnerships are equally important. Experiments with nonmonogamous marriage often go hand in hand with the abolition of private property in utopian communities. For example, the Perfectionist community founded by John Humphrey Noyes (1811–1886) in nineteenth-century America practiced a form of polyamorous marriage in which each woman was in theory married to all the men of the community and free to invite any man she pleased to her bed. Practicing a form of biblical communism based on New Testament admonishments to believers to pool their resources, the Perfectionists came to believe that the Kingdom of God had been established on Earth with the Second Coming of Jesus (6 BCE–30 CE)—an event that they located in the first century of the Common Era.

Monogamy was part of the old order of things that had passed away with the Second Coming. The Second Coming, according to Noyes, reversed the fall of humanity described in the Hebrew Bible Book of Genesis. The Perfectionists believed that the nexus of sinfulness associated with the fall (alienation from God, exile from the utopian state experienced in the Garden of Eden, monogamous marriage, private property, painful and repeated childbirth, labor geared toward private property acquisition, and the condition of death or human mortality) was ontologically broken by the Second Coming. Noyes wrote that this tenacious nexus could be laid to rest by overcoming the breach with God; the rest of the sinful nexus would then be destroyed: "The sin-system, the marriage-system, the work-system, and the death-system, all are one, and must be abolished together" (Muncy 1973, p. 171).

Another utopian community practicing a version of biblical communism was established by Rev. Jim Jones (1931–1978) in Jonestown, Guyana. As with the Perfectionists, the Jonestown community held property in common and believed that exclusive romantic relationships were a sign that the community members who engaged in such relationships had departed from the ideal of biblical communism. Such utopian links between the communal sharing of property and the communitarian approach to marriage suggest that whether one wishes to perfect society through utopian labor or maintain a society that God or some enduring sacred principle has mandated, one must couple properly and be deliberate in how one handles property.

To appreciate the couple's heavy burden of perpetuating or changing dominant social structures, the immense social labor that is performed by marriage, one only has to look at the procreative emphasis found in many religious traditions' vision of proper marriage. The demand that sex be dedicated to procreative ends indicates that marriage is often geared toward redirecting the couple's energies toward larger social goods. This makes the marriage bed a place of sexual self-control as much as a place of sexual indulgence. For early Christian thinkers who looked forward to the imminent return of their crucified savior Jesus and his establishment of an ideal millennial reign of perfection, marriage was not assumed to be a godly institution. As Peter Brown (1988) shows in *The Body and Society*, many early Christian thinkers were openly opposed to marriage as a perpetuator of a dominant social order that they believed to be on the verge of disappearance to be replaced by a heaven on Earth. Some of these early Christian thinkers drew on ascetic practices for the proper channeling of amorous impulses, practices that Romans bequeathed to both Christians and Hellenistic Jews.

The regulation of the minutia of sexual coupling is often the moral equivalent to religious piety of the virtuoso. This identification of the marriage bed as the arena of moral action is a crucial rhetorical step. It makes possible those religions (Theravada, Buddhism, and Roman Catholic Christianity, for example) that hold up sexually active married couples and celibate virtuosi as equally laudable exemplars of the morally proper life. Monogamy in such traditions is itself a moral exercise, a disciplining of the amorous impulses that makes it the lay counterpart to the monastic call to total self-discipline. It is no wonder, then, that many religions that scholars might characterize as pro-sex and pro-marriage raise the majority of their young to couple monogamously, a discipline that requires eschewing extramarital sex (and sometimes temporary sexual abstinence for the sake of ritual purity) while encouraging the path to complete sexual abstinence for the committed religious or monastic.

This vision of the marriage bed as a site of sexual self-control makes marriage a positive social good where lust is channeled productively. This vision of the goal of marriage can lead to the implication that all other forms of coupling are by definition sites of sexual excess and lack of control. Ruth Vanita (2005) suggests that heterosexual coupling out of wedlock and same-sex coupling are often positioned as the sexually permissive *others* by which marriage is constructed as a social good. (These forms of coupling are the *exemplum malum*, the negative examples out of which ideal marriages are constructed by opposition.) By placing marriage above mere lust, other arrangements are deemed intrinsically libidinous. Heterosexual coupling out of wedlock and same-sex coupling are thus constructed as antithetical to the larger social good in that they are defined a priori as antisocial and morally suspect.

MARRIAGE AS ALLIANCE: ARRANGED AND SEMIARRANGED MARRIAGES

Marriage plays an extremely important role in many societies as the primary means of creating alliances between different kinship or descent groups. Marriage is not the wedding together of mere individuals; marriage is the wedding of one family to another in an alliance deemed mutually beneficial to the continued fortunes and power of each. As a method of forging alliances between families, the stakes of marriage are often considered to be too high to allow children to select their own mates. As the star-crossed lovers of William Shakespeare's (1564–1616) *Romeo and Juliet* portray in their ill-fated adventure in mate self-selection, the children of elite families tend to be actively discouraged from becoming romantically involved with inappropriate partners (such as the children of rival families, in the case of Juliet and Romeo). Parents and extended families will utilize their contacts in the community (and sometimes the services of professional go-betweens and marriage brokers) to secure a suitable mate for their children.

Socioeconomic and religious compatibility are considered more important criteria for matchmaking than love between the bride and the groom. Among Hindus, once the matchmaking efforts of the extended family and go-betweens has determined a plausible match, astrologers may then be consulted to assess the suitability of the match based on the horoscopes of the bride and the groom. Although it is often expected that the bride and groom will develop affection for another as time goes on, the romantic feelings and sexual impulses of the children are felt to be less reliable than the judgments of elders and religious specialists about the proposed couple's compatibility.

This is not to say that romance and premarital sexual activity have no place in societies that practice arranged marriages. Children can circumvent the judgments of their elders by eloping with one another. If the relationship proves stable, marriages that began in elopement will often later be recognized as legitimate. Likewise, many families within societies that are said to practice arranged marriages actually favor something more like semiarranged marriages that take the romantic feelings of the young people into consideration. A semiarranged marriage would be one where elders serve as something akin to a dating service, introducing the children to suitable candidates but allowing the children to select their own spouses within an array of socioreligiously acceptable choices. If one explores the Internet-based dating services that cater to Asian Americans looking for religiously compatible mates, one will see that mate self-selection can work together with attention to the criteria of socioreligious compatibility such as caste identity, mutually agreeable horoscopes, and other factors important to the parents and larger community.

Thus, it is probably not helpful to draw a firm line between societies that practice marriages based on mutual affection and those that practice arranged marriages. Much depends on whether one is looking at elite or working-class individuals in a particular society, as well as whether one is interested in the marriages of rural or urban populations. In allowing for a gradation of possibilities falling between the poles of marriages based on romantic love and arranged marriages, due consideration is also given to the bulk of historical practice among the elite of Europe. The ideal of romantic love made its first appearance among the elite with the songs of the troubadours of southwest France, who sang in praise of adulterous love. Scholars dispute when the ideal of companionate marriage based on romantic love emerged in culturally legitimated forms. Suffice it to say, for much of premodern European history, companionate marriage was not practiced by the elite in significant numbers. Matrimony was the primary means by which the elite family's wealth or patrimony was passed down to its legitimate heirs. For the premodern European elite with considerable assets and power to consider, companionate marriage was not considered the social good that it is in the early twenty-first century.

CLASS MATTERS, OR THE SOCIAL BURDENS OF THE ELITE

Elite women have historically done some of the heaviest lifting in terms of the social labor that their marriages have been expected to perform. The higher the social class or position of authority within the society, the more likely it is that her sexual activities have consequence not just for her, but also for others. The purity of descent lines that elite women's legitimate offspring support only matter if there is an inherited authority or wealth that depends on there being no illegitimate children to sully those pure lines of descent. Where their landed gentry cohorts in medieval Europe might have endured preadolescent betrothals and marriages, locked chastity belts, and constant surveillance by nannies and servants, nonelite girls and women of premodern Christianized European cultures often selected their own mates. Many were encouraged to follow their feelings and, having made their selection, would be betrothed to a mate in a simple ceremony such as handfasting. Sexual activity was permitted after the betrothal as long as the couple presented themselves at the altar for marriage before any offspring were born.

Whereas many women throughout history have been asked to dedicate more resources to the private sphere of home and family than have men, elite men nevertheless have done their share of heavy lifting in terms of sacrificing personal desires for the collective good of the family. Societies that practiced primogeniture—as was common in premodern Christianized Europe—singled out the oldest legitimate male offspring to inherit the family estate. Because the entire patrimony went to the eldest son, the matrimonial destiny of this sole heir was far too crucial to leave up to him. In the arranged or semiarranged marriages common among the premodern elite of Europe, mates were selected for the most aristocratic males when the boys were as young as six or seven. The social labor that the younger sons' marriages were expected to perform was much lighter. Thus, younger brothers were generally free to select their own mates (they were also free to seek their own fortunes, not being eligible to inherit the family wealth).

SAME-SEX MARRIAGES AND CIVIL UNIONS FOR SAME-SEX PARTNERS

Whether same-sex partnerships should be recognized by the state and accorded the same benefits as heterosexual marriage is a hotly debated social issue being adjudicated in courts and in legislative chambers around the world in the early twenty-first century. The social reality of increasingly visible same-sex partnerships and future prospects of expanded legal protections for those partnerships have generated a great deal of controversy since the late 1990s. Within the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (GLBTQ) community as well as within straight circles, there is as much disagreement as consensus. In North America, there has not been so much contention over the question of who is married and who is not since the nineteenth-century debates over polygamy in the Utah territory and the mid-twentieth-century social upheavals over interracial marriage. On February 24, 2004, U.S. President George W. Bush (b. 1946) declared his support for a constitutional amendment that would permanently bar gays and lesbians from enjoying the 1,049 rights and responsibilities of marriage that are currently recognized by the federal government (this enumeration comes from a 1997 U.S. General Accounting Office report). Bush's show of support for a ban on GLBTQ marriage came in the wake of a decision by the Supreme Judicial Court for Massachusetts in the case of *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health* (2003) that held that GLBTQ couples should be granted the benefits and protections of marriage for the good of the families that they form and the protection of the children whom they raise.

What has emerged in many nations is a collection of legal categories ranging from same-sex marriages to same-sex civil unions to same-sex domestic partnerships. The Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, Spain, and South Africa are the only nations that, by the early twenty-first century, granted civil marriage to same-sex couples. This is the most extensive legal category in that civil marriage for GLBTQ people offers portability to the married couple; they can expect to receive the same benefits and legal protections should they move to another location within the nation that married them. Much of Europe (including Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Finland, France, Germany, Portugal, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia) now acknowledges the existence of same-sex partnerships for such purposes as inheritance law, property law, and the conferral of social benefits. The extent to which nations that do not marry same-sex couples will recognize the marriages of those who do is a fascinating arena of legal speculation and adjudication that may take decades to sort out. "How this trend will play out in countries that have not yet recognized same-sex relationships is still up in the air," observes Paula Ettelbrick, "Will the United States, for instance, accommodate a major corporation's desire to have one of its top executives from Canada move here with her legal spouse?" (2006, p. 21).

Same-sex marriage has virtually displaced several other contentious social issues, such as abortion, in America's early twenty-first-century culture wars between social conservatives and social progressives. Social conservatives often argue against same-sex marriage by asserting that marriage is already ailing as an institution. Social progressives who support same-sex marriage challenge social conservatives who hold these views to show how recognizing the vows of same-sex partners committed to lifelong partnership will harm the institution of marriage. If anything is to blame for the failure of marriages and families in contemporary society, social progressives argue, it would be the choices made by the heterosexuals who currently have the right to marry. If late twentieth-century statistical trends continue, approximately every other person who enters into marriage in America today will later seek divorce (Schoen and Weinick 1993).

Social conservatives often say that research shows that children only thrive in families headed by a father and a mother. It may well be true that two parents are better than one, social progressives argue, but there are many reasons why this would be the case—reasons other than the inherent rightness of having a mother and a father in the home. Given the feminization of poverty in America and given the fact that many single-parented homes are headed by women who on average earn less than men, many social progressives would consider a household's marital status less significant than financial difficulties that single-parented households face in raising children. The Massachusetts judges who ruled that the state must allow same-sex marriages argued that denying GLBTQ people the right to partner and parent only reinforces the problem of single-parent poverty by denying same-sex parents access to the legal mechanisms to care for their partner's children. (In Ohio and other states, for example, the surviving lesbian partner is not assured of custody of the children if the birth mother dies; inheritance law also presents much ambiguity for same-sex couples.)

Major religious traditions are as divided as the general public about the issue of solemnizing same-sex partners as married couples. Some Christian denominations, already strained over the issue of ordaining GLBTQ people as clerics, have come to verge of schism over the issue. Religious people in their community forums are shaping the future of marriage just as decisively as civil authorities are (with the conferral of various benefits, legal rights, and social status as families to GLBTQ people) in that religious leaders will play a gatekeeping role in sanctioning some partnerships and denying the legitimacy of others. Many religious leaders acknowledge that their congregations are in the midst of debates about issues of sexuality and sexual orientation that are not yet resolved and predict that it will be some time before religious congregations speak with one mind on the issue of marriage for same-sex couples.

Some religious leaders and scholars of religion insist that decisions about who should marry must be made on the basis of appeals to civil rights and not appeals to religious authority, scripture, or moral codes. On this civil basis, for example, Peter Gomes (2004), an American Baptist minister and Harvard University professor of Christian morals, argues for same-sex unions as a social good, regardless of how the New Testament is read or what American Baptist authorities might say about the moral status of homosexual partnerships. In this, Gomes exemplifies the approach of many progressive ecclesiastical leaders who feel that same-sex unions ought to be granted to GLBTQ couples as a matter of civil rights and social justice. Marriage as a civil affair presided over by civil and not religious officials, Gomes argues, is in fact very much in conformity with the historical tradition established by the first Puritans in New England. The Puritans rejected the English practice of clerical marriage as without scriptural precedent. For some seventy years the only marriages that the Puritans recognized were civil affairs (based on the Dutch custom of civil marriage) and not church affairs. Gomes sees continuity between the decision of the judges in Massachusetts affirming same-sex marriage on civil grounds and the historical practices of the early Puritan colonists.

Other scholars of religion and religious leaders are more interested in basing their arguments for same-sex marriage on appeals to the authority of scripture. For example, Eugene Rogers (2006) seeks to defend marriage for same-sex couples on the basis of nuptial metaphors in the Bible (for example, the community of the Bible is God's spouse, joined to God through mutual, nuptial obligations). He takes issue with those scholars who feel the New Testament's critique of existing social structures obviates the possibility for marriage as a social good and argues that the Bible has resources for establishing the sanctity of same-sex unions.

Just as the scholarly community is divided about what marriage might have meant in antiquity, what their religious traditions say about historical forms of marriage, and what marriage norms should prevail in the light of the demand that same-sex partnerships be recognized as marriages, so too, do GLBTQ people present a spectrum of opinions on what marriage has been and could be and whether they want to be part of the institution at all. Some same-sex couples and defenders of same-sex coupling are not interested in achieving the right to marry because they regard marriage as hopelessly sexist, patriarchal, and bourgeois.

In this, they join the ranks of progressive feminist critics of marriage who work to counter idealized portraits of marriage, such as those critics of federal campaigns of marriage promotion who argue that, whereas marriage has provided some women the cushion of emotional and economic security, it has also locked many women in unsatisfying, exploitative, abusive and even violent relationships. Progressive commentators such as Lisa Duggan (2004) regard federal marriage promotion campaigns as indicative of a decreased willingness to provide a social safety net for those citizens without resources. If the family unit is held up, through such federal initiatives, as the primary source of caretaking, Duggan asks, does this signal the ideological demise of the domestic programs advocated by proponents of the *great society*? Does federal support for marriage imply the privatization of welfare?

Whereas some GLBTQ people worry about such ideological consequences of marriage promotion, other GLBTQ people want to be able to marry and see the potential of same-sex marriage as a force for social good that will not only improve the lives of GLBTQ people but also benefit the rest of society as well. Jonathan Rauch (2004) and Andrew Sullivan (1996) argue for same-sex marriage on moral grounds, suggesting that the legally marginalized status of queer couples discourages fidelity and that same-sex marriage will reward faithful couples and limit promiscuity in the queer community. Michael Warner (1999) objects to this line of reasoning that privileges same-sex marriage as a public good analogous to a deindividuated form of coming out of the closet. Warner suggests in his critique of same-sex marriage advocates, such as Sullivan, that these defenders of marriage have contributed to the making of a new sexual McCarthyism in their attempt to win mainstream approval by stigmatizing those GLBTQ people who choose not to live monogamously partnered lives as well as those heterosexuals who choose not to marry.

It will be interesting to see whether progressive critics of marriage who object to the primacy granted to marriage will find common ground with those GLBTQ-rights advocates who stress the need for access to marriage as a core privilege of citizenship. The former have accused the latter of painting a more idealized portrait of marriage than even the most unquestioning of social conservatives and in the process marginalizing unmarried people and neglecting the social value of other committed partnerships, such as elderly siblings who form domestic partnerships to care for each other financially and emotionally. The debates over same-sex marriage clearly generate much discussion about what social formations people value as cultures and why they value them. As of the early twenty-first century, it remains to be seen what modalities marriage will take. In the meantime marriage will go on as people deliberate about how to couple properly and handle property.

SEE ALSO *Adultery.*

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MARRIAGE, SPIRITUAL

Spiritual marriage describes a legal, religious, and/or self-chosen union in which both partners agree to forego sexual relations. Spiritual marriages were practiced primarily in the late classical period (c. 400–330 BCE) and throughout the Middle Ages (500–1500 CE) and served as earthly incarnations of the metaphoric marriage between Christ and his church. As sexuality was often interpreted as a sign of humanity's fallen nature, the members of a married couple might choose to abandon sexual intercourse in an attempt to sanctify themselves before God.

The roots of spiritual marriage can be located in Jesus's and Paul's advocacy of celibacy and the single life. Jesus taught that "Whoever comes to me and does hate not his father and mother and wife and children … he cannot be my disciple" (Luke 14.26), and Paul argues that "he who marries his fiancée does well; and he who refrains from marriage will do better" (I Corinthians 7:38). Early Church father Augustine writes in *On the Good of Marriage*, "In our day, it is true, no one perfect in piety seeks to have children, except spiritually" (p. 17.19). These passages adumbrate widespread beliefs among early Christians that elevated celibacy over sexuality. Marital celibacy symbolized a renewal of virginity in marriage, and virginity presaged rebirth and perfect life in heaven; sexual activity, on the other hand, suggested humanity's hopelessly fallen and earthly condition. Spiritual marriages, then, mediated between the positions of pure celibacy as a virgin and sexual congress in marriage.

Medieval saints' lives frequently emphasize their protagonists' triumph over sexuality in all of its incarnations. The most celebrated spiritual marriage, and the archetype of all others in the Christian tradition, is that of the Virgin Mary and Joseph, based upon the belief that Mary remained a virgin for all of her life. The Catholic Church celebrated feast days for numerous saints married celibately, including Hilary of Poitiers, Julian the Hospitaller, Germaine of Auxerre, Chrysanthus, and Cecilia. The ways in which celibacy is introduced into the marriage vary from legend to legend, but Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* is instructive in its depiction of Cecilia convincing her husband Valerian to choose marital celibacy over sexuality:

> And if that [my guardian angel] may feelen, out
> of drede,
> That ye me touche, or love in vileynye,
> He right anon wol sle [slay] yow with the dede
> [deed],
> And in youre yowthe thus ye shullen dye;
> And if that ye in clene love me gye [guide],
> He wol yow loven as me, for youre cleennesse,
> And shewen yow his joye and his brightnesse.

Valerian accedes to Cecilia's wishes for a *clean love*, and they live a life of perfect chastity together until they are both brutally martyred. The tale's focus on the ways in which wives lead their husbands to chastity in marriage is a frequent trope of the genre, and this pattern can also be observed in the fifteenth-century *Book of Margery Kempe* (1997), the first autobiography written in English, which details Margery's sinful past and her travails in marriage. She overcomes these obstacles when she convinces her husband to transform their marriage into a spiritual one so that she can find greater communion with God.

Although spiritual union appears foremost a method for achieving greater holiness in heterosexual unions, sworn brotherhoods serve as a fascinating subset of such alliances in which two men pledge their eternal fidelity to each other in much the same manner as a marriage. John Boswell (1994) traces the roots of such relationships to the Greco-Roman world and the ways in which early Christian practices syncretized elements from pagan rites. In the early fourteenth century, Edward II's relationship with Piers Gaveston, for example, was described as a covenant of brotherhood that celebrated their deep bonds of love. In the medieval romance *Amis and Amiloun* (Foster 1997), also dated to the early fourteenth century, the narrator details such a brotherhood oath between the eponymous protagonists. The language of the union is reminiscent of marriage oaths:

> On a day the childer, war [aware] and wight
> [brave],
> Trewethes [truths] togider thai gun plight
> [pledged],
> While thai might live and stond
> That bothe bi day and bi night,
> In wele [good times] and wo [bad times], in
> wrong and right,
> That thai schuld frely fond [nobly prove]
> To hold togider at everi nede,
> In word, in werk, in wille, in dede,
> Where that thai were in lond,
> Fro that day forward never mo
> Failen other for wele no wo.
> Therto thai held up her hond.

Such fraternal alliances appear to mirror marriage in many ways, but it is unlikely that they openly condoned homosexual relationships. Rather, such deep bonds of friendship, which are made public through the ceremony of the oath, mimic heterosexual marriage yet also tacitly highlight its spiritual aspects.

Although many exegetes lauded spiritual marriages as an appropriate escape from carnal desire, other Church fathers were suspicious of them. The concept of spiritual marriage conflicts directly with the concept of the conjugal debt, another basic premise of marriage as propounded by early Church fathers, that demands marriages must be consummated. In the cases of religious women living in the houses of clergymen, great suspicions often arose that the spiritual marriages provided a façade for sexual activity. Spiritual marriages were thus both blessed by and bothersome to various Church fathers due to widespread discomfort with integrating sexuality into Christian life.

SEE ALSO *Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Monasticism.*

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Tison Pugh

MARRIAGE BED, RITUALS OF

Weddings are complex rituals involving practices that have the same purpose in spite of differences between cultures and changing traditions. Those rituals correspond to the sequence identified by Arnold van Gennep (1960) in his definition of rites of passage: A wedding includes rites of separation, transition, and incorporation into a new life. All those rites celebrate the new status of the spouses and the fact that their union is not only a private matter but also an agreement involving families and their social environment. Processions and exchanges of gifts are recurrent manifestations of this wider aspect of weddings. Traditionally even the most intimate part of a wedding—its consummation—was made public through a series of marriage bed rituals.

THE PURPOSE OF WEDDING BED RITUALS

Depending on the focus put on this crucial part of the marriage contract, friends of the bride and the groom, the mothers and other women in the community, and even the priest who blessed the bed in western Europe until the eighteenth century played their roles in the wedding chamber. The bridal room and the bed were prepared and decorated by women who accompanied the bride to the chamber and often undressed her while the groom was with his male friends and relatives. Practices involving the wedding bed are related to three main preoccupations: ensuring the fertility of the couple, exorcising the evil spells that could prevent it, and proclaiming the honor of the bride's family by demonstrating her virginity.

The importance given to the public exhibition of the bride's virginity is reputed to be a characteristic of Mediterranean cultures and Jewish, Christian, and Muslim religious traditions. It also is found in Russia and among the Roma. In northern Europe the focus was on the public nature of the bedding ceremony that legitimized the marriage and the children to come. The bride's virginity was particularly significant in patrilineal societies: those in which the family line passed through the father to the firstborn male child. Legitimacy was essential if that child was to be accepted as the rightful heir. Showing the sheet or the bride's gown stained with blood to both families and to the community provided indisputable proof that her father had proper control over his household, especially over his daughters. His honor as their protector was at stake as he handed his daughters over to another male protector.

Some groups, such as Italian Jews, dealt with possible disputes about the absence of bloodstains of the sheet: Experienced wise women examined the bride before the first sexual encounter and looked at the sheet before and after the act; thus, they could bear witness to her virginity. According to the customs in different traditions, the first witness could be the bride's aunt or the groom's mother. The announcement could be shouted aloud or, as in Bulgaria or Cyprus after the fifteenth century, made by the newly married husband firing a gun. Women would gather in the wedding chamber and congratulate the bride, parents would give money to the couple, and the stained object might circulate among the guests on a platter. It also could be exposed the next morning, hanging on the walls of the house for everybody to see, or could be made available for viewing in a basket placed on the couple's bed.

From the husband's perspective, the public display of the first sexual encounter provided proof of his virility. Just as the honor of the bride's family was attached to her purity, his social image depended on his sexual competence. Symbols of fertility decorating the bed and propitiatory rites meant to protect the wedding bed against magic and evil spells were an important part of what happened in the wedding chamber.

THE NATURE OF WEDDING BED RITUALS

Historians report that in France fear of the groom's impotence on the wedding night assumed epidemic proportions in the sixteenth century. To protect him against a magical spell, rites of exorcism were performed, such as the couple avoiding sleeping in their bed on the first night or having a secret private wedding before the official one. In some places the first sexual encounter did not occur on the wedding night. The tradition might include the *Tobias nights*, in which the consummation was delayed for 1 to 3 nights as a celebration of conjugal chastity. In other places, such as Savoy, the Vendée region in France, and Scotland, the taboo against premarital relations and the requirement of the bride's virginity were not absolute. Practices of courtship that could go as far as allowing the couple to spend the night together were tolerated under parental supervision.

The public aspect of the first night was common to most societies. In ancient Greece maidens used to sing outside the bridal chamber so that the cry of the virgin

Bride Led to Marriage Bed. *A bride is led to her husband at the marriage bed in this 18th-century painting.* **© LEONARD DE SELVA/ CORBIS.**

was not heard as she was deflowered. In England the bedding ceremony began traditionally with the blessing of the bed by the priest, after which the couple was offered the *benediction posset*, a cup of sweetened spiced wine. In France it is still customary for young people to offer the couple a chamber pot with wine mixed with a variety of ingredients, accompanied by saucy jokes and lewd banter. Although the ingredients or the recipient may vary, the common element is that friends of the couple participate symbolically in their sexual encounter and legitimize it, integrating the couple into the community as a new conjugal unit. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, and even later in rural areas, this was also a way for groups of young males to exert informal control of the behavior of families and their daughters.

With the widespread acceptance of premarital sex, wedding bed rituals have lost a great deal of their significance. Their disappearance is indicative of a reconsideration of traditional hierarchies and a general questioning of the gender inequality they exemplified. It also demonstrates the effects of the homogenization of cultures, the inevitable accompaniment of westernization and its hegemonic processes.

SEE ALSO *Folklore; Marriage.*

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Madeleine Jeay

MARTYRDOM

Martyrdom is the culmination of a sequence of events in which a person is made to suffer and usually (although not always) die in a manner that is highly symbolic and emotive. Although there may be a historical core to martyrdom narratives, in general the story is crafted with the goal of highlighting the differences between the martyr and the person or forces that drove the martyrdom forward, and to increase a sense of audience remorse, guilt, and eventual repentance. In general the martyr is presented as a heroic, albeit pathos-inducing, figure, who symbolizes a particular cause. This may be religious, but can also be based on star-crossed love or ethnic struggle; sometimes the martyr is noteworthy only for suffering an extraordinarily tragic (and undeserved) death.

Narratives employing the tragic death of a heroine, such as Antigone and Iphigenia, appear in classical Greek literature; however, these narratives are usually not given the morality tale context of the later Judeo-Christian and Muslim martyrologies. They do, however, provide an ancestor to the subgenre of romantic martyrdom so common in both Christian and Muslim literature.

RELIGIOUS MARTYRDOM

The classical religious martyrdom narrative took shape during late antiquity (first–fifth centuries CE) in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Because of the religious divide between Jewish and Christian monotheism and polytheism, the martyrdom narrative was used to extol the sufferings of those who were unwilling to change their religion under duress. For women there was the added possibility of sexual abuse. In order to avoid either some type of ritual impurity (in Judaism) or sexual defilement (in Christianity), it was not unusual for women to kill themselves or to provoke their captors into a killing rage.

Christian martyrdom narratives of women are quite common, Jewish martyrologies somewhat less so. Some of the best-known Christian martyrs are St. Cecilia of Rome (second or third centuries); St. Catherine of Alexandria (d. c. 307); St. Margaret of Antioch (d. c. 304), who is venerated by the Orthodox Church; and St. Ursula, who was canonized along with 11,000 virgins who were martyred with her (fourth or fifth century). St. Cecilia was persecuted as a result of preaching Christian teaching; however, some others were killed for refusing to sacrifice their virginity by marrying men who were forced upon them.

SECULAR MARTYRDOM

The first Muslim martyr was a woman, Sumayya bint Khayyat, who was killed by Abu Jahl, one of the most ferocious enemies of early Islam. She, unlike similar figures in Judaism and Christianity, never became associated with any cult, nor is she venerated in the religion. However, most female martyrs in Islam were not sacrificed for religious reasons but were romantic literary figures. Majnun and Layla, for example, were a tragic couple whose circumstances did not permit their union. In despair Majnun killed himself and Layla died of a broken heart. Their narrative forms the basis for numerous popular and mystical stories of denied love and death for the sake of the beloved (such as William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* [c.1595]), and are strongly in the tradition of Greek tragedy. The cycle of Majnun and Layla exists in popular versions in Arabic, Persian (versions by Nizami Ganjavi [d. 1202] and Jami [1414–1492]), and Turkish (Fuzuli [d. 1556]) and is commemorated widely in popular Iranian and Indo-Muslim art.

Christian martyrs with popular status in the secular community, such as Joan of Arc (1412–1431), are comparatively rare in the martyrologies. Joan galvanized the largely defeated French populace against the occupying English and was captured and killed as a result. As Jews more frequently became the victims of pogroms during the Middle Ages, heroines such as Rachel (b. 1753), the wife of Rabbi Judah of Cologne, who killed her children and then herself to save them from the Crusaders, became the subject of popular narrative. This *topos* also occurs extensively in Muslim literature, where the figure of the female warrior can be found in both classical Arabian epics and popular tales such as the *Arabian Nights* (tales compiled over thousands of years with no certain original date). The Turkish warrior epic *Battalname* (fifteenth century), focused on the exploits of the border hero Sayyid Battal who fought against the Byzantines, is such a tale. The daughter of the Byzantine emperor sees Battal and immediately converts to Islam. She throws a stone with a message written on it that she will betray her father for Battal's sake. Unfortunately the stone accidentally kills Battal and the emperor's daughter commits suicide to join him in paradise.

MODERN PERSPECTIVES

Later Christian writing emphasizes martyrs who either died on religious missions or at the hands of tormentors unlike the virginal, romantic, or heroic martyrs of late antiquity or the Middle Ages. Women are remarkable for their absence in early Protestant martyrologies, such as that of John Foxe (d. 1587). But there are a number of female martyrs among African and Asian converts to Christianity. Probably the best-known female African Protestant martyr is Dona Beatrix Kimpa Vita (d. 1706), who was burned at the stake for her heresy by Catholic missionaries in the Congo. From Korea there is the figure of Kollumba Kang Wansuk, who was a prominent Protestant activist and martyr killed in

1801 by the Chinese authorities. Like the early Christian martyrs and Joan of Arc, she was a virgin. The best-known contemporary Roman Catholic female martyr is probably Edith Stein (1890–1942). Stein converted from Judaism to Christianity and was murdered in the concentration camp at Auschwitz by the Nazis in 1942. Female Hindu and Buddhist martyrs are virtually absent until modern times.

Many political causes have had prominent women members or actually have been led by women, and have produced many female martyrs. From the women of Tibet, to the female suicide attackers among the Palestinians and Chechens, to the anti-apartheid campaigners of South Africa, to the Tamils of northern Sri Lanka, disproportionate numbers of women (relative to men associated with the same causes) have become martyrs based on their ideology. Some female martyrs, suicide attackers for example, are responsible for the deaths of many others. The phenomenon of female suicide attackers, so unusual in the context of many societies, is the subject of much scholarly research and popular journalistic writing in the early twenty-first century.

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David Cook

MARXISM

SEE *Communism and Marxism.*

MARY MAGDALENE

Mary Magdalene (Mary of Magda, currently Mejdel in Israel) is mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew, appearing at the scene of the Crucifixion: "There were also many women there, looking on from afar, who had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering to him, among whom were Mary Magdalene, Mary the Mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee" (Matthew 27: 55–56). Mary Magdalene is also the most notable witness to the Resurrection, together "with the other Mary": "Now after the Sabbath, toward the dawn of the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary went to see the sepulcher ..."(Matthew 28: 1–10). The women are told by the Angel of the Lord that Jesus has been resurrected, and they inform the Apostles.

Mary Magdalene is present at the Crucifixion in all three synoptic Gospels and in the Gospel of John, which stresses the importance of this woman disciple by describing her as the first person to whom the risen Jesus appears in the garden and addresses: "But Mary stood weeping outside the tomb ... she turned around and saw Jesus standing. ... 'Mary. ...' She turned and said to him in Hebrew 'Rabboni. ...' Mary Magdalene went and said to the disciples 'I have seen the Lord,' and she told them that he had said these things to her" (John 20: 11–20).

THE CHURCH AND THE IMAGE OF MARY MAGDALENE

Thus, Mary Magdalene was recognized as the first witness to the most important tenet of Christian dogma: the Resurrection. After the Church began combining the various women named Mary and pronounced without evidence that Mary Magdalene was the sinner who washed and anointed the Lord's feet in the Gospel of Luke, her figure became distorted. Thus, Gregory the Great declared in 591 that Mary was the sinful woman in Luke, the same one whom John calls Mary of Bethany and the one who in Mark is exorcised by Jesus. Many Latin Church fathers adopted that version and identified

Risen Christ Appears to Mary Magdalene. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID.

her with Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, and also with the anonymous sinner in Luke 7: 36–50. The Greek Church Fathers, starting with Origen, ascribed a different identity to each of the three Maries, but throughout the centuries in Europe and America, the world Mary Magdalene became associated with the prostitute who washed Jesus's feet and dried them with her hair.

Popular religious legends and traditions, starting from the ninth century with the *Miracula* of Mary Magdalene and continuing with the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus of Voragine (born 1230) dated around 1260, have direct bearing on her iconography, and Mary Magdalene has been depicted as the repentant and penitent Magdalene with loose long hair, a symbol of abandonment to God. The *Legenda*, moreover, records the legend that Mary Magdalene ended up in Marseilles, France, pregnant with a child, perhaps from John, from whom ultimately descends the French royal line.

It also is said of Mary Magdalene, whose second name means *remaining guilty* and whose first name means *marum mare*, or *bitter sea*: "[S]he was magnificent in the superabundance of grace, because where trespass abounded, grace was superabundant." (*Legenda Aurea*, pp. 374–375). According to the same legend, Mary died at Aix-en-Provence after having spent thirty days in the desert. In 769, during Charlemagne's time, Gerard, the duke of Burgundy, unable to have a son, had a monastery built at Vézelay and ordered that the relics of Mary Magdalene be brought there from Aix. According to the Chronicler Joinville, in 1248 Louis IX, the king of France (Saint Louis) made a pilgrimage to Aix, where the body of the Magdalene was said to lie (Le Goff 1996). In 1279 new remains of relics were discovered at Aix in the crypt of Saint Maximin, who had been Mary's protector from her time in Palestine and to whom Peter had entrusted her (*Legenda Aurea*, pp. 374–381). She is the patron saint of Vézelay, where her relics are kept and where she is venerated; her feast day on July 22 is a major holy day.

MARY MAGDALENE AS PATRON SAINT

Mary Magdalene has become the patron saint of prostitutes, perfume makers, gardeners, and barrel makers. In France she is associated with the ripe fruits of late summer. The fruits (grapes, peaches, pears, and plums) that suddenly ripen around her feast day were called *madeleines***,** and on that day the wine growers made an offering of their first grapes, hanging them on her altar (Canadé Sautman 1995, Gaignebet and Lajoux 1985). Mary Magdalene is also the patron saint of women in labor and is connected to the red color of the veil she wore at the Crucifixion (Canadé Sautman 1995). According to the ethnologist Claude Gaignebet, the wild man of winter in European popular tradition is a companion of Mary Magdalene and is dressed with her hair (Gaignebet and Lajourx 1985). She also is connected with the Apostle James, who, like her, is a Saint of the *Canicula* (dog days), stone cutters, the guarding dog, and the shell of Venus.

The word *maudlin*, meaning *tearful penitent*, is derived from the Middle English *Maudelen***,** from the Late Latin and Greek *Magdalènè*. It is apparent that Mary's reputation has been affected by this characterization, though in a melancholy way, and this image has obscured her other side as an exemplar of the contemplative life, in contrast to her sister Martha, as she is seen by Dante (*Convivio*, IV, xvii, 10–11).

OTHER IMAGES OF MARY MAGDALENE

The figure and role of Mary Magdalene are complicated further if one considers the *Gnostic Gospel of Mary Magdalene*, discovered in Egypt in 1896, in which Mary assumes a leading and principal role, more important even than that of Peter (Pagels 2003). This text establishes Mary Magdalene as a true disciple of Jesus and the one to whom the Risen Christ appeared and imparted things unknown to the others. Thus, Mary becomes, as Ann Graham Brock (2003) states, the "apostle of the apostles," and her figure is a direct challenge to the doctrine of the Catholic Church with respect to the ordination of women in the priesthood. The importance of the various Gnostic texts, including the Gospel of Philip and the Gospel of Jude, is accepted by feminist scholars who seek to bring back the figure of the historical Magdalene that the Church has chosen to distort. Jane Schaberg, a feminist biblical scholar, does that in *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene* (2002) by showing that Mary was a powerful woman who was very close to Jesus and even John but whose legitimacy was undermined by the Church in its desire to bury the true image of an important female disciple. Schaberg's contention has been accepted and transmitted in the work of feminist scholars such as Karen L. King (2003), Ann Graham Brock (2003), Margaret Starbird (1993), and Bruce Chilton (2005).

Since 1969 the Catholic Church has made a distinction between the sinner described in Luke, Mary of Bethany, and the Mary Magdalene, who was present at the Cross and the Resurrection. Although it recognizes that Mary Magdalene speaks the language of love (as in the "Gospel of John" in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* 1968, p. 462), it has not modified its teaching regarding women and the priesthood. In the canonic Gospels, Jesus is shown to have broken the taboo of talking to women in public, as in the case of the Samaritan woman, but the Gnostic Gospels show that Peter and the disciples could not accept the idea that a woman had received preeminence from the Lord, as in the case of Mary Magdalene. The power of popular beliefs and the iconography of the repentant woman implanted and exploited over the centuries made it impossible to dissociate the figure of Mary from the penitent whore. That characterization remained a constant until the work of feminist scholars as well as other biblical scholars raised serious questions about the figure of Mary Magdalene as a sinner or a saint (see *Time*, August 11, 2003, and *The New Yorker*, February 13 and 20, 2006) and the issue of whether she was one of the first apostles.

Although there is no evidence that Mary Magdalene was a prostitute, that she was the lover of Jesus, or that they were married and had a child, there is evidence in both the canonical and Gnostic Gospels that she was an apostle like the others, perhaps one who was even closer to Jesus. The myths and the legends surrounding Mary Magdalene and the popularity of contemporary films and novels such as Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code* (2003) have reopened the debate and perhaps will give Mary Magdalene her proper historical meaning as one of the closest and first apostles to Jesus.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Folk Beliefs and Rituals; Melancholia and Sex.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS

The Virgin Mary has had a formative influence on Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, although she remains marginal to Protestantism. As a unique symbol of maternal femininity in the Christian tradition, she is an important figure for the study of religion and gender, but interpreting her significance is a complex task.

There is a tension between the biblical Mary of Nazareth and the Holy Mother of God revered by Catholic and Orthodox Christians. The mother of Jesus is not a central figure in the Gospels, and her historical life as a Jewish villager in the Roman Empire is virtually

Madonna and Child by Bonaventura. Madonna and Child, *a fourteenth-century painting by Segna di Bonaventura.* © NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS.

unknown. But as Mother of God, Queen of Heaven, and Bride of Christ, Mary has attracted a vast following and her influence extends far beyond the sphere of religion to include art, music, literature, and popular culture.

While Marian doctrine and theology tended to be almost exclusively the preserve of an educated male elite until the late twentieth century, devotion to Mary has been an important source of inspiration for women as well as men of many different classes, cultures, and eras. Representations of Mary, however, reflect their historical and cultural contexts, and to decipher their significance in terms of changing constructs of sex and gender requires contextualized study. In addition, Mary has often been a figure of controversy, such as the debates between Catholics and Protestants or, in the early twenty-first century, between feminists and conservatives. The Madonna has been a mascot for triumphal Catholicism in wars and colonial conquests (Perry and Echeverría 1988), but she has also become a symbol of consolation and inspiration for indigenous and colonized peoples, for example, in Latin America (Gebara and Bingemer 1989). Some modern interpreters regard her as an oppressive symbol with regard to female spirituality and sexuality (Hamington 1995, Warner 2000), others view her as the repressed goddess of the Christian tradition, and some see her as a symbol of solidarity and sisterhood with contemporary women's struggles for equality. The Orthodox churches have been less susceptible to these changing cultural influences, and they tend to reflect a more timeless ideal of Mary as a holy source of maternal compassion and tenderness whose iconic image invites worshippers to contemplate the mystery of the incarnation. Despite these variations, it is probably safe to say that Mary usually represents the highest religious ideals of motherhood and womanhood in all these different contexts, and her counterpart—Eve—is likely to be invested with negative qualities associated with fear of female rebelliousness, particularly in the area of sexuality.

The following summary is intended to provide markers for those wishing to undertake more detailed study, but it can do no more than gesture toward the significance of Mary for the understanding of sex and gender in the Western religious tradition.

MARY IN THE BIBLE

There are relatively few references to Mary in the New Testament, and there is scholarly debate as to her biblical significance (Brown et al. 1978). Mark's Gospel implies some tension between Jesus and his family (Mark 3:21, 31–35). Luke's Gospel includes the story of the Annunciation, Mary's visit to Elizabeth, the birth of Christ and the presentation of the infant Christ in the temple (Luke 1–2), all of which have had a formative influence on the Marian tradition. The visit of the magi and the flight into Egypt are described in Matthew 2, and in John's Gospel, the mother of Jesus is referred to as instigating the first miracle at the wedding at Cana (John 2:1–12), and she is a significant figure at the crucifixion (John 19:25–27). There is also a reference to Mary praying with the disciples after Christ's Ascension (Acts 1:14). The reference to a pregnant woman in the book of Revelation has traditionally been associated with Mary, although biblical scholars today agree that it is primarily a reference to the church (Rev. 12:1–17).

The Old Testament is the source of some of the most enduring scriptural influences on the Marian tradition. The traditional Christian belief that the prophecies of the Hebrew religion were fulfilled in Christ is problematic from the perspective of Jewish-Christian relations and was subject to considerable revision in the late twentieth century, but it is crucial for an understanding of the development of Marian theology.

Mary has been identified with the Bride in the Song of Songs and with the figure of Wisdom in Proverbs 8, but the most significant Old Testament influence is the story of creation and the fall in Genesis 1–3. Jesus is referred to as the second Adam in several of the Pauline letters (Rom. 5:12–21; 1 Cor. 15:21–22, 45–49), and by the second century, writers such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Tertullian were referring to Mary as the New Eve.

The relationship between Mary and Eve relates to beliefs about the nature of Christ (Christology), and to beliefs about the salvation of women (soteriology). From a Christological perspective, it situates Christ within the human story from the beginning and shows the incarnation to be a new creation. As virgin mother, Mary is likened to the virgin earth from which the first Adam was created, while as the New Eve she is the female partner to Christ, the second Adam. From a soteriological aspect, the title New Eve affirms that all women, including Eve, are redeemed in Mary. Early Christian thinkers were developing a narrative of women's salvation in which Eve and Mary together represent "everywoman"—Eve symbolizes the suffering that women experience in a fallen world through domination in marriage and pain in childbirth, while Mary symbolizes the fulfillment of God's promise of redemption (Beattie 2002). This early reconciling vision, however, gradually yielded to a more dualistic interpretation in which Eve—and by association all women—became associated with temptation, sin, and death, while Mary's virginal purity and obedience took on aspects that made her increasingly remote from the ordinary condition of women's lives, particularly after the Reformation.

FOUNDATIONS OF MARIAN THEOLOGY

The earliest theological discussions about Mary's virginal motherhood were primarily concerned with defending the claim that Jesus was fully God and fully human, against various movements arguing that God could not become fully identified with the corruptibility of the material world, particularly with the pollution of the maternal body. In response to these challenges, early theologians argued that Mary's motherhood affirmed the full humanity of Jesus, and her virginity affirmed his full divinity. He was born of a human mother as all humans are, but he was conceived by the power of God and was therefore fully divine.

In combining the apparently contradictory states of virginity and motherhood, the first Christians were looking for a language that would express the mystery of the incarnation through the paradoxical coupling of opposites—God/human, word/flesh, virgin/mother. A more moralistic trend emerged as Christianity became institutionalized, and from the fourth century Mary's virginal motherhood became increasingly invested with qualities of modesty, humility, and chastity as ideals of Christian womanhood. The lives of ordinary believers, however, rarely conform to the theological and moral dogmas of religious rulers, and it is to devotional rather than doctrinal texts and practices that one must turn for a more fruitful line of enquiry about the Marian tradition in relation to women's lives.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN MARIAN DEVOTION

When Mary was declared *Theotokos* (God-bearer or Mother of God) at the Council of Ephesus in 431, the debate concerning the human and divine natures of Christ was conclusively resolved. There were candlelit processions in honor of Mary in Ephesus, suggesting that she had by that time become a focus for popular devotion. It seems likely that, with the conversion of Rome and the destruction of the Roman and Greek goddess cults, some of the spiritual energy that had been directed toward the mother goddess figures was redirected toward Mary, resulting in the vigorous flourishing of her cult.

The second-century apocryphal gospel known as the Gospel of James or Protevangelium of James is the earliest surviving evidence of interest in Mary's own life story. Here one encounters Mary's parents—Joachim and Anna or Anne—in a narrative that draws heavily on Old Testament texts (particularly the book of Samuel) and on Luke's account of the Annunciation, to describe Mary's early life. The Gospel of James is one of several texts that point to a Marian cult before the Council of Ephesus. For example, the hymns of Ephraem Syrus ('of Syria' or 'the Syrian,' c. 306–373) are among the most symbolically rich of all Marian writings, and they suggest a highly developed cult within the Syrian Church. There is a reference in the writings of Epiphanius (c. 315–403) to the cult of the Collyridians in which women made priestly offerings of bread to Mary. These surviving remnants of a Marian cult focused on maternity, fertility, and birth rather than sacrifice and death, suggesting forms of devotion more closely associated with women's religious practices than men's (Irigaray 1993). They may bear out Geoffrey Ashe's tentative hypothesis (1976) that there was an early Marian religion comprised mainly of women followers that coexisted alongside what would eventually become the mainstream Christ-centered tradition.

The Gospel of James had a vast influence on Marian art and devotion in the Middle Ages, partly because of its influence on two other texts—the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and the highly popular *Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*) by Jacobus de Voragine (1228 or 1230–1298). The fourteenth-century frescoes by Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua include numerous scenes from the Gospel of James. Between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the cult of Mary's apocryphal mother, St. Anne, flourished alongside that of Mary, in an era in which female saints were a highly visible aspect of Christian culture. As an affluent matriarch presiding over her holy offspring, St. Anne may have reflected the aspirations of the emergent mercantile classes, as well as the ideal of the pious Christian wife and mother. Moreover, at a time when theology had become the exclusive preserve of ordained men in the universities, women were developing new forms of mysticism and spirituality that allowed them to claim some authority that was not entirely under the control of the official hierarchy. The influence of Aristotelian biology meant that, while Christ's divinity was believed to come from a masculine, father God, his humanity came from the female body of Mary and his maternal ancestors, and this gave women access to forms of devotion that expressed a potent sense of identification with the body of Christ and its maternal origins (Bynum 1991).

Beyond the wealthy domestic settings depicted in images of St. Anne, medieval Europe was host to a vast range of other Marian devotions and beliefs that encompassed saints and sinners, rich and poor alike. This cult is evidenced in Marian litanies and feast days; in the prayers, music, art, and architecture associated with the great cathedrals and Marian shrines; in accounts of pilgrimages and miracles attributed to Mary's intercession; and in mystery plays and folktales. Abuse and superstition may have been rife in medieval religion, but weaving together these many different beliefs and practices was a powerful sense of the sacramentality of a world suffused with the presence of the Mother of God in the liturgical life of the maternal church, in the cycles and seasons of the natural world, and in the domestic sphere of women's lives.

MARY IN THE REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

The reformations that swept through northern Europe in the sixteenth century took different forms, but a consistent theme was the rejection of the cult of Mary and the saints associated with Catholic Christianity. With the Reformers' insistence on the Bible as the only source of revelation and their emphasis upon the cross of Christ as the exclusive means of redemption, the prolific popular devotions and sacramental practices of medieval Catholicism were replaced by more austere and word-centered forms of Christianity. In response to the challenge of Protestantism, the Roman Catholic Church introduced a series of reforms during the Council of Trent (1545–1563), and a more transcendent, spiritualized vision of Mary replaced the incarnational maternal cult of the Middle Ages. Mary became a more isolated figure, embodying romantic ideals of virginal femininity that may have been a reaction against the modernizing forces of science and rationality that were beginning to transform European society.

Continuing into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this increasingly sentimentalized Virgin became the focus of numerous apparitions, often involving adolescent girls such as Bernadette of Lourdes (1844–1879) in 1858 or three of the four young visionaries at Medjugore in the 1980s, suggesting a powerful cultural unconscious that continues to be shaped by religious desires resistant to the control of the dominant Western narrative of secularization and science. Accompanying this has been a rapid growth in pilgrimages, so that perhaps more people visit Marian shrines in the early twenty-first century than ever before in history. Within all these phenomena there are powerful forces at work, shaping and reflecting the image of woman in the context of ideals of piety associated with modern Catholicism. The late twentieth century, however, also saw the beginnings of a transformation of Mary in Christian theology and devotion, attributable partly to the influences of feminist and liberation theologies, and also to a new ecumenical interest in Mary since the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).

MARY IN MODERNITY

The role of Mary in relation to Christ and the church generated one of the most heated debates of the Second Vatican Council, focusing on the question of whether or not there should be a separate document devoted to her. In the end, the council's teaching on Mary formed chapter 8 of the document on the church, *Lumen Gentium*, reflecting the belief of a narrow majority that Mary must be understood in relation to the church rather than in glorious isolation. An unintended consequence of this was a rapid decline in Catholic devotion to Mary after the council. Under the papacy of John Paul II (r. 1978–2005) and influenced by the Swiss theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988), the last two decades of the twentieth century saw a revival of Marian devotion, often associated with resistance to feminist campaigns for women's ordination and for the affirmation of full sexual equality in the institutional life of the Catholic Church. At the same time, feminist and liberationist perspectives have focused on the biblical Mary as a woman of the people and champion of the poor and oppressed, while seeking to divest her of cultic attributes that are seen as anachronistic and oppressive to women. Others have argued that, as Queen of Heaven and Mother of God, Mary is a powerful focus for feminized forms of spirituality and devotion—whether or not she is accorded the status of a goddess—and that it is important to revitalize rather than reject this aspect of her cult (Spretnak 2004). Still others have sought to explore her significance from the perspectives of psychoanalysis and critical theory (Beattie 2002, Boss 1999).

MARY BEYOND CHRISTIANITY

Developments in interreligious dialogue have led to some interest in Mary's relevance for non-Christian religions, although this is still an underresearched area. The most significant focus on Mary outside Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christianity is to be found in Islam (Smith and Haddad 1989). Known by her Arabic name, Mariyam, she is the only woman specifically named in the Qurán and the nineteenth chapter of the Qurán is named after her. Although Islam rejects the Christian claim that Jesus was divine, the Koran affirms Mary's virginal motherhood, and many Muslims hold her in high regard. Mary might also be a figure of interest for Christian–Jewish dialogue, given that she is the one through whom Jesus acquired his Jewish identity, and bearing in mind her identification with the Jewish people, for example in the words of the "Magnificat," the hymn of praise attributed to Mary in Luke's gospel. Nevertheless, there has been a strong anti-Jewish tendency in some Marian art and devotion—particularly during the Middle Ages—and this is also an area that would benefit from further research.

As the influence of formal religion has declined in the West, so renewed interest in Mary has arisen in the context of the New Age movement and postmodern spiritualities. A growing number of art historians and religious historians are recognizing the importance of Marian studies for their disciplines. In many non-Western societies, Marian devotion is shaped by syncretistic encounters between indigenous religions and the Catholic tradition, providing rich areas for anthropological and sociological research. As the study of gender develops its methodologies and insights, it will bring new questions to bear on the understanding of Mary's role as the great maternal figure of the Christian tradition, and as a powerful but enigmatic influence on changing Christian concepts of womanhood and God.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Fatima.*

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MASCULINITY

This entry contains the following:

I. OVERVIEW

Many contemporary researchers of masculinity have suggested that a unitary conception of masculinity provides an illusionary heterogeneous perception of the masculine gender. In the place of a single masculinity, a plethora of masculinities emerge. Understanding that the idea of masculinity always contains various masculinities allows for fluid definitions of masculinity based on the culture and the historical period in which a man lives. In each culture there may be multiple conceptions of masculinity, which depend on the position the man fills within the culture. To some extent the difference between a unitary masculinity and a variety of masculinities can be understood as the distinction between sex and gender. A single masculinity suggests a vision of masculinity based on a biologically determined sexual binary, whereas masculinities also involve an understanding of gender as culturally, socially, and historically derived.

BIOLOGICALLY DETERMINED MASCULINITY

The debate surrounding attempts to define masculinity has never completely left behind the effort to conceptualize masculinity as a product of biology. From Lionel Tiger's hypothesis in *Men in Groups* (1969), that aggressive masculine behavioral traits are a biological evolutionary inheritance deriving from the emergence of hunting societies, to more scientifically based arguments founded on levels of testosterone and DNA structures, biological definitions of masculinity have always played an important role in understanding the masculine.

Yet it has been argued that a biologically based definition of masculinity does not add to an understanding of gender. Instead, definitions relying on biology serve an essentializing function. Biological definitions use further understanding of the body to differentiate the masculine and the feminine from each other and thereby reinforce a two-gender dichotomy that was presumed from the beginning. In this way a biological definition of masculinity can become a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy in which bodily difference is used to transform a known difference into an all-important difference. Through such a definition biology is used to confirm what is already known, and the fluid factors that are part of the formation of the masculine, such as culture and history, are minimized if not completely ignored.

Once the impact of history and culture are taken into account, it becomes apparent that the biological determinist view of a unitary conception of masculinity is out of the question, replaced by a plurality of masculinities, each culturally specific, demonstrating not only masculinity in a given society at a certain historical time, but a man who occupies a certain hierarchical position in a given society at a certain historical time. The progression of European and North American masculinity demonstrates the increasing importance individualism plays in masculinity until the very individualism that is so fundamental to masculinity becomes a threat to the masculine ideal.

EARLY MODERN MASCULINITY

Despite the plurality of masculinities, the dominance and influence of North American and European masculinity cannot be overstated. Through the hegemony of its representation within the world's economic, cultural, and media institutions, such masculinity is perched atop the hierarchy of masculinities. In *Masculinities*, R. W. Connell notes that "[m]asculinity is not just an idea in the head, or a personal identity. It is also extended in the world, merged in organized social relations" (1995, p. 29).

Connell suggests that the emergence of the modern conception of dominant European and North American masculinity emerged along with the political, social, religious, and economic transformations of the Early Modern period (1501–1800). Protestantism was destabilizing the dominance of Catholicism, and with this destabilization a new masculine ideal was emerging. Part of this ideal was the privileging of heterosexual marriage, as a masculine sexual ideal emerged that rivaled the purity of denial of sexual desire.

Even more significantly the Protestant religious model offered an individualized vision of masculinity as a substitute for a unitary conception of masculinity more comprehensively integrated with the community. While Catholicism offered religion as a community activity in that religion was based upon interaction with a priest and a congregation, Protestantism placed religion in the hands of the individual, as each individual is in control of their own interaction with God. This created an idea of masculinity that set the stage for Enlightenment (1650–1790) thinking wherein masculinity becomes connected with individual subjectivity. The masculine becomes idealized as an individual in complete control of their destiny.

ENLIGHTENMENT MASCULINITY

During the Enlightenment the masculine would remain firmly connected with the idea of individual subjectivity, but the intellect would replace religion as the model demonstrating this masculine independence. More than the representative example that illuminates subjectivity as an integral component of masculinity, the intellect itself becomes part of the essence of masculinity. In part, to be masculine is to exhibit reason.

Set up in opposition to this masculine ideal of reason is the natural. In *Unreasonable Men*, Victor J. Seidler suggests that "[t]here was a crucial sense in which masculinity occupied a central space within modernity and in which reason and progress were to be tied with the control and domination of nature" (1994, p. viii). The dialectic between masculine reason and a feminine natural was troubling in part because the natural does not have an oppositional status to reason. In order to make the opposition work, the cultural in general and the cities in particular become conceptualized as the sites where masculine reason is enacted. In this way the city and culture in general become bastions of the reasonable masculine opposing the madness of the natural.

Within this conception it is clear how European and North American empire building becomes a project founded on a vision of reason-based masculinity. From the British project of colonizing India to American Vice-President Teddy Roosevelt's justification of the United States's early twentieth-century involvement in the Philippines as an effort to bring light to the world's dark places, colonization can be seen as the Enlightenment program of bringing masculinity and (by implication) reason and civilization where it apparently does not exist. Colonization is an effort to make the world more masculine.

As the flip side of colonization, slavery offers a vision of multiple masculinities. Slaves can be objectified because they are more natural and less associated with reason. In essence slaves are conceptualized as less masculine. Yet in the process of bringing a reasoning vision of masculinity to the world, those individuals doing the colonizing seem to exhibit a vision of masculinity quite distant from reasoning masculinity. In their extreme and violent acts the colonizers demonstrate a masculine type based on physicality over reason.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN MASCULINITY

America was able to offer a microcosmic ideal of imperialist masculinity in that the country itself provided a space for the individual man to exert physical masculinity and demonstrate virility through colonizing the natural. In *The History of Men* (2005), Michael S. Kimmel describes two types of masculinity apparent in nineteenth-century America: the Genteel Patriarch and the Heroic Artisan. The Genteel Patriarch version of masculinity derived the ideal of masculinity through the ownership of property. He was "refined, elegant, and given to casual sensuousness, he was a devoted father who spent his time on his estate and his family" (p. 38). In contrast, the Heroic Artisan developed his ideal vision of masculinity upon his own body and ability to control his surroundings. This idea of masculinity was focused on bodily strength and workplace independence.

Due to the industrial boom in the middle of the nineteenth century, a crisis developed in American masculinity and a third idea of masculinity developed in America. Kimmel characterizes this new vision of masculinity as *Marketplace Manhood*. Marketplace Manhood embraces a conception of masculinity entirely dependent on economic success, and in contradistinction to both the Genteel Patriarch and the Heroic Artisan, Marketplace Manhood develops its masculine ideal as separate from the home and the family. Marketplace Manhood quickly moved from being an idea of masculinity to becoming the dominant conception of masculinity. Whereas this form of masculinity became dominant as a cultural ideal, it was relatively unstable on the individual level. As masculinity is founded on something as unstable as a fluid economic market, masculinity becomes something that constantly needs to be proved and is seemingly in constant danger of being lost. This idea develops in close chronological proximity to the closing of the American frontier. Fantasies of the frontier become important to understanding the nineteenth-century masculine ideal. Wilderness novels became very popular and depicted the American wilderness as a masculine realm where men can go and rediscover an untroubling idea of the masculine without the corrupting influence of the city and the feminine. Over the course of a century the city had been transformed from a bastion of masculine reason into an indicator of masculinity in crisis.

SEE ALSO *Femme; Manliness.*

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II. ATTRIBUTES AND FUNCTIONS

Many critics attempt to explain the various functions of masculinity through a vision of gender that can only be defined in opposition. In this view masculinity may transform its meaning across cultures and across history but is always understood in relation to femininity. In *Masculinities* (1995), sociologist Robert Connell suggests that "[m]asculinity as an object of knowledge is always masculinity-in-relation" (p. 44). Men's studies theorists believe these differences are an inherent part of the study of gender. In *The History of Men* (2005) sociologist Michael S. Kimmel argues that white heterosexual men as the superordinate masculine category in Europe and North America suffer from an invisibility that is the inverse of that encountered by minorities and women. Women and minorities tend to experience visibility as members of a group but invisibility as individuals, whereas dominant men experience hypervisibility as individuals but invisibility as a part of a group. Thus defining masculinity, which exists in a shifting context, requires understanding a dominant group whose position as a group is consistently overshadowed by the visibility of its individual members.

Even attempts to make the dominant masculine visible without conceptualizing the opposite must to some extent deal with masculinity as *masculinity-in-relation*. An example is analyzed in *Castration* scholar and author Gary Taylor (2000). Taylor's project of examining the historical significance of the eunuch over the course of European history examines the fluid concept of masculinity by placing critical focus on what masculinity is not. According to Taylor, "[b]y helping us identify what a man is *not*, the eunuch clarifies what a man *is*" (p. 13). Masculinity cannot be defined in itself. It must be defined in relation to its antithesis. Significantly Taylor shares with Connell and Kimmel a desire to understand what the masculine is. Yet this proves a difficult project when its antithesis cannot be agreed upon.

THE EUROPEAN MODEL

Despite the conflict surrounding just what the *other* of masculinity is, masculinity is typically equated with dominance. Indeed anthropologists often argue about whether, due to the prevalence of patriarchy, it is possible to conceptualize masculinity without a vision of the uneven power dynamic between men and women and a consideration of masculine privilege. Some theories suggest that the way the dominant masculine controls the culture of European and North American society is the result of a confluence among the emergence of capitalism, the European idea of masculinity, and modernity. In this analysis capitalism and masculinity both offer a new understanding of the power relations that arose amid a newly developing social order in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The respective hierarchies of masculinity and capitalism may be different facets of the same system of domination. Anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss analyzed the manner in which the masculine/capitalist system came to be equated with cultural dominance. Although he described marriage in neutral terms in *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1969), Lévi-Strauss demonstrates that marriage is a clear manifestation of the masculine/capitalist system because it is a key institution for the perpetuation of community. Marriage allows one group of men to forge a bond with another group of men by using women as an object of exchange.

The masculine/capitalist system seeks to impose a normative European model of masculinity on other cultures. Widespread acceptance of the European model has resulted in the elimination of variations of the masculine developed in non-European societies, and indeed these other models are often considered to be nonnormative and inappropriate. As Connell notes, "[F]or the first time in history, there is a prospect of all indigenous gender regimes foundering under this institutional and cultural pressure. Some gender configurations have already gone. One example is the Confucian tradition of male homosexuality in China" (1995, p. 199).

EVOLVING CONCEPTS OF THE DOMINANT MASCULINE

The intimate connection of masculinity with power and control both within a culture and among cultures helps demonstrate a contradictory element of masculinity. Even though much of European and North American culture is based on the dominating institutions and systems of masculinity, many individual men must confront feelings of powerlessness. To a certain degree this can be explained because some men experience subordinate versions of masculinity due to race and sexuality. In *Recreating Men* (2000), social sciences lecturer and author Bob Pease describes this as "a recognition that their social or institutionalized power may not always correlate with their experience as individual men" (p. 9). Men can experience powerlessness on an individual level juxtaposed to the dominant hierarchical vision of masculinity. Some theorists suggest that individual powerlessness is an offshoot of European and North American industrialization. Industrialization emerges as a cultural factor that destabilizes individual masculinity.

Because masculinity must be proved and reproved at the individual level, aggression among men is a fundamental component of masculinity. Aggression provides another means, in addition to race and sexuality, to demonstrate hierarchy. It takes different forms in different masculine subcultures but at root always functions as a means of establishing dominance. In a working-class subculture, actual violence and physical strength are often used to establish roles in the hierarchy, whereas in an office environment the hierarchy might be established in economic terms. Paradoxically while masculinity based on strength is far from the norm in early-twenty-first-century European and North American cultures, it is still the dominant ideal. Media depictions of masculinity often glorify physical strength and the classical masculine physique.

In an effort to demonstrate biological roots for masculinity, some researchers have attempted to find analogous tendencies toward violence in male primates. This research has proven fruitful, particularly in the study of chimpanzees. Male chimpanzees engage in behavior that approximates that exhibited by humans in forming war parties. Males leave the group with the express purpose of attacking and killing members of a different group.

While such research has been championed as the biological link between masculinity and aggression, it is important to note that other anthropological studies suggest that aggression is cultural and not biological. Although some researchers have expressed skepticism as to the rigor of her research methodology, in *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1963) anthropologist Margaret Mead posited aggression as a cultural rather than masculine trait. Mead examined three cultures in New Guinea. In the Arapesh, she found a lack of aggression in both women and men; in the Mundugamor, men and women were both aggressive; and in the Tchambuli, the gender norm was reversed because women possessed the social power in the culture.

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III. CONTEMPORARY THEORIES

One of the most significant twentieth-century insights on the subject of masculinity was the differentiation between the masculine as a gender category and maleness as a biological category. In defining masculinity as the fluid and complex interactions of the cultural, psychological, and social and maleness, alternatively, as the biological, researchers demonstrated that masculinity has variations and a hierarchy instead of being merely a simple and unrealistic unitary category.

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES OF IDENTITY FORMATION

Sigmund Freud separated masculinity from biology with his psychological model of identity formation. Freud suggested that gender formation was not fixed. Instead numerous psychological conflicts that, at times, can contradict each other contribute to the concept of masculinity. Fundamental to the development of masculinity is the Oedipal complex. In the Oedipal complex biologically male children are attracted to the mother. This attraction is seen as a threat to the position of the father. In comparing the mother to the father a male child recognizes the mother as a castrated form of the father. Unconsciously fearing his own castration the boy shifts allegiance from the mother and tries to identify with the father and become like him. Freud's Oedipal and castration theories provide a normative, though individual, model for identity formation. Male children evolve through the individual and unconscious Oedipal and castration complexes, thereby forging a normative masculinity. Instead of a unified concept of the masculine, Freud offers the possibility for nearly endless variations that can develop as a result of each individual attempt to reach a normative ideal.

Heavily influenced by the work of French psychiatrist Jacques Lacan, some post-World War II theories argue the fear of castration by the father as a component of masculine identity formation in more overtly symbolic and communal terms. Castration is the act that inaugurates the individual into culture. In this view masculinity becomes synonymous with society, and castration becomes the act of entry into patriarchy. Some theorists have criticized these symbolic characterizations of castration as regards African-American masculinity. Recognizing the reality of lynching and castration in the African-American experience, Marlon B. Ross compares symbolic castration to actual castration. Ross says that "From the viewpoint of race theory and African American history, this [comparison] reduces castration to an illusory anxiety afflicting transcendent male subjectivity by obscuring the *historical fact* of castration as a systematic instrument of torture and discipline practiced by white men against African Americans from the time of enslavement through the era of Jim Crow" (2002, p. 312).

GENDER AND BIOLOGY: EVOLVING FREUD'S THEORIES

Freud concluded that each individual was psychologically bisexual: Masculine and feminine traits existed in everyone. In addition to resisting a unitary construction of masculinity, Freud's position on bisexuality firmly divides biology from gender. The feminine man and the masculine woman become combinations of biology and gender that are not only possible but are likely.

The idea that gender and biology are separate was adopted and politicized by self-proclaimed radical feminists such as John Stoltenberg. Stoltenberg disavows "the identity structure that is manhood, or male sexual identity as I call it here: the official man stuff; the belief that between oneself and female humans there is a definitional divide, a moral and morphological discontinuity, a separation in the species" (2000, p. xxv). Although Stoltenberg uses the term manhood and not masculinity, his conception of manhood is analogous to that of masculinity discussed previously in this entry. Manhood is a social construction that must be renounced to alleviate the oppression of women. All men who silently accept masculine privilege by conforming to the system help to maintain the inferior position of women in society. Consistent with attempts to abolish racial disparities, Stoltenberg argues that institutionalized oppression in matters of sex and gender can be overcome by rejecting the ideal of masculinity. Significantly Stoltenberg's utopian view proffers the possibility that masculinity is a choice. As a socially determined category it can be accepted or rejected as an individual sees fit.

Although he does not address Stoltenberg directly, sociologist Robert Connell in *Masculinities* (1995) argues against such a strict social construction of masculinity. Connell says that a definition of masculinity based on the social replicates some of the same deficiencies as a model based entirely on biology. Similar to the way biological models reduce gender to a binary, models of masculinity based entirely on the social fail to take proper account of the physical body. In essence the body is transformed into a blank slate for the social to code its vision of masculinity, uninfluenced by physical characteristics. Connell suggests that "it is not enough to assert the significance of bodily difference, important as this has been in recent feminist theory. We need to assert the activity, literally the *agency*, of bodies in social processes" (p. 60). Connell's theory of masculinity suggests that the body is neither a physical indicator of masculinity nor irrelevant to the production of masculinity. The activities the body engages in, the practice and limitations of the body, become fundamental to the social construction of masculinity.

Sociologist Joseph Pleck's critique of sex role theory helped add fluidity to the conception of masculinity. Pleck is skeptical about the relationship between normative socially constructed sex roles and psychic health. Freud emphasized the separation of masculinity from biology and the theory of multiple variations on masculinity, whereas many of his successors focus on the idea of a socially constructed masculinity that individuals should model. Pleck's critique of sex role theory helped add more fluidity to the conception of masculinity. Pleck is skeptical about the relationship between normative socially constructed sex roles and psychic health. Socially constructed sex roles can be oppressive and create anxiety and societal pressure on those individuals who do not or cannot live up to the constructed norm. A socially normative sex role may not be necessary, or even desirable, for the individual who is being influenced to conform.

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IV. IN MEDIA AND CULTURE

Critics who examine media representations and cultural ideals of masculinity often focus on a normative model. In looking at celebrations and critiques in a particular society, one is able to determine what an individual culture values as masculine. The media provides ideal images of appropriate masculinity that men everywhere are expected to emulate. By adopting the idealized model of masculinity, a man can demonstrate both to himself and to those he interacts with that he has learned the gendered stratification of society. In addition, media depictions of masculinity show where individual men have fallen short in their efforts. Through establishing and maintaining a masculine norm, the media implicitly imposes a value judgment. The nonnormative is categorized as a failure of masculinity.

Depictions of masculinity through media and culture are often interdependent. Cultural norms define how the media represents masculinity, yet the media can reinforce ideals, or destabilize them and point the way toward a newer and more appropriate standard.

AMERICAN TRADITIONS AND MASCULINITY

Legendary star of movie westerns John Wayne is a good example of the well-established media representation of American masculinity. In *In a Man's World* (1985), Perry Garfinkel lists some of the aspects of masculinity Wayne evokes. According to Garfinkel, this archetype demonstrates an essential connection between masculinity and success. A real man always achieves his goals. Aggressive or outright violent action is frequently necessary in order to succeed and is a clear indicator of masculinity and manliness. Aggression is merely a tool that the masculine hero uses to achieve his goal. The John Wayne model of

John Wayne. *The figure of John Wayne is a well-established media representations of American masculinity.* THE KOBAL COLLECTION.

masculinity also suggests that a man is always in control of his emotions. Whereas feelings such as revenge may serve as part of a man's moral compass, such emotions should never be displayed. Finally this is a solitary model, each man standing alone. The ideal man needs help from no one. He is capable of achieving his goals by himself, with nothing to guide him but his inner determination and morality.

Whereas the overt manifestation of the John Wayne archetype appears in the mid-twentieth century, the model first appeared in early-twentieth-century novels by writers such as Zane Gray and the wilderness novels of the nineteenth century. In *The History of Men* (2005), Michael S. Kimmel offers the emergence of the American wilderness novel as a reaction against industrialization. According to Kimmel works such as *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) by James Fennimore Cooper and *Moby Dick* (1851) by Herman Melville were attempts to work out a crisis of masculinity.

Industrialization presents a vision of a feminized society. In an effort to become masculine again, men must escape the female-dominated cities and rediscover the primitive essence of manliness. In the wilderness men do not have to deal with women or with their own heterosexuality in any substantive sense. Male bonding replaces heterosexuality; the white man escapes from the city and meets a nonwhite man who knows the way of the wilderness. The homoerotic nature of such male bonding is usually explicit, and the bond is characterized as "a love between males, more enduring and purer than any heterosexual passion" (Fiedler 1960, p. 212). The John Wayne archetype owes an explicit debt to the wilderness novel. Both ideas evoke a nobler vision of masculinity in which the rigid laws of the city are replaced by the primitive but fair laws of men.

The major difference between the John Wayne archetype and the wilderness novel archetype is that the former has tried, unsuccessfully, to exorcise the male bonding component that is so fundamental to the wilderness narrative. As the white hero who prefers the wilderness to the city and who is capable of executing his aggressive creed of success by himself, John Wayne offers a much more restrictive vision of normative masculine modeling. Whereas the wilderness narrative may have empowered the white over the nonwhite, in the John Wayne archetype, the nonwhite tends to be banned from the heroic frame of reference. In so doing the homoerotic element is diminished. The question then is whether the John Wayne archetype frees the masculine image from other racialized visions of masculinity and homoerotic desire or whether it subsumes various models under the exterior of a homogenous, white, heterosexual ideal. Though the John Wayne white heterosexual loner archetype is replicated within the spaghetti westerns of Italian film director Sergio Leone, such films as a genre by no means exclude male bonding: *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), *The Wild Bunch* (1969), and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) bring male bonding back to the forefront. However with some notable exceptions, such as Clint Eastwood's *Unforgiven* (1992), male bonding in westerns is among white men. Men of other races are excluded from the dynamic. So although there are mixed signals regarding the homoerotic component of normative masculine modeling in westerns, the genre provides a clearer image regarding race: The idealized masculine type is always white.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MASCULINE MODEL IN AN URBAN SOCIETY

When the ideals of the western are transposed to industrial settings, the traditional wilderness narrative of a white man bonding with a nonwhite man reappears, as in the Mel Gibson–Danny Glover *Lethal Weapon* films (1987–1998) and the Bill Cosby–Robert Culp television series *I Spy* (1965–1968). The John Wayne archetype reasserts itself in Clint Eastwood's *Dirty Harry* movies and the revenge scenarios of some 1980s action films such as those popularized by Arnold Schwarzenegger (e.g., *The Terminator* [1984]). These examples show how difficult it is to develop a unified model of masculinity in an urban environment. Multiple models of masculinity are most apparent in these settings; relational boundaries among men and among men of different races are blurry. In this context some critics have focused on the version of masculinity presented in the Chris Tucker–Jackie Chan's *Rush Hour* films. These films present an opportunity to explore the way the media portrays male bonding and masculinity involving two men who are not white.

No single masculine norm is available either from the media or through other cultural manifestations. Whereas the John Wayne archetype provides the ideal of a unified model, the archetype does not exist in a vacuum. Film portrayals of men of different races, disparate economic status, and diverse sexual preferences indicate a crisis in society's ability to define masculinity. People no longer have one widely accepted normative role to embrace and emulate, causing a reevaluation of the validity of prior unitary models.

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MASTURBATION

The word *masturbation* is thought to come from a Latin version of two Greek words, one for *the penis* and the other meaning *to disturb*. It did not appear in English until the middle of the nineteenth century; however, the concept of masturbation goes back in art, literature, and myth to ancient times. The Navajo have creation myths involving masturbation, as did the ancient Hindus and Egyptians. In Egypt, the god Atum is said to have created the entire universe and the Nile River by masturbating. The Greeks tolerated both male and female masturbation, and the Roman physician Galen advised women to masturbate in order to make themselves more fertile.

The ancient example of masturbation that became best known in modern times appears in the biblical story of Onan, whose name became a synonym for male masturbation, or onanism. Onan was condemned for spilling his seed on the ground, which was taken as a biblical condemnation of masturbation; however, scholars point out that Onan's sin was not necessarily masturbation itself, but the failure to fulfill his duty to impregnate his brother's widow by purposely ejaculating outside her body, which he did in order to secure his own claim to his brother's goods rather than create heirs who would usurp him.

Masturbation, or onanism, was not popularly discussed until the publication of the anti-masturbation tract *Onania* in 1716, a pamphlet that circulated myths and testimonials about the debilitating physical, mental, and moral effects of masturbation in order to sell powders and tinctures that would supposedly remedy it. Many illnesses ranging from skin disorders to depression were attributed to masturbation. Half a century later, Samuel-August Tissot (1728–1797) published his medical treatise, *L'Onanism*, in 1760, where he argued the ill effects that accompanied loss of semen from the body. These included nervous disorders, weakness, loss of memory, blurred vision, and headaches. Tissot considered that alteration of blood flow during sexual activity could result in nerve damage, blindness, and insanity. This negative view of masturbation continued well into the nineteenth century, when bland food, cold baths, and exercise were among the methods devised to prevent masturbation.

Nineteenth-century sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) considered masturbation a perversion, and equated it with homosexuality and pederasty, which he conflated. Krafft-Ebing was a man of his time in viewing masturbation as a perversion. Back then masturbation was considered a practice outside of sex, which was narrowly defined as heterosexual sexual intercourse. Thus mutual masturbation, which is viewed in the early twenty-first century as a sexual practice between partners, would have been viewed in his day as a strange vice rather than as sexual expression.

Blindness, hairy palms, and stunted growth were three of the most common disorders thought to stem from masturbation. Graham crackers and Kellogg's Corn Flakes were invented at this time to remedy the spicier, meat-filled diet thought by some to induce sexual excitement. Schools and dormitories were designed to facilitate greater surveillance of children in order to prevent them from draining their energies through what was termed *self-abuse*. Strange harnesses were invented to restrain erections in boys, and to prevent girls from touching their own genitals. Some doctors argued that circumcision in males and carbolic acid applied to the clitoris for females would effectively curb the impulse to masturbate. Other doctors went further, actually cauterizing the genitals of their young patients.

This notion of masturbation as an activity that weakened the body persisted well into the twentieth century. At the same time, however, doctors also began experimenting with vibrating machines in order to induce orgasm in their unhappy female patients. Diagnosing them as sexually frustrated, doctors reasoned that regularly induced orgasms would alleviate their symptoms of depression. Masturbating female patients to orgasm was considered a viable medical treatment for hysteria, though in the early 2000s the use of a vibrator by a woman in a similar manner on herself would be considered masturbation, and use of a vibrator on her by another would be considered sexual activity. Eventually doctors permitted women to treat themselves at home by using vibrators to release their unhealthy, pent-up nervous energy, though it is doubtful that this was considered masturbation until much later.

Masturbation was still considered a nervous disorder until 1940, but attitudes began to change after that. Alfred Kinsey, (1894–1956) author of the landmark *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948), argued that masturbation was a common and harmless sexual practice, and that the medical establishment largely shared this view. In *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, published five years later in 1953, Kinsey felt obliged to debunk the old myths about masturbation causing such undesirable conditions as: facial pimples; mental dullness; poor posture; stomach upsets; ovarian pains; ovarian cysts; cancer; appendicitis; various infections; weak eyes; sterility; headaches; kidney troubles; weak hearts; lack of hormones; and other troubles. He argued that there was no evidence of any causal link between masturbation and these symptoms, and even went so far as to point out that people who had moral objections to masturbation were also those who most often insisted that physical and mental damage had resulted from their activity (Kinsey 1953). By the time William H. Masters (1915–2001) and Virginia Johnson (b. 1925) published *Human Sexual Response* in 1966, masturbation was considered a healthy form of self-exploration that could help people achieve greater sexual satisfaction with a partner, employing the logic that practice makes perfect.

Negative views of masturbation persisted in the form of religious teachings long after medicine began to view masturbation as harmless. The Roman Catholic Church has condemned masturbation as an unnatural act since the thirteenth century, when Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) defined male-female sexual intercourse as the natural and best use of the genitals according to God's plan. Modern church teaching views masturbation as unchaste and lustful because it is carried on alone, and thus is not sexuality expressed within the context of marriage. Most Evangelical and Fundamentalist groups, including Mormons, condemn masturbation as sinful, guilty, and unclean. Wiccans, neo-pagans, and liberal Protestants view masturbation as either inherently harmless or a healthy and joyous expression of human sexuality. Orthodox Judaism forbids male masturbation as a waste of seed but says nothing about female masturbation.

Masturbation has gradually become more and more culturally acceptable toward the end of the twentieth century, especially as a safe-sex practice in the wake of the human immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) crisis. Mutual masturbation is one of the least risky forms of sexual behavior that any couple can engage in, and health professionals have increasingly touted it as an alternative to heterosexual and homosexual intercourse and oral sex. However, old cultural and moral biases die hard. Surgeon General Jocelyn Elders (b. 1933) was forced to resign in 1994 when she was asked at a United Nations conference on AIDS whether masturbation should be promoted among young people as an alternative form of sexual behavior, and she agreed that perhaps it should be taught.

The most common type of male masturbation involves manual stimulation of the penis. Masturbation can be done alone, with a partner, or in groups, though touching others is now considered to be a form of sexual activity rather than masturbation as understood in its older sense—an activity outside of partnered sexual expression. Forms of male masturbation include manual stroking of the penis by using a loose fist to move up and down the shaft, or using one's fist to masturbate someone else. This varies depending on circumcision; uncircumcised penises can be masturbated by moving the foreskin back and forth. Kinsey noted boys who would masturbate against a mattress or other objects. In order to stimulate the prostate, some men masturbate with dildos or fingers in their anuses. Auto-fellatio is an option for more limber males; there is some fascination for this practice evidenced in gay male pornography.

Some men rub their penises against the bodies of others in a sexual practice known as *frottage* or *outercourse*. Some men enjoy enemas while masturbating. Others like inserting tubes or objects into their urethral opening. Men can also masturbate into sleeves that are fashioned to resemble vaginas, anuses, or mouths. These are usually made of silicone, and are sold as sex toys. Masturbating in a group of men is known as a *circle jerk*. This can involve a homosexual object, where men look at each other or another man, or a heterosexual object, where men watch a woman. Either one of these dynamics can involve pornography. Many people consider group masturbation homoerotic regardless of object choice, though this position is a controversial one, especially among homophobic men.

Female masturbation is also primarily a manual activity, though this has changed with the recent surge in popularity of dildos and vibrators in mainstream urban culture. Women can rub their vulvas and clitorises with their fingers, use a dildo inserted into the vagina or anus, touch their breasts with the other hand, or do all of these things together. Some women use vibrators to stimulate their clitorises while touching their genitals with their hands or using dildos. Some women are able to stimulate their clitorises and vulva region simply by squeezing their legs together. Others may rub their clitorises against another person, or use a pillow or other object to rub against. Kinsey noted women who masturbated using the following: pillows; clothing; chairs; beds; streaming water; douches; enemas; urethral insertions; and sadomasochistic activity.

Public sites where people seem most likely to engage in masturbation include: theaters featuring pornographic films; theaters and clubs with private booths where patrons pay to watch female or male exotic dancers; peep shows; sex clubs; the back rooms of bars; public bathrooms; fraternity houses; stag parties; public parks; erotic bookstores; and sex shops. Masturbation is technically illegal in most of these because it violates public decency statutes, but the custom of many of these places is that patrons go there to masturbate or to meet partners for casual sexual encounters. At the dawn of the film era in the late nineteenth century, peep shows offered patrons private booths to view short erotic films and photographs. Later on, movie houses showing erotic films sprang up in urban areas, usually near erotic bookstores, strip clubs, and sex clubs. Before home video and DVD players, public places were one of the few ways people without access to movie projectors could consume erotic films. Because the purpose of these films is usually sexual arousal, public masturbation and public sex were routinely part of the experience.

With the advent of home video, pornography is primarily consumed in the home, and masturbating to such material is less and less a public activity. At the same time, sex clubs have attained a new prominence and respectability, especially in Europe. There have long been sex shows all over the world where couples and single people could watch others copulating onstage; these days, however, sex clubs offer people the option of group sexual encounters and masturbation in semi-private, elite settings. Some clubs require couples only, and most select members on the basis of beauty, age, and sexual orientation. Almost all charge hefty fees in order to screen out casual voyeurs.

Masturbation in the twentieth century shed much of its stigma as a solitary vice, gaining a new respectability with public emphasis focusing on safe sex as a means of avoiding HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. This medical and activist campaign to feature masturbation as an alternative to potentially riskier forms of sexual activity such as vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, and oral sex has been thwarted in many areas of the world hardest hit by HIV transmission, such as the United States and parts of Africa, by social and religious conservatism. However, medical support for masturbation as a safer sexual practice continues to grow, and may eventually be able to counter much of the moral opposition still attending masturbation in many parts of the world today.

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Jaime Hovey

MATRIARCHY

Matriarchy—from the Greek roots *metr-*, mother, and *-arch*, rule, beginning, origin, or source—describes a society in which mothers rule. In a true matriarchy, the mothers in a society would hold political power over all members of that society (men included), control the economic welfare of the society, and be held in highest esteem socially. In a matriarchate, descent would be determined through the female line (matrilineality), the mother would be the head of the household, and children would belong to the maternal clan. A society where women (regardless of whether they have given birth and become mothers) rule would be called a gynocracy, from the Greek for woman, *gyne*. The two terms, however, are often used interchangeably in both academic and non-academic discussion in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

While anthropologists of the nineteenth century, such as the Swiss jurist Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–

1887), found the idea of a prehistoric matriarchal order useful in their descriptions of societal structure evolving from female-centered to male-centered, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries this view has excited feminist writers and thinkers more than it has anthropologists. In his *Mutterrecht* (Mother Right), Bachofen argues that social structure originated in hetaerism, or sexual communism, before moving to a matriarchy. Bachofen's matriarchate saw the beginning of social regulation, the birth of agriculture, and the worship of a mother goddess. Controlling agriculture and its surplus goods, women were in possession of economic power. A patriarchal rebellion followed the matriarchate and led to the devaluation of women's social status and their political and economic power.

At the same time as Bachofen put forth his theories of Mother Right, Henry Sumner Maine (1822–1888) published a work supporting the opposite theory: that patriarchy was "the primeval condition of human race" (Maine 1861). Thus began the unending—because of scant evidence on both sides—battle between the matriarchists and patriarchists.

Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) furthered the idea of male domination following a matriarchate in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. Engels explains the success of the male rebellion due to male control of moveable wealth in a society: domesticated animals. So long as inheritance continued through the female line, however, men still needed to overthrow Mother Right. Engels smoothly and easily paves the way for rebellion by way of a legal decree, without explanation: offspring of male members of a family should remain members of that family rather than that of the mother. The end of matrilineality leads to the dissolution of the matriarchate.

Bachofen's theory of an early era of matriarchy stems in part from the obvious powerful reproductive role of the female—the female as the *arch*, the origin of all other beings—but was mainly inspired by myths of powerful and influential women and the worship of female goddesses, for example the ancient Greek myth of the Amazons and Indian worship of a great mother goddess.

The Amazons were a mythical group of warrior women (perhaps with a factual basis) who forbade men from their society, using them only for reproduction. They are depicted on vases and friezes as both strong and beautiful. The Greeks tell several tales of these warrior women, often portraying them as an unnatural version of woman, or the "other." Indeed, Bachofen himself considered the Amazons an extremist group bound to failure because they lived outside an acknowledged social system. Despite, or because of, their otherness, the Amazons elicited strong desires in the Greeks. There are tales of Greek kings equally falling in love with Amazons (Theseus for Hippolyte, or Melanippe, or Antiope; Achilles for Pentheselea at the moment in which he kills her) and declaring war on them. The Pantheon, that grand edifice of Athenian thought and religion, depicts the battle with the Amazons on its Doric frieze, along with those against the Giants and the Centaurs, and the sack of Troy. The Amazons, then, figured in the Greek Athenian imagination among other mythic barbaric or foreign groups to be conquered.

Bachofen's reading of myth for history would be well served by anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski's (1926) idea of myth as social charter: Myth is the cultural history of societies that use their myths to replicate or reorder their social experience. Such use of a myth of matriarchy can be found in South American societies, particularly in the extreme southeast tip of the continent, and in the tropical rainforests of northwest Amazon and central Brazil (Bamberger 1974, p. 268). Myths of the rule of women in these places are used to reaffirm the patriarchal order. The stories are told to show that women did not know how to wield power when they held it, or that they tricked men and were found out in their tricks. Women's powerful biological role is subverted by her immorality in these tales. Instead of promising a bright future (because of a powerful past) for women, the tales of the Mother Right in South America remind of a dark past replete with failures.

Neither these tales of a rule of women full of chaos and trickery, nor Bachofen's matriarch who looks more like a morally upstanding Victorian woman, resemble today's liberal woman. Nevertheless, myths of matriarchy have inspired feminist writers who have found in them inspiration for a new social order in which women hold important political, social, and economic roles. Elizabeth Gould Davis's *The First Sex* (1971) calls for a (re)turn from Judeo-Christian reverence for the male Jesus to the old religion of the Great Goddess. Despite the lack of sound proof in Davis's claim for a matriarchal golden age, her book sparked the feminist spirituality movement. Spiritual feminism is a refuge from and counterbalance to Judeo-Christian monotheism. Spiritual feminists worship an earth-centered, immanent, and immediate Goddess. This popular movement has given birth to the bestselling book and cottage industry of Dan Brown's novel *The Da Vinci Code* (2003), while it has also brought about a scholarly reappraisal of ancient goddess worship.

Whereas goddess worship is a relatively new movement in North America and Europe, South Indian society has never known a period without goddess worship. The main divinity in Indian worship has always been the Mother Goddess; in this sense, South Indian society can be called matriarchal. They view the principle element, the originator of all, to be the Mother. Foreign invasion by Aryans, Scythians, and Muslims brought foreign devaluation of the female in Indian high society, hence

Brahmin women's seclusion from society. Less affected by foreign invasion, South Indian village religion focuses on the Earth Mother, with several groups claiming descent from divine mothers. Tribes and castes of South India are still matrilineal and exhibit matriarchal elements. Women among these lower castes have far more social freedom and contribute to the economy of the group.

MATRIARCHY, MATRILINEALITY, MATRIFOCALITY

Although contemporary anthropologists argue that there are societies in which women have achieved a high level of power and social recognition, they are hard pressed to find societies in the early twenty-first century that are truly matriarchal, where women have publicly recognized authority surpassing that of men. Nevertheless, within male-dominated society some societal and family structures can be called matrilineal and/or matrifocal. In a matrilineal society, connection to the larger kin group is grounded in the mother. Family name, property, and status is secured by and from the mother. A matrilineal society is not necessarily a matriarchal one. Family name, property, and status may pass from mother to daughter within a patriarchal society where the father, or men in general, hold political and economic rule over women. One example of a group with some matrilineal traits is traditional Judaism; a boy or a girl is considered Jewish only if born to a Jewish mother. Isolated Tamil groups in South India retain traces of matrilineality: A young woman does not lose her secure economic and social position upon marriage. The young women of these matrilineal groups in South India were the first in India to take up higher education and show the highest rate of female literacy in India.

Matrifocality is an attribute of a kinship system or society in which the mother is structurally, culturally, and affectively central. In a matrifocal kinship group, the mother will have some degree of control over the group's economy and decision-making process. As Nancy Tanner puts it, "the structural component of matrifocality relates to economic and political power within the kin group" (Tanner 1974, 131–132). The mother of such a group need not be the genealogical mother, and may rather be the senior woman of a kinship group. The mother's cultural centrality in a matrifocal group derives from her value. The emotional link of the group to the mother defines her affective centrality. The centrality of women in matrifocal kin groups does not signify an absence of men in the group, but rather their shifting status as opposed to the strong, static place of the woman. A kin or social group that is matrifocal (and sometimes matrilineal) will often show an attitude of compromise and adaptation to divided responsibility as opposed to a patrilineal situation, which tends to foster centralized power and authoritarian rule. Some matrifocal kin groups can be found in Indonesia, Africa, and among Black Americans.

SEE ALSO *Patriarchy.*

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MATRILINEALITY

Matrilineality refers to the organization of family relationships in societies according to lines of descent from female ancestors. The term derives from the Latin *Mater* or mother and *linea* meaning "thread." Matrilineality is one kind of unilineal family organization in which family members belong to the mother's lineage; another term for matrilineal descent is *uterine* kinship. The other kind of unilineal group is patrilineality in which family relationship is determined according to one's descent from the father's lineage. *Amilateral* or *bilateral* kinship systems are those in which both matrilineal and patrilineal lines of descent are relevant to determining family relations, social identity, and the inheritance of property and other privilege.

Different cultures have different principles by which membership in a family or clan is determined. This includes inheritance laws and whether married children will live with the mother's or the father's family. Such organizing principles also usually prohibit incest, or intermarriage between members of the same group. Unilineal systems such as matrilineality resolve these issues around a principle of descent from mother to child.

When a culture defines relation and identity in terms of a female ancestor, then decisions about who is or is not a relative are made in relation to the female line. The senior male relative in a matrilineal system is most often the mother's brother. Women own the group's property; and the essential family bond is between brothers and sisters, especially because the brother's children also inherit from their aunts. In matrilineal cultures, when daughters marry, their husbands become a part of the matrilineal group and live with the wife's family. This is called *matrilocal residence*.

A few matrilineal cultures exist today, for example, in South India. The conditions that favor matrilineal organizations such as the ability to sustain unchallenged matrilocal residences and property do not persist as populations grow. As long as there is not competition for inheritance of property from women's husbands or as long as there is sufficient new property for expansion, there is little tension between husbands and the wives' brothers. Matrilineal organizations also persist when the matrilineal descent groups have little function other than to determine relationship. The kinds of cultures that sustained matrilineal organization were hunting and agrarian cultures that existed in areas with much space, such as some African tribes and North American Indians. Traces of matrilineal organization still exist in Jewish cultures, where family membership is traced through the female line.

Matrilineality has been misunderstood as a more primitive mode of group organization. According to the Swiss anthropologist Johann Bachofen (1815–1887), the women in ancient matriarchies were promiscuous, making paternity impossible to determine. Because mothers were the only parents whose relation to children could be certain, women were more socially important. As men gained power, sexual relations became more monogamous so as to protect paternity, which eventually resulted in law and civilization. Civilization came in the form of altering matriarchies and matrilineal systems into patrilineal patriarchies.

Although most matrilineal organizations have disappeared or have been modified to permit more marital influence, there is a traceable genetic bond between mothers and children that is unaffected by the father's genetic contribution. The DNA of cell mitochondria, which is passed to children through the mother's egg, does not combine with the father's genes and so remains uncombined and identifiable through many generations.

SEE ALSO *Judaism.*

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Judith Roof

MAYA

Mayan civilization developed in what is contemporary Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, and Honduras. During the Classic period (250 to 950 CE), Mayans built magnificent pyramided cities of stone, produced sculptures and murals, wove complex multicolored brocaded cotton textiles, painted hieroglyphic paper books, and decorated polychrome pottery. The sheer geographical size of the Mayan civilization, together with a history of warring kingdoms, provides a complex picture of ancient Mayan sexuality and gender.

A connection between biological reproduction and gender identity is fundamental to Mayan thought. Early colonial records attest to a fluid androgynous gender ideology. Classic Maya depictions of kings dressed in beaded net skirts represent performances of these gender-encompassing primordial characters. Monumental images also represent members of ruling families as complementary pairs engaged in rituals requiring totalizing qualities like those of dual-gendered creator deities and ancestors. These politically motivated representations deemphasize the bodies of social women and display the bodies of social men. Women's costumes consist of cotton textiles, woven by women in house compounds. Men's costumes employ forest products, including bark cloth, animal skins and skulls. Maleness is further marked by exposing the body, revealing a lack of signs of female sexuality, and by the wearing of a loincloth with a painted image of a World Tree with its branches folded down, implying the possibility of an upward unfolding of the branches as a metaphor for erection.

Monumental carvings featuring women legitimize ruling lineages and cement alliances through marriage. Although there is no evidence that women passed rulership down to other women within their matrilineage, there is evidence that royal women in the cities of Palenque, Naranjo, and Tikal served as regents for their underage sons. Lady Six Sky, the daughter of the king of Dos Pilas, moved to Naranjo on August 27, 682. Five years later she bore a male child and assumed the prerogatives of kingship, portraying herself on monuments performing key calendrical rituals, and trampling captives in the manner of warrior-kings. As queen regnant she ruled then co-ruled with her son for many years creating a new dynasty at Naranjo. This pattern of rulership was repeated at Copan where two of the three founding tombs contain the remains of females.

Other monumental images show men with shields and other insignia of warrior status and women holding weaving implements and ceramic bowls. This suggests that the elite gender system may have been that of "complementary dualism," in which a male-female pair constitute a dynamic totality where each person plays an equally important, but different, role. There is a marked contrast between these monumental stone images and the small clay figurines and images used by non-ruling elites. The recognition of women's production recorded in small icons reflects the higher status of women, as a result of their labor, in non-ruling residential groups. During political centralization, women from ruling lineages appear to have lost social status while non-elite women did not.

Mayan Blood-Letting Ritual. *Mayan stone relief depicting Xoc, the wife of Mayan ruler Shield Jaguar, performing a blood-letting ritual. She is shown kneeling and drawing a throrny cord over her tongue.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS/

According to oral and written creation stories, bisexual beings conceived the universe and gave birth to it. In the highlands of Guatemala and Mexico into the twenty-first century, priest-shamans of patrilineages (who are always male) are considered co-gendered "mother-fathers." This links them historically to elite Classic Maya monuments where male rulers wear a combination of feminine and masculine clothing. A similar co-gendered representation is found among contemporary male and female "day-keeper" shamans who embody and enact the masculine and feminine symbolic nature of mountains, volcanoes, and caves to divine the future and heal their clients using the ancient Mayan 260-day calendar.

During the Classic period, adult male gender was indicated by the use of a pictograph consisting of male genitalia as a title. Maleness was further sexualized in imagery showing the piercing of penises to produce blood for rituals and joining men together. Phallocentric murals in the caves at Naj Tunich, Guatemala, show two nude males embracing, one of them marked by hairstyle and ornament as socially female. In the sixteenth century, the conquistadors found clay figurines depicting men engaging in "sodomy." For Spaniards of that time the difference between the active and passive sex roles was central; the active partner was viewed as the victor and the passive partner as the loser in warfare. A Chontal Maya town was named Cuylonemiquia, "the killing of the passive partner in sodomy." Here space was apparently used as a marker of sodomy and conquest. In an anonymous Inquisition petition, a Yucatec Maya place-name, Pencuyut, or "fornicating coyote," may have been a symbolic representation of the Nahuas, or Aztecs, as active sexual partners with passive Mayan men. In this hybrid colonial context warfare was linked to sexual desire, indicating the difference between "self" and "other."

Coming-of-age rituals in which royal boys between the ages of six and thirteen were given ear ornaments are recorded at Palenque, Naranjo, Bonampak, Tikal, and Piedras Negras. During the colonial period boys and girls eligible for marriage were assembled once a year for a coming-of-age ceremony called "the descent of the gods." A Mayan priest and four elders, who embodied the Chacs or rain deities responsible for fertility, met in the courtyard of the sponsor's home. After the ceremony the boys were sequestered in a house on the edge of the village where they painted themselves black and participated in ball games and cultivated cornfields. Girls returned to their homes where their mothers taught them to spin and weave, raise domestic animals, tend fruit trees, grow herbs, and prepare food. Puberty rituals are observed among the contemporary lowland Maya, but only by girls. These ceremonies, which take place at menarche, are presided over by shamans who place cacao beans and chili peppers on the altar to symbolize the role of gender in the Maya cosmos. (Cacao beans are elongate with a longitudinal crease resembling a vulva. The pods are purple-red and seep white sap. Chilis and penises are interchangeable in Mayan jokes that play on the similarity between the sensation of intense heat caused by placing chili peppers in the mouth and the genital heat of sexual arousal and intercourse.)

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Barbara Tedlock

MEDIA

The term *media* refers to two related entities. It is a general term for the various material and instrumental means through which ideas are expressed, including everything from paint, film, musical instruments, digital files, and architecture to language, images, sculpture, and sound. It is also a general term for the various organizations through which ideas are transmitted publicly, such as radio, television, cinema, and the Internet. Media productions of both types can be deployed to express eroticism and sexuality, and both have been the objects of censorship and repression since the growing influence of Christianity in Rome during the second and third centuries.

Censorship of individual works of art has occurred on the basis of whether the ideas they express contravene public notions of decency, which refer primarily to issues of obscenity. Notions of decency change through history and from culture to culture. The asceticism of early Christians, which dominated European cultures through the Middle Ages (467–1350), began to change during the Renaissance (1350–1600). From the time of the Renaissance, media produced and owned by wealthy private individuals became less the object of official censorship, although work produced for distribution among common people was still subject to a stricter scrutiny. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, artists began to struggle with the occasionally repressive censorship of governments, but the range of permissible expression gradually began to open up. The standards by which artistic creations such as novels and paintings were deemed to be obscene relaxed from the zealous enforcement of obscenity laws in the nineteenth century to a more liberal understanding of aesthetics that began in the United States with the obscenity trial of Théophile Gautier's *Mademoiselle de Maupin* in 1922 and continued through the middle of the twentieth century when censorship of works deemed to be primarily aesthetic ceased. Various interest groups still battle over what should be seen on public media such as television. Considerations about what might constitute obscenity and decency reflect a balance of a culture's attitudes about the value of free speech and aesthetic expression on one hand, and in relation to what a culture imagines are the effects of seeing representations on the other.

As a public mode for the transmission of ideas, media remains a focus for control and censorship. Because such media organizations as television, movies, and the Internet are seen as powerful forces affecting the ways individuals—and especially children—view the world, their content garners more attention and limitation than literature or high art. The impetus to control media representations derives from the belief that realistic images wield particular power. The rationale for the

Motion Picture Production Code, adopted in 1930, states that "A book describes; a film vividly presents." The difference between description and presentation was understood to affect the imagination, viewers being less likely to filter the realistic images of cinema. Control of media is also motivated by media's increasing ubiquity within cultures and throughout the world.

FILM AND THE PRODUCTION CODE

Although censorship of print texts had existed long before the advent of photography in 1839 and cinema in 1895, the potential for widely disseminated realistic images of sexuality elicited increased scrutiny of photographic media. The invention of photographic techniques that enabled easy reproduction of photographs, such as postcards or in *aesthetic journals*, prompted the censors' focus on photographs. The rising influence of the film industry through the first thirty years of the twentieth century catalyzed growing discomfort with cinema content. In cinema's early years, when film audiences were mainly composed of the working class, civic leaders resisted any official censorship of cinema, seeing such censorship as class oppression. There was, however, pressure to keep films decent, which meant that films rewarded virtue, punished vice, and avoided depicting debauchery of all kinds.

After World War I, as mores relaxed and the power of Hollywood grew, some of the public blamed the movie industry itself for promulgating increasingly lax moral standards. Legislation was introduced in thirty-seven states proposing movie censorship. To forestall such governmental censorship, motion picture studios and distributors formed the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) in 1922. They hired the former chairman of the Republican National Committee, Will H. Hays, to oversee efforts to blunt criticism and to launch a public relations campaign that would assure the public that the film industry was taking a responsible attitude toward its content. After studying the specific plaints proposed in censorship legislation, the MPPDA came up with a list of topics that should never appear in cinema, such as "white slavery, miscegenation, sexual perversion, and ridicule of the clergy," and other topics about which film makers should be careful, such as "arson, murder techniques, rape, first-night scenes, the use of drugs, and excessive and lustful kissing" (Balio 1985, p. 268). Compliance with this list was voluntary.

For some, however, voluntary compliance with the list was insufficient, so the publisher of the *Motion Picture Herald*, Martin Quigley, collaborated with Daniel Lord, a Catholic priest, to produce a more definitive code, called the Motion Picture Production Code, which was adopted by the MPPDA in 1930. Members of the MPPDA monitored compliance with the code throughout the stages of film production. Falling movie attendance, however, motivated some studios to begin to ignore the code, a move decried by the Catholic Church, which formed the very influential Legion of Decency in 1933. Pressuring studios by threatening economic boycotts, the Legion of Decency forced the MPPDA to revise the Production Code in 1934. Compliance with the code was allocated to a committee, under the direction of Joseph Breen, which would review and approve all scripts and fine the producers of those films made without approval.

The revised Production Code continued the pressure on the studios to produce films with redeeming moral content yet without necessarily enabling any realistic portrayal of social problems or sexual relations. The code provided generally that films not "lower the moral standards" of their viewers by not sympathizing with criminals and by not providing detailed or graphic presentations of murders or other crimes. It required that "the sanctity of the institution of marriage and the home" be upheld, which meant no overt depiction of adultery; no gratuitous sexual scenes; no "excessive or lustful kissing, lustful embraces, suggestive postures and gestures"; no "sexual perversion," "miscegenation," "white slavery," "child birth," or "sexual hygiene"; no "vulgarity," "obscenity," or "profanity"; no "nudity" or "indecent exposure"; and no "dance suggesting or representing sexual actions or indecent passions." In addition films could not make fun of or vilify clergymen. Various interpretations of the code resulted in unrealistic portrayals of married life and sexuality, especially the convention of a married couple occupying twin beds, or the notion that in all love scenes the actors must each have one foot on the floor.

Of course, studios had always found ways around the Production Code, particularly by developing their own conventions for portraying extramarital sexual relations and adultery. They may not have actually depicted adulterous scenes of romance, but films suggested such activities through their plots. For instance, the plot of *The Women* (1939) depends entirely on a husband's extramarital affair. Films in the genre of film noir found ways to imply dark criminal behaviors by protagonists, as in, for example, *Double Indemnity* (1944).

By the 1950s the conditions that had forced studio acceptance of the Production Code had disappeared. The Legion of Decency no longer represented an economic threat, foreign films that ignored the code were imported and shown in the United States, and the mores of culture had relaxed enough to permit some filmmakers, such as Otto Preminger, to ignore the code altogether, which he did first in *The Moon Is Blue*, a 1953 film that by early-twenty-first-century standards appears to be boringly innocent. By the late 1950s studios were ignoring code provisions about vulgarity, profanity, and adultery.

By the 1960s the Production Code was no longer enforceable. Films were released without approval. To retain some sense of control and fend off any threat of government censorship, the Motion Picture Association of America (the former MPPDA) instituted a rating system in 1968. Its four ratings—*G*, *M*, *R*, and *X*—classed films according to their levels of explicit sexuality and violence. The general principle of the rating system has remained since 1968, though the letters assigned to each level of explicitness have varied. *M* became *GP* in 1970 and then *PG* 2 years later, before being split into two ratings in 1984—*PG* and *PG-13*. The latter restricted films with higher levels of violence to older children. *X* became *NC-17*. From the 1980s on film rating systems were aimed much more at protecting children rather than adults from film content.

THE TELEVISION RATING SYSTEM

Television also received its share of concern over content. For many years networks employed censors who screened television programming for explicit sexual content, profanity (which was bleeped out), nudity, and obscenity. Until the 1990s, with the growing influence of cable television's vaster array of stations, the big three networks' self-censoring was sufficient control. Television's self-censoring was also a necessary economic practice, because its advertisers had an interest in the programming they supported reaching the largest number of viewers. Television programming remained conservative so as not to offend large groups of viewers.

Cable programming removed the local base of network programming. Its providing networks had no discernible location and thus had less motivation to closely monitor their content, especially because cable stations were not freely available to anyone who tuned in and subscribers were paying to see them. Television rating systems were thus instituted not to control the content of television programming but to warn parents about content so that they could monitor their children's viewing.

Television has two rating systems. The first is the TV Parental Guidelines, established in 1996 by the National Association of Broadcasters, the National Cable Television Association, and the Motion Picture Association of America. These ratings appear at the beginning of every television show. *TV-Y* means that a program is appropriate for all children. *TV-Y7* designates programming designed for children who are 7 years old or older. The primary consideration in these ratings is whether content will frighten children. *TV-G* is programming deemed suitable for general audiences, with little violence, no explicit sexuality, and no profanity. *TV-PG* refers to programming where parental guidance is suggested. Such programs contain violence, sexual situations, infrequent profanity, and/or sexually suggestive dialogue. *TV-14* (Parents Strongly Cautioned) indicates programs with more intense violence and sexual situations, profanity, and/or suggestiveness. *TV-MA* designates programming appropriate for mature audiences only, containing graphic violence, explicit sexuality, and/or indecency.

The TV Parental Guidelines are augmented by another system used by pay cable networks such as HBO. This system began in 1995 before the institution of the TV Parental Guidelines. It, too, indicates relative levels of violence, explicit sexuality, and profanity. *V* indicates shows with intense violence, whereas *MV* refers to shows with mild violence. *AC* designates programs with adult content, which refers to suggestive situations and dialogue. *AL* indicates the presence of mild profanity, with *GL* indicating strong profanity. *BN* tells viewers to expect brief nudity, whereas *N* warns that there will be nude scenes lasting two minutes or longer. *SSC* means there are graphic sexual acts, and *R* indicates the presence of graphic rape scenes.

In addition, the Federal Communications Commission promulgated rules that require computer-chip control of programming on all television sets with screens larger than thirteen inches. The *V-chip* can read ratings encoded in television programming and block access to any programs for ratings selected by parents.

MUSIC CENSORSHIP

Music—even classical music—has not been free from censorship. Because music has no images (though music videos do), reasons for banning music have been related primarily to political issues or profanity and political criticism in lyrics. Music from classical composers who were German or associated with the Nazis was banned for a time in such countries as Israel. In the (Joseph) McCarthy era of the 1950s, Pete Seeger's (b.1919–) and the Weavers' single "Wimoweh" was denounced because of Seeger's supposed ties with communism. In Britain the Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen" (1977) was banned from airplay because of the lyric, "God save the Queen / The fascist regime." In 1996 retailing giant Wal-Mart banned a Sheryl Crow (b.1962–) album because lyrics in the track "Love Is a Good Thing" implicated Wal-Mart in selling guns. Wal-Mart has also refused to sell any music they believe is nonpatriotic or offensive.

Even if singles played on the radio were not banned, certain lyrics were often censored through several methods. Offensive lyrics were *blanked* or played at zero volume, or *bleeped*. Portions of songs were *resampled* or replaced by other parts of the song, *resung* by removing the lyrics and keeping instrumentals, *back-masked* by reversing the audio, or simply skipped. This type of censorship typically involves lyrics deemed to be profane, overtly sexual and suggestive, inflammatory (such as mentioning bringing guns to school), or racist.

In 1985 a group of politicians' wives, headed by Tipper Gore (b.1948–), whose husband, Al Gore (b.1948–), would become vice president, formed the Parents Music Resource Center to urge record companies to rate the records in a scheme similar to that used on television. As in television ratings the ostensible concern of such projects is to protect the innocence of impressionable youth, even though music censorship often has more political dimensions. For example, some radio stations refused to play Sinéad O'Connor's (1966–) music after she had refused to play the "Star-Spangled Banner" at her performances. Similarly, certain stations banned the music of the Dixie Chicks because the group's musicians had criticized George W. Bush.

THE INTERNET

The Internet is also seen as posing dangers to impressionable youth. Because the Internet has no specific location and because it has not been censored, legislators have taken action to try to limit pornography and obscenity on the World Wide Web. Their first attempt to protect children from material they might stumble upon online was the Communications Decency Act of 1996. This statute made criminal "the knowing transmission, by means of a telecommunications device, of 'obscene or indecent' communications to any recipient under 18 years of age . . . the knowing use of an interactive computer service to send to a specific person or persons under 18 years of age, or to display in a manner available to a person under 18 years of age communications that, in context, depict or describe, in terms 'patently offensive' as measured by contemporary community standards, sexual or excretory activities or organs."

This act was later declared to be an unconstitutional limitation of First Amendment rights to freedom of expression. Congress quickly passed a substitute law, the Child Online Protection Act of 1998, that was more focused on the World Wide Web and defined restricted material in explicit relation to the standards by which free speech is protected. The law was quickly challenged, again as an unconstitutional restriction of free speech, with litigation pending as of early 2007. Many Internet services, however, provide filtering programs that disable the display of material characterized by certain keywords linking the site to overt sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Advertising.*

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MEDICINE, ANCIENT

The themes of gender and sex were central to medicine in the ancient Mediterranean world and, because of the subsequent influence of Greco-Roman medical ideas and practices in the medieval Christian and Muslim worlds and subsequently in Renaissance medicine, they had a far-reaching effect on constructs of gender in Western culture.

Cuneiform texts survive from the ancient Near East in which all aspects of the body are discussed, including sexuality: a Ugaritic myth describes how "By kissing, there was pregnancy, by embracing, heating" (Stol 2000, p. 6) whereas material from Egypt shows that ideas such as the mobility of the womb can be traced back before the rise of Greek civilization. The earliest medical texts from the Greek world, dating to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, are included in what is now called the Hippocratic corpus. Named for its traditional association with the historical figure Hippocrates (traditionally 460–377 BCE), it was in fact written by many physicians holding different views about the nature of the body and the cause of disease; many of these views had originated in popular thought, but were systematized by the early physicians. While it would therefore be misleading to generalize about "Hippocratic medicine," some ideas are widespread; in particular, as well as various uses of the four qualities of hot, cold, wet, and dry, the belief that disease is caused by an imbalance in the fluids that make up the body, including semen and menstrual blood. This means that sex is very much within the domain of medicine, and the Hippocratic texts discuss both sex and gender in a variety of ways. For example, the writers advise men to have more intercourse in winter, because the wetness of the season means that more moisture needs to be removed from the body (Dean-Jones 1992, p. 77).

In the Hippocratic treatise *On Generation/Nature of the Child*, the process of sex determination in the womb is seen in terms of the polarities of strength and weakness, quantity and absence. As in the Near Eastern material, both sexes are thought to produce a "seed," with the sex of the child being decided according to the relative strength and quantity of the seminal material produced by its parents. Male and female exist on a continuum that includes in its center the intermediate categories of the manly woman, and the womanly man; instead of two genders, there are many variations. The seed is imagined to come from all over the bodies of the parents, and the child's physical characteristics are understood to result from one parent's nose seed, ear seed, and so on, dominating at the point of conception.

But this is not the only view in the Hippocratic corpus. The treatises usually known as *Diseases of Women* do not suggest that women produce seed: their contribution to generation rests instead with the raw material provided by the blood that they supply. These treatises single out women as a distinct category, a move reminiscent of the myth of the first woman, Pandora. According to the poet Hesiod (c. 700 BCE), the gods created Pandora as an afterthought to punish the culture hero Prometheus, who had helped humanity by bringing the gift of fire. Pandora was an alternative or counter-gift to fire, and Hesiod described how women "burned up" men with their voracious appetites for both food and sex. The idea that women lack self-control and enjoy sex more than men is also found in the myth of the seer Tiresias, who experienced being both male and female, and annoyed the goddess Hera by revealing to her husband Zeus that women have ten times the pleasure men experience in sexual intercourse. However, the Hippocratic text *On Generation* argues that men feel more pleasure, but that of a woman is of longer duration, peaking when the male seed reaches her womb.

In Greek, *Diseases of Women* is *Gynaikeia*, a word meaning "matters concerning the mature woman"; the same word was used as one of many terms for menstruation, seen as the marker of female difference because it was evidence of the wet and spongy nature of female blood, for which the breasts, and the softer texture of the flesh more generally, acted as evidence. *Gynaikeia* also meant "women's diseases" and "cures for women's diseases," and the second volume of the *Diseases of Women* has a particular focus on remedies for the retention of menstrual blood, the movement of the womb to another part of the body, and other peculiarities of the female condition. Failure to menstruate was seen as critical because it was from menstrual blood that the fetus was formed, a process discussed in the treatise *On Generation/Nature of the Child*. Indeed, it is not simply intercourse that the mobile womb desires, but conception; female sexuality is seen in terms of reproduction. For a twenty-first century observer, absence of menstruation can be evidence of pregnancy, meaning that one can interpret the remedies given to "draw out" the blood as early abortion. For the ancient Greeks, such absence was worrying because it meant that conception could not take place, and the remedies were intended to flush out the blood from wherever in the body it was hiding; in addition, by traveling to various locations in the body the blood could put pressure on the organs and cause a wide range of symptoms.

Various vaginal discharges that one would regard as the evidence of sexually transmitted infections are discussed in the *Diseases of Women* treatises; in the absence of any theory of infection, these are interpreted as inadequately formed menstrual blood. "The whites," in particular, are seen as very difficult to treat. Instead of being considered a possible source of disease, sex is presented as therapeutic for women, with the remedy for many conditions being intercourse followed by pregnancy. As *On Generation* puts it, "Another point about women: if they have intercourse with men their health is better than if they do not." While sex keeps the womb open so that it can menstruate, and stimulates the bodily fluids in their movement around the body, the process of giving birth acts as a valuable purge. This contrasts with medical advice for men, who are more commonly advised to abstain from sex while recovering from a disease.

Another treatise, *Places in Man*, concentrates on the generic male body until its final section, where the female body is introduced with the statement that "The womb is the origin of all diseases in women." This method of treating men as normal, but adding a special section on women, is replicated in treatises such as *Aphorisms*, which group together medical conditions surrounding the womb and menstruation towards the end of the text.

Contemporary with some of the later writers of the Hippocratic corpus, the philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE) put forward his own view of the female body in which women were unable to produce semen: defined by their coldness, women were unable to "concoct," or cook, their blood into semen. In generation, it was only the man's semen that could impose form on the shapeless mass of menstrual blood. Breast milk was seen as a fluid intermediate between menstrual blood and semen. Aristotle's medical views should be read alongside his political ideas; for example, he regarded women as perpetual minors.

While Aristotle and the Hippocratics did not dissect humans, instead basing their beliefs about the interior of the body on what came out of it, in third-century BCE Alexandria Herophilos (330–260 BCE) and Erasistratos (c. 315–240 BCE) opened the body and made such discoveries as the uterine ligaments and the ovaries. However, these organs were not fully understood, and the idea that the womb could move survived because the ligaments holding it in place were thought to be particularly elastic, allowing movement around the body; this position was put forward by Aretaeus of Cappadocia in the first century CE.

Soranos of Ephesus, writing in the second century CE, followed the ancient Methodist medical sect, according to which all diseases in both sexes were caused by looseness or constriction. For him, both sexes could suffer from excessive emission of seed in the absence of sexual excitement, a condition of looseness that he called gonorrhea: literally, discharge of seed. Satyriasis, too, can affect women as well as men, causing "an irresistible desire for sexual intercourse . . . with no sense of shame" (Temkin 1956, p. 148). Soranos considered that the womb was made of the same basic material as any other part of the body. He did not believe that intercourse had any obvious health benefits for either men or women, so that perpetual virginity could be seen as a healthy state, and pregnancy as carrying many dangers to the woman.

The extensive oeuvre of the most famous and influential of ancient physicians, Galen (d. c. 216 BCE), mentioned women many times but did not include any one text dedicated to the female body; writing only a generation later than Soranos, he regarded men and women as two versions of a single sex, with the same organs. While men's greater heat meant that their organs were pushed to the outside, women—now, following Aristotle, seen as the colder sex—retained theirs within their bodies. The penis was the analogue for the vagina. This meant that women, too, were thought to produce semen, although theirs was thinner than that of men. In addition to the health problems of retained menstrual blood, women were also thought to be in danger of seminal retention; this was the more dangerous of the two conditions, as retained semen was thought to become poisonous. In a famous passage from *On the Affected Parts*, Galen praised a midwife whose massage of a sick woman's thighs was enough to cause her to ejaculate her retained semen. This passage, which seemed to recommend therapeutic masturbation, was the subject of controversy in early modern medicine, and Catholic physicians such as Luis de Mercado (1525–1611), a convert from Judaism and personal physician to Philip II (r. 1556–1598) and Philip III (r. 1598–1621), condemned the practice. Other early modern medical texts instead followed Galen in recommending dietary control—in particular, restricting the consumption of meat and other blood-producing foods—in order to prevent the build-up of semen and blood in the first place.

Galen's work was simply too extensive and repetitive to be widely read. Instead, after his death what is known as "Galenism" developed; this is based on some of the more accessible works, and simplifies his theories. While the Latin West focused on those works of practical relevance, and the Greek East incorporated Galenic medicine into encyclopedic works, in the Muslim world many more texts by Galen survived, 129 being translated into from Greek into Arabic. Galen's ideas also passed into many Arabic encyclopedic works, where they were fused with those of Soranos. The belief that regular intercourse is essential to female health survived, Soranos's ideas here being eclipsed by those of the Hippocratic/Galenic tradition. Ibn al-Jazzâr's *Viaticum* added to Galen's account of rotted female seed or menstrual blood causing illness: the idea was that the putrefying matter gave off fumes that traveled up the body to cause symptoms such as suffocation. The idea that it was the womb itself that moved was not, however, defeated; as Monica Green (2002, p. 26) has shown, when these texts were translated from Arabic to Latin in the early Middle Ages, at least one writer in twelfth-century Salerno considered that these fumes carried the womb itself upwards, like a balloon.

"Uterine suffocation," in Greek *hysterikê pnix*, was a condition in which the womb caused symptoms throughout the body, usually being thought to work by the transmission of the effects through "sympathy" between organ systems. This condition did not transform into "hysteria" until the nineteenth century; before that, it is important to note that the origin of the symptoms was seen as entirely physical, coming from the womb (Greek *hystera*), and also that they varied according to the location to which the womb traveled. Sexual intercourse was a cure, because it would draw the womb back to its proper place. Another condition with complex roots was lovesickness, shown by Mary Wack to have originated from Constantine the African's Latin adaptation of al-Jazzâr (trans. 1124), in whose work "passionate love" was found as a disease category. However, the idea that love is a disease was also based on representations of desire in classical writers such as Sappho (c. 625–c. 570 BCE) and Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE).

The "one-sex" model of Galen coexisted with other models of the body through the Middle Ages. However, in the sixteenth century, when the Hippocratic corpus was translated into Latin, a revival of the *Diseases of Women* model—in which the female sex was entirely different from the male and required its own branch of medicine—led to an increased interest in gynecology as a specialized field of male medical practice. Diseases associated with women who were not having sufficient sexual intercourse, such as greensickness or chlorosis, became increasingly important in medicine.

SEE ALSO *Manliness.*

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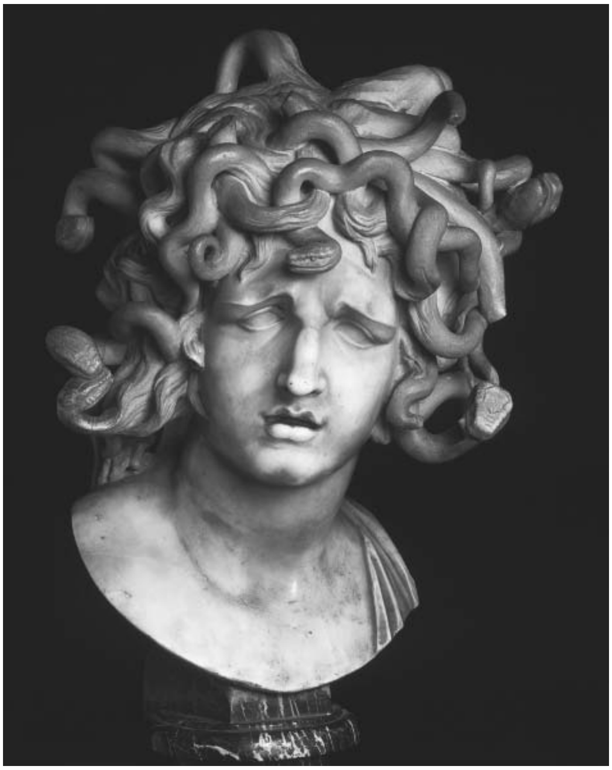
Helen King

MEDUSA

Medusa was one of the three Gorgons of Greek Mythology, daughter of Phorcys and Keto. Unlike her sisters Stheno and Euryale, Medusa—whose name means queen, or ruler—was mortal. In the most common versions of the myth, the originally beautiful Medusa was seduced or raped by the god Poseidon in the shape of a steed, in one of Athena's temples. As a result, she conceived two sons, but failed to deliver them. Athena punished the sacrilege by turning the Gorgon's hair into fearsome hissing snakes: Whoever would gaze at her would be petrified. Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danaë, fulfilling a promise he had made, and helped by Hermes (who gave him winged sandals), Athena (who provided a reflecting shield), and Pluto (who endowed him with a helmet that made him invisible), decapitated the Gorgon in her sleep, not looking at her directly, but through her reflected image on his shield. At that moment, her twin sons sprang forth from her neck: Chrysaor, who would later father the monster Geryon, and winged Pegasus, that would become the horse of the Muses. Perseus put the severed head in a wallet and flew away. He used the head as a dreadful device to (among his other deeds) turn the giant Atlas into a mountain, and Phineus (the uncle-pretender of his newlywed bride Andromeda) and his friends into statues. He then donated the trophy to his patroness Athena, who would put it at the center of her aegis.



Medusa Statue. *A seventeenth-century marble statue of the head of Medusa.* © ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS.

Scholars like Jean-Pierre Vernant have pointed out that the myth evolved through history, and that some central elements were introduced as late as the fourth century BCE (for instance, the reflecting shield). However, the various versions and episodes of the story were consolidated in the narratives of authors like the Pseudo-Apollodorus and Ovid (c. 43 BCE–17 CE).

Some ancient mythographers and historians, such as Diodorus Siculus (first century BCE) or, more indirectly, Pausanias (second century CE), drew parallels between the Gorgons and the Amazons or Libyan (African) women warriors, and between their respective nemeses: Perseus, and Hercules (who could not tolerate a nation governed by women).

Some contemporary authors have interpreted the story of Medusa, and especially her decapitation, as one "told from the point of view of the classical Olympian patriarchal system" (Campbell 1964, p. 25), but also as a tale that was nonetheless reminiscent of a pre-Patriarchal order and a gender construction in which a goddess could contain the principles of both life (or cure) and death (or poison). This would be implied in the double nature of Medusa's blood. In Euripides's *Ion*, and in the myth of Asclepius, scholars have insisted on the apotropaic power that Medusa's severed head acquires, either on Athena's aegis, or in its representation in ancient domestic sculptures, or on the armors of Renaissance military leaders (see Garber and Vickers 2003, pp. 2–4).

In the construction of Medusa as an icon in classical and post-classical times, the matter of her beauty played a considerable role either as an original virtue later disfigured by Athena's punishing act, or as a key to interpret the myth in a different, rather skeptical or ironic fashion; for instance, Lucian (second century CE) suggested that it was the Gorgon's wondrous beauty that petrified the gazers; for Pausanias, Perseus cut off her head in order to show her splendor to the Greeks. In the Middle Ages, Christine de Pisan (c. 1364–1430) also speaks on Medusa's beauty as the real instrument of petrification in the *Book of the City of Ladies*, in a passage dependent on Giovanni Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris*. In another of his works, the *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, Boccaccio (1313–1375), drawing, among others, on Fulgentius (late fifth–early sixth centuries CE), proposes an allegorical reading of Perseus's myth: A wise man triumphs on vice, and attains virtue, scorning earthly pleasure in order to pursue heavenly goals; Dante (1265–1321) had also powerfully evoked the frightening image of Medusa in Canto IX of the *Inferno*. In the Late Renaissance, Cesare Ripa's enormously influential *Iconologia* (1593) would popularize a similar allegorical interpretation into early modern iconography.

The myth of Medusa famously received attention from the fathers of psychoanalysis. Both Sigmund Freud and Sándor Ferenczi found in it a clear symbolization of castration. For Freud, the terror provoked by the image of Medusa's head represents the fear that the sight of his mother's genitals arouses in a boy, although the horror is paradoxically mitigated by the snakes, which serve as a replacement for the penis (Freud 1953–1974). Contemporary feminist theorists moved from this Freudian reading to propose counter-interpretations (see Hélène Cixous, Sarah Kofman, Patricia Klindienst Joplin). Joplin, who also insists on the centrality of rape and sacrifice in Medusa's myth, maintains that Freud, in equating decapitation and castration, perpetuates "the mythological and sacrificial thinking inherent in misogyny" (Joplin 1984, p. 50).

Particularly favored by Romantic writers like Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882), Medusa's story has notably appealed to contemporary women authors, among them Louise Bogan (1897–1970), Sylvia Plath (1932–1963), May Sarton (1912–1995), Ann Stanford (1916–1987), and Amy Clampitt (1920–1994).

The subject of innumerable representations in Western arts of all times (the most universally known, and widely studied, are Benvenuto Cellini's bronze sculpture *Perseus* [1545–1554] and Caravaggio's *Medusa* [c. 1597], a canvas mounted on a shield-like panel), the fortune of Medusa's icon in contemporary popular culture can be epitomized by its selection as the logo of the Versace fashion house.

In the history of music, Jean-Baptiste Lully's opera *Persée* (1682, based on a libretto by Philippe Quinault) is particularly noteworthy for its political and cultural implications; the protagonist is a transparent allegory of king Louis XIV, and Medusa and her sisters represent the enemy forces that the French monarch was fighting at that time.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Greco-Roman Art; Legends and Myths.*

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Paolo Fasoli

MELANCHOLIA AND SEX

Melancholia, from the Greek for "black bile," is the more modern medical term for melancholy, which has for centuries referred to symptoms of sadness, listlessness, despair, sullenness, and gloom. Black bile was one of the four humors, or fluids, that ancient Greek and Middle Eastern physicians once believed governed the body's moods and dispositions. The others are blood, associated with courage and love; yellow bile, associated with anger and moral indignation; and phlegm, associated with calm detachment. In Elizabethan times melancholia was thought to indicate refinement, and Shakespeare's noble Hamlet is to this day the most famous melancholic in English literature. Melancholia was understood to be more than passing sadness, and was understood, like the more contemporary clinical depression, to be a chronic condition that could completely define a person's character, personality, physical constitution, and larger outlook on the world.

In 1917, Sigmund Freud published "Mourning and Melancholia," an essay that distinguished a difference between mourning, where a lost object is the source of conscious grief, and melancholia, where the loss is unconscious or unknown. In melancholia the person experiencing unconscious grief cannot move beyond sadness, and exhibits symptoms such as loss of self-esteem, sleeplessness, loss of appetite, obsessive remorse, and obsessive self-rebuke. Freud theorized that this self-rebuke is a result of the melancholic person internalizing a lost love-object, and as a result, the sad and angry feelings that might have been directed at the lost love become directed at the internalized love, now part of the self. Thus the woman who seems to berate herself for being such a bad woman that her lover was forced to leave her is actually berating her lover for leaving her. The melancholic can no longer direct feelings at the lost person, so she instead becomes the person she has lost, and directs her feelings of anger, bitterness, and sadness against herself.

Freud thought the reason this melancholic internalization, or incorporation, happens is due to the ambivalence of love relationships in general. Since most people have mixed feelings about being in love, the loss of a lover can be blamed on the self for desiring the loss of the lover in the first place. Suicide, Freud argued, is the splitting off of the hateful and sadistic impulses directed at the lost love-object and the turning of that hate against the self. This process is aided by identification with the lost object, wherein the jilted lover becomes as much as possible like the person who has left her. Freud later argues in *The Ego and the Id* (1923) that the internalizing and sustaining of lost loves that happens in both mourning and melancholia is important for ego formation, and that identification with lost loves may be the only way one can eventually give them up.

For Freud, melancholia is not necessarily a part of gender formation, though gender and sexuality do develop around loss, specifically around the child's response to the traumatic realization that the mother lacks a penis. The "normal" child is supposed to realize—if she is a girl—that she doesn't have a penis, can't desire her mother, and needs to love a man in order to get a baby with a penis; or—if the child is a boy—that he could lose his penis if he doesn't identify with his father and desire a woman who is not his mother. In both cases, the mother is lost as an object of desire, though the boy doesn't have to give up all women (as the little girl does). He cannot, however, desire his father, any more than the little girl can remain attached to her mother.

Judith Butler has taken up Freud's notion of melancholy identification to argue that gender itself is a melancholic identification in which the same-sex parent one is not allowed to desire, and who is thus lost as a love object, is internalized or incorporated. Butler's notion of gender as melancholy incorporation combines Freud's theory of castration as the cause of childhood sex and gender development with the idea that melancholia can also cause sex and gender development.

Butler points out that boys and girls might identify with the mother they have lost, desire her, or both. Little girls might internalize the mother they are not supposed to desire, and keep that desire alive as a lesbian desire, whereas little boys might identify with the mother and desire their fathers, or incorporate the fathers they are not allowed to desire into themselves as love-objects. At this point gender and sexual object choice become murkily intertwined in Butler's argument, much as they are in Freud's explanation of castration and the Oedipal resolution; in Butler, homosexuality determines gender somehow, whereas Freud similarly conflates heterosexual object choice and having a "normal" femininity or masculinity. However, Butler's theory of gender as melancholic—the reason she prefers we view gender this way—presents homosexuality as "natural" a psychic process of subject formation as heterosexuality (which takes shape in much the same way) and should not be viewed as a bad or inauthentic copy.

The problem with viewing gender as melancholy, of course, is that melancholia is associated with the sadness and listlessness of depression, and melancholic homosexual subject-formation thus seems sick and sad rather than healthy and active.

HIV/AIDS activist Douglas Crimp uses melancholia to think about responses to AIDS in the gay community, arguing that a deep sense of loss and mourning has led to melancholia in most gay men, which in turn has caused a malaise surrounding AIDS activism. He sees this melancholia as the reason gays have rejected their sex-positive culture in favor of mainstream monogamy and political conservatism, and argues that moving beyond the stasis of melancholia will facilitate a return to activism, a return to self-affirming safe sexual practices of all varieties, and a rejection of self-hating conservative gay pundits like Andrew Sullivan.

Other contemporary discussions of melancholia and sex occur around the widespread use of antidepressants, along with the equally widespread side effects of sexual dysfunction and depressed libido that seem to accompany the use of many of these drugs. Rather than enabling sexual identification, in this context melancholia is seen as something that neutralizes sexuality altogether, leading some writers to blame lack of interest in sex not on drugs, or even depression itself, but on a culture where unhappiness is taboo. In this culture, they argue, the dark yearning for connection that causes us to seek intimacy with each other has been replaced with the sunny artificiality of selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors, or SSRIs, such as Prozac and Lexapro; these drugs take us out of ourselves just enough to work, but not enough to desire each other. In an argument that brings us back to Freud, they assert that restoring a healthy and productive notion of sadness to our happiness-obsessed culture will lead to a better balance that will allow us to escape melancholia, in large part, because we have stopped trying so hard to repress any sign of sadness in our lives.

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Jaime Hovey

MÉNAGE À TROIS

Translated literally as *household of three*, the French phrase ménage à trois refers to a romantic, sexual, or living arrangement involving three people. A ménage à trois relationship may be a temporary fling in which the partners of an ongoing relationship include an additional person in a sexual relationship (also known as a threesome), or it may be a more permanent relationship among three people, which has at some point involved a three-way sexual relationship. It may also be a relationship among three people that has involved a sexual relation between one party and both of the others, though the other two may never have had their own sexual relationship, nor might the three ever actually enjoyed a sexual encounter together. A ménage à trois may involve two people married or engaged to one another who invite another into their relationship, or it may involve three unmarried individuals. It might consist of a heterosexual couple who have decided to enlarge their relationship by adding elements of homosexuality, voyeurism, and group sex, or a gay male or lesbian couple who choose to add another member of either the same or the opposite sex. A ménage à trois is a version of polyamory, or the practice of loving multiple partners simultaneously, as well as an example of group sex.

The most common version of a ménage à trois in popular culture is one involving two men and one woman, especially insofar as the woman may serve as a point of mediation for a sexual relation between the two men. Threesomes involving two women and one man enable women to experience lesbian fantasies without risk, but also provide voyeuristic pleasure for the male. Gay couples who explore threesomes may do so to satisfy the romantic or heterosexual cravings of one of the couple, such as a gay male or lesbian who wishes to explore heterosexuality or a couple who wishes to liven up their own relationship with another male or female.

Ménage à trois encounters are often imaged in pornographic films not only because they enable multiple points of identification and multiple sources for viewer titillation, but also because they provide an alibi for the simultaneous enjoyment of heterosexuality, homosexuality, and licentious behaviors. They also provide a model of voyeurism, as one party watches the other two. The romantic and emotional entanglements of a ménage à trois provide material for films, especially because the intimacies of sexual relationships give rise to jealousies and the transgressive quality of group and homosexual adventures provide tensions. Films that have featured a ménage à trois include François Truffaut's (1932–1984) *Jules et Jim* (1962), Josh Logan's (1908–1988) *Paint Your Wagon* (1969), John Schlesinger's (1926–2003) *Sunday Bloody Sunday* (1971), and Bob Fosse's (1927–1987) *Cabaret* (1972.) All of these portray sexual situations involving two men and a woman.

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Judith Roof

MENARCHE, CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL MEANINGS

Menarche denotes a young woman's first menstruation; it signifies her transformation from childhood to adulthood. Most traditional cultures celebrated this transition with religious ceremonies of varying complexity, honoring not only the girl but womanhood itself. Those cultures that no longer have such a ritual are usually patriarchal and no longer consider women to have a special sacred nature. Contrary to the andocentric literature, menarche rituals are the only true puberty rituals, for males do not evidence so obvious a marker of physical maturity as menarche.

MENARCHE RITUALS IN EARLY SOCIETIES

The earliest cultures were gathering-hunting traditions, which were and remain egalitarian in all aspects including gender. In these cultures, women were equated with the Earth aspect of the female-male primary complementary divine couple, Sky-Earth, from whom all life came. Menstrual flowing was equated with springs and streams, the flowing of Earth, and the menstrual cycle was equated with the female aspect of the complementary divine couple of male Sun-female Moon, as the two cycles tend to be the same. Thus menarche brought the girl becoming woman not only to her physical reproductive power but to her spiritual power, making her equivalent to Earth and Moon.

In caves throughout the world, one finds images of the vulva engraved or painted on the walls from tens of thousands of years ago to the present. In Iowa there are vagina-shaped caves, by streams near old village sites, whose walls are inscribed over and over again with the symbol for the vulva, which in some contemporary Anshinaabe traditions in the Great Lakes region, is also the symbol for Earth. Less than a century ago, young women sequestered themselves in these caves during menarche, fasting to attain guardian spirits, and bonding themselves with Earth. As they sat on the earthen floor, their menstrual flow merged with Earth as they heard Her flowing water nearby. To commemorate their newly gained spiritual power, these young women inscribed the vagina/earth sign on the cave wall. More commonly, they sequestered themselves in a small wigwam or teepee for the same purpose.

MENARCHE AND WOMEN AS POWERFUL BEINGS

This separation from community tends to be completely misunderstood by misogynous cultures. Modern European and North American scholars assume that other traditions have the same hatred for the female body as their own and usually interpret menstrual seclusion as a way to avoid the polluting nature of females, particularly during menstruation. This understanding has led to theories of pollution and purity. The actuality is the opposite.

Before the spread of Christian misogyny, women's bodies were thought to be spiritually powerful. This power increased during menstruation, when the life-force of the body, blood, flowed from the center of her reproductive/spiritual power. At this time women were so powerful that their power would overwhelm male power, which would be deleterious to both men and women. Thus women removed themselves from contact with males. As a practical consideration, if the pheromones produced by women during menstruation were to adhere to men or their hunting weapons, they could be smelled at a distance by animals and the hunt would be unsuccessful, thus reducing the available food for the entire community.

It is at menarche that this spiritual power is perceived as dangerous to the community, because the young woman has yet to learn how to control it. Thus during the menarche sequestering, young women receive instruction from older women and fast for spiritual power. Their return to the community is celebrated with a feast. In agricultural traditions, where hunting is replaced by farming, this sequestering tends to be more symbolic than actual, and the celebration may be put off for a year or more to enable the accumulation of all that is needed for a major ceremony and feast.

Menarche rituals can be found in traditional societies around the world, but perhaps the most outstanding is that of the Navajo and Apache. These cultures migrated from the northwestern part of Canada to the U.S. Southwest 500 years ago. In the north, the related cultures, such as the gathering-hunting Dené, consider women to be more spiritually powerful than men and a partial menarche seclusion lasts for a year. In the south, the cultures fused with the matrifocal, agricultural Pueblo traditions, creating a complex four-day menarche ritual which brings powerful spirits to heal the people of the community. During the ceremony, the young woman becomes temporarily divine; she is the Earth Mother herself and can heal those around her. The ceremony is the major ritual of these cultures, serving as a means for continuing tradition and for the community to reaffirm its solidarity in the presence of the sacred. For those women who undergo the arduous ritual, it remains the most important and empowering ritual of their lives.

EFFECTS OF RITUAL CELEBRATION OF MENARCHE

Celebrating menarche enhances social approbation by the community and engenders a strong sense of self-worth

Apache First Menstruation Ceremony. *An Apache girl's face is painted white in preparation for her Sunrise Dance, the Apache first menstruation ceremony.* © ANDERS RYMAN/CORBIS.

for the initiate. In addition the ritual also has positive effects on the body decades after the ceremony takes place. A 1999 study by Clo Mingo found that few Navajo women who had the puberty ceremony experienced menopausal problems, even if they did not continue traditional spiritual practices or had undergone hysterectomy. In contrast those Navajo women who did not have the ceremony had the same physiological problems with menopause as most women in the United States. Thus where menarche is celebrated, the effects of the ritual lasts a lifetime. The ceremony ensures a positive self-understanding—physically, spiritually, socially, and mentally—that is empowering and timeless.

SEE ALSO *Menstruation.*

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Jordan Paper

MENARCHE, PHYSIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Menarche is a female's first menstruation that takes place in puberty, generally occurring sometime between the ages of ten and eighteen. Menarche indicates that a female's reproductive organs have become functionally active. During menstruation the uterus sheds its lining (endometrium) and discharges an unfertilized egg, along with blood, mucus, and tissue. Whereas puberty is more commonly celebrated, first menstruation may also be marked by specific rituals and or celebrations in particular cultures. Individual responses to menarche are often determined by how well a female understands the changes taking place in her body and by the social codes informing feminine power or women's roles.

The majority of females experience their first menstruation sometime between eleven and fifteen years of age, with the average age being thirteen. However, prolonged emotional stress, poor nutrition, or consistent intensive exercise may delay the onset of the menstrual cycle. Medical studies show, for instance, that female athletes may start menstruating two or three years later than expected due to their high-energy output and low body fat. Often the family history of menarche is the best indicator as to when a female may expect to begin menstruating. For example, if a mother and other matrilineal female relatives reached menarche early, between the ages of nine and eleven, chances are the daughter will also experience an early onset.

Increased body and pubic hair, the start of breasts, fuller hips and a growth spurt or weight gain signal that the body is preparing for menstruation. In addition, the body's increased production of sex hormones trigger body odor changes, sweat gland production, and increase the skin's oil production. These external indicators of the body's preparation for menstruation coincide with internal physical changes of pelvic development in which the uterus and vagina grow and the tract from the uterus opens. The first menstruation may or may not occur simultaneously with ovulation. Typically it can take several months or even up to two years for the menstrual cycle to coincide with ovulation and to become more regular. Therefore, whereas menarche is often an indication that a female's body has reached reproductive maturity, the first few cycles can be anovulatory, or *infertile*.

How a young female feels about her first period is greatly determined by familial and sociocultural practices and discourses that inform her understanding of the female body and its reproductive functions. Psychological and sociological studies indicate that most females experience a mixture of embarrassment, apprehension, and excitement about menstruation. The anxieties associated with menarche may be lessened or alleviated by candid explanations of what a female might expect physically and by familial and cultural systems that promote menstruation as a positive experience worthy of celebration. It should be noted, however, as Janet Lee and Jennifer Sasser-Coen (1996) demonstrate in their study of menarchal experiences, females who have been sexually abused as children may feel an increased sense of anxiety, associating menarche with the material risks of pregnancy and as a further contamination or violation of their bodies.

Negative experiences with menarche are often linked to feelings such as a "body out of control," being positioned as "different," "potentially sexual" with "physical contact with their father or with boys being curtailed" and with a general "loss of power" related to becoming a woman in a patriarchal social structure (Ussher 2006, p. 22). In most European and North American cultures, such as the United States, menstruation is often understood according to the discourses of medicine or hygiene, compelling menarchal females to view menstruation as something *dirty* or something to be concealed from others. And whereas such societies tend to position the menstrual body "as an object to be disciplined and managed in privacy," many females state that their first menstruation was a positive experience that they embraced as a "sign of womanhood" and of being "normal" and "fertile" (Ussher 2006, p. 23).

In many cultures menarche signifies the maturation of a girl into a woman and is seen to solidify her sexual difference from males. The marking of this sexual difference may be ceremoniously performed with rituals that require the physical separation of the menarchal female from males or the community. For instance, in certain social groups of South Asia, such as the Hindu Brahmans, the female is separated from the community for twelve days at menarche as part of a ritual to bless her with a fertile life. Some cultures, such as the American Navaho Indians, also ritualize the menarchal moment with the female's seclusion followed by a communal celebration called a *kinaalda*. It is more common, however, for social groups to hold ceremonies associated more broadly with puberty, such as the Jewish bah mitzvah, that commemorate the transition of a girl into a woman, rather than commemorating menarche in itself.

Most cultures either ritualistically or implicitly segregate the menarchal and/or menstruating female from communal activities. Studies of women and their personal accounts of menstruation indicate that feelings of isolation and separation are quite common across cultures. For instance, one woman conveyed feelings of "public shame" that kept her isolated from her childhood friends, particularly male friends, and from religious rituals in Greece: "Once you being menstruating, that's it, the rules change.... If you are going to church and you have a period you are not allowed to kiss the icons, you are considered dirty" (Koutroulis 2001, p. 197). Psychology and health scholar Jane M. Ussher (2006) states that a female's experience may be positive if menarche is adequately explained and/or celebrated by the family or society. If menstruation is not discussed or celebrated, females often have negative or anxious experiences with the onset of menstruation.

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MENOPAUSE

One of the stages in a woman's reproductive cycle, menopause is "the permanent cessation of menses resulting from reduced ovarian hormone secretion that occurs naturally or is induced by surgery, chemotherapy, or radiation" (Nelson 2005). In the United States, women reach menopause at the average age of fifty-one, and it can span several years. Menopause can occur naturally at around that age in a woman's life or prematurely (before age forty); it can also be induced by surgery or medical procedures that remove or damage the ovaries. Although premenopausal women who undergo induced menopause experience many of the same symptoms, they do not experience the gradual adjustment time of perimenopause and often have a greater need for treatment of menopause-related symptoms. Premature menopause can be "genetic, the result of one or more poorly understood autoimmune processes, or it can be induced with a medical intervention"; women who experience premature menopause do progress through perimenopause, but like women who undergo induced menopause, they will suffer years without the benefits of estrogen (North American Menopause Society 2006).

Menopause encompasses a series of stages that mark the age range in which certain symptoms and physiological changes occur, particularly the cessation of the menstrual cycle (for at least one year). These stages include premenopause, perimenopause, and postmenopause. Premenopause is defined "as the time up to the beginning of the perimenopause, but is also used to define the time up to the last menstrual period" (Nelson 2005), and it typically ends after the age of seventy when there is a complete atrophy of estrogen-dependent tissues. Perimenopause is "the time around menopause during which menstrual cycle and endocrine changes are occurring but twelve months of amenorrhea has not yet occurred" (Nelson 2005), and the term *perimenopause* is often used interchangeably with *climacteric*. The climacteric, as noted by Barbara Kass-Annese (1999), is the physiological changes and symptoms associated with the transition from a reproductive to a nonreproductive status. With the onset of menopause, one of the key physiological changes is the decline in estrogen production. Finally, postmenopause is the period in which the last menstrual cycle occurs, often one to two years following menopause.

The physiological symptoms and changes that occur during menopause are wide in scope and will occur in every woman differently. These symptoms can include, but are not limited to, hot flashes, fatigue, and dizziness. Since the 1980s medical professionals have been increasingly addressing psychological symptoms, which can include depression, mood changes, and failing memory. Only since the late 1990s have researchers suggested that sociological as well as biological factors be considered when treating the psychological symptoms associated with menopause (Kass-Annese 1999). Treatments for menopausal symptoms have provoked debate within the medical community, particularly surrounding hormone replacement therapy (HRT). Professionals are increasingly recommending holistic solutions in addition to HRT to women experiencing menopause-related symptoms. Because each woman experiences menopause differently, treatment programs will also vary based upon individual need.

PHYSIOLOGICAL SYMPTOMS

Women experiencing menopause will encounter a range of physiological symptoms, and the intensity and frequency of these symptoms is unique to each woman. On average, approximately 80 percent of women experience these symptoms, and about 40 percent of these women find the severity such that they will seek treatment (Kass-Annese 1999). All women will experience a decrease in menstrual period duration and flow, and some women will notice subtle and dramatic shifts in their menstrual cycle because of changes (usually a decrease) in ovarian function. These changes in the menstrual period are typically the first sign of the onset of the climacteric, or the perimenopause.

Hot flashes are perhaps the most common symptom associated with menopause, and they can be experienced at different times and intensities during the perimenopause and postmenopause periods. Medically, hot flashes are known as a vasomotor instability, and approximately 10 to 20 percent of women during their forties experience hot flashes when their menstrual cycles are irregular; 40 to 58 percent of women within the two-year period around menopause experience them (Kass-Annese 1999). Hot flashes result from a decline in estrogen production and are the product of the excitation of heat release mechanisms. Blood vessels are brought to the surface of the skin, dilate and constrict irregularly, causing an increase of blood flow to the skin, vital organs, and brain. Typically, the heat on the skin's surface is first experienced in the face and neck then the rest of the body. Women can experience a range of feelings, from a simple warm sensation to a feeling of extreme heat, and some may perspire. A hot flash can last a few moments or as long as thirty minutes, and some may experience hot flashes during sleep (night sweats). Following a hot flash, women can then experience mild to severe chills.

If a woman suffers night sweats, she can experience sleep deprivation that can lead to fatigue. Sleep deprivation can also result from a disturbed sleep routine, alcohol, caffeine, nicotine, heavy meals, and lack of exercise; it can also lead to other symptoms in addition to fatigue such as inability to concentrate, irritability, loss of memory, and nocturnal voiding. In addition to these symptoms, women experiencing menopause can suffer from a broad range of symptoms including restlessness; poor concentration; poor memory; headaches; joint and muscle pain; cold hands and feet; feelings of suffocation; pressure or tightness in the head or body; dizziness; palpitations; insomnia; loss of appetite; tender or painful sensation in the breasts; increase or decrease in libido; constipation or diarrhea; dry skin; frequent bruising; formication (prickly sensation); and exacerbation of symptoms associated with other health problems (Kass-

Annese 1999). Estrogen decrease is a significant, but not the only, cause of many of these symptoms; poor nutrition, lack of physical activity, or other stress factors can trigger many of these symptoms as well. Other factors identified in studies include race and ethnicity; age at onset of the menopause transition; body mass index (BMI); surgical versus natural menopause; depression; and smoking (Nelson 2005).

During postmenopause, estrogen and testosterone levels diminish and can trigger a number of symptoms, including vaginal or vulvar itching; abnormal vaginal discharge; vulvar dryness; urethritis; thinning of pubic and other body hair; wrinkling and loss of skin tone; redistribution of body fat; diminished muscle mass; decrease in energy; and decline in libido (Kass-Annese 1999). An additional physiological symptom associated with estrogen decrease is tissue atrophy, specifically of estrogen-dependent tissues such as the vulva, vagina, uterus, cervix, ovaries, breasts, urethra, and bladder (Kass-Annese 1999). Estrogen decline is gradual; therefore, the changes in these tissues occur slowly. Also during this time, vaginal changes happen. In general, vaginal tissues lose moisture and grow thinner and paler. The labia majora and labia minora can become thinner, flatter, paler, and less elastic, and the oil-secreting glands of the labia majora produce less of their moisturizing oil, which results in a loss of moisture of the labia. All of these changes may result in dryness of the vulvar area. The vaginal canal becomes shorter and narrower; estrogen decrease also causes reduction in the size of the uterus, cervix, and ovaries. Atrophic changes in the bladder and urethra are similar to those in the vagina and vulva, insofar as the lining of the bladder and urethra become thinner. As a result, urinary incontinence can become a problem for postmenopausal women.

During the postmenopause years, women must also be aware of other health factors that are linked more to the aging process than directly to menopause. These health concerns include heart disease, osteoporosis, and cancer. Heart disease is the number one killer of women in North America, and after age fifty-five, more than half of all deaths in women are caused by cardiovascular disease (North American Menopause Society 2006). The risk for heart disease increases for women when they reach menopause and the risk can be greater for those women who experience premature menopause or menopause at an early age. Research has also identified several factors that can increase the risk of heart disease in women, including current cigarette smoking; diabetes; stress; physical inactivity; and high blood pressure, among other indicators (North American Menopause Society 2006).

Osteoporosis is another health concern for women experiencing menopause. "Postmenopausal osteoporosis is a skeletal disorder in which bone strength has weakened to a point where the bone is fragile and at higher risk for fractures. Bone strength and thus fracture risk are dependent on both bone quality and bone mineral density" (North American Menopause Society 2006). Although inadequate bone development and growth during formative years and bone loss resulting from aging contribute to osteoporosis, there are other factors that contribute to the onset of this bone disease, including genetics; lack of exercise; certain medical conditions; and menopause. The reduction in estrogen levels that occurs during menopause is a major contributing factor to osteoporosis. Finally, postmenopausal women should be aware of the increase in certain cancer risks as they age. Though cancer risk is directly associated with menopause, certain cancer rates increase with age. "In North America, about two out of every five women diagnosed with cancer will be alive five years after diagnosis," which suggests awareness and treatments are proving effective (North American Menopause Society 2006). The most common types of cancer occurring in postmenopausal women are breast, cervical, endometrial, ovarian, lung, and colorectal.

Research has suggested that social factors, such as socioeconomic status, be considered when examining physiological and psychological symptoms associated with menopause. Kass-Annese (1999) suggests looking at the historical responses to menopause in American culture to contextualize the need for such a wide-ranging analysis. She observes that commonly held notions of menopause are rooted in centuries-old beliefs about women and their role within society. For example, it was once a widely held belief that menopause was an ailment that required a cure and women who were experiencing menopause were in fact ill, suffering from partial death. Because a woman's primary function was one of reproduction, the cessation of the menstrual cycle was considered an ending to her productive role in society. This perspective was held even through the early 1980s, until the impact of the women's movement and medical research was felt in mainstream culture. Now, menopause is viewed as a natural part of the reproductive cycle.

Given this contemporary perspective, other factors now enter into the discussion regarding what elements contribute to menopause symptoms in addition to the common physiological changes. Current research indicates that women of "low sociodemographic status, low family income, low educational level, and limited employment opportunities experience more symptoms and greater severity of symptoms than women with higher social status, greater income, better education, and more rewarding employment" (Kass-Annese 1999). Moreover, women in this particular socioeconomic category also experience more psychological symptoms than women in higher socioeconomic brackets. Also, studies suggest that menopause symptoms can be exacerbated by negative attitudes toward menopause, poor social support, stressful life events, a recent death in the family, and poor marital relations (Kass-Annese 1999).

PSYCHOLOGICAL SYMPTOMS

A decline in ovarian function can cause neurochemical changes that may lead to an onset of certain psychological symptoms during menopause. These psychological changes can include mental confusion, failing memory, and mood alterations (Kass-Annese 1999). Moodiness, irritability, and depression also occur during menopause, but studies have indicated that there is not a dramatic rise in the incidence rate of depression during menopause (Kass-Annese 1999). "Depressed mood during perimenopause is often associated with a history of depressed mood (including PMS [premenstrual syndrome]) earlier in life, a longer menopause transition, or severe menopause-related symptoms such as hot flashes. Other causes of mood disturbances during perimenopause include thyroid disorders, medication side-effects, and life stresses" (North American Menopause Society 2006). Psychological symptoms that occur during menopause require the same attention in terms of treatment as the physiological symptoms.

TREATMENTS

Like the range of physiological and psychological symptoms and their intensity and duration, treatment programs and options vary greatly. First, women, regardless of age, must consider a comprehensive approach to their health, including fitness, diet, and stress-reduction. The most common medical response to menopause-related symptoms, particularly estrogen decline, is hormone therapy (HT). Estrogen therapy (ET) provides estrogen supplements to the body and assists in the treatment of menopause-related symptoms resulting from the decline in estrogen. Estrogen plus progestogen therapy (EPT) is used primarily to protect the uterus, which is the function of the added progestogen (estrogen is still the primary active hormone in this particular therapy). The current debate surrounding HT (which encompasses all forms of hormone therapy including ET and EPT) is the use of natural (or plant-based) hormones, such as estrogen and progestogen, versus the use of synthetic and conjugated equine hormones. Some of the benefits of ET and EPT include complete or partial relief of hot flashes for most women within one week to two months of initiating therapy; natural progestogen can also be used by women who cannot or do not want to use ET and for those who experience intolerable side effects from it (Kass-Annese 1999). ET is also an effective choice for the prevention and treatment of symptoms associated with vaginal atrophy, including vaginal dryness, discharge, itching, burning, and bleeding (Kass-Annese 1999).

It should also be noted, however, that there are risks associated with HT. Too much estrogen or a sensitivity to the particular form in which it is taken can trigger certain symptoms including breast swelling and tenderness; dysmenorrhea; menorrhagia; elevated blood pressure; fluid retention and bloating; weight gain; migraine headaches; nausea and vomiting; chloasma; mood changes; decreased libido; loss of frontal and crown head hair; confusion; and intolerance of contact lenses (Kass-Annese 1999). Natural progestogen can cause drowsiness or fatigue, while synthetic testosterone can generate acne or mood swings (Kass-Annese 1999). Another risk that has received significant media attention has been the suggested link between HT and the increase in the risk of breast cancer. In April 2006 the National Institutes of Health (NIH) released findings from its Women's Health Initiative (WHI) Estrogen-Alone Trial, noting, "estrogen-alone hormone therapy does not increase the risk of breast cancer in postmenopausal women" (National Institutes of Health 2006). The NIH further indicates that these findings contrast with the previously reported (in April 2004) WHI Estrogen plus Progestin Trial, "which found an increase in breast cancer over about 5 years among those taking combined hormone therapy" (National Institutes of Health 2006). Also in April 2006, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* published a complete report about the WHI Estrogen-Alone Trial, noting that the study "was stopped early based on available data representing an average of 6.8 years of follow-up because of increased stroke incidence and no reduction in risk of coronary heart disease" (Stefanick et al. 2006). However, the report also reveals that "preliminary analyses found fewer breast cancers in women" in the estrogen-alone group, which the authors suggest requires further analysis of breast cancer incidence. Researchers have also found that HT therapies seem to have a link to breast cancer, which is why many women have stopped taking ET.

ET and EPT is an option for women who are seeking relief from menopause-related symptoms and even for bone health. If, however, particular symptoms require treatment or this type of therapy is not an option, then women can pursue more concentrated types of treatment, including holistic. For those who find ET is the best available option, there are two dosage possibilities—systemic and local. Systemic therapy is used to circulate estrogen through the bloodstream to affect different tissues. This type of ET can be administered orally, through the skin (a patch or gel, for example), or through injection. "Almost all of the systemic forms have the potential to provide the full range of benefits and risks associated with ET. The one exception is the ultra-low-dose estradiol skin patch (Menostar); it is FDA [Food and Drug

Administration] approved only for osteoporosis prevention in postmenopausal women" (North American Menopause Society 2006). Local ET consists mostly of vaginal estrogen products that come in the form of a cream, ring, or tablet: this type of treatment targets a specific part of the body. Because these local treatments are given in a low dosage, they do not circulate enough estrogen through the body to relieve symptoms such as hot flashes.

Progestogen is another common hormone used along with estrogen in HT. It can be used alone during "perimenopause to treat symptoms such as hot flashes, to manage abnormal uterine bleeding, or to counter 'estrogen dominance' that can occur in some women as estrogen levels fluctuate to high levels during this transition" (North American Menopause Society 2006). But most often, progestogen is used along with estrogen to treat menopause-related symptoms. There are a variety of progestogen options, not all of which are used in EPT. These include "progesterone (bioidentical to the hormone produced by the ovaries) and several different progestins (compounds synthesized to act like progesterone)" (North American Menopause Society 2006). Women have a few EPT regimes available, which include taking estrogen and progestogen separately or taking combination EPT products. The most common EPT regimens are cyclic EPT, continuous-cyclic EPT, continuous-combined EPT, and intermittent-combined EPT.

Professionals and women experiencing menopause are combing technological advances in diagnostic and therapeutic measures with greater reliance on self-care practices, wellness programs, therapeutic nutritional and fitness regimens, and alternative or complementary health-care practices (Kass-Annese 1999). These alternative treatments typically come from outside of Western medicine, but there has been a dramatic increase in the integration of these options into traditional Western medical practices. Yoga, relaxation techniques, chiropractic therapy, lifestyle diets (i.e., macrobiotics), herbal medicine, megavitamin therapy, hypnosis, homeopathy, and acupuncture are just some of the nontraditional treatments for menopause-related symptoms that have become available to women (Kass-Annese 1999). These complementary practices can address many of the chronic problems afflicting patients. The approach to treatment within these non-Western practices is quite different from Western treatments, primarily because there is a focus on well-being as a whole rather than attention to one particular symptom or problem. The broader acceptance of these complementary therapies is evidenced in the increase in insurance companies covering their use, not only for menopause-related symptoms but for other ailments as well.

SEE ALSO *Menstruation.*

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Michelle Parke

MEN'S MOVEMENTS

Men's movements are a collection of social, political, and philosophical organizations that seek to redefine men's relationship to their prescribed gender roles. Although male-centered organizations have existed throughout history, the organizations usually referred to as men's movements begin in the 1970s. They generally formed after second-wave feminist movements and sought to reform (or reassert) men's position in a society with new values. The earliest men's movements (those of the 1970s and 1980s) were largely profeminist, followed by a period of backlash agendas aimed at reclaiming rights that were thought to have been lost to women. From the 1990s onward, men's movements became highly formalized and aimed at niche groups with various interests, which makes it difficult to claim that men's movements as a whole share any particular ideology other than their general focus on men in society. The early profeminist movement was fairly small and had more female than male supporters, but as the focus turned away from supporting women toward male-focused agendas, overall participation has grown. Women are active in some organizations, although usually in small numbers, but many organizations either do not allow women as members or only allow them limited access to activities and trainings.

MYTHOPOETIC MOVEMENT

The most famous of the men's movements is the Mythopoetic Movement. It is based on the ideas of the

U.S. poet Robert Bly (b. 1926), particularly those expressed in an interview he gave in 1982 published under the title "What Do Men Really Want? A New Age Interview with Robert Bly," and on Bly's 1990 publication *Iron John: A Book about Men*. In this book Bly relies heavily on mythology and religion scholar Joseph Campbell's (1904–1987) teachings about the archetypal nature of fairy tales, which he derived from Jungian analytical psychology. Bly used a fairy tale by the German linguists and folklorists brothers Jakob L.K. Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm K. Grimm (1786–1859) called "Iron John" as a model for contemporary men and as a way of guiding men on a spiritual journey to reconnect with *the deep masculine* parts of themselves that modern society has hidden from them. It strives to reassert a *primitive* masculinity to allow men to deal with the pain of their lives and is thus a combination of essentialist and relativist gender constructions. The movement's basis in psychology shaped the application of its teachings: It kept away from overtly political issues related to men (which other movements focused on), and was concerned with the emotional, spiritual, and psychological well-being of men. The Iron John movement has several organizations, some more formal than others, associated with it, each with their own objectives. The general subjects of interest to the movement, however, are those traditionally associated with men: war, violence, the ability (or inability) to live up to ideals of masculinity, and how to be fathers to sons. Although members of the movement claim to be at least somewhat profeminist, the concept of the feminine and issues relating to women are usually excised from discussion or consideration.

The Mythopoetic Movement has often been ridiculed by people who claim that it prioritizes the emotional over the physical, thereby overturning masculine gender stereotypes. The movement does emphasize the emotional, but a devotee of the movement might claim that it seeks to reshape masculine gender roles rather than to overturn them. In fact, the physical is sometimes emphasized as a means of access to the emotional. Workshops and retreats often take place outdoors, and the stereotypical images of men beating drums and passing talking sticks are derived from this movement. The Mankind Project is an organization founded in 1984 based on ideas found in the Mythopoetic Movement. One of its programs is the New Warrior Training Adventure, a weekend retreat where men take part in the mythical *hero's journey*, described by Campbell, which resembles a tribal initiation rite. The retreats take place in wooded areas, and participants are required to leave behind cell phones, radios, and any other items that connect them with the outside world or provide comfort. The specific activities of these weekends remain secret, given that all participants are required to sign a confidentiality agreement, but sleep deprivation and physical exertion are highly rumored to be components. The financial structure of the organization, the secrecy of the weekend retreats, along with the setting, which critics claim is ideal for mind control activities, has caused many to label the organization a cult. Other activities of the Mankind Project include leadership training, mentoring of young men, veterans' assistance, and prison outreach. These programs stress the movement's ideas, but have come under much less scrutiny than the New Warrior Training Adventure.

PROMISE KEEPERS

The Promise Keepers is a Christian men's group founded by Bill McCartney (b. 1940) in 1990. Like the concept of Muscular Christianity promoted by the evangelist and one-time professional baseball player Billy Sunday (1862–1935) in response to first-wave feminism, Promise Keepers seeks to reassert the male as the head of the family, to whom women should willingly submit. In return for his wife's submission, the husband will lead the family in a gentle and loving way based on the model of Jesus Christ. They actively seek to overturn what they call the *sissified* status of men in the late twentieth century, including reimagining Jesus as a warrior figure. It is an antifeminist movement that seeks to reassert essentialist views of gender and to promote a conservative Christian agenda. As with most men's movements, it has a primarily white, middle-class membership. It has actively engaged in outreach to other racial groups, however, and attempts to overcome racial barriers between men as one of its goals. Promise Keepers functions through a series of events held in stadiums and sports arenas, at times attracting more than 100,000 men to a single event. The organization's membership peaked in October 1997 with a nationally televised event on the National Mall in Washington, DC, that attracted more than a million participants. Financial difficulties following the rally caused the organization to become volunteer run instead of having a paid staff, and admission costs to Promise Keepers events increased sharply in an effort to raise money. The change in organizational model and the increased expense are credited with the decline in popularity of the organization.

MILLION MAN MARCH

The Million Man March is unusual among men's movements in that it has a primarily nonwhite membership. The organization is devoted to a broad slate of social and economic justice goals centering on the African-American community. Since its inception the organization has been divided between those who wish to use the Million Man March events as a platform to demand redress of past racial injustice, and those who look to the African-American man as a catalyst for future change within their community. The second formulation is the more popularly promoted one and the one that most members claim to be in favor of. As with many of the other movement groups, the Million Man March encourages members to look to themselves, and specifically their role as men, to promote change and prosperity in the African-American community. One particularly large focus has been on the issue of fatherhood, as the African-American community has a higher percentage of out-of-wedlock births and children raised by single mothers than the national average. The Million Man March tries to work through black men to help other black men be responsible members of their families and their communities. The movement began as an event, with the hope of drawing 1 million African-American men to the National Mall in Washington, DC, on October 16, 1995 in an act of dedication to their communities. More than 800,000 men did participate that day, making it one of the largest rallies of its kind in history. Because it was originally an event, not an organization, the Million Man March suffered from a lack of direction following the march itself and has also been subject to its internal factional tensions. Although no other march of the size of the original has been held, regional marches are held periodically across the United States.

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Brian D. Holcomb

MEN'S STUDIES

Early forays into the study of issues involving maleness and masculinity began in the 1970s. However, it was not until the 1980s that those issues were theorized consistently as parts of a coherent discipline called men's studies and courses in men's studies began to be offered at some academic institutions. As men's studies became more visible in theoretical writings and academic classrooms, writers focused on the relationship between men's studies and the larger field of gender studies. Two distinct branches of men's studies developed, both strongly influenced by the social and political consciousness-raising goals of gender studies and feminism.

DIVISION OF MEN'S STUDIES INTO TWO BRANCHES

One branch of men's studies emerged as a reaction against gender studies and feminism. Although theorists who react to feminism in this way acknowledge the historical oppression of women, those writers emphasize the idea that patriarchal systems are capable of oppressing men as well as women. In addition, those writers voice a concern that men are left out of the conversation in gender studies or are degraded, perpetuating a sense of guilt and inferiority.

The second branch of men's studies envisions a more peaceful coexistence with feminism and gender studies. According to its practitioners, the mission of men's studies is to continue the revolutionary project of gender studies. For theories of gender studies to succeed in consciousness-raising and political change across a society, the impact of those ideas on men as well as men's role in society must be examined in a more thorough and systematic way.

CRITICISMS OF MEN'S STUDIES

Despite an extensive theoretical discourse that categorizes the project of men's studies as interconnected with that of feminism, some academics in gender studies raise the concern that men's studies is a form of masculine appropriation. Through men's studies, those scholars contend, male academics have a vehicle that can be used to silence the feminine viewpoint in gender studies, demonstrating another example of patriarchal oppression. This perspective raises the question of why a specific mode of inquiry based on men is needed when in essence all of history has been dedicated to men's studies.

The field of men's studies has tried to defend itself from that charge in a variety of ways. Some practitioners have countercharged that feminist resistance to men's studies amounts to a forceful appropriation of gender studies and a repetition of the exclusionary practices of which men have been accused. In addition to efforts to turn the accusation around, scholars of men's studies have tried to demonstrate that although feminist scholarship is correct in its assertion that humankind has been equated with the masculine, that is not the same thing as an analysis of the masculine as a gender. Further, the attempts that have been made within gender studies to analyze the masculine gender have been conducted in the context of men's impact on women instead of examining the masculine gender on its own terms. A more expansive vision of gender studies that includes men's studies, it is argued, will alleviate this shortcoming. An effort needs to be made to go beyond taking the historical norm of the masculine for granted and explore the specific details that make up that norm.

Some practitioners of men's studies assert that although they admire the ideals of gender studies, they see within the discourse of gender studies unfair negative stereotypes of men. Going beyond a critique of gender studies, that vision of men's studies suggests that the life and role of men in late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century society need only be looked at to demonstrate the crisis of modern masculinity. That crisis manifests itself first and foremost in terms of men's health. As a result of the significantly higher rate at which men are afflicted by drug and alcohol addiction, heart disease, death and injury in times of war, and suicide compared with women, health issues are read as indicators of the male plight. In a similar vein overwork and homelessness are indicators of the male crisis in a social context.

It has been hypothesized that this vision of a male crisis is a result of industrialized society. In that analysis men at one time were protectors of the family and the earth. Because they were forced to leave the family structure to achieve economic success, men became alienated from the family. Such evocations of masculinity characterize the masculine ideal as a mythic and primitive generative essence that has been lost but must be regained in a fashion similar to that propounded by Robert Bly in his best seller *Iron John* (1990). The social construction of the masculine crisis can be combated, ushering a political element into the practice of men's studies. The political action dynamic can be beneficial by encouraging a stronger bond with the family, protecting nature, and emphasizing the importance of male role models for children, or it can have aspects that are potentially antithetical to feminist political engagement through efforts to increase fathers' rights.

MEN'S STUDIES AS AN EXTENSION OF GENDER STUDIES

Harry Brod (1987) opposes such a conception for men's studies because for him and for theorists such as Michael S. Kimmel (1987), Jeff Hearn (Hearn and David 1990), and Bob Pease (2000), men's studies should be conceived of as an extension and not a corrective of gender studies. In "The New Men's Studies: From Feminist Theory to Gender Scholarship" (1987b), Brod criticizes the corrective force in men's studies. According to Brod, men's studies must be a "qualitative different study of men … not quantitatively more study of men" (Brod 1987b, p. 190).

Central to this extension of gender studies is the fact of patriarchy and the need to question the impact of patriarchal institutions on men and masculinity. In questioning the function of masculine power, it is important to recognize that masculinity is not a single unified entity but a shifting and changing plurality of masculinities. Labor functions as a significant determinant of the masculine role, but the different varieties of labor create significantly different social power dynamics. Race and sexuality also create different social dynamics and thus different visions of masculinity.

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Lance Norman

MENSTRUATION

Ancient cultures connected women's cycle of ovulation and menstruation to the phases of the moon, sometimes referring to women in menses as being "on their moon." The term *menses* comes from the Latin word for month, *mensis*, which is cognate with the Greek word for moon, *mene*. The menstrual cycle is thus perceived as a reflection of the cosmic cycles of nature in the female body, but this has not always been perceived as a positive connotation. For instance, the Greek philosopher Empedocles (c. 493–433 BCE) believed that women menstruated at the waning of the moon, in order to purify their wombs.

From ancient times, then, there seems to have been an ambivalence towards menstruation: on the one hand, the onset of menstruation is celebrated as marking the change from girl to woman, who is now physically able to bring new life into the world; on the other hand, menstrual blood may be considered to be dangerous or polluting, thus rendering the woman in menses ritually excluded or separated. Different religions explain such

Purification After Menstruation. *Young Kalash women perform a purification dance after going through menstruation.* © EAL & NAZIMA KOWALL/CORBIS.

strictures according to their own view of what is sacred and profane, what is pure and impure.

INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS

Indigenous or primal religions have historically tended to regard menstruation in a positive manner. Among Australian aboriginal, Polynesian, African, and Native American peoples, the first menstruation of a girl was often observed with seclusion in a separate dwelling, accompanied by female-only ritual practices and practical support from other women. This was followed by a ceremony, at which her new status as a woman was celebrated and recognized, and she was formally reintegrated into the group. Tlingit (Kolosh) custom was for the girl to remain in seclusion for a year, after which she would be given a ritual feast. Australian aboriginal groups still practice segregation at menarche, and prepare the girl for her return to the community by first immersing her in a ritual bath, then decorating her body with red ochre and white clay before the formal procession home.

The ritual segregation at menarche derives, in part, from the notion that anything excreted from the body—spittle, milk, blood, urine, feces, even tears—has inherent danger and power. Mary Douglas notes that since the orifices of the body represent its margins, symbolizing its points of vulnerability, so any matter coming from those margins may be seen as particularly susceptible (Douglas 1984, p. 121). If the body is taken as a microcosmic representative of the society as a whole, then the individual must take particular care to make sure that the power of such matter is kept in check, so as not to disrupt the equilibrium of the group.

From such a perspective, although menstrual blood is regarded as powerful, it is not viewed as polluting, nor is menstruation itself considered shameful. The menstruating woman is not unclean, but in a state of power that can throw male power out of balance, thus disturbing social stability. Women in menstruation and childbirth are therefore separated from the ritual life of the community, in order to contain their power at these times. Such is the ritual potency of menstruation that among indigenous Australians, men may imitate the women's menstrual bleeding through either subincision or piercing the upper arm, in order to bleed together on ritual occasions (Gross 2001, p. 307).

MENSTRUAL TABOOS

Attitudes toward menstruation vary according to the cultural perspective on menstrual blood. In societies where it is regarded as a medium of transmission of power, the woman in menses may be circumscribed and marked by other forms of ritual exclusion involving taboos relating to dietary restriction, and the avoidance of sacred objects, places, male implements (such as hunting or fishing equipment), tending the fire, practicing medicine or shamanic activities. In Hawaii, for example, women lived in a one-roomed menstrual hut (*hale pe'a)* that was on a plot of land removed from, and off-limits to, the general population. Similar huts were used by the Tlingit (Kolosh) people of Alaska, the Zoroastrians in Iran, and the Dogon of Mali. Such practices have declined in recent times.

Some of these taboos may also pertain in other religious traditions, which treat menstrual blood as a polluting substance, and the woman in menses as unclean, at least in ritual terms. As a result, women's participation in the sphere of public ritual is proscribed because of their state of impurity. Such proscriptions have been found in reference to ensuring the temple and ritual purity of both Greek and non-Greek mystery cults from as early as the third century BCE. Orthodox (Hindu) Brahmans throughout India and Nepal retain the practice of excluding menstruating women from the kitchen and the shared dining table. Hindu and Jain *mandirs* and Parsi *agiaries* often have signs that women in menses are not to enter.

MYTHS OF MENSTRUATION

There are ancient myths from all cultures concerning the power inherent in menstrual blood. In Sumerian mythology, the great goddess Ninhursag, or Ki, heals the dying Enki by placing him next to her vulva, and generating eight healing deities to revive his eight ailing organs. The Norse *Edda* narrates how Thor, the god of thunder, was crossing a river when it started to rise, because the giantess Gjálp was standing with a foot on each side. Some interpret this to mean that her menstrual blood was flowing into the river. Thor hurls a rock, presumably at her vagina, to stem the stream.

One mythological motif common to many cultures connects the snake with the onset of menstruation. In tales such as those of the Wawalik people in northern Australia, women are chased, bitten, swallowed, or penetrated by snakes, and it is this experience that brings on menstruation. Biblical commentators throughout history have related the Levitical prohibitions on women in menses to the divine punishment of Eve after she has consorted with the serpent (Genesis 3.1–6). Through Eve, all women have thus been "cursed."

Such myths of menstruation often relate to structural changes in group behavior. For instance, among the Dogon people of central Mali, the appearance of menstrual blood is the result of an act of incest between the Earth Mother and her firstborn. Here, again, the first menstruation represents the introduction of death and disorder in the world, and thus the need to circumscribe all subsequent menses through certain prohibitions.

Hindu textual tradition relates the origin of menstruation to a sinful act. A myth in the *Rig Veda* tells how the male divinity Indra kills the dragon Vritra (also known as Ahi—"snake") and releases the waters: this becomes reconfigured through history, so that by the time the *Mahabharata* was composed (between fifth century BCE and fourth century CE), Indra's act involves him committing brahmanicide. Various texts describe how Indra calls upon different elements to take a portion of his sin in return for compensation. Women are always mentioned as one element, and are afflicted with menstruation as a result (*Taittiriya Samhita* 2.5:1–2; *Markandeya Purana* 46.1–65). Their compensation is to enjoy sexual activity until childbirth. Thus, a woman's periodic impurity becomes the punitive counterpart to her capacity for sexual pleasure.

A powerful illustration of the value Hindu tradition places upon purity and modesty with regard to containing the pollution of menstruation is found in the *Mahabharata*. There, Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandava brothers, is forceably dragged before the assembly of men—not the proper place for a virtuous woman, and certainly not for one who is menstruating, as Draupadi is at the time. She wears the "one garment" of the woman in menses, which her captor, seeking to humiliate and dishonor her even further, tries to pull off, but as he unravels her skirt, so more material appears, to cover her shame. Thus preserved from degradation, she is seen by all to be the ideal wife, who knows and follows *dharma*, and through whom husbands and kingdoms are saved.

MENSTRUAL BLOOD AS EMPOWERING OR PULLUTING

In contrast, Hindu Tantric texts speak of menstrual blood as "blood-food," which contains powerful healing and magic. Vamachari Tantric initiation is said to involve drinking menstrual blood and semen, and the ideal sexual partner to be menstruating when uniting with her male consort, so that he may be blessed and share in the female cosmic energy of the Shakti, whom the female devotee represents.

Chinese sages called menstrual blood the essence or energy (*chi*) of Mother Earth, the *yin* principle that gives life to all things. From the Taoist perspective, a woman's menstrual blood is the essence, which can be harnessed to extend her lifespan. A man's semen (*xing*) serves a similar function, holding all his *yang* energy. Together, these two bodily fluids are the sources for life—both natural and immortal: when they interact, *yin* and *yang* form the Tao, the Way. Women who have attained higher levels of Tao practice are said to be able, through inner alchemy, to stop the menstrual cycle, so that its energy flows up to the heart and brain. This process is called "Cutting the Red Dragon."

In the early Shinto sacred texts, the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, which are the main sources of Shinto myths and legends, menstruation was welcomed as it meant that the woman was ready to assume the role of a spirit medium (*miko*). Certain sects of the Shinto tradition continue to teach that the complementary balance of the sexes is the foundation of the world. With the advent of Buddhism in Japan, however, attitudes toward menstruation shifted. In the Muromachi period (1333–1573), a Chinese apocryphal text, the *Ketsubonkyo* ("Blood-bowl") *Sutra*, became popular; it teaches the way of salvation for women who have fallen into Hell because of the pollution entailed in the shedding of menstrual blood.

One of the ancient texts of the Zoroastrians, the *Vendidad* also considers menstrual blood to be extremely polluting (as is any substance leaving the body—including hair, saliva, and breath), and there are strict injunctions as to how a woman should be segregated "three paces" from the rest of the community and "fifteen paces" from other elements of creation, so that her glance does not contaminate them. One of the greatest sins is for a menstruating woman to have sexual intercourse (15.7, 13–16). The *Vendidad* refers to menstruation as an incursion of Angra Mainyu (the Destructive Spirit) into the world (16.18–19). A later text largely redacted in the ninth century, the *Bundahishn*, contains one of the few etiological myths concerning menstruation: the "whore demon" Jeh revives Angra Mainyu from a three-thousand-year stupor and he kisses her on the head, at which moment she becomes the first to be polluted by the blood of menstruation (4.4f.).

The injunctions as to how to combat such demonic onslaughts are elaborated in the later Zoroastrian texts, where the woman in menses is said to be like a corpse, in that her issue of blood represents dead matter that would have lived if inseminated. After menses, a woman was supposed to purify herself with a ritual scrub of bull's urine and water. Only at menopause was she considered to be perpetually clean.

Some religions have gone as far as to question whether a person can attain liberation while in a female body, which is prone to such infirmity as menstruation. This was the perspective taken by the Digambara ("sky-clad," or nude) sect of the Jains at the time of the composition of the *Suttapahuda* around 150 CE. In this text, the author Kundakunda maintains that a woman's menstrual flow contributes to her general inability to be pure-minded, and signifies that she is never totally free from harm (*himsa*). It was for this reason, rather than the inappropriateness of female nudity, that women could not achieve *moksha* (liberation), which was attainable only by those who were full mendicants. In the early twenty-first century, in both Digambara and Svetambara ("white-clad") schools, all women are excluded from the main cella of the *manir* with its proximity to the revered images, and women in menses are barred from the main hall.

THE IMPACT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ATTITUDES

Much of the Western cultural approach to women and their bodily functions derives from the doctors and philosophers of classical Greece. In the sixth century BCE, the physician Hippocrates described the four sensible qualities of the human body as hot, cold, moist, and dry, which Empedocles later associated with the four elements of fire, earth, water, and air. Males consisted of the positive elements and qualities—fire and air, hot and dry; women of the negative—water and earth, moist and cold. This natural science influenced Aristotle's (384–322 BCE) conclusion that menstrual blood derived from the residue generated by women's cold, wet (passive) nature; because of her coldness, woman could not produce seed (semen), and was therefore just the matter from which the fetus was conceived after the sperm had acted to provide the form. The correlate of this notion was that the shedding of menstrual blood demarks an unsuccessful conception, wherein the blood is unformed dead matter, a failed life.

This negative concept persisted for many centuries, through the Greek and Roman eras, to the beginning of Christianity and on. By the time of the Roman writer Pliny (23–79 CE), a woman's monthly flow was thought to have a deleterious effect on virtually anything that it touched. In his *Natural History*, Pliny writes that menstrual blood is so harmful that contact with it causes crops to die, new wine to sour, iron and bronze to rust, and hives of bees to die! Centuries later, the Christian theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) cited Aristotle in his *Summa Theologica*, adding that menstrual blood is naturally impure and infected with corruption (2.2189). The Christian approach toward menstruation was, then, directly influenced by the pseudo-scientific teachings of the Greeks, although it also maintained some of the practices of Judaism.

JEWISH PERSPECTIVES

In the Hebrew Bible, the Israelite woman is considered to be ritually "unclean" (*tuma* in Hebrew) while menstruating, and for seven days afterwards (Lev. 15.19–24). So, also, male genital discharge causes "uncleanness" for seven days (Lev. 15.1–15) and a seminal emission renders the male "unclean" until the evening (Lev. 15.16). *Tuma* refers not to physical uncleanliness, but to the spiritual status that results from contact with death: the unfertilized egg shed during menstruation, or the semen that is "wasted" becomes *tuma*, because it represents the loss of the soul of a human who could have existed.

Rabbinic injunctions in the section of the *Mishnah* (c. 200 CE) known as *Niddah* ("separated" or "removed") refer to a separate house where the menstruating woman was isolated. This practice continued among Ethiopian Jews until the twentieth century, and many orthodox Jews in the twenty-first century continue to adhere to the sexual separation of husband and spouse for at least twelve days. When menstruating, a woman was not supposed to attend synagogue or public prayers. Some authorities say that she is not supposed to look at the open scroll of the Torah, or touch a holy book. Women may end this time of separation with immersion in the *mikvah*, a ritual bath that removes the *tuma* of menstruation. The *mikvah* is not an act of physical purification, since the woman must have showered beforehand, but rather a time of spiritual rebirth by immersion in the waters that represent the womb of creation.

CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVES

By the third century CE, Christian church fathers were beginning to introduce a distinct menstrual taboo, wherein menstruation was perceived as a reprehensible stain that needed to be purified: It was God's punishment for Eve's sin in eating the fruit of knowledge offered by the serpent. (Some Western societies still refer to the woman's monthly flow as "the Curse.") St. Jerome (342–420 CE), addressing the issue of asceticism in letters to three noble Roman women, advocated a stringent regime that would have led to amenorrhea, effectively removing the curse of Eve. Jerome also adopted Aristotle's view that conception during menstruation would produce abnormalities in the child.

The influential Church leader and writer Augustine of Hippo (354–430) believed that a woman's biological functions—the "curse" of menstruation and the mess of childbirth—showed her to be a lower form of human than man, and that her worth lay only in her ability to procreate. He maintained that the Levitical prohibitions on contact with menstrual women should be upheld. In contrast, a letter purportedly written by Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604) to Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604 CE) states that a menstruating woman cannot be prohibited from receiving Communion (although it is praiseworthy if she chooses not to), nor is the menstrual flow sinful. But this was not the view of other church leaders from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, who discouraged menstruating women from entering a church or accepting the sacrament of Communion.

A popular Christian belief that menstrual blood produced or attracted demons continued through the Middle Ages until at least the sixteenth century. The implication of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, which developed during this time, is that just as she is conceived without the stain of original sin, so she is spared the punishment of menstruation.

ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVES

Islam also has certain rules and exceptions for women in menses. Menstruation is addressed three times in the Qur'an, including Sura Al Baqarah verse 222, which may be paraphrased as: "They ask you concerning women's menstruation [*mahid*], Say: 'It is a hurt and impurity [*adha*, translated as having both meanings].' So keep away from women during their menstruation and do not approach them until they have become clean [*tahara*]. But when they have purified themselves, then you may approach them, ... as God has ordained for you." This verse prohibits sexual intercourse during menses, although other physical expressions of love, such as hugging and kissing, are allowed.

The practical implications of the *adha* of menstruation is that women do not perform the five prescribed prayers, touch the Qur'an, make *tawaf* around the Ka'aba, or fast. These omissions do not have to be made up, except for the fast during Ramadan. In some Muslim communities, women do not go to the prayer hall or religious center at all during menses. In one hadith, Aisha reports that the Prophet asked her to bring a prayer carpet for him while she was menstruating. When informed of her state, the Prophet said: "Your menstruation is not in your hand." This is interpreted to mean that women are not entirely ritually excluded. A woman in menses can offer personal prayers (*du'a*); recite the Qur'an in private, or hear its recitation; study other religious texts, including hadith; and participate in Eid celebrations. Purification takes the form of a ritual bath (*ghusl*) that involves washing the whole body, including the head.

HINDU AND BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVES

One example of the persistence and elaboration of ancient taboos relating to menstruation may be found in the Hindu tradition, where the polarity between that which is pure (*sauca*) and impure (*asauca*) developed to the extent that, by the late eighteenth century, the impurity of menstruation was believed to continue even after death. A woman who had been menstruating at the moment of death could not, then, be cremated until four days later, after a ritual bath—the normal duration of ritual impurity for menses. An unusual corollary of this understanding of menses as polluting is the notion that a woman who suffers from amenorrhea must be even more inauspicious, since she is thought to elude the laws of nature evidenced by menstruation. A similar taboo is found in the Buddhist Theravada text for nuns, the *Vinaya Pitaka*, which declares that the initiation of a novice may not take place while she is menstruating, nor if she has amenorrhea.

MODERN ATTITUDES

While explicit reference to the purity laws surrounding menstruation may not be made in many religious contexts in the twenty-first century, women who choose to practice a degree of separation during menstruation for religious reasons claim to enjoy relief from their routine activities, such as cooking, attendance at congregational worship, or fulfilling their spouse's sexual needs. Although the Zoroastrian place of segregation (*Dashtanistan* or *punigan*] in Persian) is no longer used, women may still choose to isolate themselves somewhat during their monthly cycle; they may not visit the fire temple, attend festivals, marriages, initiations, or funeral ceremonies when fire will be present, or light a fire; they may not touch holy books or objects; and they may abstain from sexual intercourse.

Despite the advances of science and medicine concerning the physiology and psychology relating to the female menstrual cycle, the notion that women are physically vulnerable at this time and must therefore act with caution continues to impact upon societal superstitions about washing hair, participating in sports, bathing or swimming, and engaging in sexual intercourse during menses. Such taboos are not enforced, but are often imparted from woman to woman.

One contemporary gynecologist, Christiane Northrup, has revisited the ancient association between the cycle of the moon and a woman's monthly cycle. She suggests that a woman's hormonal changes during her cycle affect her energies and moods, so that it might benefit her to take the occasional break from the demands of everyday life, particularly during the luteal phase of the cycle when progesterone levels are high, and which represents the "dark of the moon" (Northrup 2002, pp.105–107, 134f.). This approach connects female biology to a creative psychological cycle that echoes the cycles of the natural world.

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Jennifer Rose

MERMAID

The English word *mermaid* corresponds to the Latin *sirena*, maintained in modern Romance languages (e.g., French *sirène*), but does not translate it exactly. Different etymologies have been proposed; for instance, sirens are those "who bind with a cord" or "those who wither" (Graves 1974, vol. 2, pp.154.3).

Since early Greek antiquity tales of sirens as enchantresses who bring seafarers to an untimely death have merged with an icon of temptation exercised by female wiles on powerless males. These images navigated into medieval bestiaries and eventually into the romantic and modern imagination. However, goddesses with fish bodies have been recorded as early as Egyptian and Sumerian times (Márquez-Huitzil 1991).

In several world folklores, the mermaid-siren is a form of the water lady, or water goddess, with strong death powers, as in the Germanic Nixes or Undines (Bulteau 1982), nineteenth-century Russian bird-sirens, and the Mexican pre-Conquest half-fish divine women among

Mermaid. *Medieval depiction of a two-tailed mermaid on a column of the St. Pere de Galligante Church.* © COURTESY OF MUSEUM OF ST. PERE DE GALLIGANTES; RAMON MANENT/CORBIS.

the Huichols of the Northern Sierra in Puebla and the Námatl goddess Chalchihuitlicue, who are both life- and death-giving (Márquez-Huitzil 1991).

THE ANCIENT WORLD

Originally, the classical mermaid was a winged bird creature entirely or completely covered with feathers except for the head. She was distinctly feminized through facial features or sexualized through the prominence of naked breasts, although later forms included male and childlike sirens. It was through the *carmen*, song and sorcery at once, that the mermaid lured navigators to their death. The Argonauts led by Jason, on their return to Greece with the golden fleece, passed the Islands of the Sirens safely because their singing was countered by the strains of Orpheus's lyre (Graves 1974) Sirens have also been linked to the story of the rape of Proserpine and would have been transformed into birds with female faces by Ceres as punishment for not having prevented her daughter's abduction or, on the contrary, as symbolic of their frantic flight in search of her (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* V, 551). According to some, the term is metaphoric and they were actually Sicilian prostitutes who debauched and "wrecked" men (Lempriere 1984). They were also said to have lost their wings when bested in a musical contest by the Muses who then plucked their feathers (Lempriere 1984, Graves 1974).

In all these stories a recurrent gendered element is that the sirens, as the ancient, pre-Olympian untamed destructive feminine, are punished or vanquished by the male order in art (Orpheus, the Olympian-identified Muses) or are unable to prevent violent male assault (Proserpine).

THE MIDDLE AGES

Medieval allegory reinforced the mermaid's destructive charge, especially with her entrance into Christian texts through a mistranslation of a passage of Isaiah 13:22 in Jerome's Vulgate, from forms of "wild dogs" in Hebrew into "sirens" in Latin (de Donder 1992). The influence of Honorius of Autun in 1150 was decisive in having the mermaid signify the temptations of the world, a sea of travails on which sinners float and to which they succumb (de Donder 1992). In medieval iconography wings, claws, and a fish tail vied and sometimes combined, but the fish tail became the dominant segment, especially unequivocally sexualized as female as a double and forked tail hinged at the front of the body by a sort of apron over the womb and vagina. This "apron" has been interpreted also as being linked to the building and prosperity function of mermaids, allowing the transport of stones (Bulteau 1982). Such images proliferated in architectural programs as well as in objects of daily use and manuscript illustration.

The mermaid's comb and mirror, also gendered as feminine, were linked both to Christian moral and didactic messages (vanity as a mortal sin, a dangerous temptation for the soul) and to a broader mythical content (the mirror as soul-gazing instrument, the connection to death through looking behind). In Western European folklore the comb evoked the treatment of plant fibers to produce textiles and the Sebastean cult of Saint Blasius, one of the major thaumaturgical saints of the Middle Ages (Gaignebet and Lajoux 1985).

In medieval France the mermaid also merged with the symbolism of motherhood, foundation myths, aristocratic genealogies, sexual transgression, and sexual prohibition in the fictional story of the fairy Melusina, whose demonic tail appears when she takes her secret bath, presumably to cleanse herself during menstruation (Gaignebet and Lajoux 1985) and is claimed as an ancestress by the powerful Lusignan family (Spiegel 1996).

THE MODERN ERA

In Victorian times the seductive mermaid evolved into a debased, grotesque form with the exhibition of monsters and morphological oddities in side shows, tavern backrooms, and curiosity museums that made the anthropomorphic mermaid into a hybrid with a zoomorphic misshapen and mismatched body exhibited in skeletal form, often wired together from parts of orangutans and salmons (Bondeson 1999, Ritvo 1997).

In the modern United States the mermaid's origins are less classical, derived primarily from the highly personal world of Hans Christian Andersen's "The Little Mermaid" (1837) and migrating into Disneyan normative codes with a 1989 full-length cartoon animation feature.

Feminist theory has addressed gender roles and models for girls implicit in Disney's work (Ross 2004). For Laura Sells (1995) the Little Mermaid is a parable of bourgeois feminism destabilized by its own messages. She sees an opposition between "reformist demands for access" that leave existing gender identities intact and radical revisions that refigure gender as the symbolic change that is necessary for and preliminary to social change. Others have pointed to the highly sexualized and erotic charge of the mermaid's body since its earliest representations, posing an irresolvable task for the prudish gender conformist Disney and leading to cartoon interpretations of the figure, its garb, and lack thereof, all of which are, according to Elizabeth Bell (1995), a form of burlesque. Laurie Essig, in a study of the annual Coney Island, New York, Mermaid Parade, has suggested that the mermaid constitutes a riddle, centered around the existence and accessibility of the vagina "at the edge of the heterosexual imaginary as potential lover and potential monster" (Essig 2005, pp. 151–152).

Analyst Joyce McDougall (1995) interpreted the original myths of the siren in Freudian and Lacanian modes, as a siren-mother figure that threatens to envelop or "devour" the child, who is protected through verbal communication. The mother's voice "rekindles fantasies of fusion, with the consequent loss of both subjective—and sexual—identity" (McDougall 1995, p. 82). Thus, the original voice is at once attraction and danger, the siren's song that draws the child back into nonindividuation. The intervention of the father (the law), as the Lacanian *voix du pere*, becomes necessary to prevent reabsorption into the "voice" of the mother (Greenberg 1998, p. 50).

SEE ALSO *Animals, Sexual Symbolism of; Art; Folklore; Greco-Roman Art; Legends and Myths; Obscene.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

METROSEXUALS

Although it entered popular parlance in 2002, winning the "Word of the Year" award from the American Dialect Society in 2003, both the term *metrosexual* and the social phenomenon that it names have their origins in the mid 1990s. According to British journalist Mark Simpson who is widely credited with having coined the term in a 1994 article for the *Independent*, metrosexual denotes "the single young man with a high disposable income, living or working in the city (because that's where all the best shops are)." In short, the term metrosexual actually names an explicitly gendered yet ambiguously sexualized form of narcissistic male consumerism and style consciousness made possible by self-imposed abstention from the financial entanglements typically associated with being the *breadwinner* in the context of normative heterosexual family life.

In its original formulation the term was considered especially applicable to a supposedly new breed of heterosexual men whose self-consciousness about their bodies and sophisticated tastes seemed to link them to a form of fashion-conscious consumerism more typically associated with women and some members of one highly visible, highly affluent, city-dwelling segment of the gay male population in the United Kingdom and the United States. Subsequently, however, the term came to be used in a more general sense to describe any man whose claim to a particular sexual identity was rendered either suspect or altogether irrelevant by his utterly narcissistic obsession with his own sophistication and superior physical appearance.

As with many trends, especially those linked in some way to fashion and consumer culture, the idea of metrosexuality began to be dismissed as passé almost as soon as it entered mainstream consciousness. In 2004 Simpson himself bemoaned the general public's failure to recognize the double-edged critique of classism and heteronormativity implicit in his original explication of the phenomenon. By 2006 a number of a journalists and cultural commentators were declaring an end to the era of the metrosexual and heralding the welcomed return of a rougher, less refined ideal of upper-middle-class heterosexual masculinity.

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Colin R. Johnson

MICHELANGELO
1475–1564

The prodigious achievements in painting, sculpture, and architecture of Michelangelo Buonarroti made him legendary during his lifetime as a divinely-inspired creator, while his tempestuous, melancholy, and troubled personality epitomized an emerging conception of artistic genius, particularly the nexus between creative and homosexual temperament. While his supporters countered public presumption of his homosexuality with denial, his enemies used it against him. In modern times, homosexual communities have combined this suggestive biography with his oeuvre celebrating the male body to construct a subcultural icon. That status is reinforced by his poetry, a serious avocation that produced the first modern corpus of male-male love lyrics.

Trained in Florence, a city proverbial for sodomy, Michelangelo was exposed to homosexuality at all social levels. The sexual demimonde was ubiquitous, while the humanist circles around Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) embraced a Neoplatonic philosophy and art that idealized classical pederasty. The scholar Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), himself homosexual, taught the artist mythological subjects like that of his student carving, the *Battle of the Centaurs* (1492). This crowd of fighters first displayed the intertwined traits that characterize much of Michelangelo's work: an interest in subjects that offered pretexts for psychological self-projection and nude male bodies, and a tendency to diverge from textual or visual tradition to heighten their physicality.

Michelangelo. RISCHGITZ/GETTY IMAGES.

Beginning with his contemporaries, friend and foe alike have invoked the content or form of Michelangelo's major works as milestones in early modern representation of gender ambiguity and homoeroticism. He illustrated both classical and Christian subjects, the former offering greater scope for overt eroticism, such as Bacchus, the bisexual wine god (1496). The androgynous, tipsy divinity, accompanied by a lascivious boy satyr, presided over Roman parties featuring platonic dialogues on male love. Michelangelo's friend and biographer Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) praised its fusion of male and female traits, but other critics were hostile to such transgressive fluidity: Ludovico Dolce (1508–1568) complained that the artist "does not know or will not observe these differences" between the sexes, since many of his females looked like men.

The colossal *David* (1501–1504), Michelangelo's best-known religious sculpture, was more conventionally masculine, but equally nude; it infused an antique body with Judeo-Christian spirit, perfecting the unstable Renaissance amalgam of two cultures. Though it was intended to arouse civic virtue, not desire, city authorities soon concealed its genitals with a bronze waistband, indicating discomfort about its dual potential. What was implicit there was explicit, if ambivalent, in his painting of this period known as the Doni Tondo (Holy Family, c. 1503–1506). The background nudes, lounging intimately like Greeks at a gymnasium, may have symbolized a pagan sensuality that was officially superseded, but they still attest to his knowledge that the ancients both depicted and accepted male eros.

Although evidence of obsession with the male form abounds in his art, direct testimony about Michelangelo's sexual activity is lacking. His homosexuality was widely assumed: One man tempted the artist to accept his son as an apprentice by offering the boy's services in bed. He alludes to several such allegations in his poetry and letters, only to deny them, as does his worshipful biographer Ascanio Condivi (1525–1574). Then and later, moralists eager to exonerate him of sin claimed that the dearth of documented acts, coupled with his protestations of chaste spirituality, meant he was not homosexual. By less judgmental current definitions of sexuality, concerned as much with desire as with its physical expression, he was homosexual in orientation, whether or not he consummated such love. Subject equally to pagan passions and Christian guilt, Michelangelo ruefully confessed the irresolvable dilemma that "keeps me split in two halves" (Poem 168).

This internal struggle is most evident in drawings he gave to Tommaso de' Cavalieri, the unrequited love of his life (1533). Their imagery, mirrored in poems for the handsome youth, symbolizes Michelangelo's conflicting responses to infatuation through Greek myths: Jupiter's abduction of Ganymede represents love's uplifting spiritual rapture, other tales its resultant pain and fear. Cavalieri tried to prevent reproduction of the Ganymede, suggesting that the myth's philosophical gloss would not prevent the public from inferring that artist and recipient were also linked in its more earthy, potentially embarrassing sense of ecstasy.

Eros played a reduced role in later works, reflecting Michelangelo's sympathy with pious Catholic reformers, but his reputation persisted. In 1545, writer Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) attempted to extort a drawing, insinuating that a gift would disprove rumors that Michelangelo only bestowed them on men named Tommaso. At the same time, he enjoyed a profound spiritual friendship with the religious poet Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547), whom he complimented by gender-reversal, writing of her talents in active, male terms while declaring himself her passive, feminized beneficiary.

The written evidence for an early modern homoerotic sensibility in Michelangelo's art was suppressed by his grandnephew, who published the poems in bowdlerized versions. After the originals resurfaced in 1863, the nascent homosexual movement gradually adopted their author as a cultural ancestor. This myth—crystallized by Victorian homosexual critic-historians Walter Horatio Pater (1839–1894) and John Addington Symonds (1840–1893)—spread to fledgling urban subcultures in Europe and North America, where homosexual men decorated their homes with copies of nudes by the Greeks and Michelangelo, fashioning a group pedigree. Mainstream society, however, continued intermittently to contest this claim to a legacy of visual pleasure and historical validation: Irving Stone's novel *The Agony and the Ecstasy* (1961, filmed 1965) virtually omitted male loves and invented a female one, while translators elided the poetry's eroticism into the 1960s.

Michelangelo's starring role in the homosexual imagry has grown with the more open gay culture that emerged after 1969. Post-Stonewall, Robert Patrick's play *Michelangelo's Models* (1981) made camp humor from his assumed orientation, and the film *Prick Up Your Ears* (1987) depicted British playwright Joe Orton and his painter-lover, who papered their rooms with Michelangelo reproductions. The artist thus claims dual significance in the history of male-male desire. His work canonized an enduring "michelangelesque" ideal of male beauty, while his life offered an influential exemplar of one homosexual identity: androgynous, emotional, and sublimating conflicts with self and society into art.

SEE ALSO *Art; Homosexuality, Male, History of.*

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James M. Saslow

MICROPHILIA

SEE *Dwarves and Giants.*

MIDDLE AGES

Attitudes toward sex and gender in western Europe during the Middle Ages (between approximately 500 and 1400) were diverse and often contradictory. Men and women were regarded as essentially different, with different roles and rights, although why this was and what it meant in practice varied widely. Behavioral codes and ideals differed with religion, culture, and geography. All of these values evolved over the Middle Ages, as societies developed and came into contact with one another. Despite these differences, Europe was increasingly united by a common religion—Roman Christianity—and by the common legal system and institutional infrastructure of that religion. While regional and status-based differences remained, western Europe developed a common culture and ideology, which strongly shaped ideas about sex and gender.

RELIGION

Western Europe in the Middle Ages was heavily Roman Christian; even the small number of non–Roman Christians, such as Jews, heretics, and the Greek Christian and Muslim peoples who dwelled along the eastern and Mediterranean edges of western Europe, lived in a culture dominated by Roman Christianity. Christianity therefore played a significant role in influencing western European attitudes toward sex and gender throughout the Middle Ages.

Medieval theologians provided two dichotomous examples of women's behavior from the Christian Bible: Eve and Mary. Eve, they said, caused the exile from the Garden of Eden through her foolishness and disobedience. Mary, by contrast, had helped to offer mankind salvation by obeying God and mothering the Christ child while preserving her chastity. Both men and women had to be wary of falling into Eve's evilness, while Mary's goodness was a model but not actually achievable. All people, however, had souls that were equal in the eyes of the Lord and in the church and could achieve sanctity, although medieval theologians believed that each gender faced different challenges.

Important early church fathers, highly influential throughout the Middle Ages, tended to see women as a direct challenge to a life of chastity and hence to the most pious existence. St. Augustine (354–430) wrestled with his own desire—at one point famously asking God to give him chastity but not yet—before finally giving up sex entirely to devote himself to religion. Nonetheless, the early church fathers believed that marriage itself was not evil. Numerous theologians recognized that marriage provided an appropriate Christian lifestyle for those not capable of sexual abstinence.

The church required both partners, once married, to "pay the marriage debt," or to willingly engage in sexual activity with their spouse in order to meet the spouse's sexual needs and prevent adultery. Even within marriage, however, sex acts that could not lead to children were viewed as suspect. The church therefore prohibited anything that interfered with conception, including both non-procreative sex acts and contraceptive measures, either in or outside of marriage.

Even for those who did marry, chastity was still desirable. From Radegunda, a queen in sixth-century Gaul (modern France), to Margery Kempe, a fifteenth-century townswoman in England, devout individuals occasionally persuaded their spouses to let them live chastely and to pursue religious lives. Widows were encouraged to take vows of chastity, and although many did remarry, second marriages were held by some to be lustful. This is certainly implied in Geoffrey Chaucer's description of the five marriages of his fictional character, the Wife of Bath, in his *Canterbury Tales* (written in the late fourteenth century). On the Day of Judgment, the benefits of being a faithful wife were thirtyfold; of being a chaste widow, sixtyfold; and of being a lifelong virgin, one hundred–fold. Especially for women, the church clearly favored total chastity.

But while chastity was always mandatory for nuns and other female religious, churchmen were legally allowed to marry until the fourth century and the practice was generally condoned for several centuries more. By approximately 1180, however, the church had gained a secure enough religious and political position to enforce its regulations regarding sexuality fairly consistently. Individuals and communities became increasingly willing to bring sexual indiscretions to light. This included homosexual male activity, which the church prosecuted much more heavily after around 1200. Female homosexuality, however, rarely appears in court records. The heterosexual indiscretions of male clerics were always more likely to be tolerated by the community than those of the nuns or male homosexuality, although all were technically forbidden. Through the Middle Ages, chastity was, however, both the ideal and, for the clergy, the law.

MEDICINE

Scholars blended medical theory derived from ancient classical authors with the medieval Christian culture of their time. Most scholars were Christian men, and many of them were clerics, chaste in theory if not in practice. There are exceptions to this; Hildegard von Bingen was a twelfth-century German nun and scholar whose works often minimized the misogyny inherent in many of the male-authored works. In the later Middle Ages, Christian scholars also drew increasingly on the works of Jewish and Muslim physicians, which introduced a new frame of reference to the Christian scholarship.

In explaining sex differences, medieval scholars generally followed the ancient Greek thinker Aristotle, who explained that women's genitalia were an inversion of men's, with an internal uterus instead of an external penis. People disagreed, however, on whether women were imperfect men or simply the opposite of men. Further, most medieval people believed that health and temperament were dictated by the balance of four different substances (humors): cholera (hot), phlegm (cold), blood (moist), and bile (dry). These humors occurred naturally in people, who might healthfully tend more toward one humor than another.

Hildegard von Bingen argued that differences in humors created women with different temperaments corresponding to different male types, but most scholars held that male characteristics were superior to female. Male warmth and dryness, according to both Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) and Albertus Magnus (c. 1200–1280), made men more active and sharp-witted. Cool, moist women were inclined to be melancholy and more physically and intellectually childlike, as demonstrated by the lack of facial hair, physical softness, high voices, and inability to produce semen that defined women, children, and eunuchs.

Despite this assumption of female inferiority, most medieval scholars followed Galen, the ancient Greek physician, who argued that the woman contributed vitally to conception through the internal release of a female sperm. This contrasted with the Aristotelian view in circulation that the woman provided only food and a protective place for the growing male seed. In either case, medieval people certainly recognized that a child could resemble the mother or the father in temperament or appearance, but the blame for failure to conceive was laid on the woman unless it was proven that the father was unable to get or maintain an erection.

In addition to procreation, sexual activity balanced people's health and temperament and prevented them from engaging in sinful sexual behavior. Marital sex took care of this for most of the population, but not all people were married. For men, prostitutes were an option. The London city government, for example, legalized and regulated brothels in suburban Southwark, a move not unusual for major cities. These establishments met men's sexual needs and protected the city's women from rape or seduction, which would endanger their souls and compromise the social position of the women and their families. It should not be surprising that women did not have the same sexual options as men.

LAWS AND LEGAL CODES

A number of law codes were in practice in western Europe in the early Middle Ages (500–1100), addressing gendered rights, including inheritance, marriage, and divorce, differently. The Roman Empire dominated most of Europe until approximately 500 CE, and the empire's legal system remained influential long after because it served as the basis for church law. In addition to the laws of the Roman Empire, areas never fully dominated by Rome, such as Ireland, Scandinavia, and Germany, had their own legal traditions that offered women different legal rights before the church's legal system became dominant. For example, women in early Christian Ireland (400–700) could obtain divorces from their husbands, but men too were allowed to divorce their wives or even to practice polygyny.

These regional codes made legal distinctions between women of different statuses. Many non-Roman societies, including Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia, employed wergild, a system of fines for murder according to the victim's social position, gender, age, and marital status. Although men's wergilds were higher overall than women's, high-ranking women could be valued more highly than lower-ranking men, especially if the women were of childbearing age. Here, as in legal codes throughout medieval Europe, women were less valued than men, but they were valued.

The Roman church in this period had one of the strictest incest taboos of any known society, initially disallowing marriage within seven degrees of relation and, after 1215, disallowing those within four degrees. In reality, many marriages occurred within the prohibited degrees; King Louis VII of France, in 1152, requested that the pope annul his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine on these grounds, while numerous royals requested dispensations from the pope allowing them to make such marriages. Further, the church insisted that a valid marriage required consent from both partners after they had reached the legal age—twelve for girls and fourteen for boys. Marriages entered into before that age or without free consent could be annulled. In practice, choice could be very limited, particularly if noble parents refused to support children who married against their parents' wishes.

Beyond these constraints, there were few formalities in contracting a marriage. In church law, the exchange of vows in the present tense, followed by consummation, were all that was necessary to form a legal marriage. After 1215, the church worked to eliminate clandestine, or secret, marriages, but was still often forced to regard those as valid, especially if there were children. While marriages could be elaborate affairs, they did not require the blessing of the church until after the Middle Ages had ended.

A respectable marriage was usually accompanied by an exchange of goods: a dowry from the woman's family to the husband, a bride-gift from the husband to the wife, or a dower from the husband to the bride's family. Of these, the dowry was the most widespread. Depending on the social status of the couple, a dowry could be a few household items or include money or land. In some cases, a dowry was the only inheritance a woman received, but women were never prohibited from inheriting land. In many areas during the early Middle Ages, all children would inherit. Around the year 1000, land became tied to military service among the nobility. Women consequently inherited less frequently. Simultaneously, younger sons also inherited less frequently as families tried to avoid dividing their land. Women without brothers, however, could inherit land, although their husbands might control it during their lifetime.

The dowry belonged to the wife, but the husband usually controlled it during the marriage. He could not alienate it, however, without her permission. After his death, the widow would receive the dowry back to support herself or to bring into her next marriage, and, after her death, to split among her children. A woman could even write a will, with her husband's permission, specifying how she would like her possessions divided and leaving gifts to friends and servants. If the wife died first, her husband could claim her dowry for their children.

Once a woman had living children in a valid marriage, she was entitled to support from her husband and his family. The law generally required that a widow be provided with one-third of her husband's estate to support her during her lifetime. Husbands would sometimes stipulate in their wills, however, that their widows would forfeit this if they remarried. Children received another third, which might be controlled by their mother until they came of age. These rules were fairly constant across western Europe, especially toward the end of the Middle Ages.

GENDER ROLES

Evidence for daily life in the early Middle Ages is relatively scarce compared to later periods, but existing sources make it clear that kinship was of overriding political and social importance. In many areas, the throne did not necessarily go to the eldest son of the late king, but rather to the most able man among the local nobility, usually close maternal or paternal relatives of the king. Men demonstrated their adult masculinity and suitability for rule through military leadership and victory.

Noblewomen in this period could play a prominent role in governing by connecting various lineages and also as powerful decision makers in their husbands' court. In particular, noblewomen often lent their support to Christian missionaries, as Bertha, the Christian wife of a local English ruler, did in 597 CE to the visiting St. Augustine the Lesser, the missionary sent by Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604). Widowed or unmarried religious women could also be powerful political actors as the heads of female or mixed-sex religious houses, because monasteries had a great deal of political as well as religious influence.

Beginning around the year 1000, kings depended less on their kinsmen and kinswomen for assistance and more on trained male bureaucrats. These bureaucrats attained their positions through education in the church. This is not to say that military prowess became unimportant; the ability to bear arms in combat, competitions, and hunting remained important for noble masculinity through the Middle Ages.

As male bureaucracy grew, the opportunities for noblewomen to govern declined. Noblewomen were increasingly simply consorts of men—producers of legitimate heirs. Their marriages still formed vital links between kingdoms, and they remained important religious and artistic patrons, but noblewomen's direct participation in affairs of the court waned. This was true also for nuns, as the church banned mixed houses and increasingly mandated that women be cloistered, limiting their ability to assert themselves politically. Nuns became dependent on charity and on men to administer their religious houses and provide the sacraments. Because of the dependence of women, male orders became reluctant to allow women to form religious houses under their protection, reducing the opportunity for women to participate in a religious lifestyle at all.

But opportunities did remain for noblewomen. Mediterranean cultures, in particular, allowed women to inherit kingdoms and administer them largely on their own. This region produced several female figures prominent in politics and art, including Ermengarde of Narbonne (c. 1129–c. 1196) and Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204). Further, the rise of mysticism, a form of spirituality promoting a direct, emotional tie between God and a holy individual, provided new avenues for religious women, such as the Englishwoman Julian of Norwich (1342–after 1416) and the Italian St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380). Although many mystics were from at least comfortable backgrounds, this form of spirituality did not require a large entrance fee to a nunnery, and therefore allowed for the participation of a broader social stratum.

Throughout the Middle Ages, most people were agricultural workers. Men tended to be responsible for most of the farming, while women would work the large kitchen garden, tend the animals, do the housework and care for the children, help in the fields during busy times, and also often engage in paid labor on the side, such as spinning, brewing, or sewing. Clearly, women of the lower classes could not be removed from the public eye and economic production in the way that noblewomen were later in the Middle Ages.

As cities grew rapidly after approximately 1100, more people made craft production their primary occupation rather than farming. Men became apprentices, and later journeymen and masters, within a guild. This guild gave them a social identity and, once they became masters, offered them a form of political participation and an adult masculine identity. There is evidence of female guild members, and the family members of skilled craftsmen often became highly skilled assistants, but guildswomen were most often wives or widows of guildsmen, maintaining the family's business and position until children became old enough to take over.

Women were, however, important players in the local economy. In addition to whatever household chores they might have had, women often made additional money for the household by engaging in piecework such as spinning or by working occasionally. Younger or single women could work as domestic servants or at a more skilled labor such as textile work. Even more elite women would oversee the household accounts and the labor of servants, which might involve piecework for a profit. Most women, therefore, were active participants in the broader economy.

While men and women were regarded as fundamentally different in medieval Europe, scholars and the population at large would generally agree that both were necessary in the society. Both genders had characteristic faults, some tied to other aspects of social status and others not, but both could live valuable and even holy lives that benefited the society.

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Tovah Bender

MIDWIFE

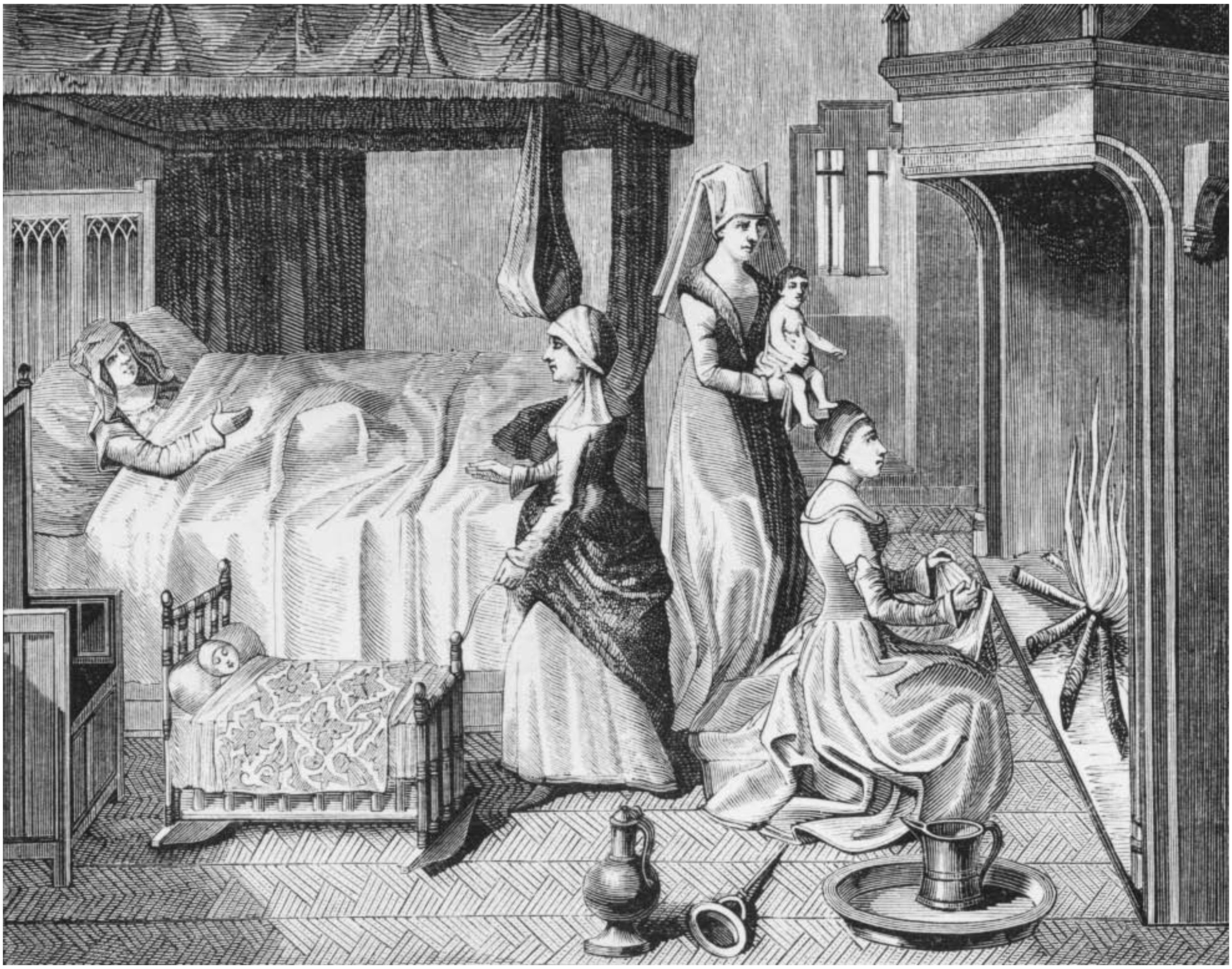
The term *midwife* means *with woman*. Traditionally, midwifery describes the art of assisting a woman through childbirth. The International Definition of the Midwife (International Confederation of Midwives [ICM] 2005) is:

> A midwife is a person who, having been regularly admitted to a midwifery educational programme, duly recognised in the country in which it is located, has successfully completed the prescribed course of studies in midwifery and has acquired the requisite qualifications to be registered and/or legally licensed to practise midwifery.
>
> The midwife is recognised as a responsible and accountable professional who works in partnership with women to give the necessary support, care and advice during pregnancy, labour and the postpartum period, to conduct births on the midwife's own responsibility and to provide care for the newborn and the infant. This care includes preventative measures, the promotion of normal birth, the detection of complications in mother and child, the accessing of medical care or other appropriate assistance and the carrying out of emergency measures.
>
> The midwife has an important task in health counselling and education, not only for the woman, but also within the family and the community. This work should involve antenatal education and preparation for parenthood and may extend to women's health, sexual or reproductive health and child care.
>
> A midwife may practise in any setting including the home, community, hospitals, clinics or health units.

Exclusion of traditional midwives from this definition is controversial because sometimes they are the only people available to assist women in birth. The World Health Organisation (WHO) and other groups refer to traditional midwives as *traditional birth attendants* or *lay midwives* to distinguish them from registered/licensed midwives as defined above.

REGULATION OF PRACTICE

Prescribed courses of study leading to registration as a midwife, for those with nursing qualifications, include postgraduate degree programs conducted by universities, or twelve- to eighteen-month midwifery certificate courses conducted by a hospital. Another course is the two- or three-year direct-entry undergraduate program that allows midwives to be educated in the discipline of midwifery without prior nursing qualifications. In the United Kingdom, Australia, Europe, and Scandinavia, practicing midwives must be



Midwives Tend to Baby. *A group of midwives tend to a newborn baby in this fifteenth-century illustration.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

licensed. Legislation in 1990 restored midwifery in New Zealand and legally established midwifery and nursing as separate and distinct professions. Between the late 1940s and the 1950s, Canada did not regulate midwifery. It was regulated again in the 1960s and became part of the health system in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. Midwifery is not yet legally recognized in the Atlantic provinces of Canada. Cultural safety and appropriate care is gaining prominence across the world. There are very few indigenous midwives in Australia, but programs are beginning to emerge, and a program for First Nations midwifery students will open soon in Manitoba (Manitoba Health 2006).

Midwives are required to practice according to codes of ethics and professional conduct/practice and within the law. They should be capable, caring, and of good character and have no criminal record, personal health problems, or disabilities that impede practice. Licenses are usually renewed annually on payment of a fee. Debate continues over how to ensure that midwives maintain current knowledge and competency of practice before renewing their registrations, and many registering authorities require a signed declaration to this effect.

PREVALENCE AND IMPORTANCE OF MIDWIVES

Midwives are predominantly female. They make a vital contribution to the health and well-being of women and infants and are a part of an integrated team of professionals providing maternity services. Having a child is an emotional and social event, and sexual health is a part of the woman's reproductive health; it is a state of physical, emotional, mental, and social well-being. The WHO has highlighted that the presence of midwives during birthing lowers maternal mortality rates; unfortunately, only about 60 percent of the women in the world receive professional help during childbirth (European Midwives Association 2004).

In 1954 when the number of trained midwives in Sweden increased, maternal mortality rates during childbirth fell despite Sweden being one of the poorest European countries at that time, the European Midwives Association (2004) reported. In 1997 Angola had the world's highest maternal mortality rate, with only 492 midwives (0.04 per 1,000 population) as recorded in WHO statistics (2006); and Afghanistan had the second highest maternal mortality rate in the world according to the United Nation's Save the Children (2006). To address their problem, Afghanistan established a nationwide, eighteen-month midwives' training program that gives skills to rural women to assist the community and improve prenatal healthcare.

Conversely, the United States, the Netherlands, and Australia, for example, with higher ratios of qualified midwives and medical staff, have low maternal mortality rates. There were 5,500 certified nurse-midwives practicing in the United States in 2006; more than 1,900 in the Netherlands in 2004 (Midwifery in the Netherlands, European Midwives Association); and 10,000 in Australia in 2001 (Commonwealth of Australia 2001). The prevalence of midwives and low maternal mortality rates in the United Kingdom and Europe are similar.

In Hong Kong SAR, China, nurse-midwives are not independent professional practitioners, and in China midwives no longer work in rural areas such as Tianjin Municipality, where 99 percent of pregnant local women give birth in hospitals. Thailand also has very medicalized childbirth system. There is a strong sense of midwifery in Japan, but as in many industrialized countries, the number of midwives is diminishing due to retirements and a shortage of obstetricians: When midwives are employed by health services/hospitals, there must be an obstetrician for aspects such as ordering scans and blood tests, prescribing necessary drugs, and even *diagnosing* that the woman is pregnant. Birthing is concentrated in large hospitals, so *midwife houses* (mini birth centres) throughout Japan are closing.

MIDWIFERY PRACTICE, CONTEMPORARY OBSTETRICS, AND BIRTHING

Midwives in industrialized countries are employed by regional health services; specialized clinics such as in vitro fertilization, diabetes, and fetal medicine; or, especially in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and New Zealand, independently as private practitioners. In the United States nurse-midwives are advanced-practice nurses able to prescribe medications in forty-eight out of the fifty states and to provide care to women from puberty through menopause. In the rural and remote areas of New Guinea, Africa, India, and the Americas, midwives conduct childbirth preparation classes for indigenous women in their villages (Robertson 2003–2006).

Midwives specialize in normal childbearing according to the international definition. Obstetricians specialize in illness- and surgery-related childbearing. The two professions can be complementary but often are at odds, because obstetricians are taught to actively manage labour whereas midwives are taught not to intervene unless necessary.

The move away from home birth to hospital birth and the technological advances during the second half of the twentieth century have presented benefits and problems. They have improved the possibility of women and couples being able to plan their families and of having a healthy mother and baby. At the same time these changes have resulted in the *cascade of intervention* (where one intervention leads to, or requires, another intervention), the medicalization of childbirth, the risk of focusing on technology rather than women and infants, and the deskilling of midwives in the practice of midwifery.

Although midwives do not perform what industrialized countries consider harmful tribal and cultural practices, such as female genital mutilation and male circumcision, increasingly, with globalization, they are caring for women and infants who have undergone these procedures.

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Faye E. Thompson

MIGNONS

Though the word *mignon* originally had a nonsexual meaning (a "charming" or "dear" person or child), and came also to denote a heterosexual male or female lover (*mignonne*), the *mignons* best known to the history of sexuality were the group of male favorites and lovers surrounding the homosexual French monarch Henry III (r. 1574–1589). Indeed, the homosexual notoriety of Henry's court helped establish *mignon* (in England, *minion*) as a pejorative male homosexual term in the Renaissance, where it was routinely associated with the stereotypes of "effeminacy" and "passivity." Evidence of this phenomenon abounds in the diary and scrapbook of the contemporary court official Pierre de L'Estoile, the invaluable primary source for myriad aspects of French social and political life during the period.

Henry III. *History's best known mignins were the male favorites and lovers surrounding French king Henry III, pictured here.* TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

L'Estoile's materials contain the Renaissance's most extensive, frank, and graphic depictions of homosexuality now known. In them he describes Henry as "usually dressed as a woman . . . at his jousts . . . and . . . masquerades" (Cady 1996, p. 133), but it is the *mignons* who are most often characterized in "other-sex" terms. An anonymous 1576 broadside poem calls them "effeminates, . . . vile effeminates," and an angry anonymous 1577 sonnet castigates them as "effeminate men" (p. 132). Furthermore, the sex between Henry and the *mignons* is sometimes portrayed in traditional "active"–"passive" terms, with the king as penetrator and the *mignons* as purely opportunistic receptive partners. A "court exposé" poem of December 1581 declares that "The King fucks his *mignons*," while an anonymous broadside entitled "The *Mignons* in 1577" describes Quélus, one of Henry's first favorites, as "advancing [at the court] totally through his ass" (p. 128).

Considerable skepticism, however, should be exercised about the factual accuracy of this portrait. Both the king and the *mignons* had significant records as warriors (Henry in the 1569 Battle of Jarnac early in the Wars of Religion, and the *mignons* in conflicts with rival court factions). In addition, the "effeminate" detail most mentioned by commentators about the *mignons* is their penchant for rouge, perfume, and ornate clothing, an actually unremarkable trait in an age in which elaborate dress and makeup were common among men of rank. Furthermore, other depictions of the *mignons* suggest a genuine homosexual orientation and a sexual interchangeability not limited by role. The 1576 broadside quoted above also asserts that "They *practice among themselves* the art / Of lewd Ganymede," and a 1578 sonnet portrays them as "*Comrades* / In perverted spirit, *fucking each other*" (Cady 1996, pp. 140, 128; emphasis added). Relatedly, L'Estoile's portrait of Henry's behavior at the deaths of Quélus and another mignon, Maugiron, killed in a fight with followers of the rival Duke of Guise, conveys a mutual romantic vulnerability and would automatically be read as a love scene were the figures male and female (Quélus's dying words are "Oh! my king, my king!"; the king "covered their dead bodies with kisses [and] clipped their blond locks" [p. 131]).

Groundbreaking research has shown how persistent the motifs of male homosexual "effeminacy" and "passivity" have been in homophobic discourse, where they have functioned largely to contain what heterocentricism actually fears more, self-acknowledgement and self-expression by non-polaristic homosexuals (those not conforming to the heterocentric, "opposites attract," logic that because they desire their own sex they must therefore "really be," and behave like, members of the other sex [Borris 2004]). Though Henry III's *mignons* provided a new popular name for those stereotypes that would persist for at least 200 years more, that image of the favorites seems markedly at odds with historical fact.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Defined.*

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Joseph Cady

MILITARY

Historically, homosexuals and women have fulfilled the role of combatant. However, their ability to carry out that role in postmodern society is a subject of much debate.

GENDER AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION

A question often raised about women serving in European and North American militaries is whether or not they are physically capable of performing in combat. Although most of the world's warriors have been men, there is growing evidence that women have performed the role of warrior in every historical epoch. Historical legend and current archaeological studies reveal that women actually led troops into battle as far back as antiquity. According to the Bible, Judge Deborah, ruler of Israel from c. 1209–c. 1169, led men into battle against Sisera's troops. Rock drawings in the Sahara reveal that women were among the first nomadic warriors. There are widely disseminated stories of fighting women of ancient Greece known as Amazons. It was believed that removal of their right breast would make it easier for them to draw a bow and to throw a spear. Legend has it that these women lived in gender-segregated communities, were trained in warfare from childhood, and were superb warriors on the battlefield.

History reveals that several warrior queens ruled in Egypt. For example, Queen Meryet-Nit reigned as early as 3000 BCE; and Queens Khentkaues, Nefrusobek, Ahhotep, and others, ruled in Egypt between the twenty-fifth and sixteenth centuries BCE. It is also reported that women fought in the Greek Trojan Wars, and that women of Sparta fought in battle alongside men. Women rulers and warriors are said to have been common among the ancient Celtic and Germanic tribes; wives went into battle with their husbands and fought fiercely.

Similar stories about women warriors have surfaced in Asia and Africa. Historians assert that the Assyrian Empire was led by a warrior queen named Sammuramat in the ninth century. During that period Sammuramat is said to have conquered Babylonia and had launched an unsuccessful attack on India. Candace of Meroe, queen of Nubia, fought against the Romans in the first century CE, and the women of Monomotapa (in southern Africa) were renowned for their bravery. Ruling during the seventeenth century, Queen Nzinga of Matamba (in southwestern Africa) raised an army and fought several wars against the Portuguese

Documented cases of women combatants are seemingly endless and continue to grow. In their 2002 archaeological study, Jeannine Davis Kimball and Mona Behan found that the nomadic Sarmatian women of western Scythia actually fought on horseback. Studies illustrate that peoples of diverse cultures have relied upon women fighters throughout the world. Women combatants were prevalent among the Scandinavians, Arabs, Berbers, Kurds, Rajputs, Chinese, Indonesians, Filipinos, Maori, Papuans, Australian aborigines, Micronesians, and Amerindians.

In nineteenth-century England a new Victorian role emerged for middle-class women, defining them as delicate exhibits of leisure, used to show off their husbands' economic and marital success. Women were considered to be the property of their husbands and were treated as second-class citizens. Subsequently, this Victorian gender role defined the role of women in other European nations and in the United States.

Homosexuals have always participated in European and North American militaries but usually under concealed identity. This differs from the militaries of antiquity where homosexuality among military men was often encouraged. In both Athens and Sparta sexual relations between adult men and adolescent boys (pederasty) were accepted. It was not uncommon for ancient Greek warriors to have same-sex love relationships. Organized around 378 BCE, the Sacred Band of Thebes was a Greek military unit reserved for homosexual lovers. The men of this unit were known for their military valor. It was believed that same-sex relationships between soldiers enhanced their fighting spirit and boosted their morale. Similarly, during the early Roman Empire, homosexual relationships were accepted. The emperor Nero was the first of many emperors of Rome to marry a male.

By contrast, in ancient Israel sexual intercourse between men was viewed as an abomination, punishable by death. Likewise, ancient Christianity condemned male homosexuality. During the Middle Ages (476–1350) in western Europe, the Catholic Church emerged as a political power forming a legal system that ultimately served as the foundation of modern systems. Homosexuality was a punishable crime during this era. B. R. Burg (2002) asserts that the Order of the Knights Templar, founded in Jerusalem in 1120, was the first military order of the European world. Members of the military were exclusively men, who in addition to their fighting role vowed to religious norms of chastity, poverty, and obedience.

Militaries of European and North American democracies have been male-dominated institutions based on a culture of masculinity. Traditionally, service in the military was both a right and an obligation of citizens, and full citizenship with all of the accompanying rights was reserved exclusively for men. Stereotyped as being genetically inferior to men, women were recruited to serve in the military only when a crisis erupted. By the early twenty-first century many of the legal barriers excluding women and homosexuals from the military had been challenged and were in the process of being removed. Nowhere were these changes more apparent than in the United States, the Netherlands, and Israel.

THE UNITED STATES

Women have served in all of America's wars. During the nineteenth century they served mostly as nurses, cooks, and laundresses. A few disguised themselves as men and served as soldiers in male units, only to be removed from service after their sexual identities were revealed. None of these women were officially members of the armed forces, and regardless of how well they performed, they did not receive recognition. U.S. women had slightly more of an opportunity to serve during World War I (1914–1919), as the Navy and Marine Corps allowed them to enter as reservists to fill clerical occupations. Most of the women that served were nurses.

World War II (1939–1945) was a turning point in the representation and participation rates of women in the U.S. military as the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC)—later renamed the Women's Army Corps (WAC)—was established, giving women temporary but full military status. Women were also recruited to serve as reservists in the Navy, Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard. Most of these women were assigned to clerical and administrative jobs to free men for combat. A small percentage of them, however, served in nontraditional roles, such as parachute riggers, aircraft mechanics, and intelligence. Some 350,000 American women served in the military during World War II both in the United States and in combat theaters overseas. These women were patriotic and for the most part did not question their role as noncombatants.

Racial segregation was a contentious issue in the U.S. military during World War II and did not change until the postwar years. African-American women were accepted for service in the WAAC/WAC from its inception but were forced to live and work in racially segregated facilities. As revealed in Brenda Moore's Sociohistorical Study, Japanese-American women were not accepted for service in the WAC until 1943. Many of them were recruited from internment camps. Unlike African-American women, Japanese-American women served in a fully integrated setting.

Following World War II women were given permanent military status through the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948. For the next two decades the representation of women in the U.S. armed services was restricted to 2 percent of the total. In 1967 the 2 percent restriction was removed. When the military draft ended in 1973, women were encouraged to join the military to help meet personnel goals. By 1974 women made up 3 percent of the active-duty forces, and five years later the number of women in the military had increased three-fold.

Since the late 1970s changes in U.S. military laws and policies, largely influenced by a climate of equal employment opportunity for women in the broader society, has allowed women to fill a wider array of military occupations. Women were admitted to the three major service academies in 1976. Two years later Congress passed legislation abolishing the WAC as a separate unit. In more recent years Army women have been deployed in increasing numbers to combat zones. In 1991 more than 26,000 women soldiers were deployed to the Gulf region during Operations Desert Shield and Storm. Shortly thereafter Congress lifted the ban on women flying combat aircraft and serving on combat ships. By 2007 approximately 15 percent of the U.S. active forces were women, and an unprecedented number of them had been deployed to war zones. These women played major roles in the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Still, as of 2007, U.S. servicewomen are barred from serving on naval submarines and in such elite units as the Army's Special Forces, the Navy's SEAL unit, and the Air Force Special Operations Command. Perhaps the most controversial issue concerning women in the U.S. military in the early twenty-first century is whether or not they should serve in direct combat. Although women are assigned to combat units, they are assigned at the level of brigade headquarters or higher, and they do not serve in direct ground combat. Further, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006 requires notification to Congress at least thirty days prior to the implementation of any change to the Department of Defense's direct ground combat assignment rule.

Advocates against women serving in combat roles emphasize biological differences between men and women. They argue that women are physically weaker than men, are at risk of becoming pregnant, and have an overall negative effect on the fighting capabilities of the U.S. armed forces. Others maintain that it is simply more important for women to bear and raise children than to go off to war. By contrast, advocates for women serving in combat assert that women's capabilities to perform effectively in war are equal to and sometimes surpass those of men. Others make the case that the combat exclusion law cannot protect military women from danger during wartime but, rather, limits their chances for career advancement.

According to Laura Miller's Study U.S. military women are divided over the issue of whether or not they should serve in combat. Enlisted women and women of color are more likely to oppose assigning women to combat. There are greater advantages for women officers than for enlisted women to serve in combat, as the former are more likely to plan a career in the military, less likely to have children, and more likely to perceive their command opportunities to be limited without combat experience. Most of the Army women surveyed were in favor of women being able to volunteer for combat if and only if they can meet physical requirements.

Israeli Female Soldier. *An Israeli female soldier standing in front of a helicopter.* © ELDAD RAFAELI/CORBIS.

Sexual orientation was not addressed in U.S. military law until World War I; the act of sodomy was treated by the military as assault. Prior to World War II homosexual men perceived to be effeminate were admitted into the military and assigned to jobs that did not require a lot of physical strength. During World War II homosexuality was considered to be a mental illness, and military policies were based on a treatment and retention model. In 1951 an article banning sodomy was introduced into the Uniform Code of Military Justice of 1950. By the late 1970s the U.S. military began to view homosexuality as being incompatible with military service and grounds for separation.

This policy became a very divisive issue in 1993 when then President Bill Clinton attempted to lift the ban on gays in the military. Congress and the Department of Defense both opposed opening the military to gays. In 1994 the *don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue* policy was implemented. This policy, which remained in force in the early twenty-first century, forbids the military from inquiring as to a service member's sexual orientation and forbids a service member from revealing his or her sexual orientation. Homosexuals who are not discrete and reveal their sexual orientation can be legally discharged. Since this policy has been implemented service members have been involuntarily separated as a result of their admission alone. Women soldiers have been more likely to be discharged than men. Many homosexuals have stated that the U.S. military has betrayed their trust. Some argue further that the military's intolerance toward homosexuals violates their civil rights and undermines the norms that the military seeks to uphold.

Sexual orientation remains a very controversial issue in the U.S. military in the early twenty-first century. The military's policy on homosexuals has been challenged even more since the *Lawrence v. Texas* case in 2003, which declared unconstitutional a Texas law that prohibited sexual acts between same sex couples. On February 28, 2007, Congressman Marty Meehan (b. 1956) reintroduced the Military Readiness Enhancement Act. If this bill passes, the current don't ask, don't tell policy will be repealed, allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the military without restrictions placed on their sexual orientation.

Controversies surrounding women serving in the military seem to be lessening over time. Evidence shows that the U.S. military has made more progress in integrating women than it has homosexuals.

THE NETHERLANDS

Women have served in the Royal Netherlands Armed Forces since 1944. The Women's Corps was created in the United Kingdom and comprised Dutch women who fled the Netherlands during World War II. Following World War II the Netherlands had three separate Women's Corps for each of the branches: army, navy, and air force. A 1979 sexual equality act led to the integration of women into the Dutch regular military, and by 1982 all Women's Corps had been disbanded.

In 1993 the Dutch military changed from a conscripted to a volunteer force. Unlike in the United States combat duty is open to women so long as they pass the physical entrance test. Nevertheless, women generally do not pass the physical entrance test and are usually assigned to traditional female occupational roles, such as clerical, medical, and administrative positions. Women are officially barred from serving in the marines and on submarines. One issue concerning women in the Dutch military in the early twenty-first century is their low representation among the high-ranking and noncommissioned officers.

Among the militaries of the European and North American nations, the Dutch military is the most tolerant toward homosexuals. Prior to 1974 homosexuals were not allowed to join the Dutch military; their lifestyle was viewed as being immoral. In 1974 the Ministry of Defense removed the gay ban, and the Dutch military became the first in Europe and North America to allow gays to serve in its army. Since 1986 the Dutch military has actively worked toward integrating homosexuals into the armed services through an educational foundation funded by the Ministry of Defense. A 1992 survey administered to Dutch military personnel revealed that whereas most heterosexual service members agreed that homosexuals should have the same rights as heterosexuals, they preferred to keep their relationships with homosexuals at a psychological and social distance (RAND 1993). Many homosexuals in the Dutch military conceal their sexual orientation, as they feel they are not fully accepted. Still, the Dutch forces have made greater strides integrating homosexuals than they have women.

ISRAEL

Israel has the distinction of being the first European nation to conscript women into the military during peacetime as well as war. Jewish women eighteen years of age are liable for conscription and for the reserves following their duty. Women are assigned to a separate women's corps, *Chen* (Hebrew for charm). They receive less military training than do men and are drafted for shorter periods. Female soldiers are assigned to all units in the military, including combat units, but they do not serve in combat specialties and do not deploy with the unit when it goes to war. The majority of Israeli female soldiers serve in secretarial and clerical jobs.

Women are more likely than are men to be exempt from military service for marriage, having children, and religious reasons. In addition, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) do not take all eligible eighteen-year-old women but, rather, select the number of women needed to meet personnel quotas each year. Therefore, the entrance score requirements for women are generally higher compared with those of men.

Homosexuals have always been allowed to serve in the IDF but in previous years were restricted to units where they could live at home. They were also prohibited from occupying intelligence and other sensitive positions. In 1993 the IDF implemented a new nondiscriminatory policy and lifted all restrictions on homosexuals in the military. Individuals are no longer asked about their sexual orientation as part of the military accession process. Homosexuals no longer face legal restrictions on their careers, assignments, or promotions. Unlike in the Netherlands the IDF does not conduct training to dispel stereotypes or to address matters concerning sexual orientation. Because of the social stigma placed on homosexuals in the broader society, those serving in the IDF usually remain covert in their behavior. Whereas Israel has made considerable progress, the integration of women and homosexuals is far from ideal.

CONCLUSION

History is replete with examples of women and homosexuals who performed the role of warrior and performed it well. Clearly, the issue of gender and sexual orientation in the armed services is a cultural—not biological—one. When nations are at war and in need of personnel, cultural norms are temporarily suspended. This was quite evident in the twentieth century when North American and European women were recruited for military service in unprecedented numbers. Nearly 800,000 Soviet women served on the front lines as members of aircrews, tank crews, and gun detachments (Saywell 1985). The exigencies of war outweigh cultural mores.

Still, culture determines the extent to which nations will integrate women and minorities into their militaries. For example, whereas the militaries of Canada, Denmark, and the Netherlands have made noticeable progress in integrating both women and homosexuals, such is not the case in the United States. Integration of homosexuals in the U.S. armed services has not progressed rapidly because of the cultural opposition of a homophobic nation. Arguably, however, the United States has surpassed most other nations when it comes to integrating women.

In the early twenty-first century, European nations and North America are in a process of extending citizenship rights to societal members whose rights have been previously denied. Among the privileges of citizenship is the right to bear arms. Military service is often a pathway to social, political, and economic rights in the civilian sector. The degree of tolerance a military has for social differences is influenced by the cultural values of its broader society.

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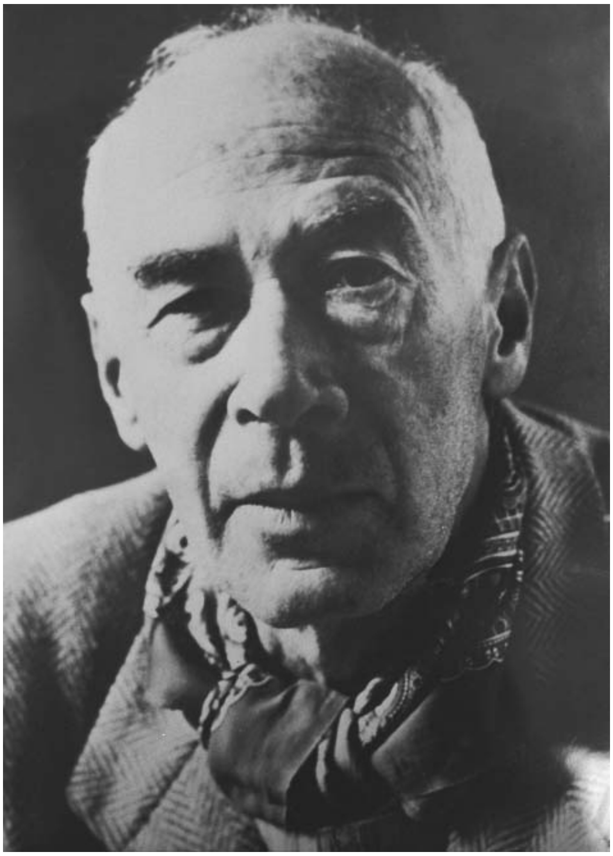
Brenda L. Moore

MILLER, HENRY
1891–1980

Henry Valentine Miller was a prolific, daring American writer and painter. Publishing more than thirty-five works of fiction and criticism during his lifetime, Miller abandoned the mundane labor of an employee of Western Union to embark on a writing career that took him to Europe, Greece, and eventually to California. Notorious for the novels—*The Tropic of Cancer* and *The Tropic of Capricorn*—that were censored in the United States for thirty years, Miller believed that writing was an act of renewal and a celebration of life in all of its Rabelaisian aspects.

Born in New York City on December 26, 1891, Miller moved to Brooklyn when he was an infant, staying there until he quit City College of New York after only two months. Going to work at a cement company and then touring the western United States as a ranch hand, where he met the prominent anarchist Emma Goldman, Miller returned to New York and went to work in his father's tailor shop. Influenced by Goldman's ideas, Miller tried to give his father's employees control of the business. In 1917, he married the first of his five wives, Beatrice Sylvas Wickens, a pianist with whom he had a daughter. In 1920 he began



Henry Miller. **COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**

work as a Western Union messenger and quickly became the employment manager of the messenger department. Taking a three-week leave from Western Union, Miller wrote a book about the experience, *Clipped Wings*, and having had a taste of writing, decided to become a writer.

In 1923, he met June Mansfield Smith, a taxi dancer, and in 1924 he divorced his first wife and married June. He began writing full time, trying to survive on June's tips from dancing and on the proceeds of a speakeasy they opened. Miller and June went to Europe for a year in 1928, and from that point on, Miller traveled back and forth to Europe, writing, meeting writers, and surviving as he could—begging, teaching high school English, and proofreading for the *Chicago Tribune*.

In Paris in the early 1930s, Miller met writer Anaïs Nin, who became his mistress, and with whom he began a correspondence about art. Nin was also fascinated with June, and the two had an affair. June divorced Henry in Mexico, and he continued working on his novel, *The Tropic of Cancer*, which was published in France in 1934.

During this period he began working with his friend Michael Fraenkel (1896–1957); their 1,000-page correspondence was published in three volumes as *Hamlet*, beginning in 1939. By 1940, he had also published eight other books, including *Black Spring* (1936) and *The Tropic of Capricorn* (1939).

Just before the outbreak of World War II, Miller left France and traveled to Greece at the invitation of his friend, writer Lawrence Durrell (1912–1990). There he wrote *The Colossus of Maroussi* (1941), a metaphysical travel book linking travel and history.

When war broke out, Miller returned to the United States and traveled through what he thought was a land in which the works of art were all ''nature's doing'' (*The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, 1945–1947). He settled in California at Big Sur where he would live until 1962. At Big Sur, he established an artists' colony and continued to write, producing critical works such as *The Plight of the Creative Artist in America* (1944) as well as a collection of reprinted watercolors, *Echolalia* (1945), *Sexus* (1949), *Plexus* (1953), *Nexus* (1960), and the essay collection *Stand Still Like the Hummingbird* (1962). He also painted watercolors that he exhibited all over the world.

During his period at Big Sur, Miller finally enjoyed life as an established writer with enough income to support his writing. Artists and acolytes visited Big Sur, and Miller enjoyed talking about writing, books he had read, and writers he knew. In 1944, Miller had married Janina Lepska and their marriage produced two children. He separated from Janina in 1951 and in 1953 married Eve McClure. He continued to travel, going back to France, where he visited François Rabelais's house, and Stratford-on-Avon in Great Britain, where he visited Shakespeare's home.

By the late 1950s, Miller was sufficiently renowned as a writer to be elected as a member of the National Institute of Arts and Sciences. He was asked to be a judge at the Cannes Film Festival in 1960, traveling from 1960 through 1962 throughout Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, and Spain, as well as back and forth to Big Sur and the Pacific Palisades, where he would soon take up residence. In 1961, Grove Press at long last published his previously banned book, *The Tropic of Cancer*.

In 1962, Miller was divorced from his fourth wife, Eve, and continued to enjoy his writing success, making taped interviews in England and France. Mainstream presses such as Grove, John Calder, and Viking were republishing his books. In 1967, he married his fifth wife, Hoki Tokuda, and in 1970, *Tropic of Cancer* was made into a film. He continued to paint and exhibit his work around the world. He died in 1980.

Miller's work was a jubilant exploration of all facets of life. Often narrating frankly and joyously everything from meals to sexual encounters, Miller's novels were banned in the United States for being too sexually explicit. In 1950 and 1951, the United States government challenged the importation of Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn* into the United States, claiming the books violated the Tariff Act's prohibition against the importation of obscene material into the United States. In such cases, the determination of what constitutes obscenity was determined by the court itself: if in reading a book, it is deemed ''obscene in its dominant effect'' (*United States v. Two Obscene Books*, 92 F. Supp. 934). In 1950, the court found that ''the dominant effect of the two respondent books is obscene. Both books are replete with long passages that are filthy and revolting and that tend to excite lustful thoughts and desires.'' In 1951, the books did not fare any better, this time exciting the court to the following comment: ''It is sufficient to say, however, that the many obscene passages in the books have such evil stench that to include them here in footnotes would make this opinion pornographic. For example, there are several passages where the female sexual organ and its function are described and referred to in such detailed vulgar language as to create nausea in the reader'' (*United States v. Two Obscene Books*, 99 F. Supp. 760).

SEE ALSO *Nin, Anaïs.*

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Judith Roof

MISCEGENATION

Miscegenation is a term that is used to describe sexual relations, cohabitation, marriage, or procreation between people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds. At its core miscegenation is based on scientific racism and the belief that human blood and genetic material establish an individual's race. As a category of "difference," race has lost much of its currency, especially in light of scientific evidence showing that race is culturally and socially constructed. However, in the nineteenth century, with the rise of imperialism and colonization, physical attributes such as skin color, hair texture, and the shapes and sizes of body parts signaled a dramatic difference between white Europeans and the "other."

MISCEGENATION IN THE UNITED STATES

A preoccupation with racial difference and amalgamation began in the United States during the slave era (1600s–1865), and miscegenation resulted in social stigma and legal penalties for those who wished to "cross the color line." Almost every southern state had a set of codes or laws delineating standard procedures for slaveholders; included in those laws were harsh punishments for cohabitating with slaves, usually involving a substantial fine for the white perpetrator and corporal punishment for the slave.

The word miscegenation comes from the Latin *miscere* ("to mix") and *genus* (a class or group of species), and the term was coined in a post–Civil War pamphlet titled "Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro" written by David Goodman Croly in 1864. Although the pamphlet extols the virtues of interracial relationships and the potential for interracial couples to produce superior offspring, its main goal was to stir up an antimiscegenation fervor that would hurt Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party and tarnish the abolitionist movement.

The propaganda piece was distributed widely in the United States and spawned a national debate about social tolerance of interracial relationships. Anxiety over interracial intimacy and miscegenation led to the heightened implementation of miscegenation laws, which forbade any official ceremony uniting people of different races in marriage. The first miscegenation law was established in 1661 in the colony of Maryland, and the slow adoption of the law would span hundreds of years and include every state except Vermont. Miscegenation laws also made it possible to convict individuals of adultery and fornication on a wide scale; because interracial couples could not legalize their unions, any sexual intimacy between whites and nonwhites was punishable by law. Eventually miscegenation laws were expanded to include other racial and ethnic groups in state legislation; for example, in the West, white citizens were not allowed to marry Native Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiians, or Filipinos.

Claiming that sex between whites and nonwhites was unnatural, against God's law, and immoral, lawmakers attempted to strengthen the severety of punishment, and by the mid-nineteenth-century individuals charged with misgegenation could face two to ten years in prison or fall prey to lynch mobs. Between 1882 and 1968 an estimated 3,446 lynchings took place in both southern and northern states, with approximately 19.2 percent of those lynchings stemming from supposed interracial rape and 6.1 percent from attempted interracial rape. These statistics reveal a pathological anxiety toward interracial sexual relationships and the violent attempt of a nation to maintain strict racial separation.

After the first implementation of miscegenation law, three hundred years would pass before the Supreme Court would rule that forbidding marriage on the grounds of race is unconstitutional. The case that changed interracial marriage laws in the United States was *Loving roman* v. *Virginia* in 1967. In the ruling Chief Justice Earl Warren stated,

> Marriage is one of the "basic civil rights of man," fundamental to our very existence and survival. To deny this fundamental freedom on so unsupportable a basis as the racial classifications embodied in these statutes, classifications so directly subversive of the principle of equality at the heart of the Fourteenth Amendment, is surely to deprive all the State's citizens of liberty without due process of law. The Fourteenth Amendment requires that the freedom of choice to marry not be restricted by invidious racial discriminations. Under our Constitution, the freedom to marry, or not marry, a person of another race resides with the individual and cannot be infringed by the State.

The legal ramifications of interracial sexual relationships permeated many social and cultural institutions. For instance, the Motion Picture Association's implementation of the Hays Code or Motion Picture Production Code after 1930 prohibited any depiction of interracial sexual relationships in movies and set a standard in film production that would last until 1967. In addition, colleges and universities, mainly in the South, developed policies that prohibited interracial dating. The most widely recognized adversary of interracial dating was Bob Jones University, whose community relations coordinator wrote in a letter to a possible candidate that intermarriage "breaks down the barriers God has established. It mixes that which God separated and intends to keep separate." During an interview on March 3, 2000, the university's president, Bob Jones III, revealed that the long-held sanction on interracial dating at Bob Jones University had been abolished.

In one nation's history the immense struggle to prohibit miscegenation in its myriad forms indicates a larger preoccupation with bloodlines, racial hierarchies, shifting power dynamics, and white supremacist ideologies.

MISCEGENATION IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Miscegenation in German history is bound inextricably to the study of eugenics and the belief in Aryan supremacy. In 1935 Germany established the Nuremberg Laws forbidding marriage or sexual relationships between Germans and Jews. Mirroring miscegenation laws in the United States and enthusiastically adopting scientific racism, Germany's policies were an attempt to safeguard racial purity and prevent the "pollution" of pure Aryan blood.

In Portuguese history early colonizers believed that intermixing with native peoples would result in strong and virile offspring and help bolster diminishing populations. Unlike other European colonizers, the Portuguese would marry and grant citizenship to their biracial children in places such as Brazil, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Cape Verde. The presumed benefits of miscegenation for the Portuguese colonizers resulted in a society of diverse skin tones and created a social system in which color codifies class division.

South Africa's system of apartheid is perhaps the best example of twentieth-century miscegenation law. In the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act interracial marriage was outlawed until it was overturned in1985. Stricter laws adopted in 1950 stipulated that any sexual contact between a white person and a nonwhite person was criminal under the Immorality Act.

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Melissa Fore

MISSIONARY POSITION

The much-maligned and joked-about *missionary position* is a sexual position in which two partners lie face to face, one on the other, with the penetrating partner on top. In heterosexual vaginal intercourse, the missionary position will find the woman lying on her back, with her legs either spread flat on the surface she is lying on or elevated onto or wrapped around the man's body in some way. The man will be lying on his belly and on top of the woman with his legs between hers and his genitals at the same level as hers. The missionary position has been called an excellent position in which to conceive, although some sources suggest that if it is used for this purpose, elevation of the woman's hips will facilitate that goal.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) traces the earliest use of the term to the British anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski's *Sexual Life of Savages* (1929), but citation in the dictionary quotes the relevant term as *missionary fashion* (interestingly, Malinowski's claim is that one of his informants considered that Christianity had introduced a number of *novel immoralities* to his community). The *OED* also cites Alfred C. Kinsey and colleagues (1953) referring to the Malinowski text; it is the Kinsey publication that uses the exact term missionary position in this context. In a 2001 article, Robert J. Priest untangles this relay of mistakes based on citations of half-remembered texts.

What is telling about this daisy chain of errata is how persuasive the common wisdom has found it. Almost everyone can cite the obvious reason this sexual position is called the missionary position: It is the only position used (not *enjoyed*) by joyless, sexually inhibited, uptight, morally hidebound white people. (One must leave aside the decidedly unstraitlaced visual evoked when one tries to imagine how Malinowski's informant and his cohort reached their conclusions.) Kinsey and colleagues' landmark study of female sexuality noted that 91 percent of married female respondents reported using this position most frequently, and 9 percent used it exclusively; these data did nothing to enhance the missionary position's reputation.

The position can, of course, be used in nonheterosexual and nonprocreative sexual practices (though, to be sure, Jude Schell, for one, does give the position the name *Vanilla* in her 2005 book, *Lesbian Sex 101*). It is sometimes used figuratively as an embodiment of cultural, political, and gender inferiority, as in Stokely Carmichael's infamous 1964 remark that the "only position for women in SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] is prone."

It is possible to argue that the missionary position got a *bad rap* in the 1960s from which its reputation never fully recovered. After all, the position is characterized by face-to-face contact and leaves the hands and mouths of the participants reasonably free. Additionally, it does not rule out variations in leg and hip positioning, which can be arranged both with and without aids. Further, in heterosexual procreative sex, the placement of the woman under the man, while suggestive of her passivity and his superiority on a visual level, is belied by its enabling the woman's uterus to be maximally efficient and active in pulling semen into itself, via orgasmic contractions of the uterine wall.

Michel Foucault (1978) revealed that the long-held belief that the Victorian era was repressed about sex served to hide the fact that the Victorians were utterly and constantly preoccupied by sex and sexuality. Perhaps cultural disdain for the missionary position functions in a similar fashion—for both its practitioners and critics.

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Lynda Zwinger

MISTRESS

The word mistress usually indicates a female significant other (usually to a male) who is not related to the latter by marriage. A mistress is also traditionally described as a woman who cohabits with a man of stature. A twentieth-century example is Camilla Parker-Bowles, long-time mistress (and then wife) of Charles, the Prince of Wales. Other historical examples include Eva Braun, the infamous lover of Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1944), and Sally Hemming, the slave-turned-mistress of U.S. president Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). Regardless of whether the relationship is sexual or not, the presence of a mistress most often signifies love, or at least friendship, outside the bonds of marriage. A related term consort, a word that refers to a couple's shared fate or romantic friendship, correlates to the more contemporary term girlfriend, which may or may not signify a sexual relationship.

As recently as the eighteenth century, people generally thought romantic love to be incompatible with marriage, which was first and foremost an economic arrangement. A wife gave birth to and raised children, while a mistress, usually younger, single, and childless, provided emotional, sexual, and/or romantic companionship for the husband. As romantic love became more accepted as part of the marital relationship, the term mistress became associated with scandal and moral outrage. In 1998 President Bill Clinton's brief affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky resulted in the president's impeachment. In a review of Andrew Morton's *Monica's Story* (1999), in which she compared Lewinsky's affair with Clinton to other presidential affairs, political analyst Arianna Huffington argued the following:

> Throughout history, mistresses have shared the lives of powerful men. According to Demosthenes, the men of Athens "had courtesans for the sake of pleasure, concubines for the daily health of our bodies, and wives to bear us lawful offspring and be the faithful guardians of our homes. "By that definition, Monica was a concubine, taking care of the presidential plumbing, who tried to convince herself that she was really a courtesan, dispensing pleasures of body, soul, and mind.
>
> *(Huffington 1999, p. 51)*

In the United States and Europe, it has become socially unacceptable for a man to have a wife as well as a mistress; thus such relationships have become less public in the early twenty-first century. Gender roles, as well as traditional definitions of relationships, have been and continue to be examined with greater perception and scrutiny. For example, since the mid-twentieth century, it has become more acceptable, even common, for men and women to live together and not be married. It has also become more acceptable for women and men to have relationships on nonsexual terms.

LITERARY MISTRESSES

Many examples of adulterous relationships exist in literary history, including Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1857); Edith Wharton's *House of Mirth* (1905); D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928); Geoffrey

Chaucer's "The Wife of Bath," in *The Canterbury Tales* (1478) and Andrew Marvell's poem *To His Coy Mistress*. (1681). In her 1999 text *Adultery* Louise DeSalvo has closely examined the historical links between adultery and the term mistress. DeSalvo points out that adultery stories can have many different possible endings, and several of these are represented in literature. Perhaps the most common is the adulterous relationship that ends tragically. This ending entails "discovery, disgrace, the breakup of families, the end of presidencies, and possibly death—murder and/or suicide" (DeSalvo 1999, p. 23). Given the prevalence of secrecy in such relationships, this is the ending one often reads about in newspapers or sees represented on television and film.

In Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), which is set in early American Puritan society, protagonist Hester Prynne experiences passion and love outside the boundaries of her marriage. Her punishment is to sew a red letter *A* on the front of her dress, announcing her adulterous liaison and inviting the judgment of her peers. She becomes a cautionary tale for other women who might consider adultery. Hester is also a sympathetic character because she carries herself with strength and poise throughout the ordeal, never regretting the joy and love she experienced in her extramarital affair.

In the 1987 film *Fatal Attraction*, directed by Adrian Lyne and starring Michael Douglas and Glenn Close, the mistress Alex refuses to accept the terms on which married father Dan has established the affair. Alex becomes increasingly threatening and unstable: She tells Dan she is pregnant; kidnaps his daughter and kills her pet rabbit; stalks the family; and finally confronts Dan with a knife. At the end of the film, Dan's wife shoots and kills Alex in a bloody confrontation. Some have argued that *Fatal Attraction* reinforces the moral imperative of monogamy. Others believe that the film represents male fears about being found out or, worse, losing control over the situation when a lover changes the implicit agenda to keep things quiet. Alex is, in effect, punished for her sexual depravity as a single, childless, thirty-something woman in a culture that values monogamy and heterosexual marriage. The ultimate penalty for the other woman is death, while the wayward husband is forgiven for his infidelity by his wife and child.

According to DeSalvo, another possibility is that an adulterous relationship, "while it lasts, [it] seems not to damage the marriage of either party, [and] does not end either marriage, perhaps because the adulterous couple have been smart enough to keep their mouths shut. This adultery, though, has unpredictable, unfavorable future consequences" (DeSalvo 1999, p. 24). Fear of discovery characterizes the sexual tension of such a relationship. In discussing the "social morality of the gentleman," in his study on "sugar daddies" and "mistresses," E. D. Nelson points out that secrecy was "simply part of the protocol of the affair which justified it as viable" (Nelson 1993, p. 61). Loyalty between the husband and the mistress is predicated on the notion that there is a fine line between the woman being considered a prostitute and retaining the more respectable title of mistress.

Other possible endings to adulterous relationships, as represented in literature, include "the adultery that ends unequivocally . . . [and] the adultery that ends happily enough" (DeSalvo 1999, p. 25). In Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, the reader remains uncertain, even at the end of the novel, as to whether the lovers, Lady Chatterley and Mellors, will reunite. The relationship seems to be over, but the reader sympathizes with the lovers, and wants them to reunite. Similarly in the 1995 film, *Bridges of Madison County*, directed by Clint Eastwood, the affair between a middle-aged farmer's wife and a kind drifter lasts a blissful four days, but must end when the woman's husband and children return from a county fair. The separation of the two lovers is painful and the relationship remains secret until the children find love letters after their mother's death. As part of her examination of the ending to an affair, DeSalvo describes her own experience as the mistress of a married man. She describes it as exciting and ultimately illuminating, an example of an affair that ends "happily enough"—a period in her life when she felt incredibly alive.

GENDERED DISCOURSE AND THE MONOGAMOUS IDEAL

Lewinsky's own account of her affair with Clinton focuses on an ideal of love: Specifically she sees the relationship as a thwarted love story. Her perception illustrates a key difference in male and female representations of adulterous kept relationships. Often the female is represented as one who discounts the "primacy of sex" as the focus of the relationship, while the male sees the relationship as primarily sexual (Nelson 1993, p. 45). Less common are tales of the empowering experiences of female mistresses. In the 1970s Melissa Sands founded the group Mistresses Anonymous, which was a "self-help group for women 'addicted' to already married men" (Nelson 1993, p. 46). The function of the group was to allow women to discuss their experiences of love and loneliness, as well as guilt for being the other woman. Women in the group reported feeling desired, attractive, and loved in these elicit relationships, despite that their lovers were unlikely to leave their wives.

The term *sugar daddy* describes a man, often wealthy and approaching or in middle age, who takes a mistress as a way of reclaiming sexual vitality. Such men often offer the excuse that "their wives had lost interest in sex since experiencing the 'change of life'" (Nelson 1993, p. 49). Indeed most mistresses are having relationships with older men, who in turn are often labeled as going through a midlife crisis. Society in general gives less attention to an older woman taking up with a younger male mistress. Men seem to have written the rules on such relationships; for example, "such practices as polygyny (the marriage of one man to more than one woman), and concubinage (wherein a man lives in an intimate relationship with a number of women), have served as corroboration of a man's power and status" (Nelson, 1993, p. 51).

Prior to the twentieth century, people often linked the term mistress with the ideal of courtly love. The term was also used in connection with the high stature of a Lady, and to draw attention to her rank, as part of a respectful discourse. Later when people no longer equated a woman's status with that of her lover, the term mistress came to describe a single woman who had acquired a skill, or had power over others. For example, in the early twenty-first century mistress can signify a dominant sexual partner in sadomasochistic practices. As long as men and women engage in adultery, mistresses will continue to function as signifiers of men's sexual virility and desirability.

SEE ALSO *Adultery.*

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MITHRAISM

Mithraism was a religious movement in the Middle East and Europe during antiquity. As it developed, the worship of Mithras became a largely male cult.

Mitra or Mithra was an Indo-Iranian god of covenants and contracts who was believed to befriend, protect, and reward persons who fulfilled religious and social obligations. A myth that Mitra/Mithra traversed the sky each day led to his association with the sun. Roman troops stationed in Mesopotamia or Iraq during the first century BCE, along the border with the Parthian empire of Iran, learned about the worship of Mithra from Iranian troops and residents of the region. Those Roman soldiers thought of Mithra as the equivalent of their own sun god Helios or Sol. Romans regarded the sun as *invictus* or invincible. So Mithra, whose name was pronounced Mithras by people living west of the Euphrates river, came to be regarded as the sun god who was invictus or invincible. Mithras was an ideal divinity for Roman soldiers who began to believe that they too would be invincible if they worshipped that male god. Consequently, veneration of Mithras spread among Roman legions stationed in Mesopotamia and Syria. Those soldiers conveyed the worship of Mithras to the cities of Anatolia and the Black Sea coast. There it was adopted by scholars, astrologers, and Stoic philosophers who had been worshiping another deity, Perseus. Worship of Perseus involved astronomical and astrological speculation centered on the constellation named for that Greek demigod coupled with belief in ages or stages of world history. Those ideas were assimilated into the worship of Mithras.

The resulting faith was a mystery cult in which beliefs and practices were not proclaimed or practiced publicly. Its members would be initiated secretly through baptism and were sworn not to reveal the faith's tenets and rites. After initial entry into the cult of Mithras, additional secret initiations took place periodically as some members were admitted to higher levels and taught more doctrines. The seven ranks through which a male member could rise within the cult's hierarchy were, in ascending order: Corax or raven, Nymphus or bride (of Mithras), Miles or soldier, Leo or lion, Perses or Persian, Heliodromus or courier of the sun, and Pater or father.

Practitioners believed that Mithras was born not from a female being but, after having hidden underground for millennia, emerged from a rock in the form of a young man. He accepted the worship of men and then, together with his hunting dogs, tracked down and sacrificed a primordial bull to produce animals and plants. So this deity established blood sacrifice, rather than sex, as the primary source of creation, fertility, and reproduction. Through the sacrifice of a bull (*taurobolium*). Mithras was thought to have become the supreme god who initiated a new bountiful age for all men. It was claimed that Mithras would return at the end of time to grant salvation to his followers. The bull-slaying scene or tauroctony was identified, symbolically, with the constellation of Perseus located at the time above that of Taurus. Mithraists met in underground chamber-like temples, known as Mithraeums, to duplicate their male deity's subterranean abode. The sacrificial altar was positioned against a wall bearing a sculpture or painting of the tauroctony. The vaulted ceiling of each Mithraeum was painted with the night sky highlighting the constellations of Perseus and Taurus.

Worship of Mithras was taken, by Roman soldiers and commanders, from Mesopotamia, Syria, the Black Sea coastline, and Anatolia, to Italy and thereafter throughout Europe and North Africa on their conquests. By the third century CE, it was practiced by Romans in the Roman province of Gaul (now France) and Britannia (now England). Hundreds of Mithraeums and statues of Mithras have been discovered among the ruins of Roman settlements. Classical authors such as Strabo (lived ca. 64 BCE–23 CE), Plutarch (lived 46–ca. 119 CE), and Ptolemy (lived ca. 100–170 CE) wrote about the cult's widespread success.

However, Mithraism seems to have been for the most part a very gender-specific faith. Its membership was mainly male, drawn from Roman soldiers, freemen, scholars, and a few nobles and slaves. In many ways, it resembled a secret fraternity with a system of male bonding that ensured loyalty to military and social hierarchies. Because Mithras himself was born of a rock rather than of a woman, women often were regarded as unessential to the divinity. Moreover, women were viewed as distracting the male devotees of Mithras from their devotional and fraternal duties—essentially not permitting the men to fulfill their covenants, contracts, and other obligations to gods and fellow men. Consequently, some Mithraists scorned women by calling them *hyainai* or hyenas according to the Neo-Platonist author Porphyry (lived ca. 234–305 CE) in his *De abstinentia* or On Abstinence (4.16). Nonetheless, as the early Christian Church father Tertullian (in Latin, Tertullianus, who lived ca. 155–230 CE) noted in his *De praescriptione haereticorum* or Prescription against Heretics (40.5), some women did dedicate themselves as virgins to Mithras even though they were excluded from the cult's official ranks.

A few sculptures from Mithraeums in Rome (in present-day Italy), Dieburg (in what is now Bavaria, in southern Germany), and Carrawburgh (in present-day northern England) suggest that women occasionally may have served as donors and patrons for Mithraeums. Rare inscriptions from Rome and tomb iconography from Oea (now Tripoli in Libya) indicate that a few women may have belonged officially to local congregations of the Mithraic faith and held ranks, such as lioness and mother, paralleling those of men. Most available data, however, indicate the complete dominance of men in the mysteries of Mithras. Male Mithraists could marry, although some abstained from sex with their wives (Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 40.5).

At most restricting and at least discouraging women from joining the cult, and thereby rejecting a large and influential segment of ancient societies, proved to be an important reason for Mithraism's failure to withstand the advent of Christianity. The early Christians welcomed women into authoritative positions during initial proselytizing within the Roman empire. The birth of Helios/Sol and Mithras was celebrated on December 25th of each year. Mithras' birth was associated with special signs in the sky such as the shinning of a bright star. Mithraic rites in the underground Mithraeums involved a religious service of bread and wine representing the flesh and blood of the sacrificed primordial bull. Those Mithraic practices were assimilated into nascent Christianity as Mithraists and other Romans—both men and women—converted their faith. Tertullian (*De praescriptione haereticorum*, 40.4–5) denounced Mithraists for holding black Masses or other evil rites and for restricting women's activities, even as the Christian Church began moving women out of leadership positions.

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MONASTICISM

Originating in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine near the end of the third century, Christian monasticism subsequently developed into a well-organized and well-defined feature of Christianity. Martyrdom virtually ended with the Peace of the Church in 312 CE, as Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. Emulating the sacrifices of the martyrs, men and women withdrew to the desert to live solitary and ascetic lives by renouncing all worldly comforts. Monasticism from its inception was intended as a means to loving God by removing all worldly obstacles, distractions, or temptations. Christian asceticism was based on scripture, recalling the words and actions of its founder, Jesus, who went into the desert for meditation and spiritual cleansing, and advised a rich man to give all his possessions to the poor and to follow him. The Greek root of *monk* or *monastery* is *monos*, meaning "alone." Within a few years, two forms of monasticism emerged: eremitic (from *eremos*, "desert"), signifying the lone ascetic in the wilderness; and cenobitic (from *koinos*, "common"), referring to monastic communities of men or women. Both forms demanded withdrawal from the world along with vows of celibacy, obedience, and poverty. Both men and women equated asceticism with devotion to the world to come.

EARLY MONKS AND MONKHOOD

Anthony of Egypt (251–356) represented the eremitic form of monasticism and is regarded as the first Christian monk. The *Life of St. Anthony*, written by Athanasius, would suggest that he was not the first of the desert ascetics. Near the end of his life there were several hundred solitaries dedicated to separation from the world and committed to the struggle toward spiritual perfection. Eremitic monks lived in their own huts or caves and provided for their own needs, normally coming together on Sunday for common prayer under the direction of an elder. From the beginning celibacy was demanded along with vows of poverty and obedience.

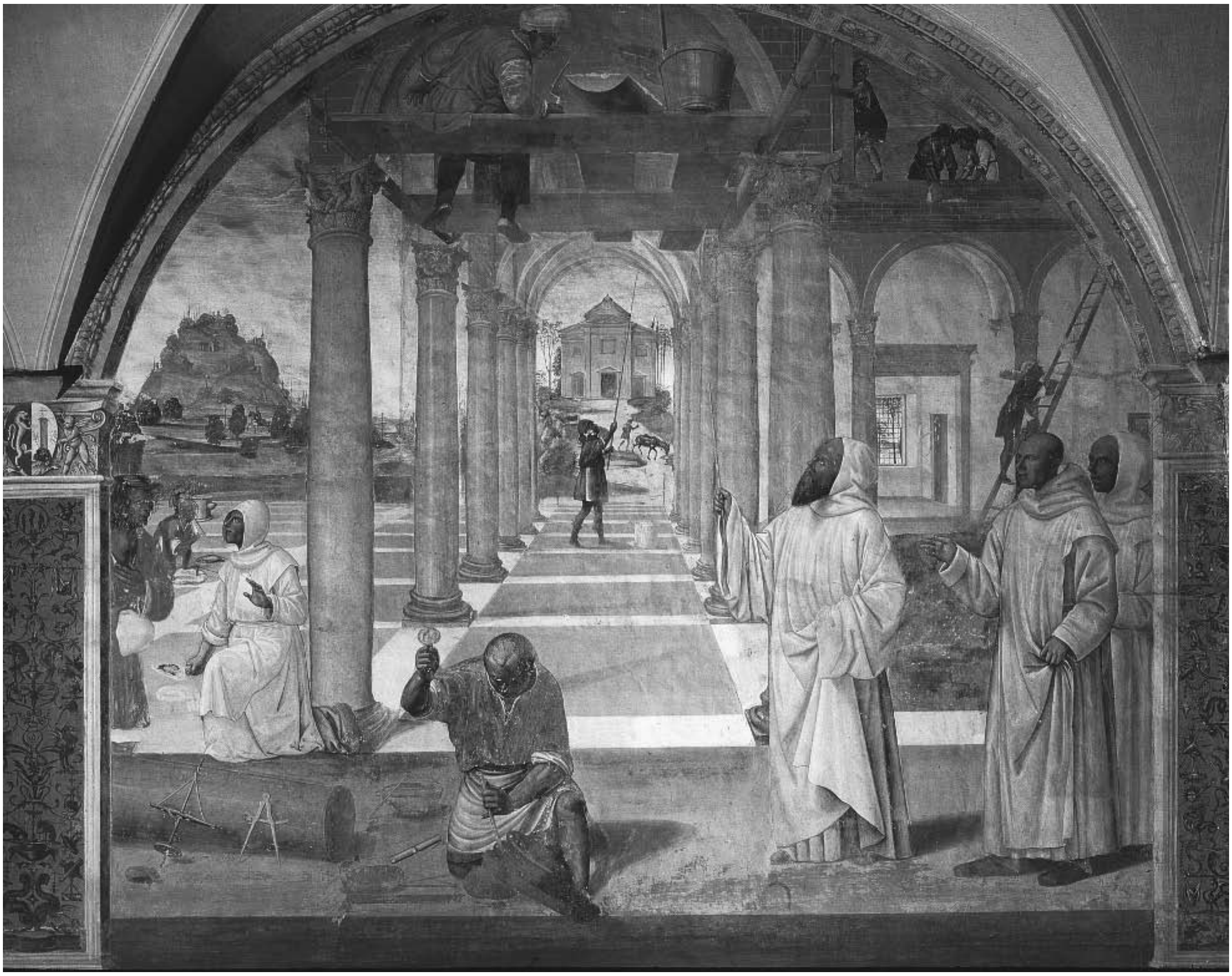
Pachomius (292–346) characterized cenobitic monasticism, founding the first monastic community in Tabennisi, near Thebes in Egypt. It was established as a double monastery, with two separate communities—one for monks under his leadership as abbot, and the other for nuns, with his sister Mary as the abbess. By 340 there were several women's monasteries all organized around collective worship, manual labor, and obedience to the abbess. Not long after, Basil (330–379) formed the community at Annesos in Pontus, and created a program of rules for the monks. As each community developed, a collection of monastic rules was created. All of the various monastic Rules developed in the history of Christian monasticism include a structure of daily life with proscriptions pertaining to food and drink, work and prayer schedules, and a community hierarchy. Once cenobitic monasticism became the norm, the Rule of St. Basil was adopted throughout Eastern monasteries. Cenobitic monasticism was so popular in early Christianity that the population of some monasteries equaled that of small cities.

Women were also attracted to the ascetic life, especially in light of St. Jerome's widely known axiom that virgins had the greatest hope of attaining heaven, widows the second, and married women the least. Paula (374–404), a member of the patrician class, was born in Rome and died at Bethlehem after founding a monastery for women. Melania the Elder (342–410), a wealthy Roman widow, made a pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land and established a monastery for fifty women in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives. While on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Egeria, a fourth-century nun from the region of Galicia in Spain, wrote a diary detailing how liturgical rituals were celebrated in Jerusalem. During this flowering of ascetic monasticism, Caesarius of Arles (470–543) wrote the first Rule created exclusively for women, which, like other monastic rules, was a collection of precepts and provided the order of psalms for recitation, demanding a high degree of literacy.

Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–543), commonly known as the father of Western monasticism, withdrew to live as a hermit in a cave where, because of his extraordinary asceticism and spiritual renown, a community developed around him. Later he founded a monastery at Monte Cassino and wrote a monastic rule that supplanted a profusion of other rules. Composed of seventy-three chapters providing practical regulation of the lives of the monks and nuns, the Rule of St. Benedict became the guiding document for monasticism in the West and is still in use in the twenty-first century. It provided for the election of an abbot or abbess who would have full authority in the community and included the *Opus Dei* (Divine Office), laying out the fixed hours of the day for public prayer: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline. Benedict's sister, Scholastica (480–543), consecrated her life to Christ at an early age and later founded a monastery for women at Plombariola, five miles from Monte Cassino, and adopted her brother's Rule for the community. In the ninth century, Charlemagne (r. 768–814) imposed the Rule of St. Benedict on all monasteries, and as monasticism spread through the Holy Roman Empire it became the sole norm of monastic life. The Benedictine Order dominated the High Middle Ages with significant impact in all realms of society.

MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM

A number of monastic orders emerged in the Middle Ages, among them the Carthusians in the eleventh century; the Cistercians in the twelfth; and the Carmelites, reorganized in the fifteenth century. Typically these new orders emerged when groups of monks or nuns felt that Benedict's Rule was interpreted in too lax a manner. Disregard for the celibacy vows and a concern about the selling of religious office (simony) were at the heart of medieval monastic reforms. With the continued desire to pursue a solitary life in isolation from the world, monastic orders such as the Carthusians sought to establish communities in remote areas, in the forests far from the cities.



Benedict of Nursia. *Benedict of Nursia overseeing the construction of monastaries.* THE ART ARCHIVE/ABBEY OF MONTEOIVETO MAGGIORE SIENA/DAGLI ORTI.

In 1098 the Cistercian Order was founded on the ideal of a strict interpretation of the Benedictine model as applied to dress, furniture, buildings, and food. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), foremost among the early Cistercians, personified the monastic ideal. He mentored popes, was counselor to kings, preached the Second Crusade, and composed eighty-six sermons on the first four verses of the Song of Songs. Based largely on the social constructions of the female as especially dangerous and susceptible to sin, Cistercians had a particular revulsion toward women and avoided all contact with them.

Throughout the Middle Ages, as the figure of Christ was increasingly humanized, the status of cloistered women changed significantly. Women, able to fully embody Mary's relationship to the divine as mother and spouse, narrated their religious experiences and gained a high degree of importance in medieval spirituality. Significant among them are Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), Mechtild of Magdeburg (c. 1207–c. 1285), Gertrude of Helfta (1256–1301 or 1302), Clare of Assisi (1194–1253), Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), Julian of Norwich (1342–c. 1416), and Birgitta of Sweden (1303–1373).

Flourishing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Beguine movement is especially important for the history of women in monasticism. Beguines were communities of devout and celibate women living together with no irrevocable vows, following no prescribed Rule, and supporting themselves with manual labor—lace-making, for example. This created a dilemma for the Church and for society, in view of the fact that there were only two acceptable roles for adult women at this time—as cloistered women under a monastic Rule or as married women. The papal answer was the *cura monialium*, a technical term for the pastoral care of the cloistered women. This duty was laid upon the mendicant

Dominicans, the Order of Preachers, by Pope Clement IV (r. 1265–1268) in 1267; it required Dominican preachers, such as Meister Eckhart (1260–1328), Heinrich Seuse (1295–1366), and Johannes Tauler (1300–1361), to assume the spiritual care of these communities of women. As a consequence, within a short period of time, the communities were officially proclaimed to be either Dominican or Cistercian women's monasteries.

The emergence of the mendicant orders (from the Latin *mendicare*, "to beg"), or friars—Dominicans and the Franciscans—in the thirteenth century had a profound effect on male monasticism. To this day, both orders practice the principles of monastic life, taking vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience, but devote themselves to the service of humanity in the secular world. Although friars were monastic in the broadest sense, they were not attached to specific communities. Mendicant women, on the other hand, were cloistered, as women were not permitted to beg or wander from town to town.

IMPACT OF THE REFORMATION

The Protestant reformations of the sixteenth century generated a profound assault on monasticism. Arguing that it implied a degradation of marriage, the Protestant reformers opposed monasticism's demands for celibacy. Martin Luther (1483–1546), a former monk himself, wrote viciously against his former profession. Henry VIII of England (r. 1509–1547) demolished eight hundred monasteries within a four-year span of time. Central to the Protestant reforms was the conviction that every profession is a religious "calling," not just the priesthood and monasticism. In those areas of Europe that accepted the Protestant reforms, there was a demand that women and men leave the monasteries to marry. In the reformed communities, the high valence of virginity was eradicated and replaced with the Protestant ideal of motherhood or fatherhood. Reformers railed against monasticism, rejecting the distinction between the superior life of a monk or nun and the inferior life of a householder.

Monasticism continued to develop in the Eastern Orthodox context, with most monasteries abiding by St. Basil's Rule with the additions, expansions, and modifications made by later emperors, patriarchs, and synods; only the great monastery at Mt. Sinai follows what is regarded as the old rule of St. Anthony. While all of the sixteen independent Churches that comprise the Eastern Orthodox Church have monasteries, few of them are open to women.

By feminist standards, a great many nuns were and are strong, independent women, highly skilled in nursing and education, managing large charitable organizations, working for the civil rights movement, and as missionaries. Having survived a steep decline in numbers, the monastic ideal is still present throughout the world. However, its societal impact is less profound than in the Middle Ages and is mainly regarded as a viable option for women in societies offering them few alternatives. Monasteries in remote locations still exist throughout the world and offer monks and nuns the opportunity for a purely contemplative life.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Celibacy.*

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MONOGAMY

Monogamy is one of several ways in which human beings, and other living things, structure their social and sexual lives. It implies a one-to-one association between the two partners (typically, but not necessarily, one male and one female). Although monogamy is considered to be the ideal in current European and North American tradition, it is not the biological norm for human beings, nor has it been for much of human history. Evidence to this effect comes from several independent sources.

Prior to the homogenization of cultures associated with European colonialism, approximately 85 percent of human societies were preferentially polygynous—a man mated to more than one woman—rather than monogamous. In addition human beings show a pattern *of sexual dimorphism* (consistent male-female differences) that, in every other species, is consistent with polygyny: Males are, on average, larger than females, as well as more inclined toward aggression and violence. Dimorphism of this sort is associated with polygyny since individuals of the harem-holding sex (that is, the ones maintaining and defending multiple mates) are favored by natural selection insofar as they are likely to succeed in competition with others for access to their mates. And finally human beings experience sexual bimaturism (differential age at sexual maturation), with females becoming sexually mature younger than males. This is also characteristic of polygyny in other species, since individuals of the harem-holding sex are selected to delay maturation until they are older, larger, stronger, and more experienced, and therefore more likely to succeed in sociosexual competition. Combined, these considerations make it quite clear that human beings are not biologically disposed toward monogamy.

However the above does not mean that human beings are not capable of monogamy, or that it is not desirable. Even among societies in which polygyny is permitted and indeed striven for, the great majority of men fail at being polygynists and are, of necessity, either monogamists or bachelors. By contrast the majority of women in such societies end up being mated either polygynously or monogamously. It is also clear that human beings are capable of monogamy, although for the vast majority this does not imply exclusive, lifelong affiliation with only one sexual partner: Most people do not wind up marrying, and then remaining exclusively faithful to, their first and only intimate partner. Rather, even in situations of bona fide, faithful monogamy, a one-to-one exclusive affiliation is typically preceded by a number of social and sexual partnerings, and even if a monogamous union is eventually established, it is far more likely to be serial monogamy than exclusive and lifelong. In serial monogamy individuals form a monogamous relationship so long as it lasts, after which (following divorce, or death of either partner) another monogamous relationship may well ensue.

Exclusive monogamy has proven to be exceedingly rare in the animal world as well. By applying DNA fingerprinting techniques, biologists have found that even most bird species—long thought to be monogamous—engage in extra-pair copulations, as evidenced by the fact that the social partner of an adult female is frequently not the genetic father of all of the young associated with the breeding pair. This pattern also seems common among human beings, although reliable data are not as yet widely available. In any event it seems important to distinguish between social monogamy (in which two individuals establish a pair-bond, which typically includes shared effort in rearing offspring) and sexual monogamy (which implies exclusivity in mating).

Regardless of whether monogamy—however defined—is natural, it is clearly something within the human behavioral repertoire. Historians and anthropologists remain undecided, however, as to how and why it became the expected norm in European and North American societies. One widely accepted theory is that monogamy represented a kind of trade-off, whereby socially and economically powerful men essentially agreed to give up their monopoly on women in return for those men who obtained mates (and would otherwise have been unsuccessful bachelors) becoming committed to the success of their shared society.

There is also considerable debate as to the role of love in underpinning monogamy. Some scholars maintain that romantic love is essentially a social construct, and a product of the late Middle Ages, whereas others argue that intense interpersonal bonding is characteristic of humanity's biological make-up. In any event social monogamy offers certain advantages, including legal and psychological equality, biparental care in rearing of offspring, and the opportunity to unite disparate family lineages, thereby establishing political and economic alliances. Nonetheless monogamy may parallel Winston Churchill's famous observation about democracy: the worst possible system . . . except when one considers the alternatives.

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David P. Barash

MONROE, MARILYN
1926–1962

Norma Jeane Mortensen (or Baker), born on June 1 in Los Angeles, California, was best known by her adopted name Marilyn Monroe, which she used in thirty films over the course of her career. Marilyn Monroe was a superstar and a cinema sex symbol as well as an icon to her gay audience. Her film characters were often sexually naïve or unintentionally desirable, yet she also appeared to be in control of herself sexually, thus embodying both innocence and experience and seeming simultaneously unattainable and accessible. Her personal life was often tumultuous, leading to a popular conception of her as emotionally damaged. Monroe's fans seemed equally divided between those who desired her and those (often gay men) who recognized her unwilling position as a sexual outlaw and found strength in her. Her fame and influence increased after her early death, which was seen as both tragic and an appropriate ending to her status as a sexual commodity. She died in Brentwood, California, on August 5.

Norma Jeane was discovered by a photographer during World War II, and by 1946 she had become established as a model and had appeared in many magazines. In that year she divorced her first husband and changed her name to Marilyn Monroe when she signed a contract with Twentieth Century-Fox Studios. Monroe played a series of uncredited roles until she began to gain attention for small parts in *The Asphalt Jungle* and *All About Eve*, both released in 1950. Her first starring role was in *Niagara* (1953). In 1949 she had posed nude for a calendar; one of the images from that shoot would appear as the centerfold in the first issue of *Playboy* in 1953, making Monroe the image of midcentury American sexuality.

With *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953) Monroe's rise to superstardom and gay icon status began. Her performance of "Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend" became an instant classic, and its sleek, glamorous staging has been often imitated, most notably by Madonna in her "Material Girl" music video. The camp quality of the film, in which Monroe and co-star Jane Russell are dressed almost as drag queens, as well as its homoerotic subtext, brought Monroe to the attention of gay men. They became and remain a large part of her fan base. In 1954 Monroe married the baseball superstar Joe DiMaggio, a relationship by all accounts sincere but also seemed made for tabloid publicity. During their honeymoon in Tokyo, Monroe made a visit to American troops in Korea; afterward she often said that the outpouring of affection from the soldiers was one of the highlights of her life. The intense public interest in their nine-month marriage is often blamed for bringing it to an end, although the couple remained on good terms, apparently speaking on the phone the day before her death.

The most iconic image of Monroe is from *The Seven-Year Itch* (1955). The script capitalized on the public's relationship with Monroe, making her character both taboo and accessible, and the film became a box office hit. The slim plot involves a married man whose wife and children have left New York to escape the heat of summer, leaving him alone in an apartment building with his beautiful blond scantily clad neighbor. The film is a series of moments of temptation, including the famous skirt-blowing scene in which Marilyn stands atop a subway grate to feel the breeze.

In 1959 Monroe starred in Billy Wilder's *Some Like It Hot* with Tony Curtis and Jack Lemmon. The film kept its two male leads in drag and involved gender-bending relationships, cementing the bond that gay men felt with Monroe. It also won her a Golden Globe, one of the few acting awards Monroe would receive in her career. Gay men in particular felt a personal connection to Monroe as a result of her tumultuous personal life. She exemplified many qualities stereotypically associated with gay men: glamour, campiness, and

Some Like It Hot. *Marilyn Monroe appeared in the 1959 film along with Tony Curtis and Jack Lemon.* © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

difficulty in forming lasting monogamous relationships. Her multiple marriages and numerous boyfriends seemed to mirror the trajectories of the lives of many homosexuals, and her seeming resilience offered hope to her gay fans that they might also create a kind of success out of personal chaos. Her choice of partners also appealed to gay men, many of whom no doubt would also have liked relationships with a famous sports figure (Joe DiMaggio), a literary giant (Arthur Miller), or a handsome, powerful, and married man (President John F. Kennedy).

Monroe's last husband was the playwright Arthur Miller, who wrote her final screen role in *The Misfits* (1961). Their marriage ended in the same year, and eighteen months later Monroe was found dead in her Brentwood, California, home. Her death by an overdose of barbiturates was surrounded by controversy. Although it officially was ruled a suicide, many people believed that she was murdered, whereas others contended that it was an accidental overdose. Her last films were plagued with production problems that often were ascribed to her absences from the set, and it has been noted by many people that her death coincided almost exactly with the moment when studios began to feel that her profitability was waning; her life ended when her value as a star began to diminish. Marilyn Monroe is remembered as an actress and a sex symbol, and her name has become synonymous with glamour, beauty, and sensuality as well as lost potential.

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MORNING AFTER PILL

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

MOTHERHOOD

Motherhood is the product of particular historical circumstances, social processes, and ideologies, and its social definition and meaning vary by culture, race, ethnicity, religion, and historical time period. Despite these variations motherhood is a major role for women in many societies. Lois Wladis Hoffman and Martin Hoffman (1973) report that in the United States until the 1970s, any role for women other than motherhood was considered deviant. In Confucian societies such as China, Korea, and Japan, motherhood has also been the central role for and status of women. By the early twenty-first century the number of choices for women in many societies had increased and diversified to include motherhood as one of the options rather than a requirement.

Contemporary mothering can be defined in flexible terms as the social practice of nurturing and caring for people. It is also important to recognize that *mothering* activity is not exclusive to women. Some scholars, such as Terry Arendell (2000), argue that it is possible for men to physically and psychologically take care of children, and thus the term mothering should not be exclusively reserved for women's experiences. In most societies, however, women not only bear children but also are assigned the primary caretaking role for infants and children. Therefore, motherhood is still an important experience in many women's lives. The description that follows focuses only on women's motherhood practices and experiences.

HISTORY OF MOTHERHOOD

Although the vast majority of the world's women do become mothers, historical investigations of motherhood were relatively rare until it became an important topic in women's studies in the 1980s. The lack of historical studies of motherhood is perhaps due to an emphasis on new roles for women rather than traditional ones and on the benefits of change. Studies on motherhood emerged partly, however, in response to criticism by those who considered the new scholarship antagonistic to women's maternal role. Within the United States context alone, Alice Walker (1983) showed the importance that maternal legacies played in African-American culture in encouraging much positive attention to practices of mothering.

In many European, North American, and Asian societies, the dominant cultural ideals of motherhood changed dramatically over the last 300 years. In the United States, women's primary role shifted from being a good wife for the domestic patriarchal husband in the colonial period to a full-time homemaker for the breadwinning husband and his children in the mid-twentieth century, and then to a balance between paid work and family life in the late twentieth century. Prior to the Meiji period (1868–1912), Japanese women were expected to bear children, but the task of caring for them fell to others, often members of the extended family network or, in the case of middle-class mothers, nannies and maids. This situation changed in the Meiji period, as the government and scholars alike, partly in response to the increasing influence of European and North American ideologies, actively promoted a new conception of mothers as nurturers and educators.

In many societies the modern construction of motherhood that emphasizes women's devotion to their children owes a great deal to modernization, which created the husband-as-breadwinner and wife-as-homemaker roles in families. In the early twenty-first century, although motherhood is still an important experience for many women, it is viewed from a much broader perspective, with options for women to be full-time working mothers, part-time working mothers, or full-time homemaker mothers.

EXPECTATIONS AND FUNCTIONS OF MODERN MOTHERHOOD

In many societies a mother is often expected to be a perfect and loving parent who is dedicated to the caretaking role of the child. Sharon Hays (1996) defines the ideology of intensive motherhood as the normative model of the emotionally absorbing, expert-driven, child-centered care that a mother gives her fragile children. This intensive motherhood is largely a myth, however, especially given changing workforce demographics in the industrialized world, such as increases in both female labor-force participation and dual-earner and single-parent households. Consequently, many mothers in different societies are attempting to balance work and parenting responsibilities while trying to meet societal norms and expectations for ideal motherhood. Many mothers report pressures to conform to the image of ideal motherhood and, as a result, the gap between ideal motherhood and real mothering experiences is reported to cause a high level of maternal anxiety and stress, as in the case of Japanese mothers, to the extent that some mothers emotionally and physically abuse their own children. Scholars, workers, and employers in many industrialized societies in the early twenty-first century are concerned with mothers' struggles to balance paid work and family responsibilities and obligations.

The various functions of motherhood include the physical and emotional caretaking, educating, and disciplining of children. In contemporary societies most of these functions can be shared with children's fathers. In reality, however, fathers' participation in child care is extremely limited compared with that of mothers. Another important function of motherhood is that of being an economic provider for their children and families. This maternal role is particularly vital for single mothers who frequently report the difficulties of balancing the roles of motherhood and economic provider given limited financial and personal resources.

It is also important to understand that expectations and functions of modern motherhood vary greatly by economic and political conditions. In contemporary African societies, although mothers are held in high regard, they often find it difficult to fulfill mothering responsibilities because of political unrest (including civil wars), women's lack of education, and poverty. According to Save the Children's *State of the World's Mothers 2006* report, for example, uneducated mothers are at a severe disadvantage, as are their babies. Uneducated mothers are more likely to be poor, to get pregnant younger, to have higher rates of newborn and maternal mortality, to be less knowledgeable about family planning, and to be less prepared to take care of their babies. Angola provides one example of an African nation reporting high newborn and maternal mortality rates. These problems are primarily attributable to a longlasting civil war, which has limited access to health care for the majority of mothers. In addition, approximately 70 percent of Angolan women give birth to their first child while they are still teenagers (Save the Children 2006), and they have little knowledge about prenatal and maternal care of infants.

A similar case can be found in Peru where adolescents make up 16.4 percent of first-time mothers, a rate that continues to increase (Koroleff and Pierina 2006). Most of these women come from the nation's poorest areas. In a 2006 study focusing on Peruvian adolescent mothers, Traverso Koroleff and Mariella Pierina found that these mothers tend to have more unstable and conflictive relationships with their partners, whereas older mothers tend to live with their partners in more or less

A Working Mother Drops Her Son Off At Daycare. © ARIEL SKELLEY/CORBIS.

stable relations. It is predictable that these unstable relationships would have a negative impact of these women's parenting abilities. Indeed, Koroleff and Pierina reported that children of adolescent mothers are less lively in their interaction compared with those of older mothers.

Societal and political factors have also influenced maternal functions in Iraq, where many years of conflict and international sanctions have damaged the health system and taken a serious toll on the well-being of mothers and babies. Additionally, Iraqi women are more likely to be uneducated than their male counterparts and thus are often deprived from gaining knowledge about family planning and maternal and child care.

MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT

Because of the rapid increase in mothers' labor-force participation since the early 1980s and the subsequent changes in child-care arrangements and parent–child relationships, many studies in the United States have examined the impact of maternal employment on children. For the most part these studies have yielded inconsistent results. Some studies found that maternal employment has a negative effect on children's cognitive and social development, whereas others found enhanced cognitive outcomes for children as a function of early maternal employment (Vandell and Ramanan 1992). A 1999 study by Elizabeth Harvey found that neither early maternal employment status nor the timing and continuity of maternal employment were consistently related to a child's developmental outcome. Among the study's significant results, Harvey reported that mothers' working longer hours in their children's first three years was associated with slightly lower vocabulary scores up through age nine. Low-income adolescent mothers' employment was also associated with their children's lower verbal development (Luster et al. 2000). It was also found, however, that maternal employment during the first year of the child's life was slightly more beneficial for the children of single mothers, and early parental employment was related to more positive child outcomes for low-income families (Harvey 1999).

Many researchers have focused on the effect of maternal employment on cognitive outcomes of young children, paying much less attention to its possible effects on school-age children. In a 2004 study on adolescents' risky behavior, Alison Aughinbaugh and Maury Gittleman found little support for the view that what happens in the first three years of a child's life can have long-lasting effects on the child's development, at least with respect to whether maternal employment influences the likelihood of adolescent children engaging in risky behaviors. Aughinbaugh and Gittleman also report that maternal employment does not greatly reduce the time that parents spend with their children. According to Suzanne M. Bianchi (2000) there are several reasons why the increase in maternal labor-force participation has little effect on the amount of time mothers spend with their children. First, nonworking mothers may spend longer hours on housework, such as cleaning and cooking, than might working mothers, who may be more likely to hire professionals for housecleaning and other household work and thus free up time to spend with their children. Second, given flexible work arrangements, working mothers may be able to ensure that their paid work does not significantly reduce the time spent with their children. Third, reductions in family size and preschool-age children spending more time in school-like settings have reduced the time demands on mothers, regardless of their work status.

Except for drinking alcohol, Aughinbaugh and Gittleman report that maternal employment is largely uncorrelated with adolescents' risky activities. They argue that the positive effects of maternal employment, such as providing a positive role model or allowing teens more independence, may serve to offset any potentially harmful effects. There are also many other factors affecting adolescents' risky behavior. Therefore, within the family, the amount of time a mother works is only one of the factors affecting her adolescent children.

Balancing work and motherhood is often a challenge for women in many societies. According to the International Social Survey Programme's 1994 report titled "Family and Changing Gender Roles II," which was conducted in countries such as the United States, Sweden, Italy, and Japan, more positive attitudes toward maternal employment were reported in the United States and Sweden, where many more mothers are employed, compared with Japan and Italy, where not only are fewer mothers employed but more traditional views toward gender roles also remain. It should also be noted that the availability of nonfamily child care is generally greater for mothers in the United States and Sweden than in Japan and Italy.

MOTHERHOOD AND MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

The qualities of the relationship between a husband and wife influence their children's cognitive and social competence. The marital relationship provides the primary psychological and physical support for mothers' parenting behaviors, which in turn affects the adjustment of the children. For example, studies have shown that a harmonious marital relationship promotes competence and maturity in the couple's children and encourages their autonomy (Cummings and Davies 1992). In contrast, marital conflict may result in the children experiencing cognitive delays or school difficulties or exhibiting antisocial or withdrawn behavior.

Mothers who are satisfied in the marital relationship are more likely to have realistic expectations for their children than are mothers who report having an unhappy marital relationship. In addition, mothers who provide a positive relationship model contribute to their children's attitudes toward intimate relationships and long-term relationship stability. There is also evidence that various characteristics of the marriage, such as marital satisfaction, are related to the strength of the parenting alliance. Moreover, low marital power has been associated with depression, particularly in women, and depression has been related to poorer parenting behaviors.

The degree of marital quality and satisfaction varies greatly from one society to another. For example, Yoshinori Kamo (1993) found that Japanese mothers' marital satisfaction tends to be lower than that of their counterparts in the United States. One possible reason for this is that in Japan marriage is seen as an institution to ensure family continuity, whereas marriage in the United States focuses more on individual and intimate relationships. Despite this variation mothers' marital quality seems to have an important effect on their children's social and emotional development as well as psychological well-being in many societies.

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

Whereas mother–child relationships in European and North American societies are based on the assumption that children will eventually become financially and emotionally independent from their parents, mothering in Asian societies emphasizes long-lasting codependency between parents and their children. This strong child–parent, and mother–child in particular, bonding in Asian societies is evident when children's perceptions of their mothers are examined. According to an international study "Family and Changing Gender Roles II" (International Social Survey Programme 1994), 80 to 85 percent of children in Japan, China, and Korea reported that their mothers understood their psychological needs and problems, whereas the comparable figures were less than 50 percent among children in the United States and England.

These differences may come from cultural and historical roots in Asian and European and North American societies. In China, Korea, and Japan, where Confucian thoughts such as respect for the elderly still strongly remain, children are expected to take care of their own parents when they age. Parents, therefore, devote their time and energy to educate their children in order for them to have successful careers and the economic means to support the parents in old age. Mothers, in particular, play a major role in emphasizing the importance of education to their children. In Japan these mothers are known as *education mamas*, and they devote their lives to providing their children with the best educational opportunities.

CULTURAL VARIATIONS OF MOTHERHOOD

Viewing motherhood as a social construction allows one to consider its cultural, societal, and religious variations. Motherhood is a significant experience for women in many traditional societies because women's reproductive capacity is something that women consider their source of power and as defining their identity and status. At the same time, however, women in many societies experience difficulties because of the stereotypical expectations of motherhood. For example, women in Vietnam are severely burdened by the pervasiveness of culturally ascribed gender stereotypes. The strong association of women with home and family has reinforced their identities to be critically intertwined with their status as wife, mother, and daughter (-in-law). Further, with respect to motherhood, deeply entrenched values and stereotypes have subjected Vietnamese women to many harsh practices and policies.

In India, which is mostly a patriarchal society, motherhood has connotations of respect and power. However, the view of motherhood as a source of power also varies from one culture to another. For example, in Korea, where the continuity of family lineage is extremely important, the status of women depends largely on the ability to produce sons. This role continues to be a major burden for most Korean women. In the United States, where the centrality of work and providing in people's lives are emphasized, motherhood is frequently viewed with respect to the women's ability to find a balance between paid work and family. In Japan, where the birthrate has dropped dramatically since 1997, fertility and motherhood are seen not only as individual experiences but also as important events with strong political and policy implications. In Brazil, one of the most developed countries in South America, mothers are in charge of the household, including child care. Brazilian fathers love their children, but they usually maintain a distance from the children's actual upbringing. Religion may have played an important role in defining women's maternal roles in Brazil, where 70 percent of the population is Catholic. Even if a significant number of contemporary Brazilians do not practice strict Catholic traditions, many parents still continue to celebrate religious holidays and practice the traditions for which mothers play an integral role.

These differences regarding motherhood come from variations stemming from the cultural, religious, historical, demographic, and economic backgrounds of each society. Regardless of these societal and cultural variations, however, motherhood remains a strong institution in many societies, and it is also surrounded with various myths and controversies.

SEE ALSO *Birth; Fatherhood.*

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Masako Ishii-Kuntz

MOTORCYCLES AND MOTORCYCLE CULTURES

Motorcycle culture exists on the margins of mainstream culture as both a social community and a mode of transportation, and the cultural stereotype imagines all bikers to be rebels, socially as well as sexually. The degree of freedom, individuality, and adventure found in motorcycle riding and culture distinguishes it as nontraditional in contrast with most car cultures, and the strong social community formed by motorcycle riders reinforces the idea that their culture exists according to its own rules.

Motorcycles have a distinct sex appeal that comes largely from the act of riding itself. Riders straddle large, often loud, vibrating machines between their legs, expose themselves to the elements of fair or foul weather, and feel the rush of wind, the thrill of fast speeds, and the sense of danger that comes from riding with so little between oneself and the road. Motorcycles are also distinctly masculine. The motorcycle can be seen as a phallic object (evidenced by its nickname, *crotch rocket*) that represents the rider's sexuality and potency, a real and metaphorical power that attracts both men and women to bike as well as rider. In addition, the leather clothing worn as a protective necessity has sexual connotations because of its natural connection to animal primacy and its cultural association with sadomasochistic sexual practices. Within gay male culture, leather outfits such as those worn by motorcyclists are worn by some men to emphasize their masculinity and sexuality. Leather also distinguishes its wearers as adhering to a set of social and/or sexual codes outside the norm.

While the community of motorcycle riders and passengers is diverse, the stereotypical motorcycle rider is white, male, heterosexual, and working class. Women have increasingly become involved as riders and members of biker communities, but they are more likely to be passengers than riders on their own bikes. Historically,

Women's Motorcycling Group. *The motorcycling group, "Dykes on Bikes," ride down Broadway during Seattle's annual Gay Pride Parade.* © PAUL A. SOUDERS/CORBIS.

women's roles in motorcycle culture have been subordinate to those of men, especially from the 1940s to the 1980s when men were the dominant riders.

Motorcycle clubs have existed since the early twentieth century to provide social community, and new groups continue to form as more people from increasingly diverse backgrounds become riders. A number of motorcycle groups and clubs are based on similarities among riders in terms of race, ethnicity, sexual preference, gender, political activism, occupation, and riding style (such as motocross or long-distance). Many clubs exist for gay men, lesbian, and women riders to support these individuals who constitute a relative minority within the largely heterosexual and male demographic.

HISTORY OF MOTORCYCLE CULTURE

Motorcycles were first invented in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The first American motorcycle producer, Indian Motocycle Company, began in 1901, and Harley-Davidson Motor Company produced its first motorcycle in 1903. In the 1920s the new prevalence and popularity of automobiles reduced the purchase and use of motorcycles, and in the late 1950s and 1960s Japanese motorcycles competed with American and British models. In the 1980s Harley-Davidson manufactured new types of bikes that featured smaller frames for women riders and new engines that ran more smoothly and efficiently. These changes greatly increased the number of people, especially women, who could and did ride their own bikes.

Although motorcycles are generally considered masculine vehicles, women have ridden motorcycles as both drivers and passengers since the beginning. Until the late 1940s, women, like men, were depicted in advertisements as smiling, competent riders instead of passengers, and women rode bikes in organizations such as the Harley-sponsored Motor Maids (founded in 1940) and the U.S. military unit, Women's Army Corps (WAC). In Britain, motorcycle groups formed in the early twentieth century were open to both sexes, and some groups, such as the London Ladies Motor Club from the 1920s, catered specifically to women riders. In the 1950s British motorcycle culture became associated with rebellious youth culture and groups, such as the café racers, mods, and rockers, which were comprised mostly of men riders and women passengers. In the United States, motorcycle culture changed after World War II to reflect a masculine aesthetic that featured men as riders and women, if involved at all, as attractive and passive passengers. This change in advertising strategy and cultural practice mirrored the larger cultural attempts to provide returning soldiers with masculine tasks and to return women, who had competently filled many traditionally male roles in factories and other businesses, to the stereotypical role of housewife. Not until the 1980s did women visibly return as riders both in advertising and in practice. As of 2004, women owned almost 10 percent of all motorcycles in the United States, while many more women happily remained passengers on motorcycles belonging to men.

GENDER RELATIONS, STEREOTYPES, AND SEXUAL PRACTICES IN MOTORCYCLE CULTURE

Within stereotypes of motorcycle culture, men and women occupy different roles, largely based on their position as either rider or passenger. Men are always riders, driving their own bikes. Most men form social groups based on age, style of riding, number of years riding, and socioeconomic class. Some large categories of men riders are the *old bikers*, *new bikers*, *ten percenters*, and *one percenters*. Both old bikers and ten percenters have been riding their entire lives; the former are part of the larger motorcycle community, whereas the latter do not join groups. New bikers ride intermittently and may be less passionate about motorcycle riding and culture. One percenters belong to outlaw clubs, estimated to be less than 1 percent of the population of motorcyclists in the United States. The term *outlaw clubs* was used originally to designate motorcycle clubs not registered with the American Motorcycle Association (now the American Motorcyclist Association) but it also describes groups whose members intentionally live according to their own rules instead of following the law. Most of the stereotypes about motorcycle culture as rebellious, illegal, and destructive originate from representations of this small group. The 1953 movie *The Wild One*, starring Marlon Brando and based on a 1947 motorcycle rally in Hollister, California, was the first film to represent and romanticize the image of motorcycle gang culture in rebellion against mainstream society. Brando was a handsome and sexy gang leader, and his outfit of blue jeans and black leather jacket, which contrasted with the suits then typically worn by men, started a trend in youth fashion. The sexuality of this character appealed to heterosexual men and women as well as gay men, because he was sexy as both a role model and a potential partner. This image of the dangerous and sexy motorcycle outlaw remains the ultimate stereotype of the motorcycle man.

Women both ride their own motorcycles and ride as passengers. Women riders challenge the stereotype by driving their own bikes, often outside the presence of men, and such riders have been castigated as "gender traitors." Nevertheless, the majority of women in motorcycle culture fit the stereotype of being passengers rather than riders, often riding with male partners and being seen as accessories to the bike and the man driving it. This rider-passenger dynamic has clear negative connotations, evident in expressions such as riding "bitch." Advertisements for motorcycles often feature women in bikinis or other revealing outfits standing seductively beside the bike or seated behind a male driver; rarely are women shown as drivers. While some women passengers do in fact enjoy motorcycle riding as an exhibitionistic and sexually stimulating activity, these representations do not account for the majority of women who ride as passengers because of genuine enjoyment of the motorcycle or the companionship found in the culture. Generally, women passengers ride either to be with their husbands or partners or because they are passionately attached to riding with any willing driver. Still others are less involved in motorcycling as a social culture, and these women, who are usually young, irregularly join up with motorcyclists or groups for adventure and the boisterous parties that occur in some clubs. This latter group of women often includes those who are sexually attracted to both bikes and the men who ride them, and they are more likely to have casual sex with one or more men in a motorcycle group or club. While these women are a small percentage of motorcyclists, stereotypical representations of women in motorcycle culture emphasize this sexual attraction.

As with men, the stereotype of women in motorcycle culture as sexual deviants comes from representations of outlaw clubs. A study of outlaw clubs in the southern United States (Hopper and Moore 1990) found that women play one of two roles in relation to the rest of the group. The first is designated by the term *old lady*, meaning the woman is faithful to and sexually active with only one man in a relationship similar to marriage, whether or not they are actually husband and wife. The second is designated by the term *mama*, meaning the woman belongs to the group as a whole and is sexually active with many of the men. Occasionally, women have sex with each other, but they usually do so as an act, to entertain the watching men. Women may be required to perform group sex, generally as a punishment for not following the scripted social codes held by the gang or club. Women in outlaw clubs are treated largely as companions to the core male membership instead of active, riding members who can make decisions about and for the group. Although such roles may seem sexist, these women have chosen to be part of this culture based on the appeal of a community that exaggerates masculinity and femininity and produces a distinct sex appeal based on its refusal to conform to cultural norms.

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MUCOUS MEMBRANES

Mucous membranes play a key role in sexual activities. These membranes line body canals that open to the outside environment, including the mouth, lips, nose, the inside of the eyelids, the lungs and windpipe, the digestive tract, the vagina, the inside of the vulva, the glans and foreskin of the penis, the urethra, and the rectum. Mucous membranes are comprised of epithelial tissue, or the cells that layer to form a protective covering. Skin has several layers of epithelial cells. Mucous membranes are made up of three layers of tissue: a layer of epithelial cells, which also contains blood vessels, lymph vessels, and goblet cells that secret mucus; a layer of lamina, or connective tissue; and a layer of muscle cells. The presence of blood vessels makes mucous membranes pink in color. Some mucous membranes also contain pigments that hide the blood vessels.

Mucous membranes protect the surfaces of the canals and organs they cover. The mucus secreted by the goblet cells is a thick fluid that shields surfaces and organs, lubricates passages, traps foreign particles, and absorbs water-soluble substances such as salts. Not all mucous membranes secrete mucus—the name of the membrane refers to where the membranes are located rather than to their secretion of mucus.

The color of mucous membranes, especially in the eyelid, reflects the number of red blood cells flowing through membrane blood vessels. For this reason, the mucous membranes of the eyelid provide some indication of relative health. If the mucous membranes are pale, this indicates a decreased number of red blood cells, which may indicate a number of problems such as shock, bleeding, or poisoning. Yellow membranes indicate jaundice, which may be caused by liver diseases such as hepatitis.

Not only are mucous membranes sensitive to the touch, they respond to touch and other stimuli by producing mucus. In addition, sexual stimulation in other regions such as the lips and nipples increases the flow of mucus in areas such as the genitals, which are lined with mucous membranes. Increased mucus makes touching more pleasurable by providing a layer of protection against irritation and making passage over surfaces easier. Males who have been circumcised have had a portion of this mucous membrane removed and may experience more irritation in the less protected glans. Increased mucus in the vulva and vagina not only indicates sexual arousal, but also facilitates penetration and the movement of sperm. Postmenopausal women often experience a decrease in mucus secretions, which makes sexual intercourse more difficult and uncomfortable. Commercial lubricants can be used to substitute for the decrease in mucus. Because the mucous membranes are sensitive and absorb water-soluble chemicals with which they come into contact, it is necessary to choose such lubricants with care to avoid damaging the membranes.

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Judith Roof

MUSIC

In the most generalized sense, music is the organization of sound and silence; any definition less broad than that would risk exclusion of a diverse variety of musical practices. Across the range of types of music making, no matter the genre or type, music is a cultural practice that defines and is defined by the people who participate in it. By studying music, people can learn about cultures present and past and investigate how music intersects with issues of individual and cultural identity. Throughout its history and into the twenty-first century, what is usually called Western classical music—instrumental music, opera, and dance—coupled with Western music studies have formed and informed cultural conceptions of and representations of gender and sexuality by means of composition, performance, scholarship and listenership.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

Properly speaking, a history of gender and sexuality in Western music would start in ancient times, for musicians and historians throughout history have traced Western musical roots to ancient Greece and Rome. Whereas very little written music remains from this period, philosophies of music address music's correspondence to the harmony of the natural world, its value in education, and its ability to engage with emotion, whereas theoretical studies explain its foundation in the physical sciences. At the very core of Western music there exists a tension between science and expression—between objective and subjective approaches to music making—that makes Western music a fascinating entry into considerations of gender and sexuality. Whereas Western music is founded upon scientific principles of physics and harmonics, its dealings with emotional expressivity and subjectivity have been thought by some to *corrupt* its objectivity and *feminize* its stature among the other arts. Critiques of this *feminization* have, moreover, extended to those who create and practice music. Beginning with Plato (427 BCE–347 BCE) and Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE), philosophers and critics have debated this tension within the foundations of Western music but offered no clear resolution, such that the debate resurfaces generation after generation.

The first substantial body of written music dates from the medieval period and consists of monophonic chants with liturgical and nonliturgical religious texts by anonymous composers. Given the conservatism of the church and the limitations of education for women, men typically dominated music education and performance. For medieval women, however, a life devoted to religion, though lived primarily in seclusion, afforded educational and artistic opportunities unavailable to laypeople. Hildegard von Bingen, a twelfth-century Benedictine abbess, church reformer, mystic, author, and composer, wrote a number of chants and a morality play set to music, *Ordo Virtutum* (Ceremony of the virtues), that prove to be exceptions to the gender norms of the era as well as exceptional works within the body of medieval chant. Her intensely spiritual music centers on the female voice and a personal communion with God and the Virgin in a style that several historians have identified as possessing erotic (or homoerotic) overtones in its depiction of ecstasy. Representations of love, albeit worldly and not divine, also concerned composers of secular songs in the later Middle Ages, including Philippe de Vitry (1291–1361), Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–1377), and Guillaume Dufay (c. 1397–1474). These composers likewise pondered boundaries of sexuality and spirituality in polyphonic and polytextual genres that combined love songs, dance tunes, popular refrains, and even sacred hymns within single compositions in a manner that represented the contemporary fluidity between sacred and secular, aristocratic and popular, and courtly love and sex. Refrains and love songs also permeated sacred works as composers developed masses and motets around single melodic lines extracted from popular tunes.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the Renaissance (1350–1600) groups of amateur performers from among the aristocrats across Europe filled their leisure time with musical performance. The madrigal, the most popular of polyphonic genres, owed much of its attractiveness to texts that abound in double entendres and metaphoric treatment of sexual encounters. Many refer to death at the hand of a cruel lover, with *death* serving as a well-known and accepted metaphor for orgasm. Composers from Jacques Arcadelt (c. 1507–1568) to Orlando di Lasso (c. 1532–1594) and Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) wrote music that enacted these sexual encounters through modal allegory, word painting, chromaticism, and symbolic interaction between polyphonic voices. More difficult madrigal repertoire, however, fell to professional or semiprofessional singing groups, the most famous of which was the all-female *concerto della donne*, or the Three Ladies of Ferrara. The texture of three high female voices intricately intertwined held an erotic appeal that titillated audiences and inspired the foundation of similar ensembles across Italy. Secular music, however, was not the only genre to employ eroticism, for madrigal composers also wrote sacred works in which they often called upon similar poetic and musical imagery to depict mystical experiences of divine love.

The popularity of vocal music in the late Renaissance and an interest in the perceived union of music and theater in ancient times helped to foster the rise of opera in Italy and across Europe over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The castrato—a male singer castrated before his voice changes so as to preserve its soprano range—effectively dominated opera up through the early eighteenth century. These men led operatic casts in the roles of heroic mythic and historical characters ranging from Orpheus to Julius Caesar. Their powerful soprano voices literally projected sound and figuratively projected a commanding masculinity for period audiences. Farinelli (Carlo Broschi; 1705–1782), the most famous castrato of the period, was not only a famous musician but also a highly sought-after sexual partner. Castrati's soprano voices also ideally suited them to the narratives involving gender confusion that were quite popular in seventeenth-century

Venetian opera. Castrato masculinity, however, did not go unquestioned: French audiences, for example, shunned the castrato, deeming the voice (and perhaps the men who possessed it) to be unnatural.

Castrati were not the only ones to profit from the new popularity of opera, for these men shared the stage with many female singers (except in Rome where Catholic moral codes usually prohibited this interaction of the sexes). Throughout the seventeenth and well into the nineteenth century, dynastic musical families helped to further the careers of female performers and composers, many of whom entered into the business under the guidance of their fathers or family elders. Francesca Caccini (1587–c. 1640), daughter of the composer Giulio Caccini, performed as a vocalist in a family ensemble modeled on the *concerto della donne* and composed ballets and other works, serving as the highest paid musician in the service of the Florentine court at the start of the seventeenth century. Barbara Strozzi (1619–1677), an important female composer of the era, lived from childhood with the poet and librettist Giulio Strozzi (who may have been her father) and studied under such composers as Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676), eventually composing a number of important solo cantatas and other vocal works.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Opera continued to find favor with eighteenth-century audiences, though over the course of the century comic opera and its women usurped the popularity of serious opera and the castrato. Memorable female roles from the comic stage include the servant Serpina in Giovanni Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* (The servant mistress) (1733), who uses her musical abilities to seduce her master, pretend to a class above her own, and achieve it. An archetypical *soubrette* (coquettish maid), the servant Serpina is, despite her station, the cleverest character in the opera. Other notable soubrettes include Susanna of *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786) and Despina of *Così fan tutte* (1790), from operas by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791). The former presents another convention of eighteenth-century comic opera—cross-dressing—in the character of Cherubino, the lovesick young man who lusts after his mistress (and every other woman in the opera). Played by women, *pants roles* such as Cherubino offered opera spectators a tantalizing hint of lesbian sexuality that modern audiences still find engaging.

The fact that instrumental music has not made an appearance in this entry until now should not imply that it did not exist, but only that opera typically usurped its popularity and that it primarily remained the purview of professionals and a select group of amateurs. This situation changed, however, over the course of the eighteenth century, as composers, performers, critics, and audiences began to pay more attention to and invest greater status in instrumental music—including sonatas, chamber works, and symphonies. Theoretical works addressed the new system of tonality and the imitative capabilities of instrumental music as scholars sought to award music a higher standing among the arts. Subscription concerts featuring (usually male) virtuoso composer–performers playing their own concerti and conducting their own large-scale symphonies gained a broad popularity that served to define these public genres along gender lines. Whereas certain women performers—Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre (c. 1664–1729), also a composer), and Therese Jansen (c. 1770–1843), for example—appeared in semi-public concerts, female performers were limited to harp, keyboard, or other instruments considered suitable for young ladies. Female keyboardists created a large demand for amateur works and helped to foster a lucrative market for the publication of compositions for women, from C. P. E. Bach's (1714–1788) *Damensonaten* (Sonatas for ladies) (1770) to accompanied keyboard sonatas in which (male) violinists or flautists played simple accompaniments for female keyboard soloists.

Composers modeled many popular amateur works on social dances of the period, for dance was a crucial component of eighteenth-century culture as well as an increasingly influential art form in its theatrical manifestations. Though music and dance have always been connected, developments in social and theatrical dance in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries set the foundations for ballet as it is now known. In the late seventeenth century, professional and amateur dancers alike took part in spectacular productions of French theatrical dance composed of nonnarrative, virtuoso renditions of popular courtly dance. In social and theatrical dance of this period, men and women typically performed nearly equivalent choreographies such that on several occasions Louis XIV, the king of France (r. 1643–1715) famously performed female roles in drag. Over the course of the eighteenth century, however, choreographic reform introduced the narrative *ballet d'action* in which dancers employed gesture to tell stories. This new style of ballet, the near relative of the nineteenth-century grand ballet, employed many of the steps and positions of its seventeenth-century predecessor. However, because narrative ballet called for more obvious gender differentiation in choreography, the repertoire for male and female dancers diverged to privilege gendered stereotypes of comportment and capability.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

The great ballets of the nineteenth century—*Giselle* (1841), *Coppélia* (1870), and *Swan Lake* (1877)—employ such stereotypes, as choreographers and composers call for women dancers to be light, even languorous, and delicate, whereas male dancers execute high leaps and lifts that convey their masculinity. These gestures belong to a rigorous choreographic vocabulary that characterizes classical ballet, a vocabulary that is ultimately a symbol of control—of the dancer over his or her body, and of the dance over the dancer's body. Moreover, whereas early ballet was usually participatory—with many *opéra-ballets* ending in a general dance for audience and performers—ballet in the nineteenth century became an inherently visual genre, the male gaze intently focused on the female performing body.

Gender stereotypes also divided instrumental music in the nineteenth century, as critics widened the gap between public and private, professional and amateur, and hence male and female, music making. Once liberated from the patronage system, composition became a valued enterprise of genius, expression, and subjectivity typically dominated by male artists. As musicology developed over the course of the century, historians and critics privileged these *genius* composers and crafted narratives of musical development and evolution that resulted in the formation of a canon of male composers that, even in the early twenty-first century, continues to dominate concert repertoire. The nineteenth century was also an era for instrumental virtuosos, including Franz Liszt (1811–1886) and Niccolò Pagannini (1782–1840), who inspired female adulation that at times approached sexual frenzy. Few women pursued professional performance careers, and those who did, including Clara Schumann (1819–1896), benefited from the support of family members who were likewise involved in music instruction or composition. (Fanny Mendelssohn's [1805–1847] family, by contrast, prohibited her from performing in public.) In general, music making by young bourgeois women grew to fill an ever-larger role in the domestic sphere. The publication for amateur musicians of genres such as the lied and character piece was a lucrative business, though it could bring critical condemnation and accusations of *effeminacy* to composers, as was the case for Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849), whose nocturnes appealed to the female market. A handful of important female composers and performers, including Schumann and Amy Beach (1867–1944), however, did challenge gender norms by pursuing careers as performers and composers.

In what seems a contradiction of nineteenth-century gender norms, a host of powerful women appeared characterized on nineteenth-century operatic stages; however, they most often met their demise by the opera's end. Nineteenth-century dramatic opera brought a number of heroines to the stage and garnered fame for the female singers who executed these virtuoso roles. The title character of Georges Bizet's (1838–1875) *Carmen* (1875) is perhaps the most famous role in nineteenth-century opera—a highly sexualized femme fatale. *Carmen* is an Orientalist opera, casting anxieties about European (specifically French) gender and sexuality to a distant locale (Spain) and embodying them in the character of a gypsy woman. With arias including the famous habanera "L'amour est un oiseau rebelle" (Love is a rebellious bird), Bizet portrays Carmen as a powerful, seductive, lusty, and *bodily* woman who is a threat to morality and idealistic true love. Carmen thus represents the inverse of what was perceived acceptable for nineteenth-century women, and as such, dies at the opera's end. Death was the fate of many powerful opera heroines—Aïda, Tosca, Salome, Lulu—a fact that bears evidence to mounting anxieties with regard to women's place in society (recall the contrary domesticity of women's instrumental music in this same period). The canonical works to which these heroines belong have remained the staples of opera repertoires into the early twenty-first century.

TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

Music of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is perhaps less easy to define by sweeping trends. In the late-nineteenth century, composers explored more liberated representations of sex and sexuality in such works as the love duet from Richard Wagner's (1813–1883) *Tristan und Isolde* (1859) and Claude Debussy's (1862–1918) *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (Prelude to the afternoon of a faun) (1895). When these composers broke with the tonal language and *excess* of late-nineteenth-century Romanticism, a multitude of styles and schools arose. Serialism and twelve-tone music applied rigorous new systems of rational organization to music that intellectualized and perhaps *masculinized* the art. (It has been argued that Aaron Copland (1900–1990) turned to an academic atonal style when threatened by accusations regarding his homosexuality and perceived communist politics.) In the mid-1950s aleatory, or chance music, as pioneered by John Cage (1912–1992), challenged conceptions of what constituted music by incorporating *non-musical* sounds and determining composition and/or performance by operations of chance, processes that critics have identified as coded markers of Cage's homosexuality.

Just as gay and lesbian composers and performers gained greater visibility in the latter half of the twentieth century forming composer collectives and other associations, women, too, grew to have an increasingly important role in the contemporary music scene. Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979) trained many famous composers, including Copland; Yoko Ono (b. 1933) explored the divide between art and popular music in the mid-1960s; and Pauline Oliveros (b. 1932) structured improvisational works around a collective of women's voices. Women performers (on all instruments, not just those deemed *suitable* for women) also became an important part of modern concert life, though a gender imbalance still exists in major orchestras and the appointment of a female conductor is enough to make news headlines.

Whereas classical ballet remains popular, choreographic trends in modern dance of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries may be seen to free dancers from the strictures of classical ballet (not the least of which are pointe shoes), as it explores new vocabularies of choreography. Many of the early pioneers of modern dance were women—Martha Graham (1894–1991), Agnes de Mille (1905–1993), and Isadora Duncan (1877–1927), among others. The diverse currents of modern dance are as multiple as those of contemporary music, but among the notable developments are all-female or all-male dance troupes. The virtuoso Les Ballets Trockadero de Monte Carlo is an all-male troupe that performs parodies of classical ballets in drag. Matthew Bourne's (b. 1960) enormously successful *Swan Lake* features an all-male ballet corps in its retelling of the tale, in which a male swan represents deliverance for the tormented prince struggling with his desire for love.

The popularity of Bourne and other homosexual choreographers has called attention to the degree to which gay and lesbian performers and audience members are deeply involved in contemporary dance scenes. The same is true of opera, for music theater has historically been a location around which homosexual communities evolve. For example, *opera queens*—a particular contingent attracted to the diva and the opera in general—display ardent devotion to sopranos such as Maria Callas (1923–1977) and Joan Sutherland (b. 1926) and are among the most knowledgeable and passionate of opera audiences. Ballet and modern dance likewise maintain dedicated audiences made up of a number of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender devotees.

In the late twentieth century, gender studies, queer studies, and feminist criticism each greatly influenced musicology and music theory, particularly with regard to issues of recuperation, representation, and queerness in music and music history. As a result many modern scholars make a practice of interrogating the canon and encouraging scholarship that considers music in its social context. The recuperation of female composers and performers typically involves a more general study of music making by women and the social constructs that surround music—educational opportunities, social factors, and institutional limitations. The influence of feminist theory has also led to the examination of musical portrayals of women in opera, ballet, and music theater, and even in *pure* instrumental music, by such scholars as Susan McClary, Suzanne G. Cusick, and Ruth A. Solie. Texted or choreographed representations of women offer images that enable critics to consider historical conceptions of gender—both male and female—by means of its musical manifestations. Gender characterizations also emerge in instrumental music, for example, in nineteenth-century terminology that referred to the musical themes in a sonata-allegro form as *masculine* and *feminine* and in the division of musical genres according to gender binaries.

Since the 1990s work in queer musicological studies has involved both recuperative and analytical strategies for examining the musical canon through the lens of alternative sexualities. Perhaps because of the perceived effeminacy of music, attitudes toward homosexuality in regard to the art have tended to oppress or erase its presence. Though music has throughout its history been very much influenced by gay and lesbian performers and composers, not to mention listeners, much of that history has until recently been closeted, as were many of the individuals who lived it. Among these men and women are such figures as Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), Franz Schubert (1797–1828), Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893), Wanda Landowska (1879–1959), and the aforementioned Copland, Cage, and Oliveros. Revisiting the biographies of such composers can fruitfully shed new light on their compositions. The queer musicologist Philip Brett has identified a complex of cryptography—including camp, Orientalism, and eroticism—by which composers and performers resisted the effacement of their own sexuality. Such studies may enable new interpretations of a range of canonical and noncanonical compositions. Other approaches to scholarship that have evolved out of queer studies involve the study of listener reception from a gay, lesbian, bisexual, or even transgender perspective, in what amounts to a *queer reading* of music.

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SARA GROSS
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MUSIC, WOMEN IN MUSLIM AFRICA

This entry focuses on music as women's cultural output in three distinct genres and countries of Muslim Africa. It highlights how the genres, the performance contexts, and the music and words themselves reflect contradictory aspects of the status of women and influence the popular discourse around sex and gender. These music genres are the Algerian Rai, represented by Cheikha Remitti; the work of Mauritanian women artists, embodied by Ooleya mint Amartichitt, Dimi mint Abba, and Malouma; and Tarab, symbolized by Siti bint Saad and Kidude Baraka in Zanzibar.

REMITTI

Cheikha Remitti is the undisputed queen of Raï in the Maghreb. Born May 8, 1923, in Tessala, in Sidi Bel-Abbès region, Remitti single-handedly expanded the arena of Raï songs, which not only represent the collective consciousness of Algeria but also draw on the daily lives of Algerians and the turbulent history of her homeland. Her nickname, Remitti, stems from her generosity of ordering drinks for some European admirers at a café, as she called on the waitress to refill their drinks: "Remettez," hence, the nickname Remitti (Daoudi and Miliani 1996, p. 184).

In contrast to the silenced voices of women in Algeria, Remitti—with her battle cry "*ya rayi*"—became a source of inspiration to women and men singers in the Maghreb. She sings: "*Ana kbart itiima*" (I grew up orphaned) in her song, *Charakt Rarabt*. Through her songs, some of which have been reprised by many Chebs (young), such as the famed Cheb Khaled, Remitti recovers what has been lost, mends what has been torn, and pieces souls together. Her hoarse and ringing voice exhorts women to be independent and defend their rights: "*Debri,* debri," manage on your own. Through sheer ingenuity and courage, she deemed herself a healer of tormented souls, the dispossessed and the heartbroken.

In her song *Hiya bghat al-Sahra*, Remitti weaves her tunes through an array of themes that interlace the secular and the sacred, the *halaal* (the allowed) and the *haraam* (the forbidden), and blur distinctions between men and women and gender norms, as well as between geographical borders in the Maghreb. Contrary to the view that Cheikhats (women singers in traditional groups) tend to be effortlessly seduced by men, in her song "*Sidi Abed*" Remitti vigorously counters this perception: "*manish 'ashaqa wa na'shaq man jaa*" (I am not a lover and do not love whomever comes my way). In her song "*Shab El Goum*," Remitti questions the past and the ancestors, speaks for immigrants, being one herself. Her songs on exile and loneliness are fraught with nationalistic overtones: "*Awlaad al-Jazaa'ir ya sha'b Al-munaaDil*" (Oh, natives of Algeria, fighting people). Remitti even refers to the famous Algerian leader and warrier Abdelkader (1808–1883). Her songs have provoked the wrath of the fundamentalists who have attacked her and other artists. Remitti held herself on a par with Umm Khultum (1904–1975), the Egyptian star singer (Daoudi and Miliani 1996).

A few months before her death in Paris on May 15, 2006, at the age of eighty-three, Remitti continued her musical journey, releasing her last album, *N'ta Goudami*.

MAURITANIAN MUSICAL EXPERIENCE

Ooleya Mint Amartichitt, Dimi Mint Abba, and Malouma Mint Maideh, among other women artists, represent the Mauritanian musical tradition, whose genius lies in its power to blend the traditional and the modern and embrace various musical cultures (Arab, Bambara, Berber, Sudanese, Tuareg, and Wolof, among others) to create a music characterized by warm, emotional, and complex rhythms.

Amartichitt sings in Hassaniya, the Arabic dialect in Mauritania. In "*Zahratou El Ekewany*" (the flower of brothers), on her album *Praise Songs*, Amartichitt eulogizes the Prophet Muhammad, and the notables in her tribes. She also sings about the "*Mema*," the mother.

Dimi Mint Abba is considered a pillar among women and men singers in Mauritania. Like Amartichitt, she grew up in a musical family that encouraged her to break boundaries set by men and take the lead in telling stories as an *iggawin*, a griot, a term which denotes more than being a musician. Dimi has been eulogizer, chronicler, social and political commentator, historian, and storyteller, a human encyclopedia who imparts wisdom and safeguards the memories of her people. She partnered with Khalifa Ould Eide, her second and late husband, and formed a musical band. Her lyrics gravitate more toward classical Arabic than Hassaniya. In *Moorish Music from Mauritania*, her album of 1989, Dimi Mint Abba transcends the traditional themes of love and urges the daughters and sons of South Africa and the entire world community to help stem apartheid.

Malouma Mint Maideh grew up unburdened with any patriarchal tension; her father was her inspiration. In her *Desert of Eden* (1998), Malouma uses modern instruments, a key feature of recent Mauritanian music, which relies on European sounds (Racy 2003). Nevertheless, Malouma's songs remain rooted in the Arab poetic tradition. Her album moves from personal songs and idyllic tunes to more worldly themes, such as inequalities and AIDS.

Malouma's songs also embrace the past, as she longs for the old days in "*Ayam Zaman*," yet ushers in a promising future, as in her song "*Soura*" (photo), where the artist appeals to the world to preserve human rights and not deprive the people of a picture of unity and peace. She ends her album praising Mohamed Cheikh Mbacke, a senior, highly respected and charitable Senegalese man known for soothing the pain of the distressed and the poor.

TARAB

Tarab is a musical form played at wedding events and closely associated with the cultural life of Zanzibar. The Arabic *jadr*, root of Tarab, means "delight, pleasure" (Al Faruqi 1981, p. 350). Tarab encompasses aspects of Indian music, blending elements from Egypt and Africa. Through Tarab, women have reshaped their image and crossed critical gender boundaries, assuming the role of lead singer.

Despite her humble background (she was a descendant of slaves), Siti binti Saad (1880–1950) embodied Tarab in Muslim Africa; she was the first East African artist to be recorded on discs, in 1928 (Suleiman 1969). She brought this music genre down to the less fortunate outside the palace and formed an emotional, almost mystical union between herself and the audience. Thanks to binti Saad, Kiswahili gradually supplanted Arabic and became the language of pride among Zanzibaris (Topp 1994). Binti

Saad's songs captured and disseminated the collective memory of colonialism and injustices perpetrated on Zanzibaris. When she composed "Wala Hapana Hasara" (There Is No Loss), about the punishment of a usurping lord at the hands of the British, the song became like a document in local people's memory. Tarab was also an art form deployed among adversaries for settling scores and inflicting psychological wounds through metaphors and backbiting. When a woman wrote a song to damage binti Saad's status, stripping her of any qualities save her voice, binti Saad retorted by painting the woman as inferior to a disgraced street girl who cannot survive (Suleiman 1969). The protégé of binti Saad, Bi Kidude Baraka, who won the prestigious WOMEX award at age *ninety-three* in 2005, has developed this subgenre among Zanzibari women.

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Hamid Bahri

MUSIC VIDEOS

The term *music video* generally refers to a short film (usually three to five minutes in length) made for television play whose soundtrack consists entirely or primarily of a rock, pop, or country song. The content of music videos varies from straightforward performances recorded in a studio or concert hall to conceptual images or quasinarrative plots, and a music video usually is intended to be a companion to the song featured in it. Videos have formed a major aspect of promotion in the music industry since the early 1980s.

As marketing tools and artistic products, music videos are a fertile site for depicting and contesting popular images of gender and sexuality. Throughout the history of the medium the presentations of gender (including constructions of masculine and feminine roles, depictions of women, and gendered interactions) and sexuality (most notably images of homosexual and other nonnormative sexual identities) in several videos have provoked anxiety from both conservative and progressive cultural perspectives. The intensity of that anxiety and the debates that have followed point to the relevance of music videos in discussions of sex and gender in contemporary American society.

HISTORY

The pairing of music with moving images dates back to the beginning of cinematic history; however, the development of the music video as a recognizable medium with significant cultural impact largely resulted from the 1981 launching of MTV (Music Television), a twenty-four-hour cable channel devoted to showing videos of mostly English and American popular music. Although many early music videos were essentially live performance clips, directors and recording artists began to experiment by adding narrative and visual elements. By the time of Michael Jackson's 1984 "Thriller" (still considered a notable achievement in the genre) audiences looked to videos for additional interpretive information about pop songs. The place of video in popular music culture solidified during the mid-1980s. MTV produced an awards show for music videos beginning in 1984, and collections of music videos were available for sale as early as 1986.

Although shifting aesthetic standards and advances in filming technology have changed the expectations and style of music videos since the beginning of MTV, depictions of gender and sexuality have remained central to their imagery. To investigate the changing sex and gender issues and conflicts in popular music, the history of music video can be divided into three main phases, each with its own set of foregrounded gender concerns. These concerns do not constitute the whole of gender and sexuality matters within those time periods; rather, they represent the new or major topics.

Early MTV (1980–1988) During the first explorations of the modern music video—the promotional clips made for early MTV—the novelty of the medium and the lack of expectations for video content made for a wide range of gendered images. In England the youth subcultures of postpunk, New Wave, and New Romantic entailed a certain amount of transgression of gender norms, especially among males; it was not uncommon for men in London dance clubs to wear jewelry, lipstick, and pieces of feminine clothing (bright and/or pastel colors, fishnet stockings and mesh, shirts with ruffles). Musicians coming out of that club scene often exaggerated those fashions to mark themselves as members of a subculture and distinguish themselves from other bands.

This aesthetic was widespread among British dance-music acts of the 1980s, and its spectacle was well suited to the nascent medium of music video; notable artists include Adam Ant, Duran Duran, and Culture Club. Perhaps the most iconic "gender-bending" artist was Culture Club's lead singer, Boy George. In "Do You Really Want to Hurt Me" (1982) Boy George is dressed in a long T-shirt, tight stretch pants, bangles, and a Hasidic Jewish hat. His hair is long and teased in the then-current female fashion, and he wears very heavy make-up. Despite the abundance of feminine signifiers, Boy George does not appear to be trying to look like a woman. Rather, his gender presentation often provokes confusion, a state usually referred to as "gender-blending" or "gender-fuck."

Those alternative expressions of masculinity did not necessarily correspond with homosexuality, although many British dance-music artists were associated with the queer community. Homosexuality itself, especially among men, was a major source of anxiety during that period as the first wave of the AIDS pandemic hit gay males in Europe and the United States. As a result few gay male artists of the 1980s were open about their sexuality. However, that silence did not translate into a lack of gay content in music videos. George Michael, for instance, appeared in the video "Faith" (1987) dressed in the "clone" style (closely trimmed facial hair, tight jeans, mirrored sunglasses) then coded as distinctly gay. However, to mainstream audiences Michael's presentation did read as heterosexual, since he was marketed as a teen idol throughout the 1980s.

Female artists in this first era of music video generally had different options and faced different challenges in regard to sexual and gender presentation. The complicated relationship of rock and pop music to women—alternately idealizing, contemptuous, exploitative, empowering, and nonexistent—transferred to music video. When women appeared in male artists' videos, they often were presented as antagonists or objects of desire. In their own videos women negotiated their identity in a variety of ways. Some artists experimented with masculine gender presentation and sexual difference. Annie Lennox of The Eurythmics appeared in "Sweet Dreams (Are Made of This)" (1983) in a dyed-orange crew cut and business suit, brandishing a riding crop. Like Boy George, Lennox made certain that she would not be read as male, but whereas Boy George provoked simple confusion and anxiety, the sadomasochistic overtones of Lennox's image added a palpable layer of menace to her androgyny.

Other female artists approached the issue of female gender presentation differently. In "She Bop" (1985) Cyndi Lauper's thinly veiled references to masturbation are made explicit in the video, which shows Lauper with dark glasses and a white cane (blindness being a folkloric consequence of masturbation) and later with hairy palms (another supposed result of autoeroticism). Madonna, whose career was just beginning in the mid-1980s, claimed the conventional female role of "boy toy" as an empowering one, quoting Marilyn Monroe's performance in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* in the video "Material Girl" (1985).

Alternative Expressions (1989–1999) As the 1980s ended, mixed gender signifiers fell out of mainstream fashion for all but a few artists. The success of "alternative rock" in the early 1990s (led by Nirvana and Pearl Jam) set a harder tone for male artists, but male alternative rock artists were able to display sexual difference and abjection more easily. The lead singer of Nine Inch Nails, Trent Reznor, for instance, appears in "Closer" (1994) bound and blindfolded, depicting an unusual sadomasochistic sexuality and sexual availability.

Madonna's career was at its peak in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and her more transgressive videos appeared during that time. Madonna's 1990s videos addressed almost every aspect of anxiety involving female sexuality: "Like A Prayer" (1989) dealt with interracial relationships, "Justify My Love" (1990) was banned by MTV for its polymorphous perversity, and virtually all her videos included religious imagery. By the mid-1990s Madonna's name was a watchword for sexual titillation and obscenity.

Merging and Blending (Twenty-First Century) The early years of the twenty-first century were marked by several major mergers of record labels. Some writers assert that this unification of the industry led to more homogenized music, whereas others question the standards by which homogeneity is determined. It is certain, however, that music videos of the early 2000s featured a great deal of hybridism across genres. Women's sexual desire was portrayed as more aggressive than it had been in the past, and artists such as the Spice Girls and Britney Spears enacted the third-wave feminist belief in empowerment through sexuality. Set in an atmosphere of near panic over teenage sexuality, the image of Spears, who loudly proclaimed her virginity and Christianity in her early career, as openly sexual was deeply controversial because her audience consisted largely of preteenage girls. Madonna, now past forty, moved away from the explicit sexuality of her 1990s work and began experimenting with the trope of mystical goddess/mother, using imagery from the Buddhist, Sufi, and Jewish traditions.

MUSIC VIDEO OUTSIDE THE POP MUSIC MAINSTREAM

The comments made above could be applied to music videos across the spectrum of genres grouped under the rubric of popular music, but three musical styles in particular merit special mention here: country, heavy metal, and rap. Until Viacom Communications purchased MTV in 1986, programmers had a narrow view of what music was appropriate to a youth-oriented music channel. Country-western music generally was ignored, as was most African-American music. As a result music video in those genres developed somewhat differently.

Heavy metal music did find a place on MTV, although it usually was confined to special programming blocks late at night. Gender norms for that genre differed remarkably from those for mainstream pop: Male singers were expected to have long, teased hair and wear elaborate makeup and bright, tight-fitting clothing. Although the perceived stylistic excesses of the "hair bands" later provoked derision, the masculinity of groups such as Mötley Crüe ("Girls, Girls, Girls" [1991]) and Poison ("Every Rose Has Its Thorn" [1989]) was virtually unquestioned during the height of their popularity in the late 1980s. Despite the "feminine" appearance of male singers, women in heavy metal videos generally were depicted as objects of desire or accessories for homosocial bonding between band members. Notable exceptions include videos by female artists such as Lita Ford and the all-women group Vixen. Both artists appeared in videos using the same signifiers of heavy metal machismo and virility as their male peers, although those signifiers (long hair, heavy makeup and jewelry, spandex, and the like) appeared less gender-transgressive and therefore less powerful on female bodies.

The country-western music industry was slower to adopt music videos as a promotional tool. Most country videos favor live performance footage, occasionally with intercuts depicting the narrative of the song. Gender presentations of country artists are usually more conventional than are those in other genres, although there are exceptions. In "Better Things to Do" (1994) Terri Clark dresses and behaves in the same manner as the singers in male "hat acts," although this parallel may not be evident until the two are compared directly. On the fringes, k.d. lang's extremely butch persona in videos such as "Pulling Back the Reins" (1990) led to her marginalization in the Nashville-based industry.

Much has been written about the depiction of women in hip-hop videos, with many feminist critics condemning hip-hop as intrinsically misogynist. Although there are many examples of female objectification and violence against women in videos in that genre, the relationship between women and hip-hop is undoubtedly more complicated than it first appears.

Female rappers have been part of the hip-hop scene since its inception, although their contributions often are downplayed by a largely white hip-hop audience seeking racialized ideals of black masculinity and violence. Videos by artists such as Queen Latifah and Missy Elliot contain little exploitative content (focusing instead on artist performances or narrative depiction), and some all-female groups objectify men in their videos. Additionally, some objectifying rap videos have a multivalent relationship to the women who appear in them. Sir Mix-A-Lot's "Baby Got Back" (1994), for instance, may appear to be entirely about "big butts," but it is also a celebration of African-American bodies, affirming the desirability of a distinctly African-American female body type. Although it has not always been acknowledged by scholars of music video, this complex play between exploitation and empowerment is common to hip-hop as well as to music videos in general, making the medium a lens through which to examine the everyday negotiations people make with gendered bodies, both others' and their own.

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Robert Walser
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MUTILATION

SEE *Castration; Female Genital Mutilation.*

MYSTICISM

The etymology of the word *mysticism* traces back to the Greek verb *myein* (to close), employed by the ancient mystery cults when prohibiting initiates from disclosing the contents of the secret rites. In this context the verb suggested silence and secrecy. Later, the second- and third-century Greek Christian fathers used the adjective *mystikos* to describe arcane cognition such as the allegorical interpretation of scripture in contrast to the literal, or spiritual knowledge in contrast to carnal knowledge. The fifth- or sixth-century Syrian monk who wrote under the pseudonym Dionysius the Areopagite adapted the adjective and gave it a use that brings it considerably closer to the modern concept of the mystical. In "The Mystical Theology" Dionysius pursues the consequences of a negative theology, a theology that denies the adequacy of any proposed predication of God. Elsewhere, in his "The Divine Names," pseudo-Dionysius distinguishes the predicatespertaining to the trinity from other predicates used to describe God. Whereas the multiplicity of the other predicates (e.g., light, life, good) does not reflect differentiation within the unity of God, the predicates pertaining to the father, son, and spirit do refer to a differentiation within the unity of God. Even these gendered predicates must, nevertheless, be negated as inadequate to describe God's ineffable transcendence. God, pseudo-Dionysius insists in "The Mystical Theology," is not light, life, or goodness, but neither is God sonship or fatherhood. Dionysius's negative theology ultimately leads to paradoxical results. He asserts, however, that one can attain extraordinary cognition of truths about God that defy rational articulation. "Mystical theology" is, for Dionysius, a form of cognition that paradoxically knows about God "by knowing nothing."

For Dionysius mystical theology refers to a kind of extraordinary knowing, an extraordinary kind of cognition. After around 1200 CE, however, the mystical became more affective, less elite, and more experiential. Prior to this period mystical writing was largely speculative or theoretical. After, it became more devotional, confessional, and biographical. Previously, mystical theology concerned extraordinary cognition; now it increasingly concerned extraordinary consciousness. Although the substantive term mysticism did not appear until the seventeenth century, Bernard McGinn (1998) has labeled this development "the new mysticism." The modern concept of mysticism is the descendent of the new mysticism. Mysticism has come to denote a peculiar and ineffable state of mind that purportedly conveys private, intuitive, higher knowledge of the divine or ultimate. Experiential awareness of an ultimate unity is frequently ascribed to mystical consciousness. Mysticism is viewed, furthermore, as a source of insight that stands in uncertain relationship to institutional and dogmatic authority. In the nineteenth century, apologetic attempts to render religion intellectually respectable seized on mysticism. In many quarters mysticism was viewed as the universal, primordial basis for religion. The notion that various religions are expressive responses to ineffable mystical experience insulated religion against criticism aimed at doctrines.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM

The "new mysticism" of Western Christendom arose in the context of profound changes to the structures of authority in the church. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries the salience of the priestly office changed considerably. The authority of the (now celibate) priesthood as religious teachers and mediators of salvation grew. At this time whatever limited institutional authority to preach or participate in pastoral affairs that women had previously enjoyed was strictly curtailed. The orders of friars, founded as preaching orders, likewise excluded women. Caroline Walker Bynum (1982) argues that the thirteenth-century mystical visions of the nuns of Helfta (Mechtild of Magdeburg, Gertrude of Helfta, and Mechtild of Hackeborn) served to authorize these women mystics as teachers and pastoral counselors. The nuns' mystical communion with Christ granted them an authority—explicitly bestowed by Christ in the visions themselves—that was not based on their office within the church hierarchy. In medieval Europe mysticism provided women with a path to power and authority, but women mystics needed male approval or sponsorship to succeed. That Christ would appear to women, perceived as weaker and less rational than men, seemed congruous with Christ's ministry in the Gospels to the humble and meek. This supposition counteracted somewhat the suspicion that these experiences were delusory because women were more susceptible to natural infirmity and the devil's wiles.

Bynum contends that the exclusion of women from clerical and pastoral authority accounts for the prominence of women mystics at this time, and that their spirituality extensively influenced high medieval piety. They contributed to a heightened attention to the interior life and to paranormal experience. They emphasized the humanity of Christ and the devotional significance of incorporating the body of Christ during the Eucharist. Women mystics also made a tropological interpretation of the biblical Song of Songs central to medieval Christianity. They interpreted the nuptial imagery of the biblical poem as an encounter between the soul and Christ. Christ, the bridegroom, unites the soul, the bride, to him in spiritual marriage, a union of love. Significantly, this gender imagery did not imply equality between the soul and God. Rather, the imagery conveys that the loving soul conforms its will to God's will for it, as the bride submits her will to her husband's will.

MEDIEVAL JEWISH CABALA

Medieval Christian mysticism is not alone in reinscribing gender hierarchy in symbolism that seems to collapse gender dualisms. Elliot R. Wolfson (1995) has argued, for instance, that medieval Jewish Cabala employs masculine and feminine symbols to convey the idea of a primordial diremption (division into two) of the Godhead. Through symbolic gender transformations in which the masculine becomes feminine and vice versa, human ritual activity aims to restore the unity that transcends gender dichotomies. That ultimate unity, nevertheless, has masculine associations. Wolfson claims that in cabalistic thought God can be mythically described as a "male androgyne." This notion is symbolically captured by the image of the "androgynous phallus." The feminine aspect of God is represented as the corona of the penis. These gender relationships are recapitulated in the cabalistic interpretation of human sexual intercourse, an act that, properly undertaken, contributes to the restoration of the male androgyne. In the reproductive act, the male and female are united, but in such a way that the male's ability to procreate is made complete and the female is transformed into masculine potency. In Cabala, redemption consists of the subsumption of the female in the male rather than the transcending of gender altogether.

TANTRIC BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM

In a controversial 1994 book, Miranda Shaw arrives at conclusions about sex and gender in Tantric Buddhism that invert the sex and gender relationships found in medieval Christian mysticism and medieval Jewish Cabala. Like other forms of Mahayana Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism (eighth through twelfth centuries) prescribes rituals, teachings, and meditation exercises in order to achieve an enlightened, nondual state of awareness. Unlike other forms of Mahayana Buddhism, which view the passions and desires solely as dangerous fetters tying one to conventional, dualistic consciousness, Tantra exploits passion and desire as techniques of enlightenment. In this context human sexuality takes on special ritual and symbolic importance. Shaw claims that despite the emphasis on nondualism and gender equality in Mahayana Buddhism, Tantric cosmology, Tantric theory, and Tantric practice privilege women and femaleness. Cosmologically, the powers of the universe flow through female deities. Ritually, the female is the foundation and generating source of spiritual progress. As the font of enlightenment, women Tantric practitioners did not need the patronage or approval of men. Rather, the male practitioner courted the favor of the woman and worshipped her. At its most esoteric, this worship consists of ritual coitus. By offering his sexual fluid, which mingles with hers to produce bliss, the man in effect makes the woman an offering of sexual pleasure. The woman uses this pleasure as the basis for a meditation on the emptiness of all things, and comes to experience her desire as mere illusory dualistic consciousness. If the cabalistic ritual sex act was essentially androcentric, Shaw claims that the Tantric ritual sex act was gynocentric.

Arising in the same historical context, Hindu Tantra bears great similarity to Buddhist Tantra. In contemporary India a small proportion of female Hindu ascetics are Tantric ascetics. There is no uniform or universal set of activities among Tantric ascetics, but yoga is common. Their yogic practices aim to elicit a vision of a deity or to attain *samadhi*, a trancelike consciousness that transcends material existence and the individual ego. In classical yoga theory, *samadhi* is the blissful awareness of one's *purusha* (literally, "male"), or non-individuated inner spiritual essence, transcending *prakriti*, the feminine gendered material process. Tantric ascetics may also engage in notorious "left-hand" practices. These ritual activities consciously flout purity rules, moral codes, and social conventions. Female Tantric ascetics renounce women's traditional religious duties (*stridharma*), may use intoxicants, and may meditate at polluting cremation grounds. Ritual sexual relations with a male fellow ascetic is the "left-hand" practice most prominent in the popular mind. The ascetics' wantonness and freedom with respect to social norms, which they believe evidences their spiritual power and freedom, causes them to be viewed with suspicion by others.

In many contexts mysticism has suggested the possibility of freedom from gender. Women have celebrated this possibility, but men reflecting on women mystics have noted it too. Rabi'ah al-'Adawiyah, the eighth-century Sufi from Basra, is a well-known example. Rabi'ah is often credited with introducing the notion of selfless love to Sufism. True love of God, she insisted, must not have its basis in hope of paradise or fear of hell. Her love for God was all consuming. Indeed her love was ecstatic, annihilating the self in perpetual union with the beloved. Farid od-Din 'Attar, the great thirteenth-century Sufi, wrote apropos of Rabi'ah that united in love to God, the mystic transcends gender identity altogether.

SEE ALSO *Celibacy.*

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N

NARCISSISM

The term *narcissism*, which is derived from the Greek myth of Narcissus, refers to self-love. It was used first by Paul Nacke in 1899 to describe a case of male autoerotic perversion in which an individual treated his own body as one might treat the body of a sexual partner.

DEFINITIONS BY FREUD AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Freud first used the term in correspondence with Wilhelm Fleiss, also in 1899. In the course of his career Freud used the word to describe four different but related phenomena: narcissism as sexual perversion; narcissism as a stage of development between the autoerotic stage and the stage of object love; narcissism as a libidinal cathexis (or love of self) of the ego or, as Freud described it in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905, p. 218), "the great reservoir from which object-cathexis are sent out and into which they are withdrawn once more"; and narcissism as object choice, either anaclitic object choice in which the person loves someone like herself or himself, or attachment object choice, in which the person loves a strong and comforting person. In *On Narcissism* (1914) Freud also distinguished primary narcissism, the libidinal cathexis of the ego, from secondary narcissism, the cathexis of lost objects.

Freud's contemporaries further elaborated the meanings and understanding of narcissism. Sandor Ferenczi (1909) described a child's desire to rid itself of unpleasant affects by excluding objects from its perceptions as a form of narcissism. Karl Abraham (1924) wrote about the symptomatology of melancholia as being either positive narcissism, a self-love, or negative narcissism, a self-hate.

LATER DEFINITIONS

Later work on narcissism was done by Rosenfeld (1965), who drew attention to destructive narcissism related to the death instinct in contrast to the libidinal aspect of narcissism. In *The Analysis of the Self*, Heinz Kohut (1971) described narcissism as the cathexis of self-representations, not of the ego. He defined narcissism as agency of the personality responsible for factors in relationships. Kohut described three forms of narcissistic transferences, or relating: a need to experience mirroring and acceptance (a mirroring transference), the need to experience merger with greatness and strength (an idealized transference), and the need to experience an alikeness with another person (a twinship transference). The self-psychology he developed from his understanding of narcissism reflected an evolution of psychoanalytic theory from an ego psychology to a psychology of the self. Thus, in psychoanalytic literature, narcissism came to be applied to many things: sexual perversion, a developmental stage in a line of development, a type of libido or its object, a type or mode of object choice, a mode of relating to the environment, an attitude, self-esteem, and a personality type.

In current literature narcissism typically is used to describe the vicissitudes of self-esteem. Otto Kernberg described narcissistic patients as individuals with "an unusual degree of self-reference in their interactions with other people, a great need to be loved and admired by others, and a curious apparent contradiction between a very inflated concept of themselves, and an inordinate need for tribute from others" (Kernberg 1967, p. 655). These patients exhibit a sense of entitlement and fantasies of omniscience, omnipotence, and perfection. Affects range from elation to disappointment, anger, and narcissistic rage. Kernberg (1975) distinguished normal narcissism from pathological narcissism; the former depends on the structural integrity of the self, a balance between libidinal and aggressive drives, a harmony between the ego and superego, and a capacity to receive gratification from external objects. Normal narcissism leads to a balanced self-regard, realistic goals, and the capacity for deep and involved relationships. Pathological narcissism is seen in primitive demands on the self (such as extreme grandiosity in dress and behavior), inordinate dependence on others, and poor object relations. It also manifests itself in a sense of entitlement, a need for constant pursuit of perfection, and an impaired capacity for concern for and love of others.

GENDER IDENTITY, SHAME, AND MELANCHOLIA

Richard Green and John Money (1965) first used the term *gender identity* to describe a person's relative sense of his or her masculine or feminine identity. Precursors to that term were *body ego*, *body image*, and *sexual identity*. Robert Stoller (1974), a psychoanalyst, distinguished between the psychological and biological dimensions of sex. He used the term *gender identity* to describe socially constructed experiences of masculinity and femininity from sex, the biologically determined traits of maleness and femaleness. Stoller also made a distinction between gender identity, a person's sense of masculinity or femininity, and core gender identity, a mostly stable sense of maleness or femaleness that typically is consolidated by the second year of life. In contrast to Freud's belief that primary identification is masculine, Stoller believed that both boys and girls begin with a female core gender identity and that it is learned nonconflictually, that is by identifying, or being like the mother, through identification. He believed that a failure to interrupt the maternal symbiosis with preoedipal boys results in gender identity disorders.

John O'Leary and Fred Wright (1986) suggested that shame is the principal affect in narcissistic behavior, narcissism is a defense against shame, and the way shame is manifested is different in men and women. They described narcissistic men using grandiosity to bypass shame (a scared man may act fearless), whereas narcissistic women are more conscious and sensitive to shame experiences.

Other studies suggest women are more likely to experience shame, whereas men are more likely to exhibit hostility. Arthur Heiserman and Harold Cook (1998) also found gender differences in shame propensity, with women being more shame-prone than men. They also suggested that their findings were consistent with other literature in stating that women's narcissistic pathology is linked to idealization needs (the idealized transference, being like someone who is greatly admired), whereas men's narcissistic pathology is linked to mirroring needs (the mirror transference, needing love and acceptance). Narcissistic men appear to be more prone to hostility, and narcissistic women to be more prone to depression.

Judith Butler (1995) suggested that in melancholia there is incorporation of the lost object, as Freud described, but went on to establish a relationship between that incorporation and the formation of a bodily ego, or identity. Butler argued that under the societal demands of compulsory heterosexuality, individuals have to give up attachments to same-sexed objects and that this results in melancholia and gendered identifications to the bodily ego. These are losses attributable to the societal pressures against of homosexual love, resulting in melancholic identifications.

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NATIONALISM

Nationalism comes into being with the independence movement that generates a nation. Typically the rhetoric of such movements proposes a vision of the future as a narrative based on history and custom. This vision is the cornerstone of the emerging nation. As histories and customs are not universal, a nationalism is specific to its nation. It is a story of community that a people accepts as a definition of itself. Its function is to unify. Thus, nationalism generally ignores the diversity of its presumed community.

The new nations formed in the devolution of the great European empires have sought community in a variety of sites—in tribal compatibility, a common culture, a language, a religion, a constitution. Peoples held together by an imperial power have sometimes found differences of custom, religion, and ethnicity too great to tolerate when that power has withdrawn; for example, after World War II, the secession of India from the British Empire in 1947 was quickly followed by the Partition, entailing the movement of large populations to establish in Pakistan.

As long as emergent nations are in the process of separation, either from a waning empire or from each other, they have little enthusiasm for establishing programs to meet women's needs and rights, even if they recognize them. Survival maintenance—the provision of food, shelter, and protection from acts of war—is all that can be attempted.

After independence is achieved, the government is the official promoter of the national story. Governments, heirs as they are to emperors, monarchs, and tribal chieftains, tend to think in terms of hegemony, of the power to acquire and regulate resources. This focus reinforces traditional ways of regarding women as the property of men, useful for reproduction, labor, and establishing relations with other men. It encourages a camaraderie based on gender issues—that is, policies affecting men as a group.

There are myriad ways a legislature might oblige such a group of comrades, from failing to pass laws criminalizing violence against women to declining to intervene in privatization contracts that deprive women of their traditional rights to water and land. Governments move only when a particularly noxious scandal hits the headlines, or when grassroots activists vociferously demand change. Even when a law is passed, it may not be enforced, on the excuse of insufficient resources. Overall, the government does not represent the nation, which also comprises women, children, persons of uncertain gender, lesbians, and gays.

Discussion of two elections, both riven with gender issues, will provide examples of the place of women in relation to the importance of political power. In the summer of 2006, women in Kuwait, one of the smallest and richest of the new nations, and in the Congo, one of the largest and poorest, both voted in a parliamentary election for the first time.

Kuwait, a constitutional hereditary monarchy, became an independent nation in 1961 when the British dissolved their protectorate arrangement with the al-Sabah dynasty. The emir is the chief of state, the crown prince was the prime minister (this changed in 2003), the deputy prime ministers are men of the royal family. The elected Constituent Assembly has constitutional rights to demand electoral reform and to reject ministers the royal family appoints.

In this parliamentary democracy, Kuwaiti women suffragists worked for twenty years for legislation that would give them the vote. In most other Arabian Gulf nations, the ruling family initiated female suffrage. In Kuwait, traditionalist members of the Assembly voted down such measures. When the Emir Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah in 1999 issued a royal decree empowering women to vote, Islamist members of parliament argued that it was anti-Islam, and tribal members of parliament that it was against traditional Kuwaiti society. Critics of this position have suspected a class issue as well as a gender issue. Women of the merchant class for decades had good private educations and ample career choices. They became lawyers, physicians, university professors. Men of the middle class—in which the women were the most unlikely to seek employment outside the home—have availed themselves of public education, and resented the high employment rate of privately educated women. Voting against female suffrage, the argument goes, is a result of this resentment. Nonetheless, in May 2005 the national assembly responded to increasing public pressure and granted women full political rights.

In June 2006, women voted for Assembly members for the first time. That female candidates might not be elected did not distress them: as 57 percent of registered voters were women, a politician could no longer be seated by the votes of men alone, nor would the Assembly be able to ignore the needs and rights of these newly enfranchised citizens.

The Belgian colony of Congo gained independence in June 1960. The Republic was immediately plagued by political and social unrest. On July 4, the Congolese Army mutinied, ousting Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961). In January 1961, Lumumba was assassinated with the connivance of Western powers. Colonel Joseph Mobutu (later Mobuto Sese Seko, 1930–1997) declared himself president in 1965, a position he maintained for thirty-two years, holding elections with himself as sole candidate. In May 1997, the Mobutu regime fell to a rebellion led by Laurent Kabila (1939–2001), who renamed the nation the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The following year, insurgents from Rwanda and Uganda attacked Kabila's regime. Troops from other neighbors—Angola, Chad Namibia, Sudan, Zimbabwe—weighed in on the side of Kabila. In July 1999, the warring parties signed a ceasefire agreement, but Kabila was assassinated nonetheless. His son, Joseph Kabila (b. 1971), who became head of state, negotiated the withdrawal of Rwandan troops from eastern Congo. The first multiparty elections for the presidency since independence were held on July 30, 2006.

The United Nations provided 1,700 peacekeepers and the European Union an additional 1,000 troops to keep the peace during the election. The European Union and other donors contributed $400 million to provide electoral materials and training to poll workers. Interested organizations like the Southern Africa Development Community sent observer teams to watch the electoral process, which turned out to have been "peaceful, credible, well-managed, and transparent."

In Kivu Province, women went to the polls hoping the government would be able to reduce the violence perpetrated by the militants and the military on displaced women. In South Kivu, 4,000 women had been raped in the four months preceding the election. Many of them were consequently infected with HIV/AIDS.

Antoinette Kayiba of Kinshasa, the capital, said that she was "too close to death to see the fruits of these elections." Voting of her own free will was a pleasure after her forty years of compulsory suffrage. She was "more confident for the future" and hoped that the new head of state would be able to inspire the Congolese to end the war and to rebuild the country. She hoped women would no longer be raped and children would get a good education. None of the women who spoke eloquently of their intention to vote revealed who they would vote for. Their reticence came from the violence fostered by the election itself. President Kabila was re-elected in the run-off election of October 29, 2006. As of February 25, 2007, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is slowly coming to order (UNNews 2006).

TRAFFICKING

No country with transportation reaching beyond its borders is immune from trafficking in persons. Women, children, and men are tricked into or abducted for forced labor or prostitution. Trafficking is almost universally illegal. However, new nations are often unable to prosecute because of insufficient funds. Some turn a blind eye because slavery, forced marriage, and bonded labor are embedded in tradition. The varieties of labor are contingent on local conditions: In the Congo, militias have forced boys as young as nine to fight as soldiers. In the Côte d'Ivoire, trafficked men toil on coconut plantations. In Kuwait, Filipinos are imported for domestic work and enslaved. Worldwide, child prostitution has increased, in large part because it is thought that young girls are less likely to carry the HIV virus. The sexual exploitation of children is greatly under-acknowledged, even in countries like Vietnam and Myanmar—reported destinations for sex tourism.

FORCED MARRIAGE

Forced marriage is common in many of the new nations; it may entail abduction, rape, and murder. India and Iran have a high rate of forced marriage. In Bangladesh and Pakistan (where men comprise 15% of forced spouses), marriage is subject to personal law, which is specific to each religious community. Islamic law holds that a marriage is void if the two parties, both of the age of majority and of sound mind, have not both given their consent. Child marriage is allowed if consent is given by parents or guardians, but may be annulled if at puberty a child objects and the marriage has not been consummated. If the consummation was forced, the marriage may likewise be annulled. In rural areas of Pakistan, forced marriage has been used to settle disputes: the family of a murderer or debtor has been able to discharge the incurred obligation by offering young daughters to the wronged. These children, ostensibly brides, become indentured servants and, in many cases, sex slaves. In Ethiopia, 92 percent of all brides are abducted, often with parental consent. Poverty is thought to be a major cause, and education the best way to solve the problem. There has been little effort to provide such education.

FEMALE CIRCUMCISION/GENITAL CUTTING/MUTILATION

Female genital cutting, common in parts of Africa and Arabia, entails cutting off the prepuce of the clitoris; excising the clitoris altogether; or excising the clitoris, scraping out the labia minora, sewing up the raw flesh, and binding together the girl's legs until scar tissue covers the genital area. The most extreme type of excision is called infibulation. In childbirth, its medical consequences can be disastrous for both mother and child. Many new nations have passed legislation against it, but prosecutions are rare because it is a ritual hallowed by long custom and considered vital to community life.

It is generally agreed that persuasion is more effective than legislation to eradicate excision. In Iraqi Kurdistan, one activist group of women has made documentaries and shown them in villages beyond the reach of television. In Sierra Leone, imams have preached against genital female cutting, informing their congregations that the Qur'an does not require it. These activities are modifying custom without legislation. In Senegal, excision was outlawed in 1999. Tostan, a nonprofit organization which supports basic education and empowerment for women, maintains that this legislation has made their work more difficult by promoting defensiveness where excision is practiced (U.S. Department of State, Office of the Senior Coordinator for International Women's Issues 2001). Nonetheless, as of July 2006, Tostan had encouraged more than 1,600 Senegalese villages to abandon the custom.

FORCED LABOR

In South Asia, entire families have provided bonded labor, a condition resembling the slavery of trafficked women and children. In Pakistan, and in every state in India, there remain indigenous tribes who, driven from their native forests and arable lands by deforestation and large-scale agriculture, endure a meager existence as day-laborers and gleaners, made worse by debts accumulated through disaster and desperation. If a man becomes unable to repay his debts (swollen by huge finance charges), those who own the bond seize his children to become carpet weavers, beggars, and prostitutes, or take his wife for domestic or brothel service. Debts may be passed on through several generations. Should daughters and wives live to bear children in slavery, they are seldom ransomed.

The Indian Constitution guarantees the right to liberty. The Supreme Court of India has interpreted this right to include choice of employment and the protection of employment legislation. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act of 1976 made all debt bondage illegal. However, as of March 2005, enforcement was sparse (*The South Asian* 2005). In Pakistan, an estimated one million bonded laborers have been denied their rights by a coalition of feudal landlords, President Pervez Musharraf's military regime, and other political interests.

RAPE

The governments of some of the new nations have been in denial about rape, a state of affairs to which the president of Liberia, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, referred in her inauguration speech of January 16, 2006, pledging to use the new rape legislation coming into force the following day.

Pakistan promises a spectacular change in rape law provoked largely by one woman's refusal to be shamed into silence and her persistence in bringing her case not only to local and national authorities but to the world at large. In June 2000, Mukhtar Mai, a Tatla woman, was raped by three men of the Mastoi (a clan of higher caste) in revenge for a suspected rape of one of their women by Mai's adolescent brother. In his next sermon, the village imam condemned the rape. He introduced a local journalist to Mai's father and persuaded the family to bring criminal charges against the rapists. The media picked up her story, which was broadcast on the BBC and appeared as an article in *Time* magazine. As her case advanced through the courts, Mai became an international icon for courage and women's rights.

Under Islamic law, raped women who cannot provide four Muslim male eyewitnesses to the rape have traditionally been convicted of adultery, a capital crime punishable by stoning to death. In June 2006, President Musharraf signed an amendment to current law allowing 1,300 women convicted of adultery to be freed on bail. This amendment covered only women in jail awaiting trial. In December 2006, he signed the Protection of Women Bill, passed by both houses of Parliament, which allows charges of rape to be tried in criminal court. Protesters have complained that the new legislation is anti-Islamic. This is a case where the nation has responded to the needs of women.

SEXUAL ORIENTATIONS

Half of the new African nations and three-quarters of the new Asian nations have criminalized gay and lesbian activity; another one-sixth of African nations have laws against male same-sex acts only, as do one-twentieth of Asian. Penalties range from death to a small fine. In sharia areas of Niger and Somalia, any sex act outside marriage incurs the death penalty, as it does in Islamic nations in Africa and Asia.

However, Namibia has passed a Labor Code including laws against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The South African Constitution explicitly protects against it; the Supreme Court ruled in favor of same-sex marriage to take effect in 2006. Israel has enacted gay rights legislation; the armed forces allow service for both gays and lesbians. The policy established by the Anti-Corruption Committee of Sierra Leone forbids all kinds of discrimination against homosexuals.

In July 2005, Iran hanged two teenage boys for having sex together. In November 2005, United Arab Emirates police raided a remote hotel on the Dubai–Abu Dhabi highway to find a dozen men in bridal dresses and another dozen in male attire preparing for a wedding. Even though none were found in a sexual act, they were arrested and underwent psychological evaluation. They were to undergo all appropriate therapies, including testosterone injections if they were found deficient in the hormone. In Iran, male-to-female sex-change operations have been given official support as a means of curing alleged gender-identity disease. These nations are struggling to deal what they see as the problem of deviant sexual behavior. Their efforts are directed toward community apprehensions rather than to the needs of these men already marginalized by society.

Outside of the national territory, allegiance to national customs continued to shape the destiny of women and girls. At the end of empire, no one could have foreseen the numbers of the ex-colonized who found their way to the imperial homeland. Some went as displaced persons; others fled from the tyranny of military-backed regimes. Many of them expected eventually to return to their birth nation. Physicians, nurses, social workers, and teachers from Asia and Africa abound in Britain. Unlike these professionals, unskilled laborers often had little knowledge of the host country's language, law, or culture. As their work does not require it and they generally live in enclaves of like immigrants, they had little incentive to learn. Many such immigrants from rural areas of Pakistan brought their feudalism and their loyalty to their clan, tribe, or extended family with them. Some of them have imported boys and girls from their clan to marry their own sons and daughters; some have arranged to send daughters back to marry males of the clan. These journeys, involving large expenditures of time and money, suggest a strong attachment to the homeland; Algerians in the banlieue of French cities have a like relationship with their natal country. Surrounded in their daily lives by nationals like themselves, they have maintained their nationalism as a nostalgic recuperation of an imaginary past, and live in the shadow of their birth nation.

SEE ALSO *Communism and Marxism; Gender Roles: III. Contemporary Understanding; War.*

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NECKING

SEE *Making Out.*

NECROPHILIA

Necrophilia, a sexual attraction to corpses, is an example of the extreme diversity in human sexuality and sexual preference that is evident across different cultures and different historical periods. The word is derived from a combination of *necro*, meaning corpse, and *philia*, meaning attachment. In the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (APA 2000), necrophilia is classified as a "paraphilia not otherwise specified." The essential features of a paraphilia are recurrent, intense, sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors that typically involve inhuman objects, children or other nonconsenting persons, or suffering or humiliating of oneself or one's partner, and that occur over a period of at least six months. Necrophilic acts are assumed to be nonconsensual; that is, the belief is that the person would not have consented to the act while alive. Of approximately thirty paraphilias that have been identified, necrophilia is considered to be one of the most unusual and also one of the most repugnant. It is also generally regarded as being very rare, although some authors (e.g., Burg 1982) have questioned this assumption.

Necrophilia has been reported since ancient times, although virtually all societies have condemned the practice. In the writings of the fifth century BCE Greek historian Herodotus, the ancient Egyptians did not permit the corpses of wives of men of rank to be given to the embalmers until a few days after death, lest the embalmers violate the corpses. There is also a legend about Herod, the king of Judea (r. 37–4 BCE), who apparently had sex with his wife for seven years after her death.

While not explicitly necrophilic, romantic connections between love and death have been a common theme in Western artistic expression. For example, scholars have highlighted frequent necrophilic themes in nineteenth-century French literature. In popular culture, references to necrophilia have been made in films and rock music, particularly in the punk and heavy metal genres of the latter.

It is difficult to quantify the incidence of necrophilia in pornography. A 2001 study of randomly selected Internet sites that carried pornographic images reported that necrophilic images were extremely rare. There are, however, web sites devoted to necrophilic pornography.

The psychiatric literature on necrophilia consists largely of individual case studies. In 1989 Jonathan P. Rosman and Phillip J. Resnick described 122 cases of individuals who had a history of either necrophilic acts or fantasies, and differentiated two types: the genuine or "true" necrophilic, characterized by persistent sexual attraction to corpses, and the "pseudo-necrophilic," who has only a transient attraction to corpses, rather than a fixed erotic preference for them. These authors also distinguished three types of "genuine" necrophilia: necrophilic homicide (involving murder to obtain a corpse), "regular" necrophilia (use of already dead bodies for sexual purposes), and necrophilic fantasies (in which the individual fantasizes about necrophilic acts but does not act on the fantasies).

Most cases in the literature have been males, aged between twenty and fifty years old and heterosexual, although homosexual cases exist. A consistent observation has been that necrophilic individuals often choose an occupation that provides them ready access to corpses (e.g., cemetery or mortuary attendants, hospital orderlies). The necrophilic behaviors engaged in range from kissing and caressing to actual vaginal or anal intercourse; in rare cases, mutilation of the corpse, vampirism (drinking the corpse's blood), and cannibalism occurs.

Regarding the psychology of necrophilia, numerous explanations (mainly psychoanalytic) have been put forward, but, given the low incidence of the phenomenon, these are very difficult to evaluate. Although necrophilic individuals have often been characterized as psychotic or sadistic, the limited empirical data suggests that sadism, psychosis, and subnormal intelligence are not essential features of necrophilia. Nevertheless, associated paraphilias, such as zoophilia (sexual attraction by a human to nonhuman animals) or voyeurism (observing sexual activity), have been reported in necrophilic individuals. Similarly, to overcome inhibitions and be able to carry out necrophilic acts, individuals may use alcohol or drugs, but this is not always the case. Apart from advocating treatment of the associated psychopathology, there has been very little published literature on the treatment of necrophilia.

In the aforementioned Rosman and Resnick study, some necrophiles provided motives for their behavior. The most common stated motive was to possess a partner who was both unresisting and "unrejecting." Other motives that were described included reuniting with a romantic partner, gaining comfort or overcoming feelings of isolation, and increasing self-esteem. A common observation in the clinical case reports has been that necrophiles have very low self-esteem. Necrophilia has also been a motive for some serial killers (e.g., Jeffrey Dahmer, who ate his victims after killing them).

SEE ALSO *Cannibalism.*

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NEFANDUM

Nefandum is the nominal form of *nefandus* (also *infandus*), which is derived from the Latin *ne* ("not") and *fari* ("to speak"). It is understood in the literal sense as "not to be mentioned" or "unmentionable," hence the phrase *vitium nefandum*, "the unmentionable vice." In classical usage *nefandus* has the more figurative meaning of impious, lawless, or abominable. Jerome follows this usage in the Vulgate when he describes the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah as *nefandi*, that is, acting against God's precepts (2 Peter 2.7).

MEDIEVAL AND EARLY-MODERN USAGE

The association of *nefandus* with what would come to be known as sodomy gained currency as later Christian authors moved toward decidedly sexual readings of the "sin of Sodom." The sixth-century emperor Justinian imposed the death penalty not only on adulterers, as per earlier Roman legislation, but also on those who "carry out their abominable desire (*infandam libidinem*) with [other] men" (*Institutiones* 4.18.4), alleging that such sins, if left unchecked, gave God cause to visit humankind with pestilence and natural disasters. The Venerable Bede's eighth-century commentary on Genesis speaks in broad strokes of the Sodomites' sinfulness, reserving the term *infandus* for the sin of theirs that was specifically sexual (Frantzen 1998) By the eleventh century *nefandus* had become an almost inevitable catchword in discussions of the *crimen contra naturam* (crime against nature), which was understood to be any sexual act that circumvented God's procreative plan (hence *per vas nefandum* [by means of the improper vessel], that is, anal penetration). Peter Damian makes use of the term in his *Liber Gomorrhianus* to decry rampant sodomitic practice among the clergy, calling it a *nefandum vitium* (abominable vice) (Boyd 1994). Albert the Great echoes this formula two centuries later when he digresses from his commentary on the Gospel of Luke to preach against sodomy (Jordan 1997).

Despite its seemingly reductive usage in texts such as these, the *vitium* or *crimen nefandum* functioned for much of the premodern period as sodomy at its most discursively flexible or, rather, as the category within which sodomy was conflated most readily with a host of other infractions, including concubinage, heresy, and lèse-majesté (Chiffoleau 1990). Late medieval sources apply the term *nefandus* equally to sodomy and host profanation, both of which were considered sins so egregious that their mere mention was believed to call down vengeance from heaven. Recourse to the term *nefandus* (understood in its root sense as "not to be mentioned") effectively excused the speaker from naming the sin, just as it legislated silence as the only acceptable response. The impulse to silence persisted well into the modern period, reaching extremes in the eighteenth-century Netherlands, where punishment for the *crimen nefandum*—invariably the "Catholic vice" of sodomy—was meted out in secret to safeguard the public well-being (Van der Meer 1997).

MODERN USAGE

In its turn as "the unmentionable vice," the *vitium nefandum* almost surely gave rise to Lord Alfred Douglas's felicitous turn of phrase formulation "the love that dares not speak its name." So too has *nefandum* (*nefandus* in its nominal form) come to be used as a synonym for sodomy in contemporary discussions of the history of (homo)sexuality. *Crimen nefandum* nonetheless retains in Catholic theology the broader meaning of any egregious act against God, including abortion and infanticide (condemned as *crimina nefanda* in the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, issued by the Second Vatican Council in 1965). In both historical and contemporary contexts, *crimen nefandum* is probably best understood in its generic sense, as an expansive category of egregious crime or sin within which sodomy invariably finds a place; only exceptionally does it assume the reductive meaning of sodomy. Neither is *nefandus* the inevitable Latin term for invoking sodomy's unmentionability—no less an authority than Thomas Aquinas prefers on occasion the term *innominabilis* "unnameable."

SEE ALSO *Sodomy.*

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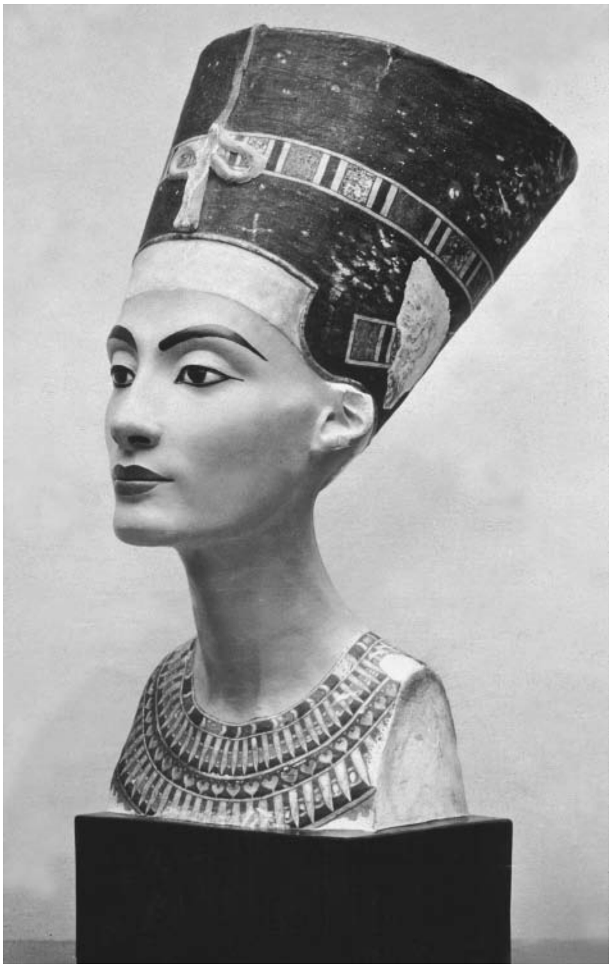
NEFERTITI
1390 BCE–1360 BCE

Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti was queen-consort to Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) of Egypt (r. c. 1353–1335 BCE). She supported her husband in his rejection of the traditional Egyptian pantheon in favor of the worship of one god, a solar deity known as the Aten, and occupied a prominent role in the new state religion. Nefertiti bore her husband six daughters. She vanished from the royal



Nefertiti, Queen of Egypt. *Famous polychromed bust of Nefertiti, Queen of Egypt, fourteenth century* BCE. **ARCHIVE PHOTOS/HIRZ/GETTY IMAGES**

family some time after Akhenaten's twelfth year of rule. No record of her death survives, and her body has never been found.

Egyptological interest in Nefertiti has centered on her political and religious status. A series of images recovered from Thebes (modern Luxor) and from Akhenaten's new capital city, Akhetaten (modern Amarna), show Nefertiti assuming unprecedented privileges. She makes offerings to the Aten, smites the female enemies of Egypt, and adopts a unique flat-topped blue crown similar to the headdress worn by the goddess Tefnut. It is clear that she is a person of immense importance, and some Egyptologists have suggested that she might have been a coregent rather than a queen-consort. Others believe that she was a living goddess: the feminine element in the divine triad of the Aten, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti. Her fecundity and sexuality, constantly emphasized by her exaggeratedly feminine body shape and tightly fitting garments, suggest that she became a living fertility symbol.

The general public is interested primarily in Nefertiti's beauty, as evidenced by the world-famous Berlin bust, which was recovered from the ruins of the Amarna workshop of the sculptor Tuthmosis in 1912.

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Joyce A. Tyldesley

NEUTER

Neuter refers to two different phenomena. It constitutes one class of a grammatical category of nouns called gender. It also is the term used for male animals who have had their testicles removed. The term is rarely applied to human beings except in the context of some works of science fiction that expand gender systems beyond the natural two we assume exist.

In many languages, especially Indo-European and Semitic languages, nouns are classified according to the natural sex of their referents. Thus, the word for "woman" would be classed as a feminine noun and the word for "man" would be classed as a masculine noun. Almost all languages acknowledge this natural gendering and often append a system of gender agreement to these nouns. Gender agreement means that all words associated with the gendered noun—adjectives and pronouns—take their own version of a matching gendered form. For example, in English the pronoun *she* matches with the noun *woman*. In French, adjectives and articles take a different form depending on whether they modify a male or female noun.

In many languages grammatical gender does not always correlate with any natural notion of sex. All nouns have a gender even if they refer to inanimate objects. For example, the word for "table" is grammatically gendered differently in different languages: in French, *la table* is feminine, while in German, *Tisch* is masculine, and in Norwegian, *bord* is neuter. Sometimes feminine nouns are used to refer to males (as in the Spanish noun *persona* [person]) or masculine nouns can refer to females (as in the Spanish *miembro* [member]).

The neuter grammatical gender occurs in Latin, German, Old English, and other languages and usually refers either to people who are too young to have developed a natural gender, such as babies and unmarried females, or to sexless objects. In German, all words with the diminutive endings *-chen* or *-lein* (endings which signal youth or smallness) are neuter even though they refer to females—as in the words *Mädchen* and *Fraulein*, which refer to young women. In English, the system surrounding grammatical gender has collapsed so that the language no longer has neuter nouns. The only vestige of the system that remains is the fact that the gender of pronouns matches to the gender of nouns.

The term *neuter* is also both a noun and a verb that refers to the process of removing an animal's testicles. Called an "orchiectomy," the process renders the animal sterile. The name for the process by which female animals are sterilized is *to spay*. The process by which human males are neutered is called *castration*, while in females the process is called a *hysterectomy*. We generally still refer to neutered animals or humans as their original gender.

Science fiction works, such as Samuel Delaney's "Aye, and Gomorrah ..." or Ursula K. LeGuin's *The Left Hand of Darkness* present characters who are neuter in the sense that they have no specific masculine or feminine gender. These stories imagine worlds in which the compulsive binaries of our own system no longer hold sway, usually because children do not accede to a gender until puberty, or as in the case of *The Left Hand of Darkness*, individuals have a mobile gender depending on sexual circumstances.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny.*

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NEW RELIGIONS, WOMEN'S ROLES IN

The term *new religious movements*, or *NRMs*, refers both to radically new systems of religious belief and practice and to groups that make significant innovations in existing religions. Moreover, the use of the term *new* is often relative, as many religions that bear this label have been in existence for decades, and scholarship on NRMs takes eighteenth- and nineteenth-century movements into account as well. Because NRMs commonly offer their members new perspectives on powerful concepts such as the sacred and the human, and because they often experiment with social structures, they are particularly important to the study of sex and gender in religion. Though NRMs exist around the world and share many of the same general traits, scholarship on women's roles in NRMs has generally focused on U.S. movements.

New religious movements often begin their lives in tension with the surrounding society. They are new and unfamiliar and most cultures expect religion to be old and familiar. Moreover, NRMs often consider their own teachings to be improvements over those of existing religions. Whereas such tensions can lead to the persecution of NRMs, they also disconnect such groups from prevailing social norms, allowing them to experiment with aspects of social organization such as gender roles.

NRMs that withstand the challenges of transition from new religion to established group often leave their experimental nature behind in a process called the *routinization of charisma*. Some groups emerge from this process still in tension with the surrounding society and may consider this state of being central to their identity. Others, such as Seventh-day Adventists and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS church, or Mormons), gradually come into closer conformity with the surrounding culture as they become institutionalized.

Women's roles are not automatically included in the social experimentation of NRMs. Alternative gender roles may be available only for women with a special status, most notably the founders of NRMs, and gender roles that are more liberal than those favored in the broader society are often among the first aspects of a new movement to change as the movement becomes institutionalized. Alternative gender roles in new religious movements also range from those far stricter and more conservative than in the surrounding society to those far more permissive and diverse. Because of the latter possibility, women in U.S. history have repeatedly made names for themselves as the founders and leaders of new religions—even though some of the organizations that grew from those new movements no longer offer women the same prominence.

GODDESSES AND DIVINE MOTHERS

In addition to providing alternative roles for human women, some NRMs also consider the divine to be entirely or partially female. Though female deities and female humans cannot in any way be conflated, when an NRM that encompasses female deities is located in a society where the divine is generally considered to be male, the female divine can sometimes serve as both inspiration and justification for human women's roles in the religion. Among the new religions that have gained some prominence in the United States, one of the earliest women to speak of a female aspect to the divine was Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784), who founded the Shakers in 1770. A Christian sect known for their celibacy and for the ecstatic dance that gave them their name, the Shakers believed that God had both feminine and masculine aspects. Furthermore, they believed that only when both of these aspects had been represented on Earth would the Kingdom of God be at hand. The life of Jesus (6 BCE–30 CE) represented the deity's male aspect; Shakers thus expected the Second Coming of the messiah to be in female form. After Lee's death, some of her followers came to believe that she herself had been the incarnation of God's female aspect.

Other Christian NRMs of the nineteenth-century United States also held that God was both feminine and masculine. As did the Shakers they interpreted this ambisexuality in parental terms, understanding the female aspect of God as mother to be paired with the more traditional Christian image of God as father. Among these were the early LDS church (founded in the 1820s) and Christian Science (founded in the 1860s). Both of these movements retain a concept of the maternal divine, although it has been muted somewhat in the LDS church.

In the latter twentieth century the most prominent purveyors of female divine imagery in the United States were the NRMs that fall under the general rubric of *neopaganism*. These include Wicca, or witchcraft (founded in the 1950s), which claims to be a reemergence of pre-Christian European religions. Though most Wiccans describe the divine as encompassing a goddess and a god, feminist witches and other feminist groups inspired by neopaganism have tended to stress goddess imagery over the male divine, finding in goddess images a direct and powerful route to the affirmation, celebration, and empowerment of human women. This emphasis on the female divine led in the 1980s and 1990s to the rise of the Goddess movement, a loose conglomeration of beliefs, practices, and commodities celebrating (and sometimes appropriating) female divine figures from around the globe and across history.

FOUNDERS AND LEADERS

Perhaps because of prevalent assumptions at the time about the inherent religiosity of women (at least those who were white and middle class), the nineteenth-century United States saw the rise of numerous NRMs founded wholly or in part by women. Lee was a forerunner here; she was followed by Ellen White (1827–1915), whose visions in the mid-1840s confirmed the reinterpretation of William Miller's (1782–1849) millenarian prophecies and thus paved the way for the founding of Seventh-day Adventism. White continued to have visions for many years, and these were central to shaping the Adventist faith. In the late 1860s Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), a contemporary of White's, combined the mental healing practices of the day with

Mary Baker Eddy, Founder of the Christian Science Church. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Christianity in the new religion she named Christian Science, and female as well as male students of Eddy's went on to found non-Christian variations on her teachings that make up the family of metaphysical churches. Other nineteenth-century NRMs also featured women prominently. Beginning in 1848, sisters Maggie (1833–1893) and Kate Fox (1839–1892) hosted séances that became the foundation for Spiritualism, whereas Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Colonel Henry Steele Olcott (1832–1907) blended Spiritualism with rather vague understandings of Hinduism and Buddhism to develop the Theosophical Society in 1875.

The twentieth century saw yet more women founders of NRMs. One of the most famous was the young and dramatic revivalist Aimee Semple McPherson (1890–1944), founder in the early 1920s of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (which, interestingly, does not ordain women despite having been founded by one). More egalitarian was the Peace Mission movement founded by Father Divine (1877–1965) in the second decade of the twentieth century; this religion drew a largely African-American following. After Divine's death in 1965, leadership of his movement was taken over by his wife, a white woman known to her followers as Mother Divine. In the latter part of the twentieth century, following the 1960s resurgence of both feminism and NRMs, several more women came to prominence as founders and leaders. Among them are Gurumayi Chidvilasananda (b. 1955), who took on the leadership of the Hinduism-based Siddha Yoga movement in 1982, and Zsuzsanna Budapest (b. 1940) and Starhawk (b. 1951), founders, respectively, of the Dianic (established in 1971) and Reclaiming (established in 1979) branches of Wicca.

CONSORTS

With the cult scare of the 1970s came increased suspicion that NRMs were the sites of gross sexual improprieties. Though this suspicion was largely unfounded, the social experimentation in NRMs has certainly led to a variety of experiments with sexual norms. At one end of this spectrum are celibate groups, such as the Shakers; at the other are groups such as the nineteenth-century Oneida Perfectionists (in existence from 1840 until 1879), who believed that those whom God had prepared to enter into the sacred kingdom no longer needed earthly institutions such as marriage. The Oneida Perfectionists treated sexual intercourse as any other kind of social activity between a woman and a man; though initiated generally by the male, it was engaged in after an elaborate process of formal invitation and formal acceptance and was expected not to form exclusive bonds between the participants. The twentieth century saw a similar range of heterosexual roles for women, from their status as wives and mothers in the conservative social structure of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON, also known as the Hare Krishnas, founded in 1965) to the widespread sexual permissiveness of Rajneeshpuram (in existence from 1981 until 1985) in central Oregon. Some neopagan groups incorporate symbolic sexuality (usually heterosexual) into their rituals, especially between the high priest and high priestess.

LAY WOMEN

Whereas many NRMs offer greater opportunities for women than do institutionalized religions, NRMs vary immensely and thus are hardly a reliable source of gender equality. Some NRMs, for example, experiment with social structures by making them stricter. This is certainly true of Pentecostal churches, which, despite the prominence of women in their leadership in the early years after the 1906 Azusa Street Revival, have generally not ordained women since at least the mid-twentieth century. The LDS church followed a similar pattern, and both groups became increasingly strict in their gender roles during the wider social changes of the 1930s and 1940s. In Pentecostal groups as well as in the LDS church, gender roles follow a strict binary, with women expected to maintain the home and raise children while their husbands provide financial support. By the late twentieth century, however, some leeway had developed in these roles, allowing women to work even while continuing to place primary value on their roles in the home. Similar norms hold in ISKCON, with the added expectation that once his children are old enough, a man will take ascetic vows and devote himself fully to his religion. Likewise, the Nation of Islam (founded in the 1930s), radical as it is in its understanding of race, offers women strictly conservative roles within the movement. Such gender role strictness has served as a source of stability for some women, such as young women who find in ultra-Orthodox Judaism a clarity of rules and guidelines in stark contrast to the casual autonomy of sexual ethics in mainstream U.S. culture.

NRMs also offer egalitarian roles for women. The Oneida Perfectionists, for example, were among the first to popularize bloomers, and their founder, believing pregnancy to be both burdensome and risky for women, advocated birth control on the part of men. Theosophy and Spiritualism also offered nineteenth-century U.S. women significant freedom, and women's public work as mediums prepared many Spiritualist women for suffragist activism. In the latter half of the twentieth century, a plethora of NRMs offered egalitarian roles for laywomen, ranging from the feminist focus of the Goddess movement and some branches of Wicca to an insistence on the irrelevance of gender in movements such as Siddha Yoga.

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NIN, ANAÏS

1903–1977

A prolific author, eroticist, and arts advocate and commentator, Anaïs Nin is known for her sensitive explorations and portrayals of female sensuality. Nin used ideas from psychoanalysis, surrealism, and the visual arts and dance as ways to express experiences of feminine sexuality. Nin published more then twenty-five novels and collections of work, but she is best known for her *Diary*, which she began writing as a child and which she started publishing in abridged versions in the 1960s.

Nin was born in Neuilly, France, on February 21, 1903. Both of her parents were musicians. Her father, Joaquín Nin, was a Catalan pianist and composer who performed internationally, and her Danish mother, Rosa, a singer. When she was eight, Nin moved to New York City with her mother after her parents had separated. On this first trip to New York, Nin began keeping what was to become her famous diary as a letter to her absent father.

Anaïs Nin. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Nin and her mother struggled in New York, running a boardinghouse. Nin attended school and learned English, had a brief career as a model, and finally went to Cuba to stay with a wealthy relative and find a rich husband. Hugh Guiler, whom she had first met in New York, came to Cuba in 1923, and married Nin. The two moved to Paris in 1924 where Hugh had a job in a bank. France was both a fascinating and frightening place for Nin. She wished to help her brother's career as a pianist, yet she was afraid to face her father again. She began to write and befriend artists.

After the stock market crash of 1929 forced Guiler and Nin to move to the small village of Louveciennes, Nin took her writing more seriously. While continuing to write in her diary, she had by 1931 produced her first book, *D. H. Lawrence: An Unprofessional Study*, which was published the following year. During this time as well, Nin began seeing the Austrian analyst Otto Rank, worked as a lay analyst herself, and became Rank's lover. She also became a part of the Villa Seurat group of artists that included Henry Miller. She was fascinated with Miller, and helped him survive as an impoverished writer. She began a romantic relationship with both Miller and his wife, June. Nin continued writing, publishing her prose poem *House of Incest* (1936); which treated her relationship with the Millers; *Winter of Artifice* (1939), in which she tried to work through her feelings about her father; and a collection of stories, *Under a Glass Bell* (1944). She became friends with the British author Lawrence Durrell, and went back and forth from Paris to New York, keeping her husband and lovers separate.

The beginning of World War II forced Americans, including Nin, back to New York, where she continued writing both her diary and a new series of novels focused on female sensuality. Enjoying the influx of artistic excitement from surrealism, admiring Miller's poetic and joyous realism, and working in tandem with her husband who had become a film maker and illustrator, Nin wrote a series of novels she titled *Cities of the Interior*, which included *Ladders to Fire* (1946), *Children of the Albatross* (1947), *The Four-Chambered Heart* (1950), *A Spy in the House of Love* (1954), and *Solar Barque* (1958). These novels focused on different types of women engaged in art and love. She also published a collection of essays on writing itself, *On Writing* (1947). Frustrated by difficulties she encountered trying to publish her work, Nin bought her own printing press and began to make handcrafted books. During this time as well, she wrote erotica for a dollar per page, which was collected and published posthumously as *The Delta of Venus* (1977).

Continuing her relation to literary culture in New York, Nin became friends with a younger generation of writers, including Gore Vidal and Robert Duncan. She appeared in a film directed by the experimental filmmaker Maya Deren. She also continued writing novels, including *Seduction of the Minotaur* (1961) and *Collages* (1964). In 1966 she published the first volume of her *Diary*, a volume focusing on her early experiences in Paris with the Millers. Nin's *Diary* volumes are not simply published versions of her day-to-day thoughts, but are crafted around themes and carefully omit mention of her husband, Hugh. Containing dialogue and rendering memories as dramatic scenes, the *Diary* combines the forms of confession, description, and a novelistic sensibility. Nin published seven volumes of her *Diary*.

The publication of the *Diary* spurred interest in Nin's other works, many of which were reissued in the 1960s and 1970s. In the late 1960s and early 1970s as well, Nin became a spokeswoman for the possibilities of women as artists. She conducted a lecture tour through college campuses in the United States, speaking to women's groups and raising the question of how women can also be artists given the way women have been culturally defined. She also exhorted women to participate in what she saw as the passion of art as a way to express a much needed perspective. Her lectures were collected and published in 1975.

Nin died in Los Angeles on January 14, 1977. Soon after her death, her literary estate published the erotica she had written anonymously during her life and began publishing unexpurgated versions of her diaries. A special collection of correspondence between her and Henry Miller was published as *A Literary Passion* (1987). Nin envisioned her role as an artist to have been a courageous one. As she said, "And the day came when the risk to remain tight in a bud was more painful than the risk it took to blossom." She also saw art as a passionate necessity: "If you do not breathe through writing, if you do not cry out in writing, or sing in writing, then don't write, because our culture has no use for it."

SEE ALSO *Miller, Henry.*

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NIPPLE CLIPS

SEE *Sex Aids.*

NOCTURNAL EMISSIONS

SEE *Wet Dreams.*

NOMADISM

Nomads in the Middle East, Eurasia, and Africa share some notions about gender and also demonstrate variations. These similarities and differences stem from factors relating to the specific histories, geographies, ecologies, economics, politics, and cultures of nomads and their contacts with settled agricultural societies and with urban and state institutions. Along with occupation, age, and familial status, gender is a significant organizing principle for many nomads. Studies of nomadic societies often detail men's activities but neglect women's, especially their roles beyond domestic domains.

Nomadic societies depend on mobility and animal husbandry, and their principal livestock include one or more species (camels, sheep, goats, cattle, horses, yaks, reindeer). (Gatherers and hunters as well as itinerant occupational specialists such as craft-makers and musicians are not included here.) Despite the policies of most states to settle the nomads living within their borders, mobile pastoralism is often the most efficient and sustainable way of utilizing arid, semiarid, and high-altitude lands, even in the twenty-first century. Some scholars empoly the phrase *mobile pastoralists* instead of *nomads* to reflect the deceasing number of people who are nomadic year-round and to avoid the romantic connotations associated with the term *nomads*. Pastoralists use mobility to respond to changes in the physical and social environment, to meet their animals' nutritional needs, to exploit different kinds of markets, and to express cultural values relating to identity and autonomy. By being mobile, they can also distance themselves from state institutions and other exogenous forces.

Experiencing rapid changes in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, many nomads have adopted new patterns of livelihood, mobility, residence, and social organization. Continuing mobility can be compatible with technologically advanced and profit-oriented economic activities. Some nomads maintain town as well as rural residences, and family members move between them in order to receive formal education and diversify their economies.

Afghan Nomad Family Roaming the Desert. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

People having nomadic pastoral backgrounds may still consider themselves nomads after they adopt more permanent residences and new livelihoods that decrease their mobility. Being a nomad remains a vital cultural construct for them, regardless of economic changes. Such an identity also overlaps with tribal, ethnic, linguistic, and regional affiliations.

Nomads in widely dispersed locations demonstrate similar gender patterns because of their common pastoral livelihoods, migrations, heavy workloads, independent households, and small, often-isolated camps of extended families. Men and women may share ownership and control of the livestock and other possessions. All family members, including young children, perform multiple tasks requiring competency. Men's and women's roles in pastoral production tend to be complementary, not hierarchical, and men and women exercise some autonomy in the different facets of their lives. They each acquire status if they produce and especially control valued commodities, including the profits from bartering or selling them. Women who weave items for the commercial market, for example, tend to hold higher status than women who do not produce externally valued goods. Women usually control the domestic domain, especially by preparing and distributing food, and exercise influence there. Men rely on women to feed and care for them, raise children, and manage the home. If women also exert authority in domains beyond the household and close family, their overall status in the larger community may rise. In any nomadic society, the structure and function of marriage, families, households, and groups based on kinship, tribal ties, co-residence, and cooperative tasks and rituals help to determine gender roles there.

Nomads often belong to tribal groups, whose structure and leadership assist people in asserting autonomy when confronted by states and other exogenous forces. Men, not women, serve as the formal leaders in most nomadic societies, although women may influence local-level politics by linking their natal and marital families (most brides leave their parents' household and join their husband's). Men mediate with outside powers on behalf of their tribes. Women do not ordinarily play such a role, because their personal mobility is more restricted than men's, and they perform their essential tasks at home. Many nomadic societies value men's physical strength and courage, and they instill in boys the qualities necessary for becoming effective warriors and herders.

The cultural systems of nomads across this vast area differ more widely than most other dimensions of their lives. Many mobile pastoralists in east Africa, for example, practice elaborate rituals of male and female initiation, while those in the Middle East are less likely to do so. Representations of women, as in song, poetry, and dance, also vary. Codes of male honor and female modesty may or may not be essential values that influence the conduct of interpersonal relationships. All nomads find solace and strength in religion and ritual, but many participate less often in the beliefs and practices of universal religions (such as Islam and Buddhism) than the settled people in nearby societies. Nomadic women often play a more active role in local religious and ritual expressions than do men, such as by making pilgrimages to local shrines to increase their chances for successful pregnancies.

Wider regional, national, and global forces cause changes in the lives of nomads everywhere, some of which bring modernization and improve the physical quality of life, while others threaten customary lifestyles. Although nomadic pastoralists use marginal territories efficiently and sustainably, many of the states in which they reside pressure them to settle but rarely provide adequate services to ease the transition. These and other political, economic, social, and cultural changes often affect men more directly than women, at least initially. When nomads adopt modern technology, such as motorized transport, men usually control the new devices and techniques, while women continue to rely on traditional practices. Expanding market economies may affect men more directly than women, because men are more likely to sell the family's products in markets and to accept employment in the wider society. Increased access to modern education often affects boys more than girls. Formal education may lead to new kinds of jobs, and males are better positioned than females to respond to the opportunities. Men seek legal, economic, veterinary, and infrastructural services from the state; women stress the importance for their families of clean water, improved healthcare, better nutrition, and accessible schools. Because men (and society in general) view women as the primary caregivers and may regard them as needing protection, women tend to restrict their activities to the home and the local community. By contrast, men often participate in the processes of national integration and assimilation more than women and thereby receive more directly the benefits and detriments (such as being conscripted by national armies and sent to war). Despite dramatic changes in their economic and political lives, nomads often retain a strong sense of tribal, ethnic, linguistic, and regional identity.

Qashqa'i nomadic pastoralists in southwestern Iran say that their distinctive society and culture offer them freedoms that the Islamic Republic and its ruling Muslim clergy deny to most other citizens. As an ethnolinguistic minority in the Persian-dominated nation-state of Iran, the Qashqa'i stress the resiliency of their own tribal society and strive to maintain their unique culture. Since the 1978–1979 revolution that overthrew a secular, modernizing regime and installed a repressive Islamic Republic, Qashqa'i men and women have retained their distinctive ceremonies and clothing despite the new government's policy of forbidding comparable expressions throughout Iran. Qashqa'i women still wear their customary attire (including a translucent headscarf) in most public places, even when they visit cities, while other women in Iran must cover their heads and bodies in state-mandated fashion.

Some scholars note the relatively high status of nomadic pastoral women, compared to women living in nearby settled societies, including those who share their religion. They attribute this trait to the often-egalitarian sharing of tasks by men and women in their independent households, and they focus on women's ownership of property, local-level personal freedoms, and influence in wider kinship and tribal groups. As nomadic women increase their contact with sedentary, state-integrated societies characterized by strong religious institutions, they may lose some autonomy and influence and become more similar to women living there. Because of widespread economic and social changes, including new livelihoods for men, some women may become more dependent on, and subordinate to, men than they had been in the past. Other women may be able to exploit these new circumstances, such as by selling their products in local markets, and may create a more comfortable lifestyle for themselves and their families. Expanding educational opportunities for both males and females may also enhance their chances for new kinds of jobs, some of which allow them to continue their nomadic practices.

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Lois Beck
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NOSE

The nose has signified sexuality, sexual appetite, and sexual character in many cultures throughout history. The Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE–c. 18 CE) associated a large nose with a large penis, and Renaissance playwright and poet Philip Massinger (1583–1640) used nose length in a woman as a measure of feminine ardor. Certainly, nose length has played a part in sexual selection and beauty standards; the philosopher Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) famously remarked that if Egyptian queen Cleopatra's (69 BCE–30 BCE) nose had been a little larger—and thus, one supposes, a little less beautiful—the history of the world may have been quite different. Early sex researchers such as Havelock Ellis noted a pronounced interest in smell among many peoples of the earth, which led him to speculate that kissing may have developed in cultures that particularly prized body odor in the sexual selection of partners.

Science has debunked any direct correlation between nose size and the size of one's penis or clitoris, but the belief persists that one can judge a man's endowments by other, more visible, body parts, such as his nose or feet, and this belief is enshrined in literature and popular culture. Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (2003 [1794]), one of the great eighteenth-century English novels, is an extended dirty joke about a man with a large nose and the women attracted to him because of it. An extension of this logic of body-part size to genital endowment is reflected in a Miller Genuine Draft beer advertisement from 2000 that uses the tag line "Never Miss a Genuine Opportunity" to show how a man upset about having to take size 19 shoes at a bowling alley when all the other sizes run out comes to realize that the sight of his feet in the shoes also causes disinterested women to suddenly and drastically revise their opinion of him.

While they receive less overt attention than a woman's breasts, noses are becoming ever more important as beauty and sexual signifiers. Scientific interest in pheromones as chemical communicators of human desire and sexual receptivity has grown in recent years, making the nose increasingly important as a sexual organ in its own right. Nose bobs, or *nose jobs*, are becoming more and more common among adolescent girls in the United States, in large part because almost every Hollywood actress these days has had her nose surgically altered to make her face appear smaller, younger, and more childlike. The extent to which *bobbing* the nose replicates and reinforces white and European and North American beauty ideals at the expense of Semitic, African, or Asian noses makes such surgery the subject of hot debate, but it remains a cliché in the United States that many a Jewish girls of means will get her nose done before college. Nose piercing, first recorded in the Middle East approximately 4,000 years ago, has grown more popular around the world, as has body piercing more generally. Entertainers such as Madonna (b. 1958) and Lenny Kravitz (b. 1964) have pierced noses, and nose jewelry is becoming more and more socially acceptable and mainstream, perhaps because the nose itself is becoming more and more socially and aesthetically important.

SEE ALSO *Mucous Membranes.*

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Jaime Hovey

NUDE IN VISUAL ARTS

Etymologically, the English word *nude* comes from the Latin *nudus* meaning "naked" or "bare," as in a state of undress or primordial nakedness. The phrase *in the nude* or *the nude*, however, has come to signify works of art, cultural conventions, and socioreligious attitudes in the West. Thereby, the category of the nude connotes a Western cultural ideology, while nudity is a universal human condition of being without clothes or cover. As sex is biological, art works representing sex depend upon the reality of physical characteristics from broad shoulders to genitalia. Gender, however, is a social and cultural classification of masculinity and femininity historically defined; thereby, artistic depictions of gender are a result of the cultural processes of defining sexual and social identity. Present throughout the history of Western art, the decision to portray the nude and the affixed characteristics of gender are more than an artistic conviction to present an object of art, beauty, or anatomy; rather it is a decision premised on a moral issue simply stated as: What is the character and meaning of nudity?

CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS OF THE NUDE

While earlier critics, historians, and cultural commentators discussed the artistic or religious values reflected by works of art, whether literary or visual, in which the figures were described as naked, it was the British artist Walter Sickert who wrote (in 1910) the first formal critical discussion of the nude as a convention of academic art. However, it was the presentation of the 1953 Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts by the art historian Kenneth Clark (1903–1983) that defined the categories of analyses for both the meaning and motif of the nude in Western art and cultural history. Both Clark's lectures, and his 1956 book, were subtitled "A Study in Ideal Form," thereby signifying that this motif was not simply an iconographic or visual theme but rather an idea supported or negated by particular cultural, philosophic, religious, and societal attitudes toward the human body and sexuality. To be nude was more than a state of undress but rather the embodiment of the classical Greek philosophic, religious, and social understandings of the human person, human dignity, human anatomy, and artistic creativity. To be naked was to be deprived of one's clothes, signifying that state of human finitude and guilt premised on what was characterized by Clark as the Christian attitude toward the human person, the human body, and thereby sexuality.

Since the 1956 publication of Clark's now-classic *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, a variety of responses have come to shape discussions and interests in the nude. The most obvious have been his initiation of critical analyses of the distinctions between the naked and the nude, and the role of the nude as an artistic category, and the academic debate as to the positives and negatives of Clark's well-honed thesis ranging from the architect and social historian Bernard Rudofsky's *The Unfashionable Human Body* (1971) to the art historian Margaret Walters's *The Nude Male* (1978). Perhaps the most provocative and far-reaching "contra Clark" presentation was the Marxist analysis offered by John Berger in both his BBC television series and the companion book *Ways of Seeing* (1972), which focused on the relationship between the viewer and the nude. An early attempt at what was later identified as "response theory," Berger's study called attention to the erotic and the materialist responses situated in the spectator of representations of male and female bodies in various media—paintings, sculptures, photographs, cinema, television, and advertising. Thereby, Berger opened the door for the emerging feminist arguments about woman as subject, object, or creator of works of art as he emphasized in his discussions the female nude and the (sexual) response of male viewers.

The 1960s movements of the marginalized—that is, groups previously unstudied or neglected, including women, racial and ethnic groups, and regional and class identities—brought new questions and new attention to Clark's discussion of the nude. Feminist scholarship expanded the boundaries of the questions raised against the idea of the nude, especially those related to images of the female versus the male nude—the former denoting passive sex object and male voyeurism and the latter expressing male power and societal authority. Art images, particularly those of women as subjects or objects, were no longer perceived as being benign or neutral expressions of aesthetic values or artistic creativity. For feminist artists, critics, and scholars, the nude was a social and political minefield created by male artists for a male audience as signified by *le regard*, or the gaze, and by male art historians voicing admiration for the figuration of male beauty and cultural power. As the feminist movement gave birth to a multiplicity of academic and critical modes of analyses premised on sex and gender, including gay studies, men's studies, and eventually gender studies, new questions were raised related to the object, subject, creator, patronage, and spectator of the nude. Further, as the twentieth century gave way to the twenty-first, the growing presence and confidence of what were previously identified as "alternate lifestyles"—from homosexuality, both gay men and lesbian women, to interracial heterosexuality to transvestites, bisexuality, and androgyny—furthered the categories of sex and gender as well as the questions and interpretations of the nude. As gender stereotypes were challenged, the psychology of response voiced, and the social dominance of white men criticized, the boundaries and categories for the nude, as defined initially by Clark, were expanded.

Finally, the academic and wider cultural investigations centering on "the body" evolved in the late 1980s into additional new ways of seeing and interpreting the nude. Not necessarily limited by cultural or societal definitions of gender or sexuality, these investigative analyses sought venues through the ever-increasing attitudes shaped by modern medicine and medical advances, the growing recognition of multicultural perceptions of the human body as a category of ethnic and racial as well as individual identity, and the insights offered by careful analyses of particular aspects of the body proper, such as Marilyn Yalom's *A History of the Breast* (1997), or of bodily effluvia, such as Tom Lutz's *Crying: The Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (1999). Combined with this recognition of the reality of multiculturalism and globalization, the interest in the body has brought new challenges to the artistic presentations and critical discussions of the nude.

SURVEY OF THE NUDE IN WESTERN ART FROM THE MIDDLE AGES INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Found in every civilization in human history, artistic representations of the male or female figure as nude are premised on a visual legacy bequeathed from ancient Egypt, India, Persia, and Cyprus to classical Greece and Rome to Renaissance Florence and Baroque Rome to nineteenth-century Paris and twentieth-century New York. The reality, however, is that there are vast differences in cultural, philosophic, religious, and societal attitudes toward these artistic images. Without doubt, Western art is premised on the classical Greek legacy but tempered from the early Christian period by two distinctive attitudes toward the nude as the ideal perfection of humanity and as the physical witness of human finitude and guilt. From the formal beginnings of Christian art in the fourth century, contemporary to the theological treatises of Augustine and Jerome, the human body was rarely rendered artistically in a naturalistic manner. Presentations of nude, or naked, figures were either reserved for biblical personalities or rendered as "secular art" (read pornography). The biblical narrative of Adam and Eve was interpreted as that of the "primordial nudes," and as Christian history evolved they became the sign and symbol of what should and should not be exposed. Sadly, from an artistic perspective, the first biblical presentation of the nude was within the context of the "forbidden fruit."

As the early Christian and Byzantine worlds evolved into the Middle Ages, the artistic presentations of the nude—whether male or female—were transferred into biblical figures such as Bathsheba (at the bath). Although perhaps the most numerous in medieval art, the figure of the Virgin Mary while depicted as the role model and ideal for Christian women was characterized as disembodied in terms of female sexuality or feminine sensuality. The visual and thereby the cultural emphasis was on the spiritual values she represented, from motherhood to piety and salvation. To characterize, then, the medieval attitude toward sex and gender in the visualization of the nude, attention must be given to the majority of images that can be identified under the umbrella of Christian art. Fundamentally, whether male or female in biological identity, these figures are appropriate to the narratives of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures; therefore, Adam and Eve, Bathsheba, David, Susannah, Salome, and Jesus of Nazareth are presented in states of total or partial undress totally dependent upon the narrative episode. The fundamental interpretation of nudity as a sign of shame was highlighted by the postures and gestures of these individual figures. Regardless of biological sex, these figures did not stand erect with their heads held high or their shoulders relaxed in the posture of the classical Greek nudes. Instead, these "Christian nudes" were identifiable by their stooped stances, forward bent heads, hunched shoulders, and attempted coverings wrought by bent arms and open palms. Alternatively, demons and devils are identified, if not characterized, by artistic presentations of their almost celebratory nudity, which connotes wanton sexuality and unbridled sensuality—two traits deemed inappropriate for Christians. Further moralistic lessons related to sex and gender in the nude in the visual arts can be read into the late medieval development of *Weibermacht*, or power of woman, by which naked women physically or sexually maltreat men; *Weibermacht* illustrates the uncontrollable sexual lust of women to which many medieval Christian theologians, following Augustine and Jerome, credit the fall of humanity through Adam and Eve.

Renaissance artists (and writers) voiced an interest in gender issues, especially the changing societal role of the feminine, in light of the humanist discussions of the nature of woman and the position of the female in the larger culture. This new perspective was hampered by the emergence, or actually the reemergence, of the Aristotelian interpretation of women as imperfect and inferior to men. Whereas the depictions, particularly the portraits, of women connote the archetypal definitions of beauty and social propriety, those of men are identified through the emblems of their professional or social status. Feminist commentators on Renaissance art identify the lesser presence of female figures—in postures and positions of dominance—as a continuation of the traditional Christian perspective of woman as either virgin (ideal) or whore (misogyny), but there are other criteria to be considered especially with regard to the artistic depiction of the nude.

For example, the recognizable "nakedness" of both Adam and Eve in Masaccio's (1401–1428) famed *Expulsion from Paradise* can be described fairly as being within Clark's characterization of the Christian depiction

"Birth of Venus." *A tempera painting on canvas by Sandro Botticelli, c. 1485 with Chloris Zephyrus Spring.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/ DAGLI ORTI.**

of the otherwise naked form as sign and symbol of finitude and guilt. However, the expanding borders of cultural, philosophic, and religious attitudes in light of the advance of humanism, even unto Christian humanism, supports the visual innovation of a classical nude goddess in the recognizable pose of the *Venus pudica* in the mythological landscape of Sandro Botticelli's (1445–1510) *Birth of Venus* was a metaphor for the new cultural and philosophic order represented by the Renaissance. Alternatively, the classical nude was reaffirmed in its dialectic of masculine activity and power versus feminine passivity and inertia when Giorgione (c. 1477–1511) introduced his new motif of the reclining female nude in *Sleeping Venus* (c. 1510). This Renaissance topos was characterized by the frontal presentation of the figure who was asleep or in reverie, the absence of pubic hair, and the presence of jewelry in contrast to the absence of clothing. This new way of seeing the female nude in relation to both the male artist and the viewer was taken to the next level of artistic and erotic engagement by Titian (1488 or 1490–1576) in his many presentations of a reclining or sleeping Venus, most famously in his *Venus of Urbino* (1538–1539).

A visual survey of Western images identified as "erotic"—and, thereby, the key focus of late-twentieth-century interpretations of gender in art—is dependent upon the crucial identifying elements of nudity and female sexuality. Artists of both the Renaissance and the Baroque period continued to validate, and expand, these two descriptors in light of the medieval category of demonology transformed into female sorcery and witchcraft. Popular in the works of northern European artists such as Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) and Hans Baldung (called Hans Grien; c. 1484–1545) as the Renaissance turned into the Baroque, witches were a cultural move fostered by the evolution of the Reformation and reformist culture, especially in its attitude toward women. Given the Aristotelian stance that women were imperfect men, and the Christian tenet of uncontrollable lust as basic to female nature, women were identified as more susceptible to witchcraft, and the earlier cultural idea of female sorcery evolved into witchcraft. The eventual publication of the *Malleus maleficarum* (1486; *Hammer of Witches*) was prompted by the growing fear of women, especially of the power of woman, and resulted in the witch-hunts and trials that destroyed the lives of more than a million women. Such gender-related activities influenced the arts as paintings, and the less expensive and more accessible prints and engravings featured profane nudity as unsightly, naked witches "turned the world upside" as they rode their broomsticks, physically tortured or raped men, and swallowed infants and children.

Alternatively, the northern European Baroque painters Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Rembrandt (1609–1669) created extraordinarily intimate portrayals of female nudity in the former's *Hélène Fourment with Fur Cloak (The Furlet*; c. 1638–1640*)* and the latter's *Bathsheba at Her Bath* (1654). In these works, and others like them, the female figure is rendered with a realistic naturalism, so that the classical idealization of the female form and Christian misogyny were eliminated from the frame. The fundamental categories of femininity—bodily softness, physical warmth, and emotional power—evidenced herein witness the development of an alternate approach to both gender and nudity, and the relationship between artist and model enlarged the traditional dichotomous approach to woman as either virgin or whore by the consideration of woman as wife, companion, and lover.

The modern convention of the nude is premised on the duality of the political, social, and cultural revolutions of the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, and the eventual revolutions wrought by the marginalized in the mid- to late twentieth century. Perhaps the greatest artistic exponent of the modern nude was the French realist painter Gustave Courbet (1819–1877), who freed the nude from the conventions of mythology and religion in works as enigmatic as *The Painter's Studio* (1855) and as rebellious as *The Origin of the World* (1866). Courbet's innovations led to later nineteenth-century artists such as Édouard Manet (1832–1883) and his paintings of defiant prostitutes and Edgar Degas (1834–1917) and his paintings of bathers; in both of these artists' portrayals the nude, and the female nude in particular, garnered new interpretive meanings and status. As Clark would attest, the reference to the nude in the classical world was to the male figure, but by the mid-nineteenth century this reference had shifted in both gender identity and cultural attitude to the female figure. This transformation was accompanied by the formal admission of women into art academies and eventually into life drawing classes (with male nude models), an act that raised the question of whether the so-called male gaze was clearly related to sex or gender, could be emulated by women artists, or perhaps more dramatically could be challenged by a "female gaze."

An alternate but perhaps equally significant artistic perspective on the nude in the nineteenth century arose with the emergence and maturation of Orientalism in the arts. Initially a Romantic expression of the allure and mystique of the *exotique* in the paintings of Eugène Délacroix (1798–1863), Orientalism and Orientalist nudes in the later works of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingrés (1780–1867) and especially Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904) are visual examples of the continuation of sexism and patriarchalism merged with racism and voyeurism. Gérôme's images of the female nude, as in *The Slave Market* (c. 1867), are a paramount example of woman as sex object on display for the voyeuristic pleasure and power of a male audience—both inside and outside of the frame. Similarly, the depiction of the snake encircling the nude male youth in Gérôme's *The Snake Charmer* (c. 1870) denotes the erotic and sexual fantasies otherwise sublimated in the Western "high art" tradition that are somehow acceptable when placed in a location outside the West. The eroticism of gender identities expands beyond the boundaries of appropriate social mores and behavior through a depiction of desire in "the other."

Meanwhile, other artists vacillated between the asexuality and eroticism of the nude in Western art. Academic painters such as Adolphe-William Bouguereau (1825–1905) continued to paint their idealized and curiously asexual nudes into the early twentieth century, while the Symbolists such as Gustave Moreau (1826–1898), Art Nouveau artists such as Aubrey Vincent Beardsley (1872–1898), and fin-de-siècle painters such as Gustav Klimt (1862–1918) infused blatant sexuality and eroticism in depictions of the nude, especially of the female nude. Throughout the twentieth century, artists continued to grapple through a variety of artistic styles and media ranging from the cubist fragmentations of Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) to the surrealism of Salvador Dali (1904–1989) and Paul Delvaux (1893–1994) to the abstract expressionism of Willem de Kooning (1904–1997) to the photography of Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989) to image the nude as object and subject, as a carrier of cultural meaning and social mores, and as a significant venue for societal discussions of sex and gender.

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Diane Apostolos-Cappadona

NUDIST CAMPS

Individuals of all genders have chosen to go naked and have been fascinated by the naked human body for centuries. The history of nudism is neither brief nor linear, but the idea of organized nudity, as in the case of nudist camps, emerged at about the time humanity began to form civilizations. Closely related to nudism, the practice of naturism focuses on the ethical aspects of going without clothing. Although a nudist is more apt to seek out social settings such as a membership-based club, a naturist tends to seek out a more pointedly outdoor setting such as a beach, the mountains, or the woods. Naturists argue that nudity is the most basic and pure form of existence, whereas nudists treat that state as temporary and give it a special place within a largely traditional lifestyle.

Social nudity, along with the inception of the nudist camp, was not accepted in mainstream culture until the twentieth century, when public nudity was becoming a feature of everyday life in Europe. For example, in the 1920s naturism and nude bathing were common in Germany and set the stage for further exploration of nudity in other cultures.

SOCIAL NUDISM AS A RESPONSE TO MODERNITY

In the middle to late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, as a response to the progress-driven, alienating effects of modern life, some individuals defined social nudity as a return to a more "Edenic" life. For example, Henry David Thoreau, the author of *Walden*, chose to live in the woods to retreat from a civilization that did not embody the optimism it claimed. In her essay on early nudism as a movement that critiques modernity, Ruth Barcan points out that "[a]lienation from nature and from the authentic self, the loss of the sacred, the destruction of traditional ways of life, and the drabness of life in industrial cities are all key modern themes" (Barcan 2004b, p. 64). Early twentieth century discourse struggled with the rejection and embrace of the positive and negative aspects of modernity. In early nudist writing the Christian metaphor of the fall often is expressed as both a critique of modernity and a "nostalgic attempt to imagine a return to Edenic perfection and a utopian projection forward to an imagined era of healthful egalitarianism" (Barcan 2004b, p. 64).

In their utopian critique of the alienating effects of modern civilization, social nudists, many of whom were Christians, argued for a reexamination of the biblical analysis of the origin of bodily shame. Instead of reading the Bible with "naïve literalism," modern Christians attempted to "repudiate dualism" and see the body in its purest state: "an original, sinless form" (Barcan 2004b, p. 66). Nudists pointed out that the body was much more erotically charged when clothed than when completely nude. Further, they viewed clothing as an emblem of materialism and vanity. Most important, perhaps, they argued that the modesty and shame surrounding nudity, experienced primarily by women, were "socially induced rather than inherent, and that the forms and standards of modesty were culturally relative" (Barcan 2004b, p. 66).

In 1933 a well-known proponent of nudism, the Reverend C. E. Norwood, pointed out that nudism cannot be possible without the participation of both males and females. Although most nudist writers were male during that time, they acknowledged and supported women's rights (Norwood 1933, p. 67). Female writers also were beginning to speak out about the health benefits of nudity. For example, the German physician Bess Mensendieck "advocated nudity as a means of enhancing women's body esteem, strength and beauty" (Barcan 2004b, p. 67). As a precursor to nudist camps, the "gymnosophy" movement in Germany played an important role in encouraging women to embrace the healthful effects of nudity, which was thought to bring men and women together because it rendered "visible natural [anatomical] differences, thus ending deception about bodies; destroying the idea that sex—especially women's sex—is mysterious and inexplicable … and encouraging comradeship between the sexes" (Barcan 2004b, p. 68). The gymnosophy movement, which, according to Matthew Jefferies, was "based on the classical Greek ideal of harmony between mind, body, and soul," conflated athleticism with nudism (Jefferies 2006, p. 73).

The modern notion that modesty is a source of women's oppression and is "forced" upon women fueled the quest of the nudist movement for egalitarianism between the sexes. As it evolved into the naturism movement, the nudist movement placed great emphasis on women's bodies as being "essentially" connected to nature. The "naturalness" of the nude body still is considered a central tenet of nudism (and naturism, which is the more popularized form of nudism).

In Germany nudist camps focused primarily on the importance of exercising naked in the outdoors. That created a conflict for supporters of the Third Reich because although they extolled the values of athleticism and bodily perfection, they condemned the profanity of the naked body. As a result many nudists were cautious about presenting themselves as socialist "cranks" who loved vegetarianism and the "primitive" back-to-nature movement. Instead, those nudists, including Norwood, "self-consciously ... combined ... love of nature with a love of progress" in order to present an image of integrity (Barcan 2004b, p. 69).

HELIOTHERAPY AND "SUN WORSHIP"

Germany was one of the first countries to call wide attention to nudism, following the Greeks. The rich and complicated (and often conflicted) history of nudism embodies the ambivalence that many people still experience in regard to the naked body. The emergence of "body culture" in the early twentieth century brought a deeper awareness to this cultural ambivalence, especially during the Third Reich. Proponents of nudism, including Norwood and Dr. Maurice Parmelee (1929), visited Germany in the 1920s and were struck by the presence of nudist colonies, along with the interest in athleticism and sun-related health. Accompanying nudism was a fairly unrestrictive lifestyle, especially in and around Berlin: "[t]he apparent popularity of naturism and nude bathing in 1920s Germany is usually portrayed as an example of [a] liberated and cosmopolitan climate" (Jefferies 2006, p. 63).

German naturism, which included nudist camps, clubs, and colonies, centered on the forested areas of the country and was "a product of the Empire rather than the Republic, and was already established as part of the wider lifestyle reform movement before 1914" (Jeffries 2006, p. 63). Under the Third Reich, although naturism reflected divisions between "racist-reactionary" and "emanicipatory-progressive strands" of the culture, it did not come to an end. Instead, it generated greater interest in the history of sexuality and the cult of beauty and health (Jeffries 2006, p. 64).

Heliotherapy, or sun cure, overlapped in popularity with naturalism in Germany as well as other parts of Europe, including France and England. The sun cure helped establish the "rational" purposes of nudism in the early twentieth century, particularly in sun-deprived areas, where white skin signified illness. Barcan points out that "[h]eliotherapists advocated nude sun-bathing to counteract diseases such as tuberculosis (TB), rickets, anemia, rheumatism, and pulmonary infections" (Barcan 2004b, p. 71). Those therapists also encouraged people living in urban settings to escape often to sunny, "natural" settings where the air was not choked with coal smoke.

Heliotherapy also was associated with racial health; in particular, the concern over the health and beauty of the white race overlapped with sun worship. Hitler was opposed to naturism and the presence of nudist camps but supported the notion of a healthy and beautiful race of people, further emphasizing the ambivalence of attitudes during that time. Barcan states that "[n]udism was in no simple way aligned with either eugenics or German fascism," but the Third Reich strongly emphasized the neoclassical images of male nudes as emblems of perfection and health (Barcan 2004b, p. 75). In the 1930s the humanitarian aims of nudism often ran up against the presence of nationalism and progress worship as part of the body culture that emerged before and during the Third Reich.

As nudists claimed that clothing creates and marks class and gender distinctions, they also claimed that the absence of clothing could be a way to renounce mass production and materialism in capitalist societies. As Barcan claims, "many nudist leaders were socialists" (Barcan 2004b, p. 77). The nudist and naturist movements have had a consistently utopian bent, arguing for gender, race, and class equality since their inception. During the Third Reich the naturism movement intensified and transformed into subcultures (both heterosexual and homosexual), and there emerged several publications and organizations, including the League for Body Cultivation.

CONTEMPORARY NUDISM

After the end of World War II social nudity became more widely accepted in American culture. In the United States nudism more commonly has been associated with overt sexuality than has been the case in Europe. As was discussed above, nudism more often has been associated with social and political movements such as socialism. After 1970 nudist camps became more common in the United States, whereas Europe had experienced such an increase in the 1920s. According to a qualitative study by H.W. Smith (1980), nudist camp "ideology" consists of the following precepts:

> 1) nudity and sexuality are unrelated; 2) there is nothing shameful about exposing the human body; 3) the abandonment of clothes leads to a feeling of freedom and natural pleasure; and 4) nude activities lead to feelings of physical, mental, and spiritual well-being. Furthermore … a system of interpersonal norms [undergirds] this nudist camp ideology: 1) no staring; 2) no sex talk; 3) no body contact; 4) no alcoholic beverages in camps; 5) no photography; 6) no accentuation of the body; and 7) no unnatural attempts to cover the body.
>
> *(Smith 1980, p. 226)*

The emphasis on the noneroticism of the body was and continues to be important to social nudists of all genders. In non-American cultures, where social nudity has been accepted for a longer period of time, nudist camps continue to engender a greater level of body acceptance and a healthier body image among their participants.

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Amy Nolan

NYMPHOMANIA

Nymphomania has been defined as excessive or out-of-control female sexual desire or behavior. In nineteenth century Western Europe and the United States, it was diagnosed as an organic disease and in the twentieth century as a mental disorder. Similar to other diseases located in the body, early treatments included bleeding, bed rest, restricted diets, but also confinement in a mental institution, and in rare cases, clitoridectomy or hysterectomy to remove the cause of sexual excitement. Twentieth century medical authorities also recommended psychoanalysis, hormone treatment, and tranquilizers. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the term could no longer be found in medical texts or in reference books, such as the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association*, but was still broadly used in the popular culture.

Based on their belief that women were more carnal than men, the ancient Greeks described a similar condition, uterine fury, which they believed occurred particularly among young widows whose lack of sexual fulfillment could drive them mad. However, it was seventeenth- and eighteenth-century changes in the conception of female sexuality that set the stage for more widespread diagnoses of nymphomania. An extraordinary transformation occurred over several centuries in Western attitudes toward sexuality: women's bodies were no longer understood to be similar, although inferior, to men's bodies, as they had been during the Renaissance. Science and medicine—as well as philosophy and theology—declared women to be inherently different and innately *less* carnal than men. By the nineteenth century, women's formerly lustful character had been recreated as modest and submissive. According to this new construction, women were thought to be less passionate than men, and also less rational. They were particularly vulnerable to being overwhelmed by their sexual desires, especially during puberty, menstruation, childbirth, and menopause—that is, for most of their adult lives. Thus, those women who stepped outside strict societal norms might be diagnosed and treated as nymphomaniacs. Reflecting a double standard about male and female sexuality, medical as well as popular beliefs considered lustfulness—although needing to be controlled—a natural state for men as it presumably no longer was for women. Consequently, the male equivalent of nymphomania, satyriasis, was diagnosed far less frequently.

Similar attitudes about female sexuality extended into the courtroom: nymphomania was used as a defense in rape cases. Before the advent of DNA evidence, accused rapists could call expert witnesses to claim that the "prosecutrix," as she was uniquely called in rape cases, was a nymphomaniac, that is, her disturbed condition drove her to say yes and then to lie about it. In cases of incest, where consent by an underaged girl would not exonerate the accused, defendants effectively presented the argument that the accuser was a nymphomaniac, which meant that she had fantasized the sexual act. At the time, nymphomania was understood to be a real, diagnosable disease or disorder that had consequences in the law.

Contemporary scholars consider nymphomania a metaphor for the sexual fears and fantasies of the time: Its ill-defined symptoms reflect changing societal norms. What was diagnosed as nymphomania in 1900 would not be out of the ordinary sexual behavior in 2000. Nymphomania provides clear evidence that sexuality is not universal, innate, and biologically determined, but shaped by many forces—including what is thought to be "natural" or "normal" at the time. Capturing the relative nature of the term, the well-known twentieth-century American sex researcher Alfred Kinsey, when asked "who is a nymphomaniac?" replied "someone who has more sex than you do."

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Carol Groneman

O

OBESITY

SEE *Body Image.*

OBSCENE

In contemporary English the word *obscene* has connotations of strong disapproval, even disgust. For some, any depiction of sexual activity or the sex organs is by definition pornographic, for others it is a legitimate, morally neutral branch of art, "erotic" art. In this entry the term is construed to refer to all sexual acts, gestures, and exposures that for most of European medieval and post-medieval history have been perceived or received as offensive (scatological obscenity is beyond the purview of this entry). However, the notion of obscenity is culturally relative, and chronologically relative even within the same culture: *autres temps, autres mœurs*.

DEFINITION AND PURPOSE OF OBSCENITY

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, when the traveler John Fryer visited a Hindu temple in Madras in the 1670s, his reaction to the erotic figures carved there was predictable: "On the Walls of good Sculpture were obscene Images, where Aretine might have furnished his Fancy for his Bawdy Postures." This may have been the era of Rochester and the bawdy excesses of the court of Charles II, but Fryer knew obscenity when he saw it. The "Bawdy Postures" of the carved temple figures he interpreted as obscene images similar to the frankly pornographic and notorious *modi* (positions for intercourse, known in contemporary English as the *Postures*) engraved by Raimondi to illustrate Aretino's sonnets, a work that was publicly burned in Venice in 1527 and became synonymous with sexual obscenity for the early modern English.

In Adam de la Halle's thirteenth-century play, *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, searching for some means of entertaining themselves, one of the adult actors asks, "*Faisons un pet pour nous esbatre?*" (Shall we fart to amuse ourselves?) a suggestion accepted with, we may think, surprising alacrity. Obscenity cannot be accidental but must be intentional—by which definition, neither of these instances qualifies as obscene: the offense taken by Fryer was certainly accidental—contemporary Indians would not have been offended—and the medieval French farters entered into their game without giving it a second thought.

However, it is in this very propensity to offend that the power of the obscene lies. When obscenity is not accidental but ostentatious, what is its function? One obvious function is to promote sexual arousal regardless of whether such art or writing is labeled pornographic or erotic. Such deliberate incitement began in postclassical times with the Aretino/Raimondi *I Modi* (Lawner 1988) and continues in the present era via "girlie" magazines and Internet porn sites.

PORNOGRAPHY IN THE RENAISSANCE AND THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

During the Restoration period English travelers abroad were expected to bring back Continental pornography.

"A Stranger [who] discourseth with a Roman Book seller" in Torriano's Italian-English phrase book of 1666, eager to buy a copy of Aretino, is told that "they are forbidden, both the Postures [*I Modi*] and the Discourses [*Ragionamenti*], that imbracing of men and women together in unusual manners." In Vanbrugh's *The Country Wife* (1675), having just returned from France, Horner significantly protests, "I have brought over not so much as a Bawdy Picture, new Postures nor the second part of the Escholle des Filles." In the same year a group of Oxford undergraduates was discovered trying to run off copies of these same Postures on the Clarendon Press clandestinely at night.

Horner's *Escholle des Filles* was first published in Paris in 1655 (and unillustrated); a generation later it was translated into English and published anonymously as *The School of Venus* (1680). Opposite the title page of the only extant copy is an etched frontispiece that depicts a modestly dressed woman standing behind a booth selling dildos. Images of dildo sellers are also to be found on a German fifteenth-century biscuit mold, and a sixteenth-century Flemish game sheet, and one such salesman features significantly in a twelfth-century Latin comedy, the *Alda*.

In *Histriomastix* (1633) two of the many evils William Prynne inveighed against were "the obscene jests of Stage-players and obscene pictures." Puritans such as Prynne had time and censorship on their side. Material of this nature is peculiarly prone to censorship, especially censorship by destruction: *L'Escholle des Filles*, for example, was read in the original language by Samuel Pepys in 1668 but then burned so "that it might not be among my books to my shame."

One has to be suspicious of the popularity of images of Lucretia's suicide in the inventory of King Henry VIII, as that subject allowed the artist to display the naked female bosom under the guise of exemplary chastity. One cannot help suspecting that there is some sadoerotic frisson here, as well as in some of the many images of Phyllis riding Aristotle. Similarly, the ostensibly biblical subject of Bathsheba bathing afforded male viewers the same voyeuristic pleasure in spying on the naked female body that King David was unable to resist; so too the subject of Susanna and the Elders. All these female nudes were sanctioned by biblical or classical history: although they may look like early modern women, their historicity protected the contemporary owner of such images from the suspicion owning pornography.

Similarly, Italian Renaissance engravers produced erotic prints thinly disguised as illustrations of classical mythology, including the loves of the gods, nymphs and satyrs, and the like. However, the success of these print series led to copying in the Netherlands and Germany, particularly by the "Little Masters." The Nuremberg engraver Hans Guldenmund came to the attention of the city council in 1535 for possessing "a most shameful and sinful little book in which are many unchaste pictures of unconventional lovemaking." This sounds like a copy of Aretino's *Postures*.

In Ben Jonson's play *The Alchemist* (1610), trying to account for the visits of so many people to the alchemist's house, Lovewit opines, "Sure he has got/ Some bawdy pictures to call all this ging [crowd]/ The Friar and the Nun." Protestant image makers could not resist the spectacle of monks and nuns engaged in mutual sexual activity. Among titles that appear to belong in this category, the print seller Peter Stent's 1662 advertisement included a "Friar whipping a nun." The corporal chastisement of naked or seminaked female penitents by friar confessors afforded Protestant controversialists particular satisfaction (especially in connxion with the scandal of Brother Cornelius of Dort), and provided a convenient excuse for the Protestant amateur of pornography, who could claim to possess such voyeuristic scenes of flagellation and female nudity merely as proof of the debauchery of the Roman church and its practices.

In the same "incidental" way explicit sexuality was used as a device to smear other religious denominations or factions in the seventeenth-century Civil War era in England, but such sexual "cartoons" have always been employed to denigrate one's opponents, whether religious or political, as in the many scurrilous drawings and prints attacking Marie Antoinette during the era of the French Revolution. This satirical function has always been one of the most important uses of obscenity in European culture.

OBSCENE NAMES

The use of obscene names for places, people, and things in the medieval and early modern eras is another area of the obscene that is at odds with modern sensibilities. In 1658, for instance, while discussing the earwig, an entomologist noted that the "Northern English by an obscene name call it Twich-ballock" (*Oxford English Dictionary*), though it was more commonly plants that were given such sexual names. Ophelia noted that to the wild orchids known as "long purples . . . liberal shepherds give a grosser name," for just as the generic name derives from the Greek *orchis* ("testicle"), the same visual resemblance was noted in the vernacular, and one such name Elizabethan shepherds might have used was *fooles ballockes*.

Highly obscene personal nicknames were in routine use in late medieval Europe and provide invaluable—often the earliest—evidence for the vernacular sexual lexicon. Interpreting such names is fraught with danger, but the perennial male concern with penis size would appear to be reflected in the English *Langgeters* (i.e., "long tarse" ["penis"]) and the precisely cognate late medieval German *Langzers*. Tax rolls from the decades around 1300 record names such as Jehan Fout-en-Paille, Roger Gildynballokes, John Swetpintel, Richard Twychecunt, Bele Wydecunthe, and Jehan Con-doré.

PHALLIC AND PUBIC IMAGES

Such names may be either admiring or insulting but certainly are comic, for obscenity can also be humorous; indeed, the capacity of the obscene to raise a laugh, to "divert," is intimately related to what may arguably be its most important function:, defense against harm, an *apotropaion* (charm) that will divert the anonymous malignity of the Evil Eye.

Recent decades have seen the publication of hundreds of bizarre small lead badges of late medieval date in the form of ambulant and often winged phalluses, similarly animated vulvas, couples copulating, and so on. The strongly represented phallic presence in this corpus seems to confirm suggestions that these badges are rooted in the tradition of late Roman iconography, embodying precisely that combination of *bizarrerie* and visceral shock that Plutarch declared was the perfect antidote to the Evil Eye. The exposure of the sexual organs functions as a protective shock tactic, whether on the public monumental scale of the numerous female exhibitionist *sheelagh-na-gig* sculptures set into the exteriors of churches and over municipal gateways, or on the private miniature scale of these badges. Such artifactual literal dismemberment is paralleled in literary works such as Claude Chappuys's *Blason du Con*, Dafydd ap Gwilym's *Cywydd y Gâl*, and Gwerful Mechain's answering *cywydd* in praise of the vagina.

In earlier eras it was male fashion that would be considered obscene by modern commentators, especially the increasingly obvious—and increasingly stuffed—codpiece (derided by Rabelais as *hypocriticques braguettes*). Long before Sigmund Freud identified thrusting weapons as phallic symbols, the *ballok-hefted* ("testicle-handled") dagger appeared in the late middles ages; worn at the girdle, such weapons present a blatantly phallic appearance when sported by the young courtiers who surround the Duc de Berry in his *Très Riches Heures*, for instance.

However, images of the phallus might also be part of interior and exterior decoration in the late middle ages. When in 1551 Rabelais describes Lent daydreaming about penises flying and creeping up walls, this is not mere fantasy. Recalling the same period, Brantôme attests to the existence of such wall paintings in Spain. Recently a thirteenth-century mural of a phallus tree resurfaced in Massa Marittima, joining one in the Tirolean Schloss Lichtenberg. The phallus tree was also visible at carnival: at Nördlingen in 1510 a branch bearing phallus fruit was carried around the town, and a late fifteenth-century German drawing of such a tree survives in Istanbul.

Fashions in obscenity come and go. A British court ruling of 1969 that pubic hair was not obscene led directly to a crop of self-styled "beaver movies," yet a depiction of the trimming of female pubic hair appeared as the subject of a statue situated over the Porta Tosa in twelfth-century Milan; there could hardly be a more public venue. An early sixteenth-century woodcut print by Floetner depicts a woman performing this intimate form of grooming, and a thirteenth-century Parisian street was named the *Rue de Poile-Con* (Cunt-Trimming Street) now euphemised as the *Rue de Pélican* (Pelican Street). There are similarly several minor Middle English place names that appear to recall this same aspect of feminine toilet: a spring named Shavecuntewelle is attested in Kent, and a Swylcontdich (Swill-cunt-ditch) in Cheshire in 1396.

The ability *raser et tondre maujoint* (to shave and clip the cunt) is one of the numerous talents of the eponymous *Varlet à Louer* (servant for hire), as it is of the related *Chambrière à tout faire* (maid-of-all-work), who is also required *raser et tondre le cas*, and the practice is frequently referred to in other French comic literature around 1500. Brantôme similarly devotes considerable space to fashions in female pubic hair in the French court around the middle of the sixteenth century.

SEE ALSO *Codpiece; Erotic Art; Folk Beliefs and Rituals; Folklore; Genitalia, as Apotropaic; Marie Antoinette; Pornography; Susanna at Her Bath; Voyeurism.*

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Malcolm Jones

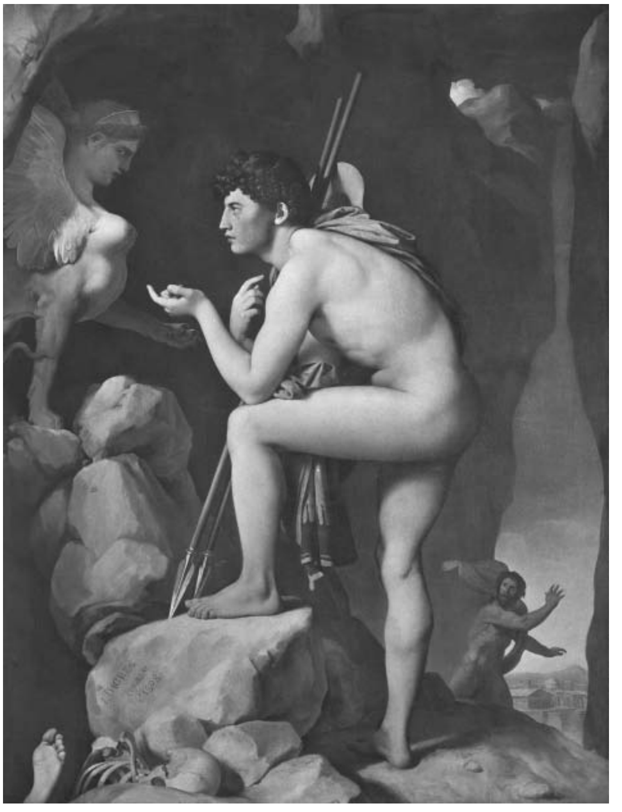
OEDIPUS, MYTH OF

The myth of Oedipus concerns the Theban king who unwittingly murdered his father and married his mother. The story is best known from Sophocles's *Oedipus Tyrannus* (c. 429–425 BCE, also called *Oedipus Rex*), regarded by Aristotle as a masterpiece of Athenian drama because Oedipus's discovery of his identity coincides with his reversal of fortune. Sophocles's tragedy influenced subsequent dramas, including Seneca's *Oedipus* (mid-first century CE) and Jean Cocteau's *The Infernal Machine* (1934). Basing his theories on *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the myth outside the play, Sigmund Freud universalized Oedipus's story into a familial conflict waged within a child's psyche. To mature, we must resolve our "Oedipus complex," our unconscious antagonism toward the parent of our own sex and attraction to the parent of the opposite sex.

Oedipus dominates *Oedipus Tyrannus* from the beginning, when a plague at Thebes inspires him to seek its cause. After his brother-in-law Creon returns from Delphi with Apollo's command that the *murderers* of the former king Laius be found, Oedipus condemns the *murderer*—a Freudian slip perhaps?—to exile and a wretched life. Since no one confesses, Oedipus consults the blind seer Tiresias, to no avail. Oedipus accuses Tiresias of conspiring in Laius's murder and in Creon's plot against Oedipus. When Tiresias calls Oedipus the murderer, Oedipus mocks the prophet's gifts, since he alone solved the sphinx's riddle years before. Tiresias then sets Oedipus another riddle: "Who are your parents?"

Jocasta, Oedipus's wife and Creon's sister, advises Oedipus to disregard the Delphic oracle: Laius, predicted to die at his son's hand, was murdered by robbers, while her infant son by Laius was exposed, feet pierced, on Mount Cithaeron lest he eventually kill his father. However, Jocasta mentions that Laius died at the crossroads between Thebes and Delphi—a crucial detail. Before coming to Thebes, Oedipus had been raised by Polybus and Merope, the king and queen of Corinth. But after being called a bastard by a drunk, Oedipus left Corinth for Delphi, where Apollo prophesied that Oedipus would bed his mother, spawn a brood unbearable to see, and murder his father. Oedipus fled Delphi toward Thebes, only to be attacked at that fatal crossroad by an old man and his retinue. Oedipus retaliated, killing them all. If that man was Laius, Oedipus must be the murderer.

Jocasta insists that an eyewitness, the lone survivor of that attack, still lives. Meanwhile, a man from Corinth announces the death of Polybus by natural causes and invites Oedipus "home" to claim the throne. When Oedipus nevertheless fears Merope, Jocasta famously responds: "As for this marriage with your mother—have no fear. Many a man before you, in his dreams, has shared his mother's bed" (Sophocles, 1073–1075, Fagles's translation). The Corinthian declares that Polybus and Merope had *adopted* Oedipus, that he himself had obtained the baby from a Theban shepherd, and that Oedipus's name, "swollen-footed," derives from his pierced ankles. Realizing the truth, Jocasta begs Oedipus not to interview the shepherd, whom the Chorus also identifies as the witness to Laius's killing. She disappears as Oedipus learns from the aged shepherd the last detail of the riddle: He, the baby saved so long before, is Laius and Jocasta's son. Oedipus storms into the palace, discovers Jocasta hanging from a noose, and blinds himself with the brooches fastening her dress—a symbolic castration and iteration of their incest. Rejecting the superficiality of sight, Oedipus acquires Tiresias's deeper knowledge of the relationship between past and present (as suggested by his name's resemblance to the verb (*oida*: "I know"). Though horrified, the Chorus offers sympathy. Creon allows Oedipus to embrace his young daughters and promises them protection. By the end, Oedipus has so regained his authority that Creon must remind Oedipus that he no longer rules Thebes.


Oedipus Consulting the Sphinx. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Sophocles's *Oedipus at Colonus* (c. 405 BCE) continues with Oedipus's final day. Exiled from Thebes, Oedipus has wandered for years accompanied only by his daughter Antigone and kept informed by his other daughter Ismene. Near Athens, he unknowingly violates another taboo when trespassing on the grove of the Furies, chthonic goddesses of fertility and vengeance. Recognizing his true "home," he offers Theseus, the virtuous Athenian king, the benefit that Oedipus's burial will bring against Theban attack. Theseus welcomes and defends him against both Polyneices (Oedipus's elder son and commander of a force against Thebes), and Creon (representative of Oedipus's younger son, Eteocles, who recently usurped the Theban throne from Polyneices). Oedipus's male relatives hope to enlist Oedipus in their civil strife, though Creon and Eteocles won't allow him back into Thebes, and Polyneices wants his help in assailing the very city for which he sacrificed so much. When Oedipus refuses, Creon attempts to kidnap Antigone and Ismene, thus earning Oedipus's curse. Later, after Oedipus curses his sons to kill one another, Polyneices rejects Antigone's plea not to attack Thebes, and makes her promise to bury him—the fulfillment of which leads to Antigone's own death in Sophocles's *Antigone* (c. 441 BCE). *Oedipus at Colonus* ends with Oedipus guiding Theseus to his burial site, known only to the Athenian king and his heirs, and the gods calling Oedipus to them. (Oedipus's only counterpart in Greek myth is Zeus, who hurls his father, Cronus, to Tartarus in Hesiod's *Theogony*, and, according to Orphic literature, mates with his mother, Rhea, to produce Demeter.)

Earlier versions of the Oedipus myth, though fragmentary and difficult to assess, suggest that discovery of the murder and incest occurred almost immediately (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.271–280); that Oedipus continued ruling Thebes and died there (Homer, *Iliad* 23.679–680); that another wife bore Oedipus's children after Jocasta's suicide (*Oedipodeia*); that Laius raped the son of his host Pelops, thus dooming his own family (Aeschylus, *Laius*); or that Oedipus's curse caused his own sons' strife (*Thebais*). Influenced by Seneca, later works emphasize Oedipus's nobility in enduring malevolent fate, his role as sacrificial scapegoat, his guilt as personified by Laius's ghost. Post-Freudian versions eroticize the incest.

The brilliance of Sophocles's interpretation cannot be overstated. In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Oedipus's explosive reaction towards three father figures—Tiresias, Creon, and the Shepherd—echoes his earlier violence against Laius. Yet, to save Thebes, Oedipus perseveres publicly and heroically in identifying himself as Laius's murderer(s). The confusion between singular and plural emphasizes Oedipus's multiple identities as Theban native and stranger, Jocasta's son and husband, his children's father and eldest brother. Having saved Thebes from the sphinx, Oedipus won Jocasta and the throne; nevertheless, his own sons continue to treat him as Thebes' pollution in *Oedipus at Colonus* and quarrel over his throne rather than tend him, thus prompting his furious rejection of them as patricides (1540–1550). Athenian law punished sons severely for such neglect, and Oedipus states that only barbarians loiter within while their women toil outside the home. Before being transformed into a cult hero resembling the Furies, Oedipus finds in Theseus the ideal son and, in Athens, a city meriting his eternal protection. But "adopting" Theseus reduces Antigone and Ismene from caregiving "sons" to daughters dependent upon surrogate fathers (Theseus, Creon). Sophocles's *Antigone* witnesses the demise without issue of Oedipus's line, as Creon compels Antigone to choose between two duties traditional to women: marrying (his son Haemon) to produce children, or burying her kin (the traitor Polyneices). However unintentional, Oedipus's transgressions against father and mother ultimately doom every family member, no matter how exemplary.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Freud, Sigmund; Legends and Myths.*

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ONANISM

Onanism is an archaic term for masturbation. While masturbation can refer to the manual stimulation of one's own genitals or those of another, onanism is exclusively masturbation of oneself. Additionally, onanism must be accompanied by orgasm, as the term specifically refers to ejaculation without procreative purpose. The term was coined in the eighteenth century when the anti-masturbation tract *Onania* was published in England, citing biblical authority to condemn the practice, which the author equated to sodomy (also a non-procreative sexual activity). Later in the century, Swiss physician Simon-Auguste-André-David Tissot published *L'Onanisme*, which used medical rather than religious arguments to reject masturbation. This text, which was widely read and translated, is thought to be responsible for many of the erroneous prejudices against masturbation that still exist (for instance, the idea that ejaculation in some way weakens the body by depleting it of blood). One of the few ways in which the document could be considered progressive, however, is that Tissot wrote about both male and female masturbation, and that both were a result of a desire for pleasure. Thus, while condemning it, Tissot did actually acknowledge a concept of female sexuality and desire.

The term *onanism* is derived from the biblical story of Onan (Genesis 38), who was required by tradition to marry his brother's widow and to father a child with her as an heir for his deceased brother. Onan was unhappy that his child would not be recognized as his own, that literally "the seed should not be his." Rather than having intercourse with his new wife after their wedding, Onan masturbated, refusing to impregnate her. In response, God slew Onan; medieval scholars interpreted his sin as masturbation, while later theologians interpreted it as hatred for his brother. While the nature of Onan's sin may be debatable, his name has become connected with masturbation, specifically when thought of as a waste of semen. Also, because Onan was the son of Judah, he was part of the line that ultimately led to King David and Jesus. While Onan could not know his family's destiny, historians saw Onan's refusal to procreate as a potential for interruption in the most important lineage in Jewish, and ultimately Christian, history.

Beginning primarily with the work of Sigmund Freud in the early twentieth century, masturbation began to be understood as causing no particular physical harm. While reversing many myths, this also served to position the practice as a psychological problem, rather than removing stigma altogether. In the later twentieth century, particularly in response of the spread of AIDS, masturbation was recognized as one of the safest sexual activities possible. As a form of safer sex, it has even become eroticized, figuring prominently in gay pornographic movies well before actors began to use condoms on screen. In 1995, President Bill Clinton fired Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders for tentatively agreeing with a suggestion that children should be taught about masturbation in health education classes, proving that the medical safety of onanism has yet to overcome its social stigma.

SEE ALSO *Masturbation.*

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ONE-CHILD ONE-FAMILY POLICY

The one-child one-family policy originated at a national Chinese birth-planning conference in February 1978. That October the Communist Party State Council established birth-planning bureaus in all counties to promote the new policy of allowing one child per family, tolerating two children per family, and preventing families from having additional children. Those policies were instituted because the Party Central Committee wanted to ensure that the national population would not exceed 1.2 billion by the year 2000. In September 1980 the Party Central Committee established a stricter one-child policy, with some special permits for a second child granted. That policy was relaxed after the issuance of Document No. 7/1984, which allowed for more rural second-child permits and more local flexibility.

After the Tian'amen crisis of June 1989, however, and with new projections of the 2000 population at 1.27 billion to 1.323 billion, the party again limited second-child permits and increased sanctions for disobeying birth quotas. Those restrictions, especially in rural areas, led to imbalances in sex ratios as high as 114 male infants born per 100 females, well above biologically normal levels, in 1992 and 1993. As traditional desires for a son have remained culturally intact alongside strict policies of birth limitation, these statistics suggest that prenatal sex determination led to more abortions of female fetuses and that infanticide was practiced on female infants. However, as a result of increasing mobility, divorces, second marriages, and informal unions, among other factors, an increasing number of Chinese people are able to evade party controls on their fertility.

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ONE-SEX THEORY

The term *one-sex theory* refers to the belief that there was only one sex and it was male. The theory originated in the writings of Aristotle and Galen; they had postulated a structural homology between the sexual organs of men and women whereby they were basically the same, except that those of men lay outside the body while those of women lay inside it and were, naturally, reversed: a vagina was a penis turned inside, the ovaries were the testicles, and so on. Similarly, bodily fluids (semen, blood, milk) were basically the same, being composed of the same fungible matter. The difference between men and women was not, therefore, one of kind (two different types of beings), but of degree (various types of the same being).

The theory postulated that, in the final stages of gestation immediately preceding birth, heat drove the sexual organs out of the fetus's body and created a man; should there not be enough heat, an incompletely formed male (that is, a female) would be born. According to this model, females were thus imperfectly formed males, with all the social and cultural consequences that followed, including exclusion from the highest ecclesiastical, political, or intellectual positions in their society, subservience and obedience to male kins, severe restrictions in legal and economic matters, and so forth.

An important corollary proposed that if, at puberty, sufficient heat were applied, a "girl" could force her sexual organs out of her body and become a "boy." In the sixteenth century, anecdotal accounts attesting to such transformations abound. One of the most famous is the case of Marie, a French shepherdess from Vitry-le-François who, at age fifteen, while chasing some pigs in the heat of the summer, jumped over a small creek and, landing heavily on the other side, so ruptured her ligaments that her sexual organs fell out and she instantly became a man, Germain, who then lived as a male for the rest of his life. The story is recounted by, among others, the physicians Jacques Ferrand and Amboise Paré, and the philosopher Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). Other stories, such as the one told by a certain Antoine Loqueneux to Amatus Lusitanus (1511-1568), attribute the change to the "heat of passion"—a girl in bed with a chambermaid is so sexually aroused that she suddenly ejects a male member from her body and carries on life (and, one assumes, sexual activity) as a male.

In his groundbreaking volume *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (1990), Thomas Laqueur highlights this theory and suggests that it was the fundamental operative model for understanding sex and sexuality not only in the Renaissance but even as far as the eighteenth century. A chorus of scholars (Katherine Park, Robert Nye, Michael Stolberg, and Donald Beecher, among others) have argued strongly against it, however, pointing out that already by 1600 the Aristotelian-Galenic one-sex model had been completely debunked and abandoned not only by European thinkers but, more importantly, by the medical profession itself. Its reaffirmation by Laqueur and others in the late twentieth century is, according to some, more grounded in contemporary theoretical battles than in the realities of Renaissance culture or science.

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OPERA

From its inception around 1600 in Florence, Italy, where it evolved as an experimental genre that was intended to revive the reputed affective power of ancient Greek music, opera has deployed an array of performative elements that engage, reinforce, subvert, and redefine Western European notions of gender and sexuality. As a site of cultural discourse, opera not only creates a privileged space for that discourse but recognizes and capitalizes on the theatrical existence of the audience in a sociological context that extends beyond the opera house, influencing and absorbing life off the stage.

THE VOICE AND ROLE OF THE CASTRATO

Among the defining characteristics of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian opera is the employment of the castrato, a male soprano or contralto whose vocal range was preserved by castration before puberty. Prized for its brilliance, flexibility, and power, the castrato voice also was recognized for its otherness. In the theater the castrato was endowed with a fluid gender identity that was inscribed on the singer's body through performative enactment. In the operatic tradition the highest voices are the most valued, and in male roles they are used for heroes, emperors, and warriors. In *opera seria* those noble characters preferably were played by castrati. The modern polarization associating high voices with femininity and low voices with masculinity does not apply to this repertoire, and the deepest voices, which modern binary gender construction codes as the most masculine, frequently were reserved for old, often foolish men and are more typical of comic than of serious opera.

The castrato voice often was preferred for leading female roles (it was required in Rome, where women were barred from the stage), and in Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607) the roles of both Orfeo and Euridice were first performed by castrati. When castrati were not available, women could be employed to sing male and female roles. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *opera seria* signals aspects of early modern gender fluidity in which the biological body and the voice were not necessarily gender signifiers. In Manelli's *Andromeda* (1637) the role of Venus was sung by a castrato, and in Cavalli's *Eliogabalo* (1668) the three male roles were cast for sopranos (male or female) whereas the female role was assigned to a tenor.

The castrati not only signal the fluidity of gender in early opera but suggest that that period was not bound by the binary gender models imposed during the nineteenth century and that sexuality was not linked closely to gender performance. Although critics of Italian opera derided the gelded soprano for his artificiality and inability to claim a gender fully, his excessive, almost supernatural vocal abilities might be interpreted as a sort of hypermasculinity, and the most renowned eighteenth-century castrati, including Farinelli, were acclaimed not only for their international vocal successes but frequently for their heterosexual amorous prowess.

CASTRATI AND TRAVESTI

Castrati roles, even female ones, are not real travesti (cross-dress) roles because they typically do not engage the biological sex of the singer but instead construct gender through performance. In the seventeenth century travesti roles were almost exclusively for men performing as, typically, ugly or old women, including Arnalta in Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1642). In the Italian tradition these roles are frequently comic, whereas in the French tradition of the *tragédie en musique*, which did not employ castrati, travesti roles for men could be serious (La Terre in Lully's *Phaëton*, 1683) or tragic (Méduse in Lully's *Persée*, 1682). In the eighteenth century travesti roles tended to be "pants roles" (women performing as males), a tradition that continued throughout the nineteenth century, long after male travesti roles had all but disappeared. Pants roles usually portray young or adolescent boys such as Cherubino in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786). Ostensibly, this resolves the problem of a lack of very young males with the required technical or artistic maturity, but it also creates an uneasy sex/gender performance because a woman, unlike a castrato, is not "neutral" and portrays an immature or undeveloped man. This reflects early modern medical theory, in which women were considered physically inverted or incomplete men. Thus, cross-dressed women rarely portrayed heroes or warriors.

The fluidity of gender and its performance in early opera are encapsulated in the alterations made to Gluck's *Orfeo*. The original 1762 version casts the heroic role for a castrato, but when the work was performed in France in 1773, the role was transposed for a tenor. This had no effect on the gender performance of that opera because the heroic male castrato simply was recast as a physically complete male. In 1859 Berlioz restored the contralto range for Pauline Viardot, inverting the original gender dynamics and subverting the traditional association of the travesti female with the incomplete male unable to achieve heroic, "masculine" glory.

WOMEN SINGERS AND TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLES

Although the development of opera and the rise of the female singer promoted and indeed demanded women of exceptional vocal and dramatic ability, it also forced them into a performative environment that repeated, reenacted, and reinforced the female gender norms of European society, almost all of which are emblematized in Monteverdi's operas: Euridice, the passive lover (*Orfeo*); Penelope, the docile mother and wife (*Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*); Ottavia, the Rejected Wife (*L'incoronazione di Poppea)*; Poppea, the whore (*L'incoronazione di Poppea*); Arnalta, the old woman (*L'incoronazione di Poppea*); and Arianna, the abandoned woman and tragic heroine (*Arianna*). The sorceress is the remaining stereotyped woman in opera. The extroverted performative roles of woman as whore, tragic heroine, and sorceress, combined with the technical possibilities of high voices, established the tradition of the virtuoso woman singer that has been a fundamental element of opera, developing alongside the castrato tradition in Italian *opera seria* and superseding it by the end of the eighteenth century. Women such as Jommelli's Armida (*Armida abbandonata*, 1770) and Mozart's Königin der Nacht (*Die Zauberflöte*, 1791) not only dazzle with spectacular vocal virtuosity but do so in an excessive manner, most superbly in rage arias in which unbridled fury breaks all vocal restraint, bursting into uncontrollable passion.

The essential reduction of women in serious opera to emblems of tragic passion reinforced traditional associations of women with the unreasonable, the uncontrollable, and the dangerous. This is demonstrated clearly in Mozart's Masonic opera *Die Zauberflöte*, which is constructed around the masculine-feminine binary. Prince Tamino defeats the unruly "feminine" powers of darkness represented by the Königin der Nacht, wedding the queen's daughter, Pamina, under the auspices of her father, Sarastro, the high priest of Osiris and Isis, who represents "masculine" order and enlightenment.

Alongside the tragic tradition, *opera buffa* (comic opera) frequently presents women who lead the plot and the male characters, unmasking hypocrisy, shaming wrongdoers, and generally wreaking havoc with the established male order. However, these works, which include Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* (1733), Piccinni's *La Cecchina, ossia La buona figliuola* (1760), and Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*, do not enact a meaningful recuperation of women's agency. Instead, that agency, although it ridicules the established masculine order, itself is ridiculed in that the women engaging it are essentially viragos: meddling, needling, scheming, and scolding.

In the operatic tradition the "glorification" of women operates primarily through their ultimate victimization, which often results from transgressing societal norms, and publicly reinforces performative aspects of gender. To this end, leading women's roles are almost always for sopranos, ensuring that the virtuosic enactment of women's victimization will be musically spectacular dazzling performances of constructed gender norms, a procedure that was cemented through mad scenes in the nineteenth-century. Typical mad scenes involve irrational behavior by the soprano heroine. She may sleepwalk, hallucinate, or otherwise lose control, affording the opportunity for histrionics and excessive coloratura. Bellini's Anne Boleyn (*Anna Bolena*, 1830) loses her grip on reality just before her execution, his Amina (*La sonnambula*, 1831) and Verdi's Lady Macbeth (*Macbeth*, 1847) are sleepwalkers, and Donizetti's Lucia (*Lucia di Lammermoor*, 1829) loses her mind, appearing at her wedding feast holding a bloody knife and confessing that she has murdered her husband.

Although excessive emotion stereotypically was associated with women, the nineteenth century solidified this scientifically through the development of clinical psychology in which hysteria was identified as a gendered disorder suffered by women (the term originally designated a condition of the womb). Like the eighteenth-century rage aria, the hysterical mad scene reiterated gender performances that conformed to extraoperatic sociological constructs. Ironically, the hysteria of Sigmund Freud's Dora is indicated not by excessive vocal performance but by aphonia (loss of voice), and in some respects even the most vocal hysterical women in opera suffer from a symbolic aphonia through their entrapment in the performance of stereotyped gender.

THE DIVA AND SUBVERSIONS OF GENDER NORMS

Traditionally, the most revered women in opera are those who portray the doomed, transgressive/punished, or victimized tragic heroine most effectively, transcending representation and approaching the artistically divine. The cult of the diva, in which Maria Callas is among the principal deities, worships the hyperfeminine, that which in its excess approaches drag. In this context diva worship is associated most notably with stereotypical notions of the opera-obsessed homosexual, the "opera queen," and supports the extension of the operatic stage into daily life. The diva not only takes up the elements of gendered performativity on stage but fully embraces them, employing those traits to construct her public persona and thus becoming a realization of theatrical gender codes in a rarefied sacred representation.

Such fetishized gender performance lends itself to subversive interpretations that may be achieved through parody and the deflation of monolithic operatic stagings of gender. Drag impersonations of the diva or tragic heroine, for example, call into question the nature of theatrical gender construction because cross-dressed men may take up the tools of operatically coded femininity, extending the boundaries of desire and appropriation inherent in gendered operatic performance; this in turn may be reflected in the performance of opera.

New productions of operas frequently question and subvert established gender and sex norms, reflecting current explorations of sex and gender performativity outside the theater. In this context modern performances of works such as Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* frequently replace the absent castrato voice, in this case the role of Nerone, with a woman; however, rather than attempt to "butch" the role in an effort to minimize a perceived lack of masculinity, they instead may emphasize the possible homoerotic implications of the casting, destabilizing traditional theatrical gender performance. This is only one example of the incorporation of contemporary issues of gender and sexuality into the performative universe of opera. Works such as Berg's *Lulu* (1937), [and] Britten's *Death in Venice* (1973), and Wallace's *Harvey Milk* (1995) engage lesbian and gay identities, and Eötvös's *Angels in America* (2004) focuses on AIDS in the 1980s, bringing sex and gender issues of contemporary immediacy into the opera house.

As opera continues to evolve, its traditional performances of gender and sexuality norms serve as foundations not only for the reiteration of those norms but as armatures for an ever-expanding exploration of gender performance in a locus of privileged discourse.

SEE ALSO *Music.*

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ORACLES

An oracle is a pronouncement from the divine or the human medium through which the divine pronouncement is made. Oracles are used as a means of learning the will or opinion of the divine. But unlike other types of divination that rely on signs and symbols to interpret divine will, oracles take the form of oral or written messages from the divine, which are conveyed through a male or, more often, a female human medium. In oracular divination, the divine being inhabits and speaks through a particular person.

RANGE OF INFLUENCE

In the ancient Mediterranean world, oracles were routinely consulted regarding a variety of topics. At one end of the spectrum, the oracles fielded questions about matters of public policy and affairs of state. Rulers sent envoys to the oracles to request divine advice about governmental issues or receive divine sanction for their decisions. At the other end of the spectrum, common people came to the oracles with concerns about everyday life. Inquiries about children, how to run a business, where to build a home, when to travel or plant crops were all put to the oracles.

Oracles were common throughout the entire ancient Mediterranean world and beyond. There were oracles in Egypt, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Greece, and Rome. In addition to these ancient Mediterranean locations, oracles are also found in China and other parts of Southeast Asia. The gods that speak through the oracles are equally diverse. Apollo, Zeus, Isis, Asklepios, various deified Egyptian pharaohs and queens, as well as the god of Judaism and Christianity are all recorded as having inspired oracles.

THE ORACLES AT DELPHI AND THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS

Among the many oracles of classical antiquity, the temple of Apollo at Delphi housed the most well known. The oracles at Delphi were young women, priestesses of Apollo, who had taken vows of celibacy. As celibate priestesses the women were given the special role of serving as spokeswomen for Apollo. When people came to the temple seeking Apollo's guidance, these women provided the answers.

Consultations with the Delphic oracles took place on the seventh day of each of the nine months of the year that Apollo was believed to be in residence at the temple. After a goat was sacrificed to ensure the presence of Apollo, one of the priestesses, also called the Pythia, donned a crown of laurel leaves, sat upon a sacred tripod (Apollo's throne) in the inner-sanctum of the temple, and assumed a trance like state in preparation for making pronouncements. From an outer room male priests would call out the petitioners' questions to the Pythia, who responded to them on behalf of Apollo.

Debate remains about the degree of agency the Delphic oracles had over the answers they gave. The mythological view held that the women were possessed by Apollo and that it was the god not the woman who was speaking. Divinity rather than the human feminine prevailed. Commentators from antiquity believed that vapors coming from cracks in the ground in the inner-sanctum caused the Pythia to fall into a state of altered consciousness. Modern day investigation at the site of the Delphic temple has disproved the existence of mind altering vapors but there is evidence to suggest the Pythia ritually drank water from the local Kassotis spring and chewed laurel leaves during consultations, actions which may or may not have had a transforming effect.

Similarly the Pythia was traditionally thought to be frantic and incomprehensible when she gave pronouncements. The ancient priests contended that the answers came in the form of vague uttering and garbled bits of poetry that had to be translated by the male priests before they assumed any useful meaning. Thus the masculine made sense of the feminine by giving meaning to the incomprehensible. Some scholars disagree with this view and point to images and writings from antiquity that depict the Pythia as calm and in control, dictating coherent prophecies that did not need external clarification. The implication that the Pythia exerted some agency over her responses is interesting because it raises the possibility that the priestesses of Apollo, in their capacity as the Delphic oracles, contributed to the political process in Athens in a way that was normally closed to women.

Another well known example of oracles in classical antiquity is the Sibylline Books of Rome. The Sibylline Books were a collection of written oracles purported to have originated with the Sibyl of Cumae. Sibyls were women inspired with the ability to prophesize. The Sibyl of Cumae was thought to be especially gifted in the art of divination. According to legend, a mysterious elderly woman approached King Tarquin (one of the early founders of Rome) and offered him nine books of oracles. Tarquin declined the offer so the old woman destroyed three of the books and returned to offer him the remaining six. Tarquin dismissed her again so the woman destroyed three more books. At this point various ominous signs indicated to Tarquin that he had failed to accept a gift from the gods. A remorseful Tarquin immediately purchased the remaining three books from the woman for the price she had initially quoted for all nine.

After they passed into Roman hands, the Sibylline Books were cared for by the *quindecimviri*, the Roman priestly college responsible for foreign religion. At the request of the senators, members of the college consulted the oracles after the appearance of prodigies (signs that indicated the relationship between humans and the gods was misaligned). The books recommended rituals that could counteract prodigies. During the third century BCE, the Sibylline Books were often cited as the source for the introduction of new or foreign religions to Rome. The Sibylline Books were destroyed in the fifth century CE, but by that time additions to the books included oracles that combined pagan, Jewish, and Christian ideas.

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ORAL SEX

The term *oral sex* refers to any kind of sexual stimulation involving the lips, mouth, and throat in contact with the genitals or anus. Oral sex practices include oral stimulation of the penis, called *fellatio* (from the Latin verb *fellare* meaning to suck), oral stimulation of the vulva and clitoris, called *cunnilingus*, (from the Latin words *cunnus* or vulva and *lingere* meaning to lick) and oral stimulation of the anus, called *anilingus* (from the Latin *anus* and *lingere*). Oral sex practices have been a part of human sexual behavior throughout recorded history and around the world. Ancient Greek art, the walls of Roman Pompeii, and Japanese erotic art all reveal images of cunnilingus and fellatio; the Indian *Kama Sutra* offers instructions in both. Oral sex is practiced in heterosexual, male homosexual, and lesbian sexual activities. It can be either a form of foreplay to prepare partners for intercourse or may constitute a practice pleasurable in itself, as oral sex stimulation can easily produce orgasm in both males and females. Occasionally, individuals are flexible enough to perform oral sex on themselves, called *autofellatio* or *autocunnilingus*. When two partners practice oral stimulation on one another simultaneously, the practice is called *69*. Because oral sexual practices are not in themselves reproductive, they have been considered to be both gratuitous and contraceptive by those for whom sexuality is only a means to a reproductive end. After the rise of the Christian era, the church condemned sexual practices that did not lead to reproduction, making oral sex a sin. As church dogma became the model for criminal laws throughout the world, oral sex became illegal. Before the 2003 Supreme Court decision in *Lawrence* v. *Texas* (539 U.S. 558; 123 S. Ct. 2472), which declared that Texas's sodomy laws were unconstitutional, many states in the United States had criminal statutes that outlawed oral sex practices as *crimes against nature*, *gross indecency*, *unnatural and lascivious acts*, or as a subcategory of sodomy itself. Although some of these statutes covered only sexual acts involving male sexual organs, others outlawed contact between the mouth and both male and female genitals.

Fellatio involves the lips, tongue, mouth, and possibly the throat. The person engaged in fellatio may hold the penis and testicles in his or her hands, lick, caress, and use suction on the penis glans and shaft, or take the entire penis into the throat. This latter practice is called *deep throating*, from the 1973 film *Deep Throat* that focused on that activity. Fellatio may be a part of foreplay or may result in orgasm and ejaculation into the mouth. It may also involve the ingestion of semen. Recipients of fellatio may actively insert themselves into the fellator's mouth, an activity that is often associated with dominance. Common slang for fellatio includes *blow job*, *giving head*, *going down on*, and *sucking off*.

Cunnilingus, or oral stimulation of the vulva, labia, or clitoris of the female, involves primarily the tongue and lips. The person engaged in cunnilingus may focus primarily on the clitoris or provide various kinds of indirect, pulsating, or rhythmic stimulation of the clitoris and surrounding tissue with lips and tongue. Direct stimulation of the clitoris may be painful, as the clitoris is highly sensitive. Cunnilingus may also be accompanied by vaginal penetration with fingers or dildos. Females may enjoy the practice on their backs or by positioning themselves on the face of their partner, a practice called *face-sitting*. For many women cunnilingus is the most reliable way to reach orgasm. Common slang for cunnilingus includes *eating out*, *muff diving*, *going down on*, and *lip service*.

Anilingus, or oral stimulation of the anal region, involves primarily the tongue and lips. Called *rimming*, anilingus is most often a form of foreplay. Taboos about uncleanliness make anilingus the least often practiced form of oral sex.

HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) may also be transmitted through oral sex, although the risk of contagion is lower than it is with vaginal or anal penetration. The person who is most at risk is the person who is using his or her mouth in direct contact with the genital secretions of his or her partner. Such STDs as chlamydia, human papillomavirus (HPV), gonorrhea, herpes, HIV, and multiple strains of hepatitis generally pass to the one who is stimulating orally through small cuts or sores in the mouth or through the ingestion of fluids. To prevent STDs oral sex should be avoided after dental work or when one has sores or cuts in the mouth or on the lips or tongue.

As with other forms of sex, oral sex is safest when participants use protection. STDs may be effectively prevented by using condoms or dental dams or even by covered the genitals with plastic wrap. Because pregnancy is not an issue, any impermeable material will serve to prevent the passage of disease pathogens.

SEE ALSO *Tongue.*

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ORGASM

An orgasm is the pleasurable release of the neuromuscular tension generated and exacerbated by sexual activity. It is usually spoken of as the climax of a sexual encounter, although the existence of multiple female orgasms tends to undercut the progressive linear model implied by the word *climax*. It has been suggested that males are also capable of multiple orgasm, a proposition that requires that full ejaculation not be considered the definitive element in the male orgasm.

Linguistically, sexual activities leading up to and including orgasm have inspired an extremely disparate collection of slang terms, euphemisms, and poetic metaphors, including *to die*, *to know*, *le petit mort* (the little death), *nothing*, *coming*, *going*, *pleasuring*, *joying*, *boffing*, *porking*, *banging*, *getting off*, *making love*, *getting it on*, *jumping bones*, *jerking off*, *the big O*, *slapping the monkey*, *lifting belly*, *having a boner* or *a stiffie* or *a hard-on*, *having a cow*, *feeling the earth move*, and *getting the money shot*. From William Shakespeare to stand-up comedy to popular music, an enormous amount of energy has been expended in attempts to name the essentially indescribable experience of achieving, reaching, or arriving at orgasm. Shakespeare's Sonnet 129 is as modern as any rap song in its complex ambivalence about the pursuit of orgasm:

> The expense of spirit in a waste of shame
> Is lust in action; and till action, lust
> Is perjur'd, murderous, bloody, full of blame,
> Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust;
> Enjoy'd no sooner but despised straight;
> Past reason hunted; and no sooner had,
> Past reason hated, as a swallow'd bait,
> On purpose laid to make the taker mad:
> Mad in pursuit, and in possession so;
> Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme;
> A bliss in proof,—and prov'd, a very woe;
> Before, a joy propos'd; behind, a dream.
> All this the world well knows; yet none knows well
> To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell

The twisted braids of contradictory emotions and reactions anatomized by this famous poem are as illuminating and as obfuscatory as any of the contemporary scientific, cultural, and moral theories about the definition, nature, and proper role of orgasm in human sexual behavior.

Orgasm is achieved via a complex amalgam of neurophysiological, psychological, and emotional pathways and circuitries, at any point in which obstacles to climax may be interposed. Visual, aural, olfactory, imaginative, and emotional stimulation are paramount, albeit difficult to measure and quantify. Body contact of various kinds—kissing, stroking, sucking, biting, rubbing, and licking are some possibilities—creates increasing blood flow, and simultaneous vein constriction results in the filling of erectile tissue (breasts, penis, clitoris, testes, labia) with blood, as well as increased muscle tension. As sexual activity continues, vaginal lubrication occurs, the outer portions of the vagina are vasoconstricted, the inner portions expand, and the uterus elevates. In men, penile erection is produced by blood flow to the erectile penis tissue, while parasympathetic nerves provide vasodilator input and also stimulate secretion from seminal vesicles and the prostate and Cowper's glands. Breathing and pulse rates increase progressively as a result of stimulation from the autonomic nervous system. Orgasm, when reached in the male, occurs in two stages: emission (when semen enters the urethra) and ejaculation (when semen is propelled outward). Men typically have one orgasm per sexual session, though some men are multiply orgasmic. Studies have shown that during women's orgasms, some of the vaginal and perineal muscle fibers undergo contraction; stimulation of the clitoris plays a major role in both the excitement and the orgasm stages.

Orgasmic disorders, defined as sexual dysfunctions consisting of absence of or inhibited or delayed orgasm, can befall both women and men. A glance at the criteria outlined in the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (2000) indicates that for both sexes, the diagnosis must be made in the context of the subject's age and degree of distress—where a normal phase of sexual excitement is not followed by a proportionately timed and experienced orgasm, an orgasmic disorder is suspected.

William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson, in their landmark 1966 study, *Human Sexual Response*, proposed that there are four stages in human sexual activity: excitement, plateau, orgasm, and resolution, with orgasm being both the shortest and most intense stage. Both psychogenic and direct physical stimulation contribute to orgasmic resolution. The male physiological response involves an increase in blood flow that results in penile erection. Further stimulation results in the emission and expulsion of semen. Women experience rhythmic contractions of the uterus and vaginal muscles; some may also experience a more or less forceful female ejaculation.

The popular culture sex-advice industry has been far more prolific on the subject of the female than the male orgasm. Unimaginable amounts of earnest ink have been spilled in "vaginal versus clitoral" debates. Women have been lectured about their orgasms for decades, if not centuries. Concomitantly, men are culturally conditioned to value their sexuality only if it is expressed via penile erection followed by semen expulsion.

Unsurprisingly, a visit to the U.S. National Library of Medicine's Medical Encyclopedia Web site (part of MedlinePlus) yields a discussion of orgasmic dysfunction written on the assumption that it is strictly a female problem. "Orgasmic dysfunction" is there described as "inhibited sexual excitement," and the pronouns deployed for the presumptive sufferer thereof are all feminine, despite a cursory acknowledgment that certain drugs "are a very common cause of lack of orgasm, delayed orgasm, or unsatisfying orgasm in both women and men." The "prevention" section speaks to the "vital" importance of "taking responsibility for one's own sexual pleasure"—an admonition directed both explicitly and implicitly at the partner who by definition cannot provide the reassuringly visible "money shot" even when she is not anorgasmic. The anorgasmic male partner in a heterosexual engagement is, by contrast, taking responsibility but experiencing an "erectile problem," the MedlinePlus entry for which is addressed to "you." While psychogenic factors are mentioned here among the many physiological causes, "you" will find nowhere in this entry an admonition to take personal responsibility for "your" own pleasure.

Popular knowledge, as attested in numerous Web sites turned up by a Google search, posits that about a third of women arrive at orgasm via vaginal intercourse, a third with the addition to intercourse of "extra stimulation," and the final third coming to climax only via manual and/or oral stimulation of the clitoris. Here again, admonitions to take responsibility for one's own sexual pleasure abound. Interestingly, the equation of sexual pleasure and orgasm is rarely acknowledged, much less questioned.

It is certainly worth asking oneself why a set of physiological responses has acquired such an enormous tonnage of cultural baggage. Why does the concept of sexual climax lend itself so readily to seemingly endless cultural and theoretical troping? Why does a search on Amazon.com yield dozens of books with the word *orgasm* in their titles? From "more bang for the buck" to "the money shot," orgasm is troped into ordinary discourse on a daily basis—why are so many peculiar and degraded slang terms needed for what is after all a fairly basic physical activity?

Just *where* a female orgasm should properly occur is still a bone of much contention in the "vaginal versus clitoral" orgasm wars. The Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) has been vilified as the author of the theory he perhaps too thoughtlessly relied on—that only vaginal orgasms can be truly womanly. (It must be admitted that he is guilty of referring to the clitoris, at least in English translations, as a "real little penis.") Is there such a thing as a vaginal orgasm? Is it sexist or feminist to insist there is one? Is it sexist or feminist to advocate for the role of the clitoris in female sexual satisfaction? What would advocacy mean in that context? Virtually every position in these debates derives from a single problem: No one but the woman knows whether she has had an orgasm, and even she is not necessarily sure why or how it happened (or did not).

Freud famously remarked that three things in life are uncertain—death, the afterlife, and paternity. The genuineness, or lack thereof, of a woman's orgasm is, in an important way, a kind of cultural homonym to the problem of paternity ("mama's baby, papa's maybe"). In this sense, female orgasm must to some extent be taken on trust, and it would seem that this necessity provokes much cultural anxiety. In 2005, research at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands found significant differences in brain activity during the female and male orgasm. Deploying PET scans (and socks—giving the test subjects a pair of socks to wear increased the number who achieved orgasm under the test conditions from 50 percent to 80 percent), the study showed that while areas in the brain associated with anxiety and fear (the amygdala) shut down during orgasm for both sexes, the male orgasm depended more on sensory input from the genitals than did the female orgasm. These are fairly weighty observations with significant implications for further neurological research, yet what caught the attention of the popular media was that the researchers had also been able to distinguish between a genuine and a faked female orgasm with the aid of PET scan technology. Until a home PET scan device is marketed, however, the ordinary sexual partner must take it on trust that he or she is party to or witnessing an experience and not a performance—provoking much cultural anxiety and potent grist for all kinds of comedic mills.

In the 1989 film *When Harry Met Sally*, for instance, Sally Albright (Meg Ryan) and Harry Burns (Billy Crystal) put their cards on the table, as it were. Sitting across the table from Sally, Harry declares no woman has ever faked an orgasm with *him*; Sally replies that "all men are sure it never happened to them and all women at one time or other have done it so you do the math." One thing leads to another, and the scene culminates with Sally's tour de force fake orgasm. Her final pants are punctuated by a nearby customer declaring to the waitress: "I'll have what *she's* having."

Cultural theory has impressed the orgasm into complex and arguably productive use. The French word *jouissance*, in Jacques Lacan's rereading of Freud, for example, came to denote the human struggle against the very symbolic order that makes being human possible. Feminist theoretical use of *jouissance* points to the kind of nonlinear ways of knowing typically ascribed to specifically feminine ways of engaging the body, the physical world, and language. The so-called French feminist reading of feminine *jouissance* (performed by thinkers as disparate as Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, and Julia Kristeva—for each of whom some part of the phrase *French feminism* is a self-described misnomer) is a reclamation project that aims to rescue such devalued forms of knowledge and acknowledge their inherent superiority to what Virginia Woolf described as the basic patriarchal grammar of human language and epistemologies (or, as Catharine A. MacKinnon famously put it: "Man fucks woman: subject, verb, object."). Similarly, Irigaray (1985) argues that the phallogocentric economy through which people come to subjectivity privilege sight over other ways of knowing, having, and being because it is based on the binary of something versus nothing and modeled by the very visible male sexual organ versus the nonvisible mysterious reaches of feminine sexuality.

In his twentieth seminar (1975), Lacan takes up the issue of feminine *jouissance* (and whenever this word is used, it means both "literal" orgasm and a unrealizable state of plenitude that can be troped but not spoken, felt but not seen), asserting that it is of necessity supplementary, not phallic, but elsewhere and other. Insofar then as women have on a literal level the kind of orgasm (not phallic, not visible) that the term *jouissance* embodies on an epistemological one, perhaps it is no wonder that women's actual orgasms have provoked so much controversy, contention, and prescription masquerading as analysis.

For it remains an intractable fact that however many scientific words it becomes entangled in—neurophysical, vasoconstriction, parasympathetic, vaginal, clitoral, and all other such verbal prestidigitation—we certainly remain unable in our current paradigms, to account for, to take account of, female orgasm. This might raise suspicions about our apparently thorough understanding of the male one as well. If, that is, a man really can have a multiple orgasm, how can that ability be explained in the context of a linear, driven, progressive concatenation of physical tensions leading to an ultimate and final release? And if that standard, against which female orgasms are measured and found wanting or not found at all, can be that fluid, might it not be the case that the study of and theorizing about *jouissance* will be found to be more informative about (because it informs *against*) our definitions of, standards for, and proscriptions relating to that ultimate of physical bodily expressions, the orgasm—in all its glory, violence, discovery, secrecy, shame, and just plain fun?

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Lynda Zwinger

ORGY

Originally *orgy*, from the Greek *orgias*, referred to secret rites and festivals held in honor of the god Dionysus (Bacchus), Greek culture. Dionysus was the god of wine. Festivals in his honor were held throughout the year and included theatrical performances and wine drinking. Other Dionysian festivals were more secret and involved the maenads or bacchantes, groups of women who were devotees of Dionysus. These women would climb Mount Parnassus and, in a drunken stupor, engage in sexual activities with the god. They were reputed to be so voraciously hungry that they tore up and consumed live animals. In ancient Greece these activities were dedicated to the god; as illustrated in Euripides' play *The Bacchae* (405 BCE), they did not always have a happy ending.

Worship of Dionysus spread to Rome as the festival called "Bacchanalia." In his *History of Rome* the historian Livy (c. 59 BCE–17 CE) described these rites as "debaucheries of every kind," from the "pleasures of wine and feasting" to "the promiscuous intercourse of free-born men and women,... false witnesses, counterfeit seals, false evidences, and pretended discoveries" and even murder (Book 39). In 186 BCE the Roman senate outlawed the Bacchanalia, replacing it with the festival of Liber Pater, held in March, celebrating boys' passage through puberty. Liber Pater, like Bacchus, was a god of wine and fertility, but his female acolytes were older, more staid, and less likely to be overtaken with orgiastic frenzy.

Despite the Roman Senate's desire to limit debauchery, Roman festivals offered opportunities for ribaldry, drinking, sacrifices, gambling, and at the December feast, Saturnalia, the reversal of positions of master and slave. Roman emperors also became more libertine, hosting elaborate dinners with drinking, performing women, and courses of delicacies. Participants at such feasts stuffed themselves, then vomited in order to make room for more. An orgiastic Roman feast might include such dishes as dormice coated in honey and poppy seeds, a dish containing peacock brains and flamingo tongues, or the ever-popular udders from fig-fattened sows.

The activities of the maenads and reputation of the Bacchanalia are the basis for the modern conception of both Greek and Roman orgies as events in which all inhibitions are tossed aside in favor of uncontrolled sexuality, drinking, and eating. Films such as Federico Fellini's *Satyricon* (1969) and historical novels such as Robert Graves's *I, Claudius* (1934) have perpetrated the idea of the Roman orgy as a debauched event that included gluttony, drinking, and sex. Although such emperors as Caligula (12–41 CE) may well have indulged in such excesses, orgies did not commonly take place in Roman culture except among the very wealthy.

The rise of Christianity, the fall of the Roman Empire, and the general loss of leisure and wealth during the Middle Ages eliminated orgies as they had been celebrated in Greek and Roman religious festivals. Only manifestations of the carnivalesque reversal of social status remained in the religious festivals celebrated in Europe. Sexual misbehaviors were recounted in poetry and story primarily as versions of adultery, as in the Arthurian tales or the songs of the troubadours, or more ribald tales of cuckoldry that appear in the fabliaux (thirteenth-century France), Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1349–1352), and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1380s–1390s).

Stories about sexual orgies reappeared in the work of the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814). The rise of pornography from the late eighteenth century on presented stories and images of sexual license, though such stories rarely rose to the populated levels of the orgy, generally focusing on groups of three or fewer. Graphic artists such as the English painter William Hogarth (1697–1764), who produced a painting titled *The Orgy* (c. 1735) as part of the Rake's Progress series, and the Polish-born painter Henryk Siemiradzki (1843–1902), who painted *Roman Orgy in the Times of Caesars*, mythologized the excesses imagined to have occurred in Roman culture. Although Siemiradzki's painting depicts figures attired as Romans, Hogarth's painting translates the orgy into eighteenth-century terms.

In the twentieth century the concept of the orgy changed from a religious festival marked by drinking, eating, and sexual excess to a concept of the orgy as group sex involving three or more participants. Sexual liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the relaxation of mores and laws about public sexuality, the availability of birth control, and the emergence of sex (or swingers) clubs, gay bathhouses, and sex parties have made space for the multiple-partner sexual encounters we now imagine to be orgies.

Sex orgies may consist of heterosexual participants who only engage in heterosexual activities, heterosexual couples who engage in both heterosexual and homosexual activities, gay male participants, or lesbian participants. Participants may have sex with multiple partners or may have sex only with their own partner in the company of other couples who are also having sex. Orgies typically involve participants who have all agreed to the same kind of practice; those interested in bondage and discipline may practice bondage and discipline. Those who are interested in fetish items or sex toys may focus on those.

Sex or swingers clubs are nightclubs, often private and limited to members, that provide the accommodations and atmosphere for couples to "swing" or have sex with other couples. Those who frequent such clubs know the accepted guidelines in group sex and assent to the experience. Gay bathhouses, which emerged during the 1960s, also provided a context for meeting partners and engaging in group sex. Occasionally social friends will agree to multiple-partner group sex parties held at someone's home. The Internet has become a place where those interested in sex parties may find other participants.

Across the United States and Canada, group sex has also become a part of retirement living. The Canadian Supreme Court declared swingers clubs to be legal in 2005, and older Americans participate to a greater degree than might be imagined in "The Lifestyle," which refers to a life of swinging engaged in by middle-class retired couples. They belong to Lifestyles sex clubs that operate in every state except North Dakota and boast more than 3 million adherents. Members host group sex parties and barbecues, which come close to the eating and copulating orgies imagined to have captivated Rome.

Orgies, however, also pose dangers for their participants. Increasing the number of partners increases the chances of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, or of catalyzing emotional and social difficulties premised on jealousy.

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Judith Roof

OTHER, CONSTRUCTING THE

The distinction of self from other is a crucial way in which human beings try to make sense of the world, constructing self-identity by contrast to, and often at the expense of, those who are perceived to be different. Such processes of othering operate both within/between communities and within the individual psyche. The ego as described by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) depends complexly on the desire for, loss of, and identification with others whose qualities come to define—both through difference and similarity—the self. At the group level, othering operates in two main registers. On the one hand, groups construct as other to themselves entities thought to exist entirely outside their own social worlds. Thus, ancient Greeks defined themselves against all other peoples, naming these "barbarians" based on their speaking unintelligible—that is, non-Greek—languages. Medieval and early modern Europe constructed an Orient essentially different from itself, and such West-East constructions have been remarkably resilient (as Edward Said's *Orientalism* [1978] demonstrates). Yet, constructions of otherness occur not only across clearly defined social boundaries but also within more intimate spaces. Ancient Greek societies distinguished between and among different classes of people within their own social ambit—citizens (defined as male), women, slaves; thus, the identity of the male citizen was secured by the othering of both women and slaves. Medieval European Christendom, while distinguishing itself against other religions like paganism, Judaism, and Islam, also distinguished others within itself, "heretics" thought to depart from orthodoxy.

Constructing an other wholly outside one's own social world operates to create group cohesion—Greek not barbarian, Christian not Muslim—while constructing others internal to one's social space tends to produce hierarchies: citizens holding power over slaves, men controlling women, orthodox Christians persecuting heretics. These two kinds of social othering tend often to buttress each other. Thus, the other within one's society is understood as similar to the other outside, and vice versa: slaves are "barbaric," barbarians are "womanish." No single act of othering is ever fully separate from other such acts, and one of the challenges for understanding the construction of others is the problem of analyzing the intersections and superimpositions of various kinds of otherness—race, ethnicity, religion, class, gender, sexuality—in any given social circumstance.

The construction of otherness operates especially persistently in relation to gender, with most societies organizing themselves around a dissymmetry of male and female. Such gender binarisms claim to base themselves on real differences of biological sex, which do, of course, exist (though, as the existence of intersexed people makes clear, not as any kind of absolute dichotomy). But such biological differences never operate outside of cultural understandings: One reads biological sex through established notions of what it means to be a man or woman. As feminists have argued, while sex may be biological, gender—how sexed human beings live in the world; masculinity and femininity—is always a social construction. (For one deeply influential treatment of the "sex/gender system," see Gayle Rubin's "The Traffic in Women." For the argument that not just gender but also "biological sex" is constructed, see Judith Butler's work.) In the history of the West, the social construction of gender consistently involves processes of othering, where the privileged position of selfhood is attached to maleness and masculinity. In classical Greece and Rome, as also in medieval and early modern Europe, women generally had little political power, despite the occasional prominence of a woman like Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) of England, and women's social roles were quite regularly subsumed to men's. In Western societies, women are generally understood to be weaker than men, less rational and more emotional, and hence less reliable. As early as ancient Greek philosophers like Plato (427–347 BCE) and Aristotle (384–322 BCE), we can see the male/female binarism resting on a distinction between mind and body, reason and emotion, wholeness and fragmentation—with the first term in the binary consistently associated with maleness and masculinity. (A brilliant analysis of this tradition is the French feminist Luce Irigaray's *Speculum of the Other Woman*.) Such constructions operate, of course, not only to denigrate women, but, by contrast, to elevate men, to give men the sense of an identity that transcends weakness, irrationality, and the vicissitudes of the body, that is in control of itself and of its social world. Attaching the social distinction between men and women to a difference like that between mind and body—understood to be essential in all human beings—serves to *naturalize* the social distinction, to suggest that women (like the body) are meant, biologically and not just socially, to be subordinate to men (who become, in such constructions, like the mind, the controlling and defining feature of the rational human being).

The construction of otherness understood to rest on differences of sexuality has a less consistent history in the West than does that of gender otherness. The Bible does, in a few places, mention and outlaw sexual acts that one would understand as homosexual, but it does not make central to its social understandings anything like the distinction between homo- and heterosexuality that, as Eve Sedgwick (*Epistemology of the Closet*, 1990) and others have shown, becomes a central way of defining human subjects in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In ancient Greece and Rome, homosexual acts were not necessarily seen as unacceptable: Instead, for men at least, they were understood to be part of one's development, with boys acting as passive partners for older men and moving into the active role as they aged. The distinction of active/passive was more important than any distinction of homosexual and heterosexual, with the othered category being a grown man who persisted in taking the passive role in sex. Women's sexuality received less attention than men's—as witnessed at least by the surviving texts—though one can see certain intense female-female relationships celebrated, notably in the Greek poetry of Sappho. In medieval and early modern Europe, sexual otherness is less salient than gender difference, and in fact what might be understood to be the construction of othered sexualities often is conflated with, and subsumed into, gender difference. Thus, women who dressed and acted as men were perceived as a real threat to the social order. Judith C. Brown's *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (1986), while it describes a woman whom the author names a lesbian, also makes clear that it is as much that woman's taking on of behaviors understood to be masculine that makes necessary her containment as an unacceptable other. When, earlier, in the *Canterbury Tales*, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340–1400) works to question his fictional Pardoner's sexual "normality," he does so through a conflation of sexualized and gendered terms, describing the Pardoner as either a "gelding" (a castrated horse) or "mare" (a female horse). Such a combination of gender and sexual otherness remains characteristic of the newly emergent sexualities of modernity: One primary way in which homosexuality has been and continues to be defined is through the trope of gender inversion. In both the medieval and early modern moments, one can also glimpse constructions of sexual otherness quite similar to one's own distinctions of heterosexual and homosexual identities. Thus may be seen "sodomites" or "tribades" or "mollies" emerging as identities understood to be radically other to normative sexualities.

The analysis of constructions of otherness—the recognition of the ways in which such constructions operate, the social and psychological formations they facilitate, the violences they do—is relatively recent in the Western tradition. Philosophy, from the Greeks on, reproduces in many ways the distinctions of self and other that are dominant in Western societies, valorizing mind over body, male over female, Western or European over Oriental or African. But, beginning at least with Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), philosophy has also provided important tools for understanding and critiquing the construction of otherness: In his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel analyzed how, for the emergence of a consciousness of self, there is a necessary dialectic between self and other, which is also a struggle for power between "master" and "slave." Crucial later treatments, influenced by Hegel, include:

1. Freudian psychoanalysis, especially as developed by Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), who makes the self's negotiations of otherness crucial to psychic process;

2. Julia Kristeva's psychoanalytic reflections on "abjection";
3. deconstruction, as developed by Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), which analyzes the hierarchies produced by othering in order to emphasize the ways in which the denigrated term of a binarism like man/woman, understood to be secondary to and derivative of the dominant term, may in fact be seen as primary, in that the dominant term is defined by its denigrated other;
4. feminism, especially Simone de Beauvoir's understanding, in *The Second Sex* (1949), of the male oppression of women as one in which women are consistently othered.

Beauvoir's understanding has been widely influential on later feminist thinking, which continues to analyze the significance of othering for gender inequality. Such feminist articulations, along with Lacanian psychoanalysis and Derridean deconstruction, have in turn shaped an emergent queer theory (for instance, in Butler's important work). Here, queerness is an other that is understood to be both abjected by a normative sexuality and necessary for the norm's very existence.

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Steven F. Kruger

OVID

43 BCE–17 CE

Publius Ovidius Naso was born in Sulmona (now in the Abruzzo region of Italy) on March 20, 43 BCE, and died in Tomis (now Constanta, Romania) on the Black Sea in 17 CE. His wealthy equestrian-rank family sent him to Rome, where he studied Rhetoric, and then, as was customary, to Greece, where he spent a formative year in Athens. Upon his return to the capital, he started the *cursus honorum* in order to fulfill his family's ambitions, but dropped out at an early stage, after holding only junior-level offices. Then, Ovid devoted himself entirely to his literary career under the protection of Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus, a patron of literature whose poetic tastes were less aligned with Augustan cultural politics than with those of the more powerful and influential Gaius Maecenas (the protector of Horace and Propertius, with whom Ovid entertained friendly relationships; and of Virgil, whom he did not know personally, but whose works he read intensively). Ovid married three times and had a daughter and a stepdaughter. In 8 CE, he was exiled to the town of Tomis, then at the outer edge of the Roman colonial territory. Ovid was not stripped of his citizenship, neither was he deprived of his possessions. On the cause of the banishment, he laconically mentioned "*carmen et error*." While *carmen* ("poem") is widely believed to refer to the *Ars amatoria* (which was recalled from all Roman libraries), the real nature of the "error" is still unknown. It is likely, however, that Ovid was somehow implicated in the adultery scandals of Augustus' daughter and granddaughter (the latter was banished the same year as Ovid).

The chronology of Ovid's *corpus* is still debated, but his first published work was, around 15 BCE, the five books of *Amores* (*The Loves*: poems in elegiac couplets), which years later were trimmed down to three books. Between 10 and 3 BCE he composed the first fifteen elegies of the *Heroides* (*Heroins*; the last six poems, whose authorship is still questioned, were added later). These early works were as successful as Ovid's only tragedy, *Medea*, now lost. The first two books of *Ars amatoria* (*The Art of Love*) were published in 1 BCE, and the *Medicamina faciei femineae* (*Women's Facial Cosmetics*) appeared before 1 CE. They were followed, in 1 CE, by the third book of the *Ars*, and by the *Remedia amoris* (*The Cure for Love*). Around 3 CE Ovid began his most ambitious project, the only one composed in hexameters and not in elegiac meter (hexameter and pentameter): the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*, a veritable encyclopedia of transformation-related mythical stories, from the primeval chaos to the metamorphosis of Caesar and the glory of Augustus. In the same years Ovid composed the six books of *Fasti* (*Festivals*), a series of aetiological poems

Ovid. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

on festivities and celebrations in the Roman calendar. Twelve books were planned, but the project was interrupted by the poet's exile. In Tomis, Ovid composed numerous elegies and poetic epistles in which he lamented his unhappy life at the periphery of the empire, and tried to win back Augustus' favor directly or by enlisting the intercession of the powerful addressees of some of the poems. These were collected in the five books of *Tristia* (*Sorrows*, 8-12 CE) and in the four books of *Epistulae ex Ponto* (*Letters from the Black Sea*, begun in 12 CE and published posthumously). At the beginning of his exile, Ovid also composed *Ibis*, an invective against an anonymous defamer. Other works written during his late years have not survived: they included a poem written for the death of Augustus in 14 CE, and a poem, supposedly written in the local language of Dacia, or Getic, on the divinization of the dead emperor and in praise of his successor Tiberius (who, however, did not revoke the *relegatio* [the exile]). The attribution of a fragment of a poem on fishing and fauna at the Black Sea has been widely challenged by scholars.

As a poet who principally wrote in the elegiac tradition, and as "the poet-par excellence of the fluidity of identity" (Sharrock 2002, p. 95), Ovid has been the subject of many studies focused on his representation of gender and sexuality. The very choice of the genre (the "gendering of genre, Sharrock 2002, p. 104) has important implications in this respect. It has been noted (Harrison 2002, p. 79) that "'supergenre' might be a better term" to discuss Ovid's re-use and diversification of the elegiac form, as it had been codified mainly by Propertius and Tibullus: going far beyond his predecessors, Ovid expands the roster of themes that can be put to verse in that particular meter. Whereas the Augustan rule, and its related masculine order, found its proper expressions in political (Horace) or epic (Virgil) poetry, Ovid's choice of the elegy signals an intention to distance the poetic practice from the dominant ideology, but in so doing he also subverts some precepts of the genre. The fictionally submissive male (or the "elegiac fiction of sexual role inversion, Greene 1998, p. xv) of the Propertian tradition is abandoned in favor of a demystified, unromanticized, or even militarized (the male lover as "militant") depiction of gender dominance.

In the *Ars*, (its first two books are addressed to men, and the third to the *hetaerae*), all pretensions of sentimentality and fidelity are shed in favor of an idea of love as an erotic, physical *lusus*, or game, in which everything is admissible. Eroticism is the subject of both a positive (*Ars*) and negative (*Remedia*) instructional technique, which also extends to accessories like cosmetics (in blatant derision of the sumptuary and aesthetic modesty of Augustan morality, and of the elegiac tradition itself). If feminist critics like Sharrock, Greene, and Desmond have pointed out how Ovid, exposing the violence inherent in imperial Rome, repeatedly portrays women as subject to abduction and rape (as in *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*), or as commodity (as in *Amores* and in the *Ars*), it is also very crucial to reflect on the poet's adoption, in the *Heroides*, of female voices and "feminine" features (see Rosati 1992, who points to Roland Barthes' notion of "absence" as "feminine"). The letters of the abandoned heroines to their absent lovers, while depicting a void in women's lives filled only by surrogate objects of desire (see Rosati 1992) and vain hopes (thus lending Ovid the opportunity to exercise in multiple variations of *suasoriae*, or persuasive discourse), also provide the Roman public with a none less literary, but far less fictional, account of the *servitium amoris*: not the pseudo-servitude of the male lover of the elegiac code, but a real subservience mandated by traditional gender normativity.

Ovid's fortune in Western culture has been immense. Recently, many scholars have focused on the dynamics of Ovid's (mis-)interpretations in the Middle Ages, in texts like the *Romance of the Rose* and the *Ovide moralisé*, and in the works of Chretien de Troyes, Andrea Capellanus, Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and many others. According to Desmond the reception of Ovid, and especially of his amatory poetry, is an element crucial in understanding how "the colonial structures of the ancient Roman world shaped the erotic discourses of the medieval West," and, namely, the instruction "in a masculinity that is calculated and predatory, and in a femininity grounded in submission" (Desmond 2006, p. 7). Other scholars have focused on the medieval allegorical readings that expanded the poet's *auctoritas*, and the resulting dichotomy between a perception of Ovid as an authority in ethics, natural philosophy and mythology, and the lingering image of the "archpriest of transgression, whether sexual, political theological" (Dimmick 2002, p. 264).

SEE ALSO *Ancient Rome.*

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Paolo Fasoli

OVULATION

SEE *Menstruation.*

P

PARSIS

SEE *Zoroastrianism.*

PASOLINI, PIER PAOLO
1922–1975

Pier Paolo Pasolini was a poet, novelist, and essayist, but is best known as a filmmaker whose films challenged the moral, political, and aesthetic norms of Italian cinema. Pasolini was linked variously with the Italian communists associated with Antonio Gramsci, the mystical Christianity of the Friuli region, and with the lower-class denizens of the Roman suburbs about whom he made his first films. His homosexuality was also widely known. He was murdered in 1975.

EARLY LIFE AND INFLUENCES

Pasolini was born in Bologna on March 5, 1922. Pasolini's parents brought together his father's ancient noble family from Romagna and his mother's more humble and agrarian Friulians. His father, who had been a soldier renowned for having saved Benito Mussolini's life, had trouble with alcoholism and moved frequently for his job. Thus Pasolini was, as he put it, "a nomad," moving from Bologna to Parma, Conegliano, Belluno, Sacile, Cremona, and back to Bologna. His brother Guido, with whom he had a close relationship, was born in 1925. In 1926 his father was arrested for gambling debts, so Pier, his mother, and his brother moved back to Casarsa in Friuli.

Pasolini was interested in literature from a very early age. He identified with the French poet Arthur Rimbaud, and began writing poetry at age seven. Moving around made the timelessness of great literature all the more attractive to Pasolini, so he read widely in the works of William Shakespeare, Leo Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. In 1939 he entered the Literature College of the University of Bologna, where he also frequented the cinema club. He also became passionately interested in soccer.

Still young during the beginnings of World War II, Pasolini's sympathies were anti-Fascist. He published his first collections of poems in 1941 at his own expense and edited a literary magazine but was fired by its director, who was aligned with the Fascists. He got a job teaching. During this time, Pasolini's anti-Fascist sympathies were transformed into pro-communist leanings. His family moved back to Casarsa in 1942 to wait out the war in greater safety. He was drafted into the Italian army in 1943 and was imprisoned by the Germans, but he escaped, returned to Casarsa, and began working with other intellectuals to elevate the status of the Friulian dialect. Friulian was important to Pasolini not only as the language of his mother's family but also as an anti-Fascist and anti–Catholic Church action, because the Fascists wanted a standardized Italian language that eliminated dialects and the church reserved the use of dialects for priests.

The wrangling among small groups of rebellious communists in Italy ended in a massacre of one group by another, and among the massacred was Pasolini's younger brother. Guido's death made Pier more politically active, especially on behalf of the Friulian language and Friulian autonomy. He also fell in love with a male

Pier Paolo Pasolini. *Pier Paolo Pasolini looks through a camera on the set of* La Ricotta. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

student, an event that marked his first openly homosexual relationship. He continued to write poetry, publishing several small collections. He also became more openly active on behalf of the communists, becoming a member of the Italian Communist Party.

In 1949 Pasolini was charged with the corruption of minors and public obscenity, fired from his teaching job, and expelled from the Communist Party. In 1950 he and his mother moved to Rome, struggling to survive in the suburbs among lower-class workers, criminals, and others from the country. During this time he became familiar with the kinds of characters who would people his first few films. Unemployed, Pasolini began writing his first novel. He also became a proofreader for the Italian film studio Cinecittà and tried selling his own books at local bookstalls. He finally returned to teaching, while continuing to write and work on literary magazines.

But Pasolini was never to be far from controversy. He published his first novel, *Ragazzi di vita* (1955), which, though successful, was declared obscene and removed from bookstores. The government could not prove its case, so the book was returned. Pasolini was repeatedly accused of crimes from burglary to obscenity, but he was never convicted.

FILM CAREER

In 1956 Pasolini began his film career, writing the Roman dialect dialogue for Federico Fellini's film *Nights of Cabiria*. He continued to write and publish poetry and essays and in 1961 made his first film, *Accatone*, about the Italian underworld. The film was off-limits for viewers under eighteen. In 1962 he directed *Momma Roma*, a film about a prostitute and her son. He then directed "La ricotta," an episode in the compilation film, *RoGoPaG* (1963), which was removed from the compilation while Pasolini was tried for vilifying religion. He nonetheless continued directing films that combined religious themes with realistic, down-to-earth, and often grim portrayals of life. In 1964 he made *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, an adaptation of the life of Jesus. His 1968 release *Theorem* was a comic film about the sexual unraveling of a bourgeois family. His late-1960s directorial work also included *Oedipus Rex.* (1967) and *Medea* (1969).

Pasolini's films became increasingly grand in scale, folkloric, and openly sexual in content. He traveled the world, going to India, Kenya, Israel, Ghana, and Guinea. He is perhaps best known for the trilogy of classical folktales made in the early 1970s: *The Decameron* (1971), based on Giovanni Boccaccio's work; *The Canterbury Tales* (1972); and *Arabian Nights* (1974). His final work was *Salò* (1975), an intensely graphic rendition of material from the Marquis de Sade.

Pasolini's films often won awards, including honors at Cannes and the Venice Film Festival, but they were never far from controversy. Pasolini's attitude that life is holy and that sexual and other humble activities of daily life are sacred rather than immoral constantly pitted him against the institutional morality of church and government. He was an ardent opponent of consumerism and globalization, especially because of the way in which these economic forces contributed to the disappearance of regional autonomies. His films never shrank from portraying the facts of life realistically, imaging nudity, sexuality, and violence in stark, unromanticized terms. He also never hid his homosexuality.

Pasolini was murdered in Ostia, Italy, on November 2, 1975, his body run over repeatedly by a car. Although a young hustler was arrested, he later recanted his confession. The mystery has never been solved.

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Judith Roof

PASSING (WOMAN)

Passing, a term that figures commonly in questions of racial identity, as in black passing as white, in this context refers to a woman who is successful in being viewed by others as a man, that is, by creating a male gender identity. To pass combines physical elements (primarily haircut and clothing) with behaviors and mannerisms associated with the male gender. Cross-dressing is an essential component of gender passing. The term became common in the 1940s and 1950s, sometimes referring to butch–femme relationships in which the butch passed as a male at all times. It also designated one partner in a couple who would pass so that they could go out in public, to a straight nightclub or restaurant, without encountering problems. The 1950s also saw a popularization of psychological assessments of a lesbian as a *man trapped in a woman's body*, inadvertently encouraging some women to pass. As Marjorie Garber (1992) noted, gender passing can produce "a failure of definitional distinction, a borderline that becomes permeable, that permits border crossings from one (apparently distinct) category to another" (p. 16).

Examples of women who cross-dressed and married other women begin to appear in legal records and chronicles in Renaissance (1350–1600) Europe. Many of these accounts offer examples of a young woman who in her guise as a male earns a living and is well-liked in the town, until the truth of the relationship comes out. In such cases the woman who passed as the male partner was likely to receive harsher punishment than was her *wife*, and was frequently put to death. The latter consequence was apparently even more prevalent when some instrument was used to counterfeit male genitalia. Whereas these cases are often considered early examples of the existence of lesbians, it is not always clear how homoerotic desire intersects with economic realities and individual independence. A parallel could be drawn with early Christian women who passed as men for spiritual reasons. Nonetheless, the prosecutions highlight European cultural anxieties concerning the usurpation of male privilege. Passing can be seen as a destabilizing force, threatening the social structures that subtend male dominance.

Military exploits are another common thread in the history of passing women and offer a variety of models. Unlike Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431), who cross-dressed but did not attempt to pass as a man, the Basque Catalina de Erauso (c. 1592–c. 1650), also known as the Lieutenant Nun, became famous in her lifetime, inspiring a play. Erauso served in the Spanish army in Latin America. Her sex was eventually discovered, and for her service and military prowess, she received a papal dispensation to wear men's clothing. Erauso as a soldier was notorious for a hot temperament and violent behavior. In order to be more convincing, she seems to have taken on a hypermasculine role.

The British military, too, had its passing women. Hannah Snell (1723–1792) donned a uniform to search for her husband who had deserted her. After the death of her daughter, she joined the Royal Marines, sailing to India. Even after her sex was revealed, she was granted a pension for her service. After returning to civilian life in 1750, Snell remarried twice. Similarly, Mary Anne Talbot (1778–1808) first cross-dressed when she was mistress to a navy captain in order to be able to sail with him. After his death she continued to pass and earned her living in the military. She spent the last years of her life with a female friend.

The American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) saw Deborah Samson (or Sampson; 1760–1827) serve successfully while keeping her sex hidden. She received an honorable discharge and eventually, through the intervention of Paul Revere (c. 1735–1818), a solid pension. Samson, who resumed female dress and also married, was proclaimed the official heroine of Massachusetts in 1983. Albert Cashier (born Jennie Irene Hodges [or Hodgers] 1843–1915) enlisted in the Union Army in 1862. After being discharged he continued to live as a man. Although his true sex was found out a number of times, it was only when incarcerated in Illinois at the Watertown State Hospital for the insane that he was forced to wear a dress.

As the varying narratives suggest, no simple identification between passing and homoerotic desire exists. For some, soldiering or earning a living appears to be the main motivation. Such women are often understood as protofeminists, fighting against the constraints of society. For some the period of passing was short lived, and a return to female gender roles followed. Whereas Erauso's pursuit of adventure also included coy flirtations with women—always stopping short of marriage—Talbot's turn to a female companion is fraught with the ambiguities of romantic friendship.

In the nineteenth century, stories of passing women, including those in the military, frequently appeared in the newspapers or as autobiographical sketches, with, of course, the discovery of the true sex as a culminating moment. With the rise of sexology and psychiatry, masculine women, among whom the passing woman was counted, took on another dimension—that of sexual inversion. As formulated by Karl Westphal (1800–1897), the symptoms were "a congenital inversion of sexual experience with the consciousness of the pathological character of that phenomenon" (Mak 2004, p. 65). Passing was not considered a temporary masquerade but rather an identity. The image of the mannish lesbian popularized in the early twentieth century was another manifestation of this sexual invert.

In relation to the late-twentieth-century understanding of gender identities and sexualities, passing crosses its own definitional borders and is associated with other terms, including *transgender* and *transsexual*, and figures such as Leslie Feinberg, whose autobiographical novel *Stone Butch Blues* (1993) traces complex gender identities, including the movement from a passing woman to a transgendered butch.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Body, Depictions and Metaphors; Clothing; Eleno; Gender Identity; Lesbianism; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Edith J. Benkov

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy is an important category for social analysis in feminist theory and theology. Patriarchy refers to societies where the rule of the father is the basic principle of social organization of the family and society as a whole. Patriarchal systems seem to have arisen first in nomadic herding groups in the tenth to fifth millennia BCE in various centers of social development: the ancient Near East, the Indus Valley in India, in China, and in Mesoamerican cultures. Gathering and gardening societies seem to have taken on the patriarchal order as they moved to larger scale agriculture, property ownership, and urbanization. This process took place over a period of time in the ancient Near East, but was well developed by the time written codes of law were developed in the third millennia BCE.

Patriarchy means the "rule of the father." Patriarchy refers to systems of legal, social, economic, and political relations that validate and enforce the sovereignty of male heads of families over dependent persons in the household. In classical patriarchal systems, such as were found in Hebrew, Greek, and Roman societies, as well as classical India and China, dependent persons included wives, unmarried daughters, dependent sons, and slaves, male and female. In Roman law, the term *familia* referred to all persons and things ruled over by the *paterfamilias*, including animals and land.

While male slaves and dependent sons were ruled over by the patriarch, women were more thoroughly subjugated. Sons grew up and male slaves could be emancipated to become independent householders. Women—as daughters, wives, and widows—were defined generically as dependent persons under the male head of the household in which they lived. The female slave, combining the subjugated statuses of female and slave, was even more vulnerable, having no protection from physical or sexual abuse.

Patriarchy as a social system is found in classical societies around the world. Some anthropologists, such as Elman Service, believe that the patriarchal family was the aboriginal order of human society and hence is "natural" and inevitable. But others, especially feminist anthropologists, have challenged this assumption. They argue that patriarchal systems arose at a particular time in human history with the change from food gathering and gardening to plow agriculture, private landholding, urbanization, and class stratification. In the ancient Near East this happened sometime between the seventh and fourth millennia BCE. Thus the classical societies and religious cultures of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans that predate Christian society and theology were shaped by patriarchal ideological and social patterns.

The status of women in patriarchal societies has many nuances, depending on such factors as how women's physical protection and the property deriving from their own families of origin are related to their status within their husband's family. Economic and legal liberalization and the spread of women's education also modified women's subjugation in classical times, particularly during the Hellenistic and the later Roman periods. However, in classical antiquity women never gained the status of citizenship with its independent legal political status, the right to vote, or the right to hold office.

Although one cannot define a single system that would be true of all patriarchal societies at all times, one can generalize about the characteristics usually found in patriarchal societies. The general characteristic of the status of women under patriarchy is one of subjugation without legal status in their own right. Several other aspects of this subjugated status include the following:

1. Lineage of children is passed down through the father
2. Male children are preferred to female children
3. As wives, women's bodies, sexuality, and reproductive capacity belong to their husbands
4. The sovereignty of the husband over his wife includes the right to beat her and to confine her physically, sometimes even to sell her into bondage
5. Since women do not have public roles in politics and culture, their education is usually limited to household skills and sometimes minimal literacy
6. Women's right to inherit property as daughters or widows is restricted, and what property they do inherit is usually administered by a male relative or guardian

The exclusion of women from public political and cultural offices and from the higher education that prepared men for such offices accounts for the almost exclusively male elite formation of public culture under patriarchy, and for the definition of women from this male point of view. Women typically have had great difficulty gaining visibility and credibility as creators of culture, even when they manage to gain education and skills and produce cultural creations of comparable quality to those of ranking males. Since the cultural creations of women have not been incorporated into the public heritage that is taught to the next generation of students, such cultural accomplishments that women did achieve have been continually lost, erased from public memory, or else have survived by accident, often by being attributed to a male.

These patterns of patriarchy were reconfirmed in early modern European law codes and continued to define women in Europe and North America until the feminist movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries succeeded in winning for women the legal status of citizens, with the right to vote and hold political office, as well as to make property transactions in their own names and have access to higher education and professional employment. Similar changes in women's social status have taken place in other parts of the world in the twentieth century through liberal democratic or socialist revolutions.

However, many remnants of patriarchal ordering of society still remain in "modern" societies. Women are seen as the primary house-workers and child-raisers, and their capacity to compete economically with men is thereby limited. Cultural patterns and legal restrictions continue to limit women's economic, political, and social equality, and to ratify the view that women are subordinate to men as a gender group, a subordination that is interstructured with class and racial subordination.

The major world religions have been deeply shaped by the patriarchal ordering of the societies in which they developed. Christianity inherited patriarchal religious and cultural patterns both from Greek and Roman philosophy and law and also from the Hebrew world. Patriarchy rooted in these ancestral sources shaped a Christian worldview that took for granted the male hierarchical ordering of society and the church as the "order of creation" and the "will of God."

God is typically imaged as a patriarchal father and lord. The patriarchal hierarchies of male over female, father over children, and master over slave are reduplicated symbolically in the relationship of God and Christ to the Church as bridegroom to bride, father to sons, and lord to servants. The image of Christ as Head and the Church as his body reduplicates the legal view in which the wife lacks her own "head" (self-direction) and belongs as body to her husband.

For some church fathers, such as St. Augustine, this concept of male-headship led to the conclusion that women lack the image of God in themselves and are included in the image of God only under their husbands as their "head." Women are seen as naturally subjugated and inferior by nature, more prone to sin, lacking reason and self-control, and defined by their body and sexuality.

As such, women cannot represent Christ in the ordained ministry. These views have flowed from patriarchal patterns taken into Christian theology and church polity.

Feminist theology arises by challenging this patriarchal distortion of Christian theology. Feminist theology dismantles the legitimization of patriarchy as God's will and the "natural order" and redefines it as sinful distortion of good human relations and as an apostasy from God's true mandate for creation. Feminist theology builds on the partial liberation of women in modern societies and calls for a completion of that liberation in society and in the church and its theology.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Judaism; Matriarchy.*

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Rosemary Radford Ruether

PATRILINEALITY

Patrilineality refers to the organization of family relationships in societies by lines of descent from a person's male ancestors. The term derives from the Latin words *pater* ("father") and *linea* ("thread"). A patriline consists of the generations of male descendants. Both male and female offspring belong to a patriline, but only male children can continue the line. Patrilineality also is called agnatic kinship, a term derived from Roman law. Patrilineality is one version of a unilineal system of descent. The other version is based on descent from the mother: matrilineality. Amilateral or bilateral kinship systems are those in which both matrilineal and patrilineal lines of descent are relevant to determining family relations, social identity, and the inheritance of property and privileges.

There are many ways in which human cultures organize the relationships among their members, but most have certain basic features and prohibitions. The mother-child relation is usually the unquestionable core, whereas the rules and features of marital relations may vary from culture to culture. Groups such as families and clans must have a way to recruit members (a principle by which individuals belong to a specific group) and determine whether their members will live with the mother's or the father's family. They usually also prohibit incest, or intermarriage between members of the same group. Groups also must have a way to define the descendants to whom family property is passed.

THE PATRILINEAL SYSTEM

Unilineal systems such as patrilineality resolve these issues around a principle of descent from father to son. When a culture defines relationships and identities in terms of male ancestors, decisions about who is or is not a relative are made in relation to the male line. In patrilineal cultures, when sons marry, their wives become a part of the patrilineal group and live with the husband's family. This is called patrilocal residence.

Patrilineal family organization uses the father's line as a way to define naming practices and the inheritance of property, privileges, titles, and social position. In patrilineal family systems children and wives take the father's surname, the patronym. Family property often follows the patrilineal line of descent as well. Sons inherit property from their fathers, but daughters, who are expected to marry outside the family, often inherit nothing. If male ancestors occupy positions of power or prestige, only sons may inherit those positions. Daughters and wives benefit from the family's social status and material wealth but may not participate directly in ownership or power. In some patrilineal cultures only the oldest son can inherit; this practice is called primogeniture. In other cultures, such as the United Kingdom, the line of male heirs will inherit the throne before female members may inherit it, even though that country often has been ruled by hereditary queens.

There is no necessary relationship between patrilineal kinship systems and patriarchal forms of social organization that define the father as the central authority and operate on principles of male dominance and control. Cultures with patrilineal kinship systems are, however, often patriarchal as well. Although many cultures define kinship matrilineally, such as Jewish cultures, those cultures also may be patriarchal in their distributions of power, not allowing women to take a direct part in religious ceremonies, for example. There are no strictly matriarchal cultures.

HISTORY AND THEORIES

Systems of descent in cultures have changed through time. Many Western European cultures, such as ancient Greece and Rome, were patrilineal. In medieval Europe, Salic law, which governed the Frankish tribes of the areas that are now Germany and France, codified the patrilineal succession of power in monarchies. China and Japan had patrilineal kinship systems, but many cultures, such as those in Africa, Polynesia, and the Americas, were organized around extended families or clans with variations on one system of descent or the other. Clan systems accompanied unilineal kinship systems that were most often patrilineal, but the Ashanti of Ghana, the Nayar of India, and Native American cultures such as the Crow were matrilineal. Most cultures in North America and Western Europe are currently amilateral in that they determine family relationships on the basis of descent from both mothers and fathers, though their naming and inheritance practices may be patrilineal.

In the past anthropologists thought that patrilineality represented a cultural advance from a more primitive matriarchal matrilineal kinship system. Johann Bachofen (1815–1887) posited that ancient cultures were organized matriarchally. In his view matriarchies operated promiscuously in that women had sexual relations with many men. Because of that promiscuity, paternity could not be ascertained, and so those cultures were also matrilineal. Because mothers were the only parents whose relation to children could be certain, women became more socially important. As men gained power, sexual relations became more monogamous to protect paternity; this eventually resulted in the development of law and civilization. Civilization came in the form of altering matriarchies and matrilineal systems into patrilineal patriarchies.

Bachofen's theories about cultural evolution have been replaced by more complex understandings of early societies that are based on modern archaeological findings. Modern anthropologists understand that families are highly complex organizations whose structure depends on a number of factors, such as the physical environment, the economy, and beliefs about reproduction, among other variables, and that there is no intrinsic superiority of one system over another. Bachofen's ideas did, however, influence Friedrich Engels in his analysis of the relations between families, the state, and private property that undergirded Marxist thinking.

THE ROLE OF GENETICS

Although patrilineal descent groups were one solution to the basic issues of social organization, research in genetics has shown that there is a specific kind of genetic relationship between fathers and sons that can be traced only through generations of males. Because all males have a Y chromosome and because that chromosome is passed only from fathers and sons, the genes on the Y chromosome are not mingled with any maternal chromosomes and thus can be traced from generation to generation as mutations or changes in male lineages occur. Y chromosomes belonging to Cohen males have been identified, as have genes indicating male descendants of Niall of Ireland and Genghis Khan. Advances in DNA technology also have made possible paternity tests that can determine with nearly absolute certainty that a specific individual is the father of a particular child. That degree of certainty has not been possible until this point in human history.

SEE ALSO *Matrilineality.*

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PATTINI

Pattini is a goddess popular among Buddhists of Śrī Lanka and Hindus of that island's east coast. The goddess is the deified form of the woman Kannaki, who was renowned for her chastity. Pattini's life is the theme of the Tamil poem *Cilappatikāram*, composed during the sixth to ninth centuries. In medieval times, both Hindus and Buddhists assimilated the Pattini cult, suggesting close ties among Sinhalese and Tamils on the island at the time.

Foremost a mother goddess, Pattini does not have the duality of mother goddesses in other parts of South Asia, passive and nurturing or terrifying and vengeful; she is primarily a stern but benevolent mother. Pattini is married to Pālanga (or Kōvala), but remains a virgin. Her sexual purity is essential in maintaining the polarity between harlot and wife, thus rendering the ideal status of wife and mother, in the Pattini cult, essentially undefiled. This requires, however, the impotence or castration of Pālanga, made possible by practices of the cult.

There are two main ritual cycles. The first, the *gammaḍuva*, includes annual performances by villagers enacted after the harvest to offer thanksgiving, or in response to drought and disease. The second, the *aṇkeḷiya*, is performed primarily by the male population of the village. The *gammaḍuva* comprises offering plants (betel leaves and festival boughs) and lights, planting the torch of time, and performing fire trampling rituals and ceremonial dances for the participating gods. Through these acts, Pattini's status as mother goddess is reaffirmed.

The second cycle, the *aṅkeḷiya*, involves cathartic participation by the audience around horn game rituals, in which two teams pull on ropes attached to *sambar* (deer) horns and or to wooden hooks representing horns until one of the horns breaks. In the course of these games, men are thought to release impotence and castration anxieties, involving damage and injury to the penis; the winning team with the broken horn represents successful intercourse with the wife (mother), and the team with the unbroken horn is publicly shamed by its failure to engage in intercourse.

The Pattini cult is also a medical system, of Hindu/Buddhist origin, in which the patient solicits the aid of the deity to respond to the *doṣas* or faults of the organism. The three faults of the Āyurvedic medical system (*vāta*/air/breath; *pitta*/fire/bile; *kapha*/water/phlegm) indicate the upset of human homeostasis, which is believed to be caused by physical influences or the agency of spirits, both of which are caused by planetary misalignment and karma. One of the goals of the *gammaḍuva* is to cure, control, protect against, and exorcise the negative effects of the *doṣas*. Thus, for example, ritual fire trampling controls an excess of fire (*pitta*), and ritual cutting of water controls an excess of water (*kapha*).

Pattini is also known for the sacred anklet she wears, an amulet thought to have special curative powers that can rid people of such conditions as smallpox, chickenpox, whooping cough, measles, and mumps. In the form referred to by Tamils, Kannaki, the goddess is a guardian deity who protects people from diseases and calamities, and interacts favorably with nature, bringing rains and promoting fertility and the growth of vegetation. Essentially, Pattini represents maternity, purity, healing, and piety embodied in feminine, yet divine, form.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Hinduism.*

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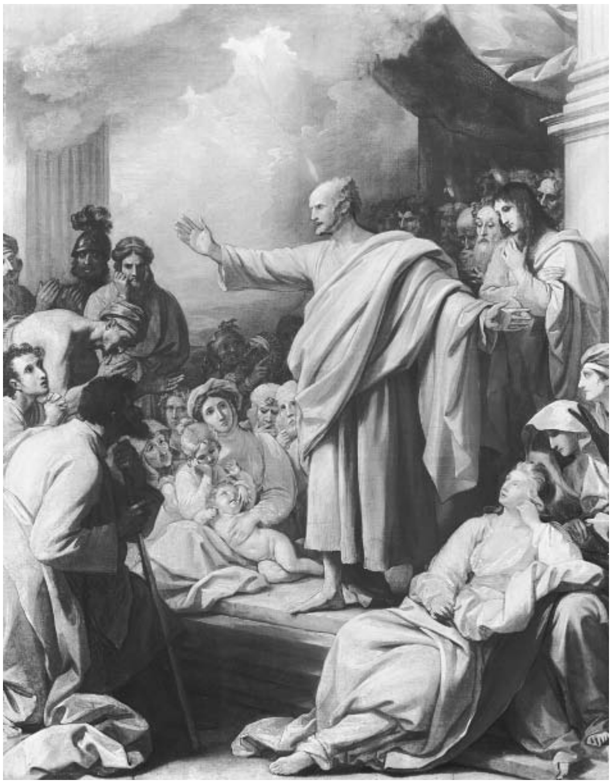
Ellison Banks Findly

PAUL (SAINT)
5 BCE–67 CE

Saint Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, *vas electionis* (the chosen vessel), was born Saul in Tarsus, Cilicia, in present-day Turkey, circa 5 BCE. He was trained and educated in rabbinical school in strict observance of Jewish Law, and earned a living as a tentmaker, a trade he inherited from his father. The major event in his life was his conversion on the road to Damascus, as narrated in chapter 9 of the Acts of the Apostles, after which he changed his name to Paul and became an ardent follower of Christ. He preached to the Jews and to the Gentiles, and his missionary journeys led him to Asia Minor, Greece, Malta, Rome, and even Spain. He was beheaded in Rome around 67 CE under the Emperor Nero.

As a Jew of the Diaspora, Paul spoke and wrote Greek, the language of his Epistles, whose doctrine became the basis of Christian theology. Paul did not know Christ personally, though he lived during his lifetime; yet, in his writings he insists that his call as an apostle came directly from the Risen Christ and that his teaching is of divine origin, allowing him to distinguish himself from false apostles. Because Paul belonged to Hellenistic Judaism, which had developed in the synagogues of the Diaspora independently of Palestinian Judaism, his teachings contain Gnostic and esoteric elements that are also present in the New Testament Gospels, in the Apocalypse, and in writings of the early church. But Paul never attributed to God the creation of evil or of original sin. Instead, he believed in the tripartite division of the human into body, soul, and spirit (*sóma*, *psyché*, *pneuma*; 1 Thess. 5:23), and he strongly affirmed the resurrection in a "glorious body" (2 Cor. 3:1–18). For him, the Old Law is fulfilled with the dispensation of the Spirit, and the Spirit is Jesus, the Messiah, the New Adam, and the New Law.

Paul's views on women, marriage, divorce, incest, sex, and immorality are contained primarily in 1 Corinthians 5:1–13, 6:12–20, 7:1–40, and 14:34–35; Ephesians 5:22–33; Galatians 3:23–29; and Timothy 2:11–15. In 1 Corinthians 6:12–20, Paul states his central argument against fornication among the Corinthians based on his theology of the human body as the "Body of Christ." He forcefully condemns sex with prostitutes, because, during the Corinthians' pagan rites at the festival in honor of Aphrodite, her followers engaged in public revels and in open sexual intercourse with prostitutes. Understood within this context, Paul's position is not a prohibition on sexual intercourse proper, but a condemnation of ritualistic acts involving open fornication, and it is not connected to any Gnostic belief on the impurity of matter. In 1 Corinthians 7–14, Paul expresses his firm belief that celibacy is the better way, stating, "I wish that all were as I myself am. But each has his own special gift from God, one of one kind and one of another" (7:6). Thus, for those who wish to be married, be they widows or single, "it is better to marry than be aflame with passion" (7:8). If, in a couple, a partner is an unbeliever, the other should not divorce, because the unbeliever is consecrated through the



Saint Paul Preaching to Corinthians. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

partner. For the unmarried, he prefers celibacy, because "the appointed time has grown very short," and dealing seriously with marriage hinders dedication to Christ. In this case, Paul is obviously thinking of an immediate return of Christ, the Parousia (Second Coming). But he clearly states that if one marries, one does not sin: "he who marries his betrothed does well; and he who refrains from marriage does better"; further, if a wife becomes a widow, "she is free to remarry to whom she wishes, only in the Lord. But in my judgment she is happier if she remains as she is. And I think I have the Spirit of God" (7:38–40).

Regarding the status of women in society and within the church, Paul's views present ambiguities. No doubt, his teachings were received in accordance with and conditioned by the mores of the Middle Ages, in which the status of women was one of submission and inferiority. Paul's teachings on women have been nevertheless misinterpreted because of the Aristotelian influence on Christianity through Aquinas, yet Paul can also be seen clearly as an advocate of parity between the sexes. In Ephesians 5:22–33, when Paul states that a wife must be subject to the husband as to the head, he establishes an analogy, Christ = man, Church = wife, thus, the superiority of one over the other. Some commentators, however, have indicated that this affirmation was determined by the deteriorating conditions of marriage prevalent in Jewish and Greek societies. In Greece family life and fidelity were nearly extinct, and in Rome men and women engaged in numerous divorces; thus Juvenal speaks of a woman who had eight husbands in five years, and Jerome mentions one with twenty-three husbands. Paul would then have been reacting to these conditions by trying to provide a certain order; in the next passage, in fact, he speaks of the relations of children and parents (6:1–4). The analogy, therefore, is created in terms of love, not subjugation.

Christocentrism determines his views on women, and it is based on love and sacrifice. According to William Barclay (1976), while Paul said that "the husband is the head of the wife, he also said that the husband must love the wife as Christ loved the Church, with a love that never recognizes the tyranny of control, but which is ready to make any sacrifice for her good" (p. 174). This is confirmed and enhanced by what Paul says in Galatians 3:23–29—there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, slave and free man, man and woman, and all are children of God through faith, "omnes enim filii Dei estis per fidem." Indeed, *filii* should be translated here as children, not sons. As a rabbinical scholar, Paul knew the traditional Jewish prayer thanking God for not being a Gentile or a woman, and he reversed it with these words. In the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla, for example, Thecla, a Pauline convert, abandons her fiancé, dons male clothing and is off in the world to evangelize. Thus it is "simplistic" to declare Paul either "a downright misogynist or the champion of women," as the feminist scholar Rosemary Radford Ruether has pointed out. Phyllis Trible (2006), for instance, affirms that these texts are "historically conditioned," and that the apostle may well have been "divided on the subject [of sexual egalitarianism]. Paul never made up his mind on it, and the post-Pauline Church went with the inferior side of it" (p. 51).

Indeed the best approach to the teachings of Paul on women is to view them in the context of each generation, because freedom and equality are basic tenets of the New Testament and its writers. Prophetically, Paul advocated knowledge "face to face," but the church fathers and traditionalist teachings have mirrored their societies in such a way that social justice, including the rights of women, has been a very protracted and painful process. Lesly F. Massey (1989) points out that in Ephesians 4:11–16 Paul expresses his longing for "the day when the Church would come of age, when its doctrine and its members would display the kind of maturity that would radiate love" (p. 135). This position is coherent with what 1 Corinthians 13:13 eloquently expresses: "without love, I am nothing."

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

PEDERASTY

The term *pederasty* is used variously to refer to: the erotic attraction of an adult male to an adolescent boy; sodomy of an adolescent boy by an adult man; sexual relations between an adult male and a prepubescent boy; anal intercourse between two men; pedophilia, or sexual attraction to young children; sexual molestation of a child by an adult. There is little agreement about the exact definition of the term even in scientific literature, much less in general usage. Unless otherwise specified, however, this article will use the term pederasty in its first sense—that of the sexual and/or emotional attraction of an adult male to an adolescent boy.

The indeterminacy of pederasty's definition is at least partly due to the controversy surrounding the notion of sexual relations between adults and children. In industrialized countries in Europe and North America, societal outrage at and disapproval of such relationships is greater and more unified than censure of perhaps any other sexual behavior. As such, pederasty is often conflated with pedophilia, the sexual attraction of an adult to a child, and sexual molestation; even scientific studies of the behavior tend to assume its abusive nature and often fail to distinguish between pederasty and other forms of child-adult sexual relationships, including rape and incest. Most sociological studies further conflate pederasty with pedophilia in general, and such studies often treat all forms of pedophilia with the same criteria, failing to adequately examine the differences between men drawn to girls rather than boys; between men attracted to prepubescents rather than adolescents; and the degree of consent at work in the relationship. As a result of such conflation of pederasty and pedophilia and sexual abuse, there is often very little distinction made—scientifically, legally, and in the general population—between a long-term, mutually-satisfying relationship between an adult and a sixteen-year-old youth and a one-time sexual encounter between an adult and a nine-year-old boy.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD PEDERASTY

Contemporary North American and European attitudes generally stress the complete separation of child sexuality from adult sexuality, arguing that the relative power positions of the adult and child render a truly consensual relationship impossible. Even among the researchers who have suggested that pederastic relationships are not intrinsically harmful, this power differential is an ever-present point of concern. Some have argued for more relaxed social and legal understandings of pederasty, pointing out that earlier civilizations (and even some contemporary cultures, most notably in a number of Pacific communities) both sanctioned and encouraged sexual relationships between adults and children, and often provided ritualized mechanisms by which those relationships might be established. The most vigorous opponents of any relaxation of the boundaries between child and adult sexuality maintain that pederastic behavior is always wrong and harmful. More moderate opponents often note that while such relationships may not necessarily be psychologically damaging to the child involved, the attendant social stigmatization and the lack of cultural support for such relationships may render them extremely harmful.

HISTORY

Pederasty was used in ancient Greece to describe a loving relationship in which an adult male served as an educator and mentor to an adolescent boy. Although there was some debate about whether these relationships should be sexual in nature, man-boy relationships were widely considered to be beneficial and an important part of a young boy's development. As with many other practices and beliefs, pederasty was imported from Greece into the Roman Empire. Unlike Greek men, who believed that male love was exalted and would help both lovers to be better citizens, Roman pederasty took place primarily in the context of the master-slave relationship. The power inequities of such relationships engendered the belief that the passive partner (who was almost always a slave) was weaker and less masculine than the dominant partner. Sexual submission to one's master was considered a routine and necessary aspect of a slave's life, but sex with freeborn boys was frowned on and freeborn men who were discovered to have submitted to sodomy by another were subject to ridicule. Although pederasty was conceived very differently in Rome than in Greece, it appears nonetheless to have been commonly practiced and widely accepted. Provided that one played the "male" rather than "female" role in the encounter, such sexual behavior incurred no particular social stigma.

As Christianity took root in the Roman Empire, however, homosexuality and pederasty were increasingly disapproved of and legislated. In the Middle Ages, with the growing influence of the Catholic Church in Europe, homosexuality and pederasty were increasingly criminalized, and evidence of the existence of pederastic relationships often occurs in the context of legal trials and sentencing. By the Age of Exploration, European attitudes toward both pederasty and homosexuality were highly critical and moralistic.

As European explorers, travelers, and missionaries began to come in contact with the Eastern world, then, they were shocked at the prevalence of homosexuality and pederasty. Chinese literature under the Ming Dynasty, which lasted until 1644, demonstrates a matter-of-fact acceptance of relationships between boys and men, often depicting the affairs as grand, lifelong passions. In the conservative years after the fall of the Ming Dynasty, pederasty was criminalized and penalties were instituted against men who engaged in sex with a boy under twelve. During the nineteenth century, however, a number of emperors had sexual relationships with younger men or boys, and restrictions against such behavior were consequently loosened. Western European visitors generally condemned the cultural familiarity with and acceptance of pederasty, but one French traveler noted that, for the Chinese, pederasty was an aesthetic and physical pleasure and it was often a mark of rank, culture, or intellect for a man to have an adolescent lover.

Japanese culture was heavily influenced by the Chinese and took a similarly casual attitude toward man-boy sexual relationships. Early European visitors to Japan were horrified by the ancient Japanese tradition of *nanshoku* (male love) which dated from at least the ninth century and was thought to exceed the depth of love possible between a man and a woman. As in China, much of the literary production that deals with homosexuality involves an adult man being beguiled by a youth or boy; even when things end badly, the relationship often leads to some sort of religious salvation.

TYPES OF PEDERASTY

Quantitative attempts to analyze the prevalence and beneficial or detrimental effects of pederasty have generally returned widely conflicting results. Case studies based on interviews of both pederasts and the boys they are involved with provide a much more cohesive picture of what constitutes such relationships. Many self-identified pederasts describe themselves and their relationships in terms reminiscent of Greek love: they consider themselves to have a special affinity for children and see themselves as mentors and educators. For some men, the pederastic relationship is largely confined to quite traditional mentoring activities and includes a minimal amount of erotic interaction. Anal intercourse is generally limited to men with adolescent partners, and many relationships forego it altogether. Studies suggest that the type, degree, and frequency of erotic and sexual interaction is often dictated by the boy rather than the adult, and this interaction is often limited to caressing, cuddling, and manual or oral genital stimulation.

These relationships are rarely violent or physically abusive, though many researchers identify both the potential for and engagement in emotional manipulation by the adult member of the relationship. Interviews with pederasts suggest that such men are more likely to target children who lack self-assurance or who seem emotionally deprived; however, interviews with these boys often—though by no means always—suggest that the involvement with the older man is welcome and provides them with love and attention that they may not receive at home. While many pederasts are interested exclusively in male children or adolescents, it appears that boys who are part of pederastic relationships are as likely as not to be heterosexual; often, the end of long-term pederastic relationships coincides with the adolescent's growing interest in the opposite sex. While there is plenty of scientific documentation to support the contention that such relationships are emotionally damaging to minors, there is also evidence to suggest that sexual involvement with an adult can help teach boys how to be part of a respectful, stable relationship with another person, whether male or female.

LEGAL STATUS

In some areas of the world, pederasty is both legally and culturally sanctioned. In most Western countries, pederasty is illegal unless the boy has reached the local age of consent. In many countries, the legal code makes additional provisions to ensure a minimum age difference between participants before the older partner is subject to legal prosecution. Some European nations have recently moved to lower the age of consent for minors. In the United States, controversy over pederasty and age of consent focuses on the question of child welfare and, for some, raises questions about to what degree the government can or should legislate private, consensual behavior. There are a number of groups who advocate for stricter laws governing adult-child sexual behavior and others who agitate for lowering the age of consent.

The North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) is perhaps the best known and most controversial of these groups. NAMBLA advocates for increased sexual freedom for children and adolescents, arguing that prohibition of consensual relationships oppresses men and boys. Founded in the late 1970s, NAMBLA was initially part of the burgeoning gay and lesbian movement of the time. However, NAMBLA was quickly and increasingly ostracized by LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) organizations, many of which echo the general population's disgust for NAMBLA and its violent rejection of adult-child sexual relationships.

NAMBLA insists that it neither encourages members to break existing laws nor serves as a mechanism for its members to make sexual contacts; the group does not advocate any nonconsensual relationships whatsoever, but the occasional arrests and prosecution of NAMBLA members on grounds of child molestation and pornography have led the general public to believe otherwise. In 2000, the parents of a young boy kidnapped and murdered by two neighbors brought suit against NAMBLA, charging that the organization and its publications had incited the murderers to action. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) took the case, arguing that NAMBLA publications are protected under the First Amendment. The case was ultimately dismissed and was continued as a wrongful death suit against individual members of NAMBLA. Public reaction was intensely critical of both NAMBLA's political positions and its existence as an organization. The volatility of public reaction to this and other cases concerning adult-child sexuality concerns some researchers, who have begun to worry that the intensity of public sentiment surrounding issues of adult-child sexuality has adversely affected attempts to properly study and legislate the phenomenon.

SEE ALSO *Pedophilia.*

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Maureen Lauder

PEDOPHILIA

The word *pedophilia* comes from Greek words meaning "love of children." The term denotes actual, intended, and/or fantasized sexual relations with a child. Pedophilia is defined in various ways, however, in that it often is parsed and specified not only by the mental health community but also by the criminal justice system. Much confusion has surrounded the term as researchers and lawmakers still question the status of pedophilia as a psychological disorder and are reevaluating the age range of the victims of pedophilia along with the treatments and/or necessary punishments for offenders.

CULTURAL HISTORY

In ancient Greek and Roman culture (300 BCE–400 CE) male members of the upper class were free to have sex with multiple partners, including young boys. Termed *pederasty*, sexual relations between boys and men were common. Through the early and medieval periods the Roman Catholic Church defined many sexual acts along with incest as sinful, and by the 1400s specific rules were drawn up, such as keeping children in separate beds to avoid promiscuous touching. In the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries the concept of childhood began to flourish as a period of life separate from adulthood. During that time children were deemed sexually innocent from infancy, a concept that Sigmund Freud rejected in the twentieth century when he stated that even infants are sexual creatures (Wasserman and Rosenfeld 1992).

Around the world nearly all cultures share certain prohibitions of adult-child sexual relations. However, some extreme cases exist, such as certain tribes in Australia and the Sambia of New Guinea (Davenport 1992). Both groups socially condone relationships between very young children and adults: heterosexual patterns for the former and homosexual patterns for the latter. As William H. Davenport explains, if one is seeking a universal picture of pedophiliac activity, it should not be judged by Western standards alone (Davenport 1992). Thus, it may not be appropriate to state that all human groups prohibit pedophilia. Rather, there are prohibitions on specific sexual experiences that may differ across cultures.

CHARACTERISTICS

The American Psychiatric Association defines pedophilia in the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical*

Child Molestation Trial of British Rock Star Gary Glitter. *Fallen British glam rock star Gary Glitter received a three-year sentence for "lewd acts with minors."* © JULIAN ABRAM WAINWRIGHT/EPA/CORBIS.

Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV) as a usually chronic condition that begins in adolescence, though most individuals report that it was not until middle age that they began to find children arousing (American Psychiatric Association 1994). Those with pedophilia may prefer males or females exclusively, though some are attracted to both sexes. In cases in which pedophiles are attracted mainly to males, the recidivism rate is nearly double that of those who prefer females. Each individual also prefers a certain age range: Those attracted to females often state that girls eight to ten years of age are the most desirable, whereas those attracted to boys generally state that they prefer slightly older children. In the overwhelming majority of cases the pedophile is male, and it is debatable whether women fulfill the diagnostic criteria for pedophilia. Such criteria include a period of more than six months of intense urges or behaviors involving sexual relations with a prepubescent child; those urges and behaviors must create social and/or occupational dysfunction; and the person must be at least sixteen years of age and five years older than the child in question (American Psychiatric Association 1994).

Although the terms often are used with little differentiation, there is a distinction between pedophiles and child molesters and other child predators (Litton 2006). Unlike pedophiles, child molesters are omitted from DSM diagnoses and are not marked by the precise time range of their abusive behavior. Certain characteristics mark further disparities; for instance, pedophiles usually hold steady jobs, whereas the employment history of molesters is often irregular. Molesters have a history of arrests and are more likely to initiate intercourse, whereas pedophiles are quieter, normally law-abiding individuals who are more inclined to fondle their victims (Litton 2006). However, this distinction is marked mostly in child abuse research—the law considers any adult engaging in sexual relations with a child to be a pedophile regardless of the above characteristics.

SEXUAL ACTS

The types of sexual activity engaged in and/or forced by the adult can take many forms. The individual may wish to watch the child undress or coerce children into being watched as they expose themselves. Sexual activity may consist of soft touching and fondling, masturbation between the child's thighs, and cunnilingus, fellatio, or penetration of the child's mouth, vagina, or anus (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). In some cases the sexual play may include taking photos of the child in suggestive poses.

The most common among pedophilic sexual activities are those which involve looking, fondling, and masturbation, whereas pornographic photography and actual coitus are rarer occurrences. Clearly, coitus remains a difficult practice because of the child's size and still developing body, but some researchers find a connection between the common types of pedophilic sex play, the maturity level of the victim, and the possibly arrested development of the perpetrator (Mohr, Turner, and Jerry 1964).

Categorized in the realm of abnormal psychology, pedophilia is placed under the heading of paraphilia. Meaning "amiss love" or "beside love," the paraphilias include voyeurism, fetishism, exhibitionism, transvestism, and other sexual patterns that deviate from certain European cultural norms. All the paraphilias typically are engaged in by males, and many studies show that those diagnosed with a paraphilia are diagnosed with more than one; thus, a pedophile also may be a fetishist or exhibitionist (Healey 2006).

Within the pedophilic realm of paraphilia there are two categories: preference molesters and situational molesters (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). Preference molesters feel that their attraction to children is normal and consider their sexual needs and actions to be healthy. These pedophiles tend to be unmarried and prefer young males as sexual partners. Preference molesters carefully plan and arrange situations in which they will be in contact with children.

Situational molesters, in contrast, are much more impulsive in their pedophilic encounters. Usually responding to stress, those in this group sexually approach children in the heat of a moment and may look back on their actions with disgust and regret (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). Usually having regular heterosexual histories, situational molesters for the most part prefer adult relations and see their forays into pedophilia as events in which they lose control. Situational molesters sometimes are involved in incest cases in which marital problems and other stressors have affected an individual and strained family relations.

CAUSES

Various researchers and schools of thought theorize the etiology of pedophilia differently. Cases of molestation in the home may be analyzed in the context of a family-focused sociological or psychological study. As Karen L. Kinnear writes in *Childhood Sexual Abuse* (1995), possible causes can be detected by considering family and marital dynamics. By surveying and studying the family in its component parts and as a unit, the family-focused approach finds and attempts to remedy negative catalysts in the home environment.

Some offender-focused theories indicate that pedophiles who were molested as children often repeat that behavior as adults because their previous experience has created an attraction to children or because the role reversal has created a situation in which the former victim can be empowered (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). Beyond pedophilic events, any early childhood experience of arousal may contribute to an adult fixation that is based on recreating that moment.

Other researchers highlight pedophiles' stunted maturity, marking a type of arrested development, as the reason for their attraction to immature individuals. In cases of what Kinnear terms "blockage," pedophiles may experience embarrassing rejections or abandonment in adult relationships and, feeling hindered and fearful of further rejection, turn to children as more malleable and controllable substitutes (Kinnear 1995).

In his 1905 work *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Sigmund Freud considers attraction to immature sexual objects in a similar vein. He writes that children usually become sexual objects "when someone who is cowardly or has become impotent adopts them as a substitute, or when an urgent instinct (one which will not allow of postponement) cannot at the moment get possession of any more appropriate object" (Freud 1963, p. 14). Interestingly, Freud does not stress the extreme abnormality of such an attraction but uses this and other examples to express the idea that sexual deviance in varying degrees is a normative characteristic of sexuality. This is not to say he condoned pedophilia or labeled it as healthy. Psychoanalytic analysis of pedophilia employs Freudian tenets to consider early childhood fixations that might explain a pedophile's object choice. Psychoanalytic therapy may uncover traumatic memories and/or pressing anxieties that could explain an individual's adult pedophiliac actions.

TREATMENT

Successful treatment of pedophilia is questionable because few people seek therapy for their sexual patterns; instead, they often are reported and then consigned to therapy sessions by law. Thus, the drive to complete therapy may consist of an attempt to fulfill court-appointed tasks and avoid prison time and may not include any self-propelled work toward change (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). Other researchers hold that it is impossible to treat sexual offenders and that the only way to protect the community from them is to incarcerate them for life (Kinnear 1995).

Nonetheless, most convicted pedophiles participate in some form of counseling. Some behaviorist therapies are built on processes of unlearning certain habits and even attractions through aversion. Other therapies focus on impulse control and work like a twelve-step program for drug or alcohol addiction. Regular psychotherapy sessions are used either exclusively or in conjunction with drugs and/or exercises from other counseling techniques.

EFFECTS ON THE CHILD VICTIMS

Children suffer both short- and long-term effects from molestation, and the degree of mental and somatic disturbance experienced coincides with the duration and intensity of the abuse. Difficulty sleeping or eating, problems at school, disruptive behavior, hostility, and low self-esteem are some of a child's initial reactions to sexual abuse (Finkelhor 1986). Socially, children may become withdrawn or difficult to communicate with, and sexually, they may express a more mature curiosity: openly masturbating, employing a sexualized vocabulary, or exposing their genitals. In adulthood a victim may continue to struggle with depression, anxiety, nightmares, post-traumatic stress disorder, eating disorders, and deep-seated feelings of isolation.

PEDOPHILIA AND THE LAW

Many incest cases are adjudicated in juvenile or family court. Civil proceedings such as these are less exacting in considering evidence of abuse and may not even require the child's testimony (Bulkley 1992). Though as a nonpunitive legal arena juvenile court has a reputation for placing the child's interest above all else, criminal prosecution is on the rise. In criminal trials evidence is much more important because the defendant's guilt must be proved without a doubt. Problems in pedophilia cases arise from the difficulty of providing reliable proof. Because there are rarely eyewitnesses and medical examinations may not provide sufficient information, the case relies largely on the victim's testimony.

The child's reliability and competence remain questionable, especially when very young children must take the stand. Furthermore, the experience of speaking before a crowd and perhaps the perpetrator of the crime could be considered traumatizing; in custody battles especially, studies show that the child may have been coached to lie about abuse. Since the 1980s numerous reforms have been enacted to attempt to assess the truth without asking too much of a child witness or denying the defendant a proper trial. The utilization of video testimony, mental health evaluations, and professional testimony by doctors are some aspects of the reformed proceedings.

PEDOPHILIA CULTURE

Although the prosecution of sexual offenders has increased, pedophilia culture thrives, largely as a result of the prevalence of the Internet. The Internet not only allows pedophiles to befriend children and trade child pornography easily and anonymously, it also offers a space for pedophiles to voice their concerns, tell their stories, and associate via e-mail, blogs, and chat rooms. One of the largest organizations with a Web presence is NAMBLA, the North American Man-Boy Love Association (Cluff 2006). Claiming that their sexual inclinations are not criminal, NAMBLA members try to raise awareness and increase acceptance of their norm-breaking sexual proclivities. Americans for a Society Free of Age Restrictions (ASFAR) similarly wishes to lift any infringements on personal freedom. They feel that children should not be stifled by age restrictions that dictate when they can watch certain movies, drive cars, bear arms, or consent to sex (Cluff 2006). Such affiliations, along with file-sharing and information-sharing capabilities, create a virtual community for pedophiles and child molesters worldwide.

SEE ALSO *Pederasty.*

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Ana Holguin

PEEP SHOWS

Peep shows, or images, scenes, or scenarios viewed through a hole, partition, magnifying glass, or other division of space, have their origin in children's toys, three-dimensional art, and other methods of manipulating space and perspective, such as those used in Japanese rock gardens (Balzer 1998). Contemporary peep shows also rely on voyeuristic appeal but are not as innocent as their juvenile precursors. Peep shows in the past often depicted scenes or scenarios of modern life, whereas contemporary peep shows typically depict pornographic scenes intended for adult audiences.

PREDECESSORS

Although some scholars have cited the emergence of the peep show as occurring as early as 1437 in Leon Battista Alberti's perspective art, in which transparent colored glass was backlit to project or distort images, others note that voyeuristic peep shows emerged in the mid-seventeenth century with traveling exhibitions. In those models intricate miniature scenes and stages were constructed inside a box with a viewing hole, and in those miniature scenes various elements could be manipulated to create a three-dimensional scenario in which figures could move. The boxes varied in size, scope, and detail, and many of them were circulated as exhibitions, often referred to as "raree shows," that were popular as public displays of private entertainment. Smaller peep shows were constructed in the eighteenth century as children's toys that, not unlike kaleidoscopes, were hollow tubes or boxes that contained images that were used to create three-dimensional scenarios that sometimes had moving parts (Balzer 1998).

A precursor to the peep show artist, the Renaissance architect Filippo Brunelleschi, created interactive perspective art in which painted panels with silver backgrounds were viewed through a peep hole and reflected in a mirror. Similarly, in the late seventeenth century Samuel van Hoogstraten created peep show boxes with one open side that allowed light to enter miniature interior views of homes. Around 1730 the artist Martin Engelbrecht created miniature theaters that were small boxes into which could be inserted cards that, viewed together through the aperture, created three-dimensional scenes. Early Chinese and Japanese perspective art also developed as precursors to modern peep shows (Balzer 1998).

Other early inventions, such as the camera obscura, which was popularized by Giovanni Battista della Porta in 1558, were precursors to the modern voyeuristic peep show. In the camera obscura (literally "dark room") observers could watch and, to some degree, participate in live scenes that were "projected" through a hole in the wall of the darkened room and onto the wall opposite the aperture. Such rooms were popular into the mid-nineteenth century, when in some cases the actors involved in the camera obscura were replaced by live actors in private rooms, or "secure chambers," where sexual scenes were acted out. Correspondingly, the old box and cardboard peep show predecessors began showing pornographic scenes in the place of commonplace cultural scenarios. As precursors to moving film, devices with manual cranks that flipped through a series of images on cards were developed to create early pornographic movies. Such shows often appeared at bars and cafés and could be viewed for a minimal charge.

MODERN PEEP SHOWS

Once film technology advanced enough to allow consumers to buy personal film and video players, crankable peep shows and peep boxes were replaced with viewing rooms in which one could look at short pornographic films in private booths that were reminiscent of secure chambers. Less often used in bars and commercial consumer spaces and more often built into burgeoning sex shops, these modern viewing rooms require a viewer to purchase coins or tokens that are fed into a slot that keeps a movie playing or an aperture open.

In private viewing booths, as in the camera obscura, peep shows also may feature live action in which performers—most commonly women—strip or act out scenarios on command either alone or with others for the pleasure of the user. In such shows a glass partition typically separates the viewer from the performer, and coins or bills are used to keep the curtain between the two open; alternatively, the viewer can pay the performer directly for the show. Traditionally, viewing rooms that display pornographic films or live performers are dark rooms in which viewers can passively watch, masturbate, have sexual encounters with other viewers, or in some cases issue requests that are acted out. Decorated with little more than paper towels or tissue, trash cans, and sometimes sanitizers, private viewing rooms have been relegated to less mainstream venues such as sex shops and strip clubs.

A more recent development in the peep show viewing booth is the "buddy booth." Stemming from the use of "glory holes"—apertures between private booths that allow users to perform more anonymous sex acts on each other—buddy booths typically are made of two adjacent private booths that share a wall with a large window or partition covered by curtains. In those booths the users can watch each other masturbate or strip without necessarily having to pay the higher price of a professional peep show performer.

Publications such as Delacoste and Alexander's *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry* have brought peep show performers into a more academic arena for study (Lerum 2004). Studies show conflicting effects of peep show and sex industry establishments on the surrounding area (Linz, Paul, and Yao 2006; McCleary and Meeker 2006), but it is clear that peep shows tap into a pervasive cultural force.

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Jeremy C. Justus

PELVIC INFLAMMATORY DISEASE

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

PENANCE

The concept of penance is expressed in all major religious traditions and in a variety of small-scale cultural contexts. Penance typically is characterized by specific ideas about the culture-specific nature of transgression or sin, ideas about the appropriate state of mind and attitude of the penitent, and the use of payment, contrition, or punishment to compensate for transgressions. The idea of penance appears in colloquial interactions that range from seemingly innocent expressions such as "you're gonna pay for that" used among children and peers to tongue-in-cheek jests about "saying a Hail Mary" and similar references in popular culture and personal interactions. Although these references to payment seem to be coordinated with capitalism and a product-profit based economy, the origins of the concept derive from more ancient sources.

PENANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SACRED

In sacred contexts the idea of penance is associated with punishment and repayment for infractions committed against the supernatural or against shared values. A divine calculus of equivalencies matches the infraction with the appropriate punishment and in almost all instances involves both an element of confession and contrition (in which absolution in some form amounts to obedience to some type of religious or judicial power) and an element of recompense or payment (in which the payment almost always is literal in a meaningful way and the payee almost always is tied to geopolitical power sources). The intractability of this idea of infraction and payment is illustrated in both everyday experience and formalized and institutionalized rituals and practices associated with organized religions.

For example, the common English expression "there'll be the devil to pay" typically is misunderstood in terms of the transformation of *devil* into *hell* and the sanitizing gesture of reinstating *devil* to its correct place. The expression derives from a nautical practice involving "the devil," or the submerged portion of a ship's keel; the action "to pay," or to tar over potential leaks; and the danger and difficulty of that operation. The entire expression has a sense different from the misunderstood version: "There'll be the devil [keel] to pay [repair] and no pitch [tar] hot" simply means that the ship and its crew are in trouble. However, the notion of penance in Western historical and contemporary sensibility is sufficiently strong that the expression has been transformed and a plausible and ideologically consistent story has been produced to accompany the changed formulation. The expression "there'll be hell to pay" combines this traditional nautical expression with traces of ancient Greek concepts of death and the requirement of payment at the River Styx to Charon, the ferryman who conveyed souls across the river into the afterlife—hence the concept "to pay hell." Both versions and the ubiquity of the expression in colloquial speech reflect the persistence of the underlying ideas of payment, death, and safe conveyance into the afterlife converted into a mortal equivalence of payment.

Similarly, throughout Western history large social programs and individual biographies have reflected the connection between spiritual or social indebtedness and self-sacrifice. Florence Nightingale, who was born to a wealthy British family in Italy in 1820, spent her life in the service of others, chiefly through her commitment to nursing and in response to her family's wealth and as penance for the ill health of her older sister. Nightingale's story is significant and illustrative in several respects. First, it demonstrates the preeminent place in Western sensibility of repaying, acts of contrition, and self-abnegation in compensation for a wrong one has complied with or committed. Second, it reflects the formative period of twentieth-century ideologies outside the context of the sacred.

Whereas penance usually suggests orthodox religiosity, the secular meanings and applications of penance are striking. Indeed, when secular expressions of penance appear in U.S. history, especially in the context of social service and humanitarian works, women are typically the agents. Perhaps as a result of the lack of a formalized national religion and the religious diversity in historical and contemporary American society self-sacrificial service gestures in the secular sphere allow women to express personal or collective repentance. In Western life in general and in American life in particular the sacred and secular interpretations of confession, penance, contrition, indebtedness, and absolution have tended to leak into one another's territory and have found mutual support in both ideological and material ways.

CATHOLICISM AND PENANCE

The notion of penance in Western traditions reflects the profound influence of Catholicism. The fundamental elements of the sacrament of penance and reconciliation in the Catholic catechism, the written and oral exposition of Catholic doctrine, are confession and contrition: a willingness to confess sins, atone for sins, and refrain from future sinful conduct. The priest, through the sacrament of absolution, forgives the penitent and grants pardon and peace. The sacrament is called penance and reconciliation to denote the embrace by God of the contrite sinner. This sacrament derives its formal structure and power from a variety of New Testament sources, including the gospels of Mark, Matthew, John, and Luke and the Book of Revelation. The power to determine and forgive sins is concentrated in the authority of the priesthood.

Perhaps the most compelling aspect of penance and gender is illustrated in the medieval notions of self-denial, salvation, sanctification, service, and purification achievable through self-starvation. That "holy anorexia" (Bell 1985) was characterized by lack of appetite, loss of weight, satisfaction with the continual disappearance of the body, and mystical experiences associated with religious dedication. Those women of the Middle Ages, generally in religious orders, embody the idealized medieval Western female body. During the medieval period, whereas the male body was understood as a perfected creation of God, the female body was understood as a creation of the woman herself and a reflection of her character. Thus, denial, refusal of food, and other bodily responses to food constituted a demonstration of a genuine affirmation of faith. A variety of forms of penance-related food manifestations have been documented among medieval women in general and saints in particular, including self-induced vomiting, which was presumed to allow the communicant to receive the Eucharist more truly; refusal to eat; and a full range of contemporary clinical symptoms of anorexia, including extreme satisfaction with a decreasing body size, amenorrhea (the interruption of menstruation), fineness and loss of hair, and periods of hyperactivity.

Saint Catherine of Siena. *Saint Catherine of Siena sought redemption through refusal of food.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

Self-starvation in the medieval period was understood as a mystical and sanctifying experience beyond its most literal function as an ongoing form of penance. Most famous among those medieval women is Saint Catherine of Siena, born in 1347, the most archetypal of the self-starving sanctified women who sought redemption through the refusal of food. Catherine held fast to the principle that the need for salvation of humans was so great that there should be no time to think about eating food. Through suffering and starvation Catherine sought penance and reconciliation with God. Such holy anorexia has been understood as a response to social structural patriarchy and the extremely repressive conditions women faced, particularly where expressions of sexuality and body-related matters were concerned. At the same time some scholars have commented that that particular response also conferred a degree of autonomy on women with few choices and little of control over themselves or outside themselves.

JUDAISM AND PENANCE

Transgression and punishment in Judaism are understood in terms of human agency (free will, or *behirah*) and action, along with the intention and seriousness of transgressive acts. Penance, or atonement, involves the conscious, intellectual, individual recognition of one's acts, or *teshuvá* (repentance). Recognition, remorse, desisting from continued or repeated transgression, and restitution are the deliberate acts and states of mind of an individual. Confession is made directly to God and can take the form of personal or ritual acts such as articulating one's confession into community prayer life. Personal rather than formulaic confession characterizes repentance in Judaism. No intercessory (priest) acts to link between human beings and God. During the tenth month of the Jewish calendar the major collective ritual of atonement takes place during *Tishri*, a period of fasting and prayer for forgiveness, or Yom Kippur.

The concept of penance in Judaism differs from Protestant and Catholic configurations in several ways. The concept of penance derived from Christian, particularly Catholic, principles that hold that human beings enter life on earth stained with original sin. Judaism regards volitional and unintentional actions during life as constituting sin. The Catholic understanding of sin interprets the fundamentally flawed nature of humans (original sin) and repentance as a moral virtue. Acts of penitence and reconciliation provide access to God's forgiveness. In Judaism, in contrast, penance involves no confession, no absolution administered through a designated intermediary, and no reconciliation or yielding of all inner negative feelings.

In Judaism *teshuvá* is the intellectual recognition of one's sins, and repentance is understood in terms of remorse, desisting, restitution, and confession. In the Catholic sacrament of penance the penitent must communicate repentance through a priest. In the case of Protestant Christianity forgiveness is sought directly through individual prayer, and the concept of penalty was challenged during the Protestant Reformation though Martin Luther's rejection of the purchasing of indulgences, a practice linked to the corruption of Catholic doctrine and ecclesiastical power. Indulgences, although not part of the early Church, began to replace the acts of contrition, the sacrament of absolution, and the reconciliation of the penitent as early as 1095 under Pope Urban II and continued with intensifying vigor until Luther's initiation of the Reformation.

Gender, sin, and repentance in Judaism situate women primarily in terms of domestic issues and family relationships. The degree to which women are confined to the domestic sphere varies significantly over historical time and across Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform traditions. Although women and men are formally bound by identical general requirements of behavior and repentance, women are excluded doctrinally from the ability to perform a number of acts and wear garments such as a *kippot* (Hebrew) or *yarmulke* (Yiddish); for a woman to express her religious devotion in such a manner would constitute a significant transgression. Thus, because of the restrictions on their behavior, voice, and extradomestic power, the transgressions and consequent penance of women are distinct from men's transgressions or from those of the assumed generic human being.

ISLAM AND PENANCE

As in Judaism, the position of women in Islam is understood formally as equal to the position of men in terms of rights and responsibilities, but in practice women are understood as socially below men hierarchically and in their activities; therefore, their possible transgressions from appropriate moral conduct are gender-specific. Women are described in the Qur'an as essentially and fundamentally different from men. Traditionally, these differences require that men protect women and that women restrict their activities to marriage and family. Chastity, reputation, and maternal devotion are the central conduct-defining characteristics of women's behavior. A good woman is a good wife, and a good wife is a woman whose mind, body, speech are kept in subjection. Moreover, women's transgression is defined chiefly in terms of control, agency, and display of her body.

The Islamic concept of penance, *tawbah*, or repentance is derived from language meaning "to return," as is the concept of *teshuvá* in Judaism. Prayers, good deeds and works, repentance, and compensation are forms of punishment for various kinds of sin. As in the case of all religious forms, religious regulation and legal regulation intersect where necessary to ratify each other and supply authorized force and the right to administer punishment. A variety of sins constitute civil law breaking as well as transgressions against Islamic law, including murder, theft, and adultery. The relationship between the body of a woman and veiling is in certain respects comparable to that between the female body and anorexia in the medieval Catholic Church. Self-abnegation, denial of the corporeal, and the erasure of the visible body characterize these fundamental religious inscriptions on the female body.

HINDUISM AND PENANCE

Hinduism is widely distributed around the world and includes a range of beliefs, practices, and degrees of orthodoxy over historical time, geographic space, and cultural situation. Only general characteristics can identify the general shape of women and penance in Hinduism. Hindu views of sin, (*papā*), repentance, and gender are organized around the concept of negative *karma*, the principle that derives from Sanskrit linguistic stems that mean "to do" and "effect," or "destiny," and describe the totality of an individual's actions. Negative *karma* and the sin that creates it have immediate and harmful effects. Sin, or wrongful actions (*kukarma*), are understood as volitional acts, with their greatest impact in the harm caused to the transgressing individual. Penance, or *prayashchitta*, involves acts of devotion and discipline or acts inflicting discomfort on the penitent, including fasting, self-denial, and a variety of other austerities. Rather than the punishment of guilty persons, the objective is the quest to attain a higher level of consciousness and awareness through corporeal deprivation.

As in the case of the other major religious traditions in large-scale highly stratified societies, the configuration of women in terms of transgression, repentance, and penance reflects the social and economic position of women overall. In Hindu tradition women are situated in material and symbolic conditions in which they are regarded as the center of the family, the custodian of values, the socializer of the young, and the source of life and at the same time the root of sin, temptation of men, moral and intellectual inferiority, and the need for constant monitoring and control. Rather than women submitting to penitence in repayment for their own sense of transgression, the infliction of punishment on women traditionally can entail the amputation of ears and noses and the infliction of severe physical distress, in part stemming from the foundational stories of Rama's similar treatment of his disobedient wives.

BUDDHISM AND PENANCE

Penance in Buddhism centers on austerity, asceticism, and spiritual and physical discipline as a path to the achievement of higher consciousness and spiritual awareness and an intensification of religious devotion. The Middle Path represents an ideal balance between self-indulgence and self-mortification and is the desired state of being. Like Hinduism, with which historical Buddhism shares origins and geographic distribution, Buddhism configures woman as the source of personal temptation and social disruption. Consistent with the fundamental principles of self-denial and asceticism in Buddhism, woman penitents practice strict forms of discipline, denial, and mortification.

The major world religions and the societies in which they originated and are currently found position women as a source of social stability and social disruption. Women's transgressions are framed in the context of violations of restrictions on female sexual activity and norms that regulate and constrain women's extradomestic activity. In extreme interpretations women who have been raped are considered guilty of and punishable for adultery. Women's bodies, universally understood as life-giving and essential, are denied, mortified, constrained, bound, starved, and covered to various extents both as mundane requirements and as extraordinary measures exacted in payment for transgressions. Women whose lives are dedicated to religious devotion historically have embodied stricter versions of the penance of women outside religious orders, but these extreme versions are consistent with the ordinary constraints and punishments women experience as a consequence of their social roles and symbolic theological meanings.

SEE ALSO *Guilt; Honor and Shame.*

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PENETRATION

Penetration refers to the insertion of a penis or other object into an orifice such as a mouth, vagina, or anus. Penetration is an element of sexual pleasure and reproduction as well as a symbolic action defining virginity, marriage, and sodomy.

Penile penetration of the vagina is the key element in the definition of sexual intercourse, which only occurs when a male penis penetrates a female vagina. There is no requirement about the depth or duration of penile penetration for penetration to have been accomplished. Other sites of penile penetration such as the mouth or the anus do not constitute sexual intercourse but do constitute sexual activity. The specific requirement of penile penetration makes the difference between legal definitions of rape (penile penetration of the vagina and, more recently, anus) and sexual assault (no penile penetration of the vagina), and between sexual practices deemed to be *natural* and *proper* (penile penetration of the vagina) and those categorized by more conservative groups as *unnatural* or *perverse* (any sexual activity other than penile penetration of the vagina). Because of the central role of the penis, sexual activity between women, although it may include penetrations by objects other than penises, has sometimes not been considered sexual intercourse.

PENILE PENETRATION

To accomplish heterosexual sexual intercourse, a man's penis must be erect or hard enough to push through or penetrate the resistance offered by vaginal tissue. The natural lubrication afforded by the vagina aids penetration by making passage through the vagina easier. Penile penetration of the vagina often results in male orgasm, and the ejaculation of semen and may, by itself, also provoke female orgasm. Orgasm solely by penile penetration does not happen as often for females as for males. Because most of the nerves that stimulate female sexual response are located in the outer third of the vagina, deep penetration is not necessary for female sexual pleasure, although some women enjoy the sensations of deep penetration. Penetration may also stimulate the woman's G-spot, a region of the anterior vagina wall that arouses surrounding tissue.

The biological purpose of penile penetration is to enable the conception of a child by delivering sperm as close to a female egg as possible. Typical penile penetration of the vagina would enable the penis to deposit semen on the cervix, the opening to the vagina. Natural conception occurs most often as a result of penetration with ejaculation in the vagina, although occasionally pregnancies occur as a result of sperm contained in the drops of initial preejaculate deposited near the vaginal opening. Removing the penis after penetration but before ejaculation is a risky form of birth control, mostly because of the presence of sperm in the preejaculate.

The concept of penile penetration underwrites concepts of virginity as well as symbolic understandings of marriage as male and female *becoming one* through coitus. These concepts are phallocentric, or focused on the penis as the necessary agent in all sexual scenarios. Whether there has been penile penetration of the vagina defines virginity. A woman who has not been penetrated by a penis is a virgin. Because the first penetration often causes pain and bleeding, the presence of blood on sheets is considered to be a sign not only of virginity but also of a successful penetration.

In coitus, the penis is understood as literally entering the woman's body, attaching the two people. This sense of physical unity then also sustains understandings of marriage as a physical uniting of a male and a female and of adultery as the invasion of that unity. The apparent complementarity of penis and vagina suggests the natural inevitability of penile penetration in heterosexual intercourse while simultaneously suggesting that other modes of penetration are unnatural, even though such practices, such as penile penetration of the anus or digital penetration of the vagina, involve equally complementary parts of the anatomy.

The penis may also penetrate parts of the body other than the vagina. Penetrating the mouth as in fellatio or the anus as in anal intercourse (also known as sodomy) were traditionally understood as unnatural in the logic that defined penetration as occurring only in a vagina. Such penetration can occur between males and females as well as between males and males and males and members of other species. Although such penetrations have long been a part of human sexual practice, they were repressed and gradually criminalized after the rise of Christianity. In 2003 a Texas law criminalizing sodomy and oral sex was deemed unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Lawrence v. Texas*. In the United States most sexual practices involving consenting adults are no longer criminalized.

Forced penile penetration of another without consent defines the crime of rape. Although rape originally occurred only between males and females who were not their wives, the definition of rape has been gradually expanded to include any kind of forced penile penetration of the vagina. Sexual assault occurs when there is any kind of forced sexual activity short of penile penetration of the vagina, including contact between the penis and the mouth or anus of another. Forced penile penetration of the anus of other males has been included as a form of rape.

Penile penetration is difficult if a male has difficulty achieving or sustaining an erection. Such failure is called *erectile dysfunction*. Several drugs on the market help remedy erectile dysfunction, including Viagra and Cialis. Other cures for the inability to penetrate include penile implants that stiffen the penis mechanically.

Rough or forced penetration can also cause injury to the one being penetrated. Tears in the vagina and anus can occur when a penis is too large, is inserted without adequate lubrication, or is pushed beyond normal anatomical limits.

PENETRATIONS WITHOUT PENISES

Most notions of penetration are phallocentric or focused on the penis as a necessary element. Sexual penetrations, however, also occur with objects other than a penis. Dildos, which have existed since prehistory, are objects designed to penetrate both the vagina and the anus. Dildos, which often look like penises or have a long, cylindrical shape, are used by both females and males. Some lesbians use dildos, which strap on to one participant's body. Some dildos include an attachment to stimulate the G-spot. Others have two heads and are used for simultaneous penetration by two women. Smaller dildos, called *butt plugs*, are designed to penetrate the anus. People have also used other objects ranging from cucumbers and carrots to light bulbs as instruments for penetration, although some of these objects can cause injury.

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Judith Roof

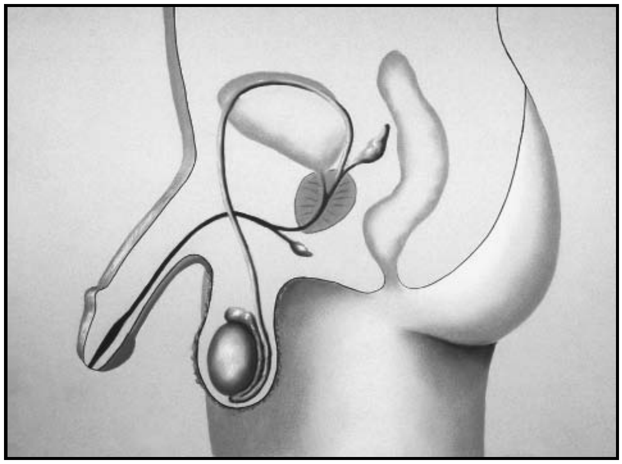
PENIS

The penis is the male reproductive organ in mammals and other species, including some birds and reptiles, and serves as the external organ in the male urinary tract. The urethra enables those primary functions by excreting both semen and urine. At most times the penis is flaccid, but when the male is aroused, it becomes enlarged and firm. Because the penis visibly identifies a person's sex as male, it has been credited with powerful social and psychological roles: "Sometimes the very possession of a penis conflates with all aspects of masculine identity" (Sims 2003, p. 245). In light of the involuntary nature of male arousal, this physical change has led the penis to be perceived at times as a powerful force of nature and at other times as emblematic of the bestial or, in theological terminology, sinful aspects of humankind (Friedman 2001).

STRUCTURE

The penis is composed of three pillars: two corpora cavernosa that lie next to each other on the upper or dorsal side of the penis and one corpus spongiosum, which is on the underside, or ventral side, of the penis. These tissues retain arterial blood during sexual arousal and cause the penis to become erect. Although penis size varies greatly in the flaccid state, in 80 percent of men the erect penis measures between five and seven inches, and most erect penises are close to six inches long or slightly longer (Sims 2003).

At the end of the penis is the glans penis, a bulbous tissue attached to the corpus spongiosum. A loose foreskin, or prepuce, covers the tip of the penis in its flaccid state, and this elastic skin is drawn back during an erection to expose the glans. The glans has a high concentration of nerves, some of which are unique to the glans and increase sensitivity to tactile stimulation. The lip of the glans, the corona, also contains a high concentration of nerve endings. The urethra, a tube for the excretion of fluids, traverses the underside of the penis to the meatus, an opening at the tip of the glans. This tube both drains the urinary bladder and ejaculates semen, a thick milky fluid composed of sperm and seminal fluid.



Male Reproductive Organs. *An illustration of male reproductive organs.* JOHN R. FOSTER/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

At the base of the penis is the scrotum, an external sac containing two testes, or testicles. Because of their external position, the temperature of the scrotum and testes averages 3 to 4 degrees Celsius lower than human body temperature; this is necessary for the production of healthy sperm. Immature sperm begin their development in the seminiferous tubules of the testes and migrate into the epididymis, a coiled tube on the top back side of each testicle. Sperm mature as they travel through the epididymis, a process that can take up to six weeks, although hundreds of million sperm can be produced each day. The vas deferens is the muscular tube through which the sperm enter the body, and the sperm are held in the ampulla, a region of the vas near the prostate gland, until they are ejaculated with seminal fluid through the urethra.

FUNCTION

Penile erection is caused by the dilation of the arteries that bring blood into the penis. As additional arterial blood enters the penis, the cavernous and spongy tissues begin to swell and constrict the blood vessels through which venous blood circulates out of the penis. More blood enters the penis when the arterial veins are dilated (as a result of hormones released during sexual stimulation) than can return to the circulatory system, causing the spongy tissues to engorge and resulting in an erection.

Penile erections are necessary for reproduction. Rigidity during an erection facilitates the penetration of the penis into the vagina so that sperm can be deposited in the female reproductive tract, where they fertilize the egg. In preparation for ejaculation, the testes increase in size and press against the pelvis. Rhythmic muscular contractions during intercourse force sperm into the urethra, where they mix with seminal fluid from the seminal vessels and prostrate gland. Contractions in the urethra lead to the ejaculation of about one teaspoon of semen containing between 1 million and 600 million sperm during the male orgasm (Paley 1999).

MODIFICATIONS

Circumcision is a surgical procedure in which the foreskin is removed from the penis, permanently exposing the glans penis. Circumcision has been practiced in cultures around the world for thousands of years. Frequently this procedure serves a ritual or religious function; for example, circumcision is required in Judaism as a mark of a man's covenant with God (Friedman 2001). During the twentieth century doctors in the United States often performed circumcisions for hygienic purposes (Langley and Cheraskin 1954). Opponents of the practice argue that circumcision reduces the intensity of the sensation experienced during sexual intercourse.

Penises also can be modified through augmentation procedures, including implant surgery, piercing, and stretching. Tribal groups in locations from Uganda to India have tied weights to penises, stretching them to reach a length of twelve to eighteen inches (Bordo 2002). In the Hellenic period and during the Holocaust some circumcised Jews stretched the skin covering the penile shaft to develop a pseudo-foreskin and disguise their religious identity (Friedman 2001). Two surgical procedures commonly are used for penile augmentation: The penis may be injected with fat molecules, or a layer of fat may be grafted to the penis to increase its girth. The surgical procedure for lengthening the penis involves cutting the suspensory ligament so that the flaccid penis stretches farther from the body. At least 10,000 men have undergone augmentation surgery to lengthen their penises in the United States since 1990, but statistically valid studies of surgical success rates are not available. The penis also may be modified to increase sexual pleasure by inserting rings, bars, or pins. The penis most commonly is pierced through the glans or the underside of the penile shaft.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

A distinction must be made between the physical penis, the male organ of reproduction, and the phallus, the erect organ that symbolizes masculine power. Sam Keen hypothesizes that the exaggerated emphasis on the enlarged phallus provides "compensation for our feelings that the penis, and therefore the self, is small, unreliable, and shamefully out of control" (Keen 1991, p. 70). In European society social, religious, and biological associations have led to the abjection of the penis. Biological function and material presence characterize the penis, whereas the phallus is a symbolic attribute that allows its possessor to generate meaning and assert authority (Thomas 1996). Abstract representations of the erect penis that suggest its powerful phallic double may be generated unintentionally (Bordo 1999).

The penis has evoked extraordinarily strong reactions that differ across historical periods and cultures. Conservative societies sometimes resisted viewing, speaking of, or even acknowledging the penis: The extreme corporeal modesty associated with the Victorian period is an example of that attitude. During other historical periods and among other cultures public displays of the penis or a substitute have been acceptable and even fashionable. In ancient and Hellenic Greece men exercised without clothing at gymnasiums, and depictions of heterosexual courtship rituals suggest that men routinely exposed their penises to women they desired (Friedman 2001). Colorful codpieces (clothing worn over the male genitalia that sometimes was padded and sculpted) worn in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries simultaneously concealed and accentuated the penis.

The significance of the penis as visible evidence of masculinity may lead to anxiety among men. Susan Bordo parallels men's insecurity about penis size with women's concern about body size. Just as average women perceive themselves as too large, the social importance and pornographic images of large penises generate impossible standards of comparison for the average human penis (Bordo 2002). The difference between the length of the penis in its flaccid state and that in its erect state may compound the social anxiety experienced by many men. Even the word for failing to achieve an erection, *impotency*, links the penis with masculine power or its absence. The prominence of Viagra since its production began in 1998 demonstrates the cultural value placed on achieving and sustaining an impressive erection. Through pharmaceutical advances, marketers suggest, the penis can be made reliable and men can become more powerful.

THEORIES OF RACE AND GENDER

Just as claims about greater intelligence, productivity, beauty, and other desirable characteristics have been used to mark the differences between social and ethnic groups, penis size has been used as evidence of superiority or inferiority. Despite the relatively consistent size of the human penis regardless of race, depictions of and jokes about stereotypical penis size have been used to assert ethnic difference. In ancient Greece foreigners, slaves, and barbarians were characterized as having large penises, whereas depictions of Greek men display small, thin penises (Friedman 2001). During the hearings for the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas in the U.S. Senate questions were asked to invoke the stereotype that black men have large penises, which may be used to imply an uncivilized sexuality. In contrast, the masculinity of Asian men often is ridiculed by assertions of small penis size.

Key aspects of Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory link the penis with masculine and feminine development. As a result of threats or of viewing female genitalia, boys experience castration anxiety: the fear that the penis will be removed. This fear leads to the dissolution of the Oedipus complex and the development of normative masculinity (Freud 1989a). In contrast, the female child desires a penis after glimpsing a playmate's penis. Penis envy leads her to feel contempt for her own sex and to change the object of her desire from the penis to a male lover and a baby (Freud 1989b). In addition to its psychoanalytic meaning, the term *penis envy* is used commonly to describe a woman's desire for masculine privileges or authority.

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PENIS EXTENDERS

Many devices, prosthetics, medications (both herbal and pharmaceutical), and techniques are used as penis extenders. From penis pumps and stretchers to vibrating prosthetics, from herbal treatments to erectile dysfunction pills, from cosmetic surgeries to manual treatments, the practice of penis extension is approached from a variety of angles. Most of these approaches stimulate blood flow to the penis and attempt to increase the penis's blood capacity by expanding the corpora cavernosa—two "spongy" chambers in the penis that fill with blood during erection.

Penis extenders are typically considered to be mechanical devices that are used to add length and girth to the penis. Most mechanical penis extenders fall into two categories: pumps and stretchers. Penis pumps are hollow cylinders that are inserted over the penis. Using the body to complete the closure, a penis pump creates a vacuum in the tube, elongating and thickening the penis by suction. The pumps themselves are usually operated mechanically or by hand, but they are also available as suction pumps operated by the user's mouth.

Penis stretchers are also typically hollow cylinders, but, unlike pumps, stretchers are built with a ring or other device for securing the head of the penis. The stretcher operates on a system of adjustable rods, cranks, or locking mechanisms that increase the length and pressure of the cylinder, thereby pulling the head of the penis away from the body and stretching it at increasing increments of frequency, duration, and pressure. Widely considered to be the most reliable alternative to cosmetic surgery, penis stretchers are the most expensive of the mechanical extension devices, usually selling for around $400 or more. Web-based sex shops and penis extender product web sites represent the most common and widely used method of purchase, but penis extenders are often also sold in traditional sex shops.

Many mechanical extension devices mimic manual techniques for penis extension. The masturbatory technique called "jelqing," for example, also lengthens and stretches the penis. Jelqing involves stretching the penis with one hand holding the head—typically by placing the thumb and fingers around the base of the head in an "OK" gesture—while "milking" the shaft from its base to the head. The aim of jelqing is to expand the corpora cavernosa by forcing blood into the erectile tissue. In jelqing, the penis is considered to be a muscle, and thus can be expanded through exercise. Other stretches, called "power stretches," purport to lengthen the penis by stretching the ligament in the penis. Similar to the jelq technique and to penis stretchers, power stretches are done by pulling the penis away from the body for extended periods of time. According to Pankaj Relan, studies show that these techniques do not usually succeed in permanently elongating the penis. Other techniques, such as "Kegels," made famous by Dr. Arnold Kegel, are practiced to strengthen the pubococcygeus muscle by squeezing, holding, and releasing this muscle in order to control ejaculation. While Kegels do not technically add length to the penis, they do enable the user to better control ejaculation, thereby allowing him to maintain harder erections for longer periods.

Herbal pills and topical ointments are occasionally used in conjunction with penis extender devices or manual practices. Pills and ointments are typically marketed as methods of increasing blood flow to the penis, augmenting the aims of penis extending devices and techniques. Erectile dysfunction medication, such as Viagra and Cialis, can also be used for penis extension because such medications promote blood flow to the penis for extended periods of time; this method of penis extension, however, is typically viewed as less safe than taking herbal remedies.

Also commonly referred to as penis extenders, prosthetics that are fitted over a man's penis are typically used not only to add length and girth to the penis but also to increase sexual stimulation. Some of these prosthetics, often called "cyberskin" penis sleeves, are fleshy prosthetics worn over the penis. Such sleeves can be purchased at varying lengths and widths. Others, such as studded or shaped latex or silicone penis sleeves, are designed to provide increased genital stimulation to the user's sex partner by stimulating the G-spot, prostate, or vaginal or anal rims with raised studs or angled heads. Additionally, this type of penis extender may also function as a vibrator that can be operated either by the user or, remotely, by the user's partner.

Aside from penis-extending prosthetics, the only surefire method of penis extension is surgery. Penis extension surgeries typically take two different approaches. One approach is to insert a prosthetic into the penis, elongating it, but often making it look permanently half-erect. In other surgeries, ligament is cut, torn, or stretched so that the base of the shaft that runs into the body is freed to move away from the body. This method might add up to an inch and a half to the penis, but usually no more. Penis extension surgery can potentially significantly decrease the sensitivity of the penis, making sex less enjoyable and, in some cases, erection more difficult to achieve.

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PENTHOUSE

Penthouse is a monthly men's magazine primarily devoted to printing sexually explicit photos of women. Among American mainstream pornographic magazines, *Penthouse* is one of the first, largest, and most enduring and has had a lasting effect on the American sexual and pop cultural landscape.

Penthouse was launched in 1965 by Robert "Bob" Guccione as a more risqué alternative to Hugh Hefner's "girl next door"–style mainstream *Playboy*. Guccione, an American expatriate living in England at that time, had trained himself as an artist and painter while living in various European cities during the 1950s and early 1960s (Heidenry 1997). Using his knowledge of lighting and borrowing compositions from Degas (Colapinto 2004), he photographed the first issue himself.

After experiencing great success in England, Guccione launched *Penthouse* in the United States in 1969. The most obvious difference from *Playboy* was that in April 1970 it became the first commercial magazine to show pubic hair, whereas *Playboy*, taking a hit in the so-called Pubic Wars, still airbrushed models' genitals. *Penthouse* remained more explicit by being the first to show "split-beaver" shots and male erections and by popularizing "girl-on-girl" pictorials. Guccione also constructed the dynamic of the viewer-model relationship in a different way. He instructed his models not to smile or even look at the camera: "We followed the true philosophy of voyeurism" (Colapinto 2004, p. 61).

The editorial style was edgier, leaning toward controversial investigative journalism rather than essays and commentary. The features were also more sexual (Heidenry

1997)—for example, "Penthouse Forum," an allegedly unexpurgated section of readers' actual sexual experiences, and "Call Me Madam," former madam Xaviera Hollander's racy sex advice column.

The two other magazines commonly compared to *Penthouse* in terms of content are *Screw* and *Hustler*, both of which generally are considered much more explicit and, according to some, vulgar.

The relationship of *Penthouse* to feminism is multifaceted. It often was singled out by 1970s and 1980s feminists as an example of the objectification of women. A 1984 issue featuring bound Asian women particularly upset antipornography activists. However, *Penthouse* was "one of [all of] publishing's most female-friendly shops" (Colapinto 2004, p. 62). Regular writers included porn reviewer Susie Bright (1987–1989), who went on to become a figurehead of the "sex-positive" feminism movement of the 1980s. The staff also included some first-rate businesswomen, including Dawn Steel, who later became head of Paramount Pictures, and *Vogue* editor in chief Anna Wintour, who worked on the *Penthouse* spin-off *Viva*, a softcore sex, art, and fashion magazine for women.

Penthouse has been the center of several scandals over the years, most notably the 1984 Vanessa Williams scandal, in which *Penthouse* published third-party erotic photographs of the reigning Miss America, and the 1986 Traci Lords scandal, in which the *Penthouse* model subsequently was discovered to be underage. *Penthouse* also produced the 1980 film *Caligula*, a star-studded flop that Guccione promoted as the first sexually explicit first-run mainstream film in history.

In the 1980s circulation began to decline with the end of the sexual revolution—the rise of AIDS, the aging of the baby boomers, and a shift to conservative politics in particular—as well as the availability of VCR filmic pornography (Colapinto 2004). In the 1990s it fell even farther, pressured by cable and pay-per-view competition, followed by the rise of the Internet. *Penthouse* responded by becoming much edgier, adding depictions of acts such as vaginal fisting (penetration of the vagina with a hand and/or arm), cum shots (external male ejaculation), and urine play.

In 2003 *Penthouse* declared bankruptcy. The next year it was bought by external investors who stated their intention to soften the sexual nature of the magazine and reposition it as a competitor to "lad" magazines such as *Maxim*. As of 2006 the ownership, control, and style of the magazine were still in flux.

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Jennifer Lyon Bell

PERFORMANCE ENHANCERS

Sexual performance enhancers are those objects, practices, or interventions that aid in the arousal, sensation, or consummation of a sex act. These include a large category of sex-related apparatuses, machines, and furniture, and a variety of drugs, exercises or techniques, and surgical procedures. Elements that improve sexual performance can range from stimulation by pornography or fetishes (for example, sexual fixations on shoes, rubber, leather, etc.) to medical interventions that provide a means of overcoming sexual dysfunction such as impotence, premature ejaculation, or other health-related issues. Performance enhancers work to improve the sexual experience through physical, psychological, and/or physiological means. The following provides an overview of the different types of sexual performance enhancers.

SEX-RELATED APPARATUS, MACHINES AND FURNITURE

Anal beads are smooth round balls that range in size from small pearls to golf balls and are held together by a strong cord with a ring at one end. The beads are inserted into the anus and then slowly pulled out with the ring, usually during sexual orgasm, to increase arousal and sensation of the anus.

Ben Wa balls (Burmese bells or Geisha balls) are small, hollow balls usually made of metal that contain a small weight that rolls around. The balls are inserted into the vagina or anus for sexual stimulation and may be left inside the body for prolonged periods or may be removed to enhance erotic sensation or climax. Additionally, these balls may be used to strengthen the pelvic floor muscles of the vagina.

Cock rings are rings made of various materials, such as metal, elastic, or string, that are fitted around the base of the shaft of the erect penis. Some versions have an additional ring that fits around the testicles. Other cock rings fit around both the penis and testicles. The ring functions by limiting the outflow of blood from the penis thereby resulting in a firmer and longer-lasting erection.

Caution should be exercised to prevent injury to the penis from either constricting the penis too tightly or using the cock ring for prolonged sessions.

Dildos are vibrating or non-vibrating shafts made to resemble the shape, size, or appearance of a penis. They may be made of a number of materials, including latex, rubber, silicon, metal, and glass, and are used for vaginal or anal penetration (or to simulate fellatio). Devices made of sturdier materials such as metal or glass are sometimes shaped to provide direct stimulation to the G-spot in women and thus enhance the act of penetration. Dildos may be used during masturbation or to enhance the sex act between partners. A strap-on is a dildo attached to a strap that is fastened around the waist, often with a second strap similar to a g-string that stabilizes the dildo in a position that allows the wearer the illusion of having a penis. Women may wear a strap-on to penetrate either sex. Men may use such a device in cases of erectile dysfunction or to have simultaneous intercourse with multiple partners. Because dildos come into direct contact with body fluids, they must be washed and sterilized if shared between partners. Further, a dildo used in the anus should have a flanged based to prevent its total insertion into the rectum (which may require medical intervention to retrieve it). Those versions used primarily in the anus and left there rather than thrust in and out are referred to as butt plugs.

Lubricants are viscous lotions or gels that aid in insertion and penetration during vaginal or anal intercourse. Though the vagina produces natural lubricant, certain conditions such as nursing or menopause and some medications can cause vaginal dryness; the use of personal lubricants can improve sexual function.

Penis extenders are hollow sleeves that are placed over the penis to increase its length or thickness. They may be made of a variety of materials including latex or silicone and may have a textured surface manufactured to produce an erotic sensation for both the user and the partner. Penis extenders also refer to mechanical traction devices that fasten over the penis and adjust to produce tension on the shaft in an effort to train the penis to grow longer. There is no scientific study that shows any lasting effectiveness of these devices, and overzealous use may damage penile or scrotal tissue.

Penis pump (or vacuum pump) is a hollow cylinder with a manual or motorized vacuum mechanism that fits over the penis and uses suction to draw blood into the penis resulting in an erection. Although these pumps are frequently touted as a method for permanently increasing the size of the penis (and presumably the pleasure of both the man and his partner), there is no research to support these claims. These penis pumps serve primarily to aid in masturbation. A medical version of the vacuum pump is sometimes recommended to treat impotence. After the vacuum causes the penis to become erect, a compression ring is then snugly fitted around the base of the penis to prevent any subsequent outflow of blood from the vasculature. The resulting erection may be sustained for a considerable amount of time, though it is suggested that the rings be removed after no more than thirty minutes to ensure that damage does not occur to either the tissue or blood supply of the penis. Further, overzealous pumping may result in blisters or damage to penile tissue.

Vibrators are battery or electrically powered devices that enhance sexual arousal and pleasure through direct or indirect stimulation of the sex organs. Though they are often phallic-shaped and intended for insertion into the body, some are meant to be used externally only. Vibrators were originally developed in the mid-1800s for use as a medical treatment for the treatment of "hysteria" in women. Formerly, physicians treated the condition by manually massaging the clitoris with their hands until the patient reached orgasm. The vibrator was invented as a labor-saving device.

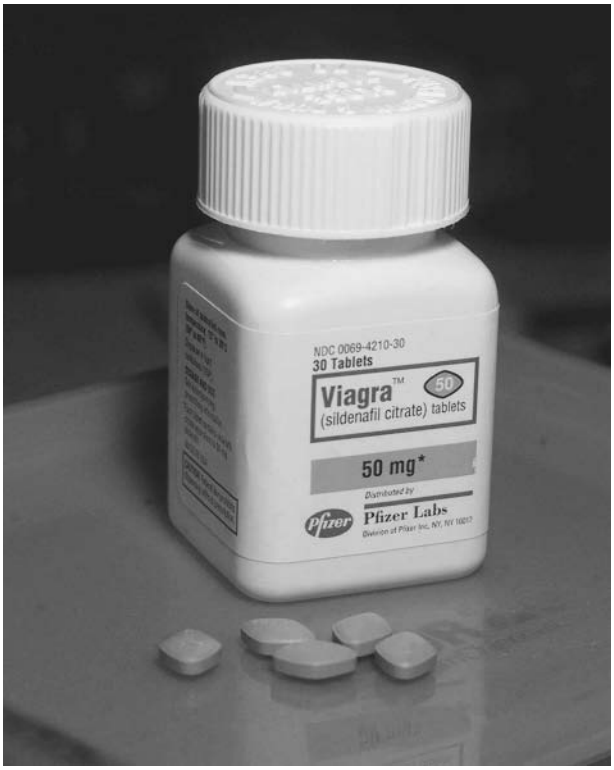
Sex machines (or fucking machines) are mechanical erotic stimulation devices used to mimic the penetration of a penis into a vagina or anus. Typically, the machine has a motor or some sort of rotational mechanism on a shaft to which a dildo is attached. These devices may act alone or may be incorporated into a frame used to restrain a person as part of the sex act. These automated devices are often associated with BDSM sexual activity. Care must be applied to avoid excessive force that could result in damage to vaginal, anal, or rectal tissues.

Sex furniture is frequently (though not exclusively) employed by participants in BDSM activities. Specialized furniture, such as angled pillows, whipping stools, or slings, serve to provide sexual pleasure through optimizing genital penetration or for administering sexual discipline to one's partner.

Sex toys (euphemistically called marital aids) include devices such as dildos, vibrators, or more specialized devices or objects such as feathers, ticklers, leather, whips, restraints, paddles, crops, and a wide variety of fetish items employed to enhance sexual play.

DRUGS AND PHARMACOLOGIC AGENTS

Erectile dysfunction drugs are a class of pharmacologic agents used, as the name suggests, for improving erectile function in men. They include sildenafil (Viagra), vardenafil



Viagra. *Viagra is one of several performance enhancing drugs that treat erectile dysfunction.* AP IMAGES.

(Levitra), and tadalafil (Cialis) and are taken orally prior to sex. The use of Viagra to treat erectile dysfunction was discovered as the result of a study by its developer, Pfizer, on the use of the drug to treat hypertension and angina. Though the drug failed to effectively treat angina, researchers noted marked erections among men in the study group. After FDA approval, the company then changed its marketing strategy and promoted Viagra to treat erectile dysfunction.

These drugs work by causing the smooth muscles of the arteries in the penis to relax, thereby dilating the blood vessels and allowing the penis to fill up with blood and resulting in an erection. Because of these drugs' effect on smooth muscle, patients with cardiovascular disease or taking certain medications should not use this class of drugs.

When oral drugs fail, injections of agents such as apomorphine into the erectile tissue of the penile shaft may manage to elicit an erection, though this practice has fallen out of favor now that erectile dysfunction drugs have become readily available.

The marketing success of the erectile dysfunction drugs has led to an explosion of fake versions and herbal supplements that lack proven active agents. Though these pseudo-aphrodisiacs are generally ineffective when submitted to scientific scrutiny, they may occasionally provide positive results through a psychological or placebo effect.

Estrogen creams, patches, or tablets may be used to treat atrophic vaginitis (or vaginal atrophy), an inflammation of the vagina due to the lack of estrogen in the body or a lack of sexual activity. The condition manifests as a thinning of the vaginal walls and a decrease in the amount of lubrication produced, frequently leading to painful intercourse and/or vaginal bleeding. A physician may prescribe estrogen to relieve symptoms and restore sexual function. Increasing sexual activity (with the use of a water-soluble lubricant) may also help. Depending on age, risk factors, and method of administration of estrogen, women may have an increased risk for stroke, deep vein thrombosis (DVT), breast cancer, endometrial cancer, and pulmonary emboli.

Ginseng, an herbal remedy from the ginseng plant, is purported to improve sexual function in women and men. Though the scientific literature suggests that ginseng performs better than placebo in promoting sexual vitality, there is no definitive consensus on its effectiveness in improving sexual performance.

Testosterone supplements may be prescribed to treat hormonal deficiencies that result in erectile dysfunction or impotence in men. In such cases, oral supplements may improve the ability to attain and maintain an erection, though it will not cure any underlying condition causing the dysfunction. In addition, testosterone supplements (administered by injection, pill, patch, or cream) can effectively improve libido in some women.

EXERCISES AND TECHNIQUES

Kegel exercises are named for Arnold H. Kegel, the doctor who discovered the technique of conditioning and strengthening the muscles of the pelvic floor (pubococcygeus muscles). Regular practice of the exercises may result in stronger vaginal muscle tone that may improve sexual enjoyment for both partners. The technique involves isolating the pelvic muscles by stopping and starting the flow of urine. Once the muscles can be distinguished, the woman tightens and relaxes these muscles two hundred times per day. Variations include elevator Kegels where the woman slowly tightens in increments (as if on an elevator that stops on several floors). The technique may also be performed with the use of a Kegel exerciser, a medical device that is often a cylinder of polished stainless steel with rounded bulges at the end. The device is inserted into the vagina and works by making the muscles of the pelvic floor support its weight (usually around one pound).

Semans technique (or start-stop method) is a procedure developed by Dr. James Semans to treat premature ejaculation. The method works by having a partner manually stimulate the man until he is just about to ejaculate and then stop until the sense of urgency goes away. Then stimulation is resumed. The procedure is repeated until the man finally ejaculates. Over time, the method helps the man to prolong his erection before reaching climax.

SURGICAL INTERVENTIONS

Augmentation phalloplasty is a term used to describe plastic surgery to increase the size of the penis. Generally, the procedure involves removing fat from one area of the body (such as the buttocks or abdomen) and injecting it into the penis to increase its girth (the thickness) and, to a lesser degree, its length.

Body piercings (especially to the genitals or nipples) are often undertaken to increase erotic sensation during sexual stimulation. An example is the Prince Albert (named for Queen Victoria's consort who allegedly wore a ring on the end of his penis), which pierces the outside of the frenulum (an elastic band of tissue just below the glans of the penis) and the inside of the urethra. Though penile piercings became popular in the gay culture of the early 1970s, they have since become associated with heterosexuals as well. Body piercings can be a strong sexual stimulator. Infection, scarring, and loss of function (especially in erectile tissue) are possible risks. Further, because of the constant stimulation caused by this type of body piercing, a desensitization may occur resulting in diminished physical sensation.

Genital beading (or pearling) is a procedure where items such as small pellets, ball bearings, or studs are implanted under the skin of the penis near the glans. This practice, popular in Indonesia and southern Asia, is performed to increase the sexual pleasure of one's partner, though frequently it is reported to cause discomfort, bleeding, infection, scarring, and pain.

Penile implants are a drastic treatment for erectile dysfunction or impotence. In such procedures, A rigid, semi-rigid, or inflatable penile implant is surgically inserted into the penis resulting in the ability to mechanically induce an erection. The rigid or semi-rigid implants result in a permanent erection, though the semi-rigid versions may be bent upward for sexual function and downward during other times. The inflatable implant works on the principle of hydraulics; a pump is implanted in the groin and is manually activated to fill cylinders from an implanted reservoir of saline, resulting in a more naturally functional erection. Though the procedure is reliable, it is also irreversible.

Vaginoplasty is a surgical procedure used to correct structural defects of the vagina including the loss of vaginal muscle tone due to disease or vaginal childbirth. Women who have difficulty experiencing orgasm due to loss of tone may opt to undergo surgery to tighten the muscles to restore sexual pleasure (to themselves or their partners).

SEE ALSO *Dildo; Penis Extenders.*

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PERSONALS

Personals are advertisements, not unlike classified ads, in which advertisers seek companionship with others for friendship, a committed relationship, sex, or other romantic encounters. Research indicates that personal ads have been around since at least sixteenth-century Britain and that people all over the world have used them (Jagger 2001). In its most contemporary and prevalent form, the Internet-based personal ad enables advertisers to streamline searches for companionship while juggling the demands of careers and personal lives.

Evidence suggests that personal ads often reflect the normative values embedded in the culture in which they are written. For example, American personal advertisements reveal capitalistic societal trends such as casting a woman's appearance as a commodity in exchange for a man's wealth and social status (Rajecki, Bledsoe, and Rasmussen 1991). Moreover, the American personal ad often indicates a cultural preference for individualism, whereas its international counterparts may reflect other social values, such as community. For example, in China many personal ads reveal cultural preferences for family and community, "even," as Ranna Parekh and Eugene V. Beresin note, "at the expense of individual needs" (2001, p. 223). In India most personal ads prize heterosexual marriage as an ultimate goal for seeking companionship. In fact, Indian ads are typically referred to as "matrimonial advertisements." Once referred to as "lonely hearts" advertisements, personal ads have been popular in Britain since the early twentieth century, particularly from 1912 until the mid-1920s (Cocks 2002).

While personal advertisements are typically placed by heterosexuals looking for more traditional relationships, they have also provided opportunities for people with less-mainstream preferences to seek companionship. American personals, for example, have provided a greater degree of anonymity and safety for gay men and women since at least 1946, when F. W. Ewing's *The Hobby Directory* gave men opportunities to discuss "common interests" (Harris 1997). Since then, personal advertisement services have evolved to cater to a variety of interests and appetites. From gay fetish to extramarital affair ads, from mainstream heterosexual romance ads to alternative subculture community forums, there now exists, thanks largely to Internet services, personal advertisement for almost any preference.

Not only has the Internet provided virtual spaces for a variety of preferences, but it has also reshaped the face of personal advertisements and made them more accessible to wider audiences. Moreover, because Internet services are not as restricted for physical space, they have provided users with the opportunity to provide longer descriptions of both their selves and their desires. Traditional newspaper personals typically restrict the advertiser to no more than twenty-five words, whereas the Internet services typically impose fewer restrictions in length of ads (Paap and Raybeck 2005). Moreover, the prevalence of Internet advertisements has helped break the negative stigma surrounding the use of personal advertisements. Internet personals services have grown steadily, both in revenue and number, coming in second only to pornographic services as leading the Internet in paid services. In November 2004, for example, Internet personals services netted more than $220 million in revenue (Flass 2004).

Research has also shown that Internet-based personal advertisement services have facilitated a change in adherence to social norms in demographically determined mate selection. Because the Internet provides a space in which people of different backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities, and locations can more easily meet, it has been suggested that the Internet enables advertisers to choose mates they may not have otherwise chosen (Jagger 2005). Moreover, such Internet services have been both praised and criticized for enabling advertisers to manipulate and create the version of their identities that they present. On one hand, such services allow users to "put their best foot forward," while, on the other hand, they have also enabled users with less-honorable intentions to deceive others. To those in search of companionship, an important rule applies: caveat emptor.

Since the beginning of personal advertisements, there has been a specialized language consisting largely of initialisms such as SWF, which stands for Single White Female, to ISO LTR, which means In Search of a Long-Term Relationship. These initialisms may have developed in part to conserve print space and reduce costs for services that charged by the word. These initialisms/acronyms have survived the move to virtual spaces and remain a part of the genre. Some of the more common terms are as follows: BBW (Big Beautiful Woman), BDSM (Bondage and Discipline, Domination and Submission, Sadomasochism), D (Divorced), M (Married), S (Single), B (Black), W (White), G (Gay), Str8 (Straight), Bi (Bisexual), MOTOS (Member of the Opposite Sex), MOTSS (Member of the Same Sex), MW4MW (Man and Woman Seeking Man and Woman), DDF (Drug and Disease Free), WLTM (Would Like to Meet), NSA (No Strings Attached), and DTE (Down to Earth). Hypothetically, an ad could read "SBM ISO BBW 4 DDF NSA BDSM," which would mean "Single Black Male In Search of Big Beautiful Woman for Drug and Disease Free, No-Strings-Attached Bondage and Discipline Sadomasochism."

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PERVERSITY, POLYMORPHOUS

Polymorphous perversity is a Freudian term that signifies a person's ability to experience sexual pleasure in a variety of ways in the entire body, beyond the narrow range of genital stimulation that is consonant with reproduction. Sigmund Freud argued in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) that polymorphous perversity is a rudimentary stage of childhood sexuality, infants and children can experience sexual pleasure anywhere on the body, and normal development eventually narrows that pleasure to the genital zones, with the aim of ensuring heterosexual sexual intercourse. Noting that barriers to unregulated sexual expression such as shame, disgust, and the sense of sexual morality are absent in childhood sexual behavior, Freud thought that polymorphous perversity was abnormal only if it persisted into adulthood, which it often did, he thought, in lower-class women and non-European peoples. This notion of nonreproductive sexual practices as gendered, lower-class, racialized, and perverse both reflects and extends late nineteenth-century attitudes about empire, race, gender, class, and sexuality.

A value-laden term from a particular cultural moment, the idea of polymorphous perversity validates heterosexual copulation as the most adult and civilized form of sexual behavior while defining nonreproductive sexual expression as childlike, uncivilized, lower-class, and non-Western. However, the behaviors described as polymorphously perverse can be found among adults of all classes throughout history and across many cultures.

POLYMORPHOUS PERVERSITY IN THE WEST

Western history is filled with reports of sexual pleasures and practices apart from adult heterosexual reproductive copulation, including the anal and penetrative pederasty of the Greeks; the rape and sexual slavery of men, women, and children that was the prerogative of biblical, Roman, and Enlightenment patriarchs; childhood sexual abuse in arranged marriages among medieval and Renaissance European nobility; and the prostitution and multiple mistresses that absorbed most of the sexual practices disapproved of in the bourgeois marriage bed from the eighteenth century onward.

Shakespeare's Juliet is twelve years old and ready for betrothal by the standards of her day. Prostitution, the world's "oldest profession," has been practiced for centuries by men as well as women, fueled by its customers' desire for sexual practices, including oral and anal sex, fetishism, and dominant and submissive role play, that fall outside the procreative practices that characterize legal marriage. Heterosexual prostitution, which is legal in many countries and tolerated in most, typifies the ways in which polymorphous perversity is acceptable when it operates to uphold other practices, such as the regulation of female sexuality, that are central to traditional patriarchal cultures.

POLYMORPHOUS PERVERSITY IN OTHER CULTURES

There are many cultures in which polymorphous sexual behavior was or is tolerated under highly regulated circumstances, such as the indigenous tribes of North America, in which men known as *berdache* dressed as women and were married to other men; South Africa, where miners far from their families established domestic and sexual relationships with other men; India, where in some regions men are allowed to dress as women and have sex with men if they become *hijras*, live apart, and undergo castration; Papua New Guinea, where adolescent boys may become adults by swallowing semen from adult males; and Brazil, where effeminate homosexuality is tolerated among cross-dressed *travesti* prostitutes if one partner assumes a traditionally feminine persona and role.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD POLYMORPHOUS PERVERSITY

The recent decriminalization of sodomy in Europe and the United States and the legalization of various forms of domestic partnership in Europe, Canada, and the U.S. state of Massachusetts signify both a shift in regulatory attitudes toward polymorphous perversity in the Western world and official recognition of its sexual practices. This has eliminated much of the difference between so-called infantile polymorphous perversity and Freud's "normal" zone of adult sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Infantile Sexuality.*

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PETTING

Petting refers to activities such as touching, kissing, or licking the erogenous zones of a sexual partner without necessarily progressing to sexual intercourse. In the strict sense of the term, petting involves the use of the hands, so that fondling a woman's breasts or stroking a man's penis through his pants are both types of petting. In the broad use of the term, petting includes all types of sexual activity except intercourse. Thus, giving oral sex or manually stimulating a partner's penis or clitoris can both be considered forms of petting. Generally, petting is an action distinct from sexual intercourse, although it can often lead to intercourse since it functions much like foreplay to stimulate both partners.

Light petting includes hugging, gentle touching or rubbing of the partner's skin and erogenous areas, kissing, and necking, but it does not include touching of the genitals or touching underneath clothing. In heavy petting, the hands move under the clothing and/or below the waist to touch breasts or nipples and genitalia. Some people, especially those who are not yet sexually active, draw the line at heavy petting, not allowing their partner to stimulate their genitals.

People practice petting for a variety of reasons. Some see it as a pleasurable experience of its own, not necessarily as a precursor to sexual intercourse. One advantage of petting is that both partners can enjoy the experience of either being touched or touching another's body. Petting can also be a way for newly active sexual partners to learn about each other's bodies and physical preferences. Petting can also work as a form of non-verbal communication between partners, so that touching one another conveys strong feelings of love, tenderness, or affection. For these reasons, petting is also an excellent form of foreplay, since it gets partners ready for intercourse physically and emotionally. Men typically get erect penises as a result of petting, and women get aroused, becoming warm and lubricated.

Since it often takes the place of intercourse, petting is commonly associated with adolescents or individuals who are not fully active in sexual intercourse. Those concerned about contracting sexually transmitted diseases may abstain from intercourse but still practice light or heavy petting. Petting can thus function as a substitute for intercourse, and petting can include dry humping, or simulated intercourse through clothes to the point of orgasm.

With the introduction of the automobile, American society saw a sharp increase in petting between young adults, especially those still living with their parents. Sociologist Kimball Young noted in the 1930s that the automobile had done more to change dating and courtship behaviors than anything else in the previous two thousand years. Cars allowed a new space of privacy between sexual partners, and many couples practiced petting and intercourse at night in cars parked at designated sites where other couples were also parking. Movie theaters and other darkened, semi-private places are also popular sites for discreet public petting.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay.*

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PHILOSOPHY

Philosophical attitudes towards gender, sexuality, and the corresponding roles of men and women find their roots in the mind-body distinction: The human being comprises a rational substance (the mind or the soul) and a material substance (the body). These substances were not viewed equally. The mind, which was assigned to men or *the male*, was privileged over the body, which was assigned to women, or *the female*. Although the distinction is present in the pre-Socratics, for example, in Pythagoras's (569–475 BCE) Table of Opposites, development of this gendered distinction by Plato (c. 427–342 BCE) and Aristotle (384–322 BCE) had the greatest impact on the history of philosophy and the social institutions it influenced.

The medieval philosophers continued to emphasize this distinction. Significantly the strong influence of the three monotheistic religions on this period produced philosophies that had a significant impact on the cultures in which they developed. Thus the modern period from which the Enlightenment emerged strongly reacted to the *Church* philosophies of the medieval period. Modern philosophy resisted the role of faith and religious discourse in philosophy. Yet, in spite of this resistance, many of the vestiges of mind-body dualism and sexed characteristics that defined subjectivity in masculine terms remained intact.

The emergence of both existentialism and phenomenology in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century philosophy challenged the view of the subject conceived in terms of the mind-body distinction. This new formulation of the subject provided other avenues of understanding gender, sexuality, and sex roles since the typical mapping was now contested. Deconstruction and poststructuralist movements provided a methodology for men and women to challenge normative views of sex and sexuality that until then had been accepted as biological or even social facts.

PLATO'S LEGACY

Plato's most explicit references to the mind-body distinction are found in the *Phaedo* (c. 380–360 BCE) and the

Republic (c. 380–360 BCE). The *Phaedo*, the retelling of Socrates's death, describes the philosopher's aim: to live life such that in death the soul will be liberated from the body. The philosopher must not become attached to worldly goods—to friends, children, sensuous pleasures, and so forth. When Socrates's friend begins to weep for him, Socrates tells him that he is acting a like a woman and threatens to expel him from the room.

The *Republic* provides the most developed account of the mind-body distinction and the correlated views of men and women. Plato divides the human being into the soul and body and then further divides the soul into three parts, where each part is responsible for a different activity. The appetitive part controls sensuous desires—hunger, thirst, and so forth; the spirited part of the soul controls emotional response such as righteous indignation; and the rational part of the soul, or reason, is intended to keep these two parts of the soul in balance. Plato's description of the three different groups of people in the *Republic*—male or female—corresponds to the three different parts of the soul. Each group is determined by the dominant power of one of the three parts: an appetitive person; a spirited person; a rational person. These three groups of people then correspond to the three different classifications of jobs and social roles in the Republic—each person can do one and only one task. Appetitive people will be merchants; spirited people will be the guardians of the city; and rational people will be the philosopher kings.

Plato's categories do not assume that all men will have rational souls nor does it assume that only men will have rational souls. In Book V of this dialogue, Plato responds to the following question, "What is the role of women in the Republic?" He demonstrates that although childbearing is part of women's nature, it is not a task that will prevent them from performing other tasks simultaneously. Childbearing is a temporary act while childrearing is ongoing. Although he does conclude that childrearing is not an essential part of women's nature, insofar as women rear children, they are incapable of doing anything else.

The varied and often conflicting scholarship on Plato's attitude towards women as philosopher-guardians of the republic reveals the ambiguity with regard to gender in his philosophical project. He nonetheless claims that women are not necessarily excluded from the class of individuals whose soul is controlled by the rational part. Yet it is also clear that in order to live the life of the philosopher there is a cost: women must give up childrearing responsibilities, which tie them to their bodily life. The separation of matter and form, picked up by Aristotle and carried into the Middle Ages, permeated the history of philosophy and had a substantial impact on early feminist theory.

Although Aristotle, Plato's most famous student, developed his own ideas, apart from those of his teacher, there are significant ways in which one can see the latter's influence. First and foremost is Aristotle's understanding of biology, and in particular, reproduction. Plato's mind-body dualism appears in Aristotle's description of what each, male and female, contribute to the reproductive process. Although Aristotle's renderings of how reproduction occurs are not always consistent with each other, the received view states that the male contributes the seed while the female contributes the warm place for this seed to develop. Another description of reproduction has the male contributing power (*dunamis*) to the act whereas the female contributes the matter upon which the power acts.

The significance of either rendering, however, is the assumption of the relative passivity of the female's contribution to the process. In the first description, the female is simply seen as a vessel in which the seed develops. In the second rendering, the female provides the matter, but the matter is nothing until it is acted upon by the power provided by the male. Aristotle's descriptions of reproduction reinscribe the characteristics of active male/passive female that influenced not only the medieval philosophers, but also had a significant impact on how science understood reproduction and the role of the woman in that process well into the twentieth century.

In spite of this view of reproduction, however, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* provides a space for reconsidering stereotypical feminine and masculine characteristics. For example, Aristotle's focus on [the] *phronesis*, practically wise judgment, acknowledges the important, even necessary role, that emotions play in ethical judgment. The practically wise person considers context—the right decision or reaction in one instance might not be appropriate in another. Although Aristotle was not looking to women for his model, his understanding of the role of emotions provided an important contrast to the ethical theories that developed in the modern period.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The medieval philosophical period is marked by the intersection of the three monotheistic religions: Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. As a result, philosophical motivations are often blurred with theological presuppositions. Generally speaking, Christian medieval philosophy, dominated by Saint Augustine (354–430) and Thomas Aquinas (1224–1275), and Jewish medieval philosophy, dominated by Maimonides (1135–1204) and Gersonides (1288–1344), adopts the Platonic/Aristotelian model of soul and body, which accorded a privileged status to rationality. As a result, the philosophers of the medieval period endorsed the respective views of male and female, men and women that correspond to that model.

Christian Philosophy Early Christianity promoted both chastity and celibacy. However this early view did not result from a negative view of the body or bodily behaviors; rather it emerged from a sense of liberation from the restrictive laws governing marriage during this time period. As Pagels explains, young women and men were required by the state to marry at very early ages. For men, marriage was connected to their entrance into civic responsibility. Men and women took vows of celibacy, which they viewed as liberating in the face of oppressive state responsibility. Augustine, ironically, is credited with contributing to the negative view of the body that continues to exist in Christian thinking while also providing a positive view of sexuality. Augustine argued that sexuality should be expressed through marriage and only then for the primary purpose of procreation. Significantly this view differed radically from the Jewish view that sexual pleasure for its own sake was not only morally acceptable; it was also frequently lauded in rabbinic sources. Augustine condemns sexual pleasure even in marriage that is pursued for its own sake and without any intention to procreate. Augustine refers to the wife as "the husband's harlot," and to the man as "the wife's adulterer." (Augustine Book 1, Chapter 17).

Aquinas's view of sexuality as described in his *Summa Theologica* followed Augustine's view. Insofar as one's action accords with reason, the action is not sinful. Thus sexual acts that keep with the end of human procreation follow the order of reason. Aquinas also contributed significantly to the discussion of sexuality within a Christian context. Influenced by Aristotle, Aquinas held that a fetus was not ensouled until quickening—when the woman could feel the baby kick. He held that up to this point the termination of the fetus was life destroying, but it was not a homicidal act. In spite of Aquinas's influence on early Catholicism, the Catholic view of abortion has changed dramatically. In the early-twenty-first century, abortion is not sanctioned by the Catholic Church even to save the life of the mother, unless the principle of double effect can apply: The intention is not to kill the fetus, but rather to do something else. For example, in the case of uterine cancer, the intention would be to remove the uterus, not the fetus per se.

The impact on church dogma and practice are clear. First, any sexual activity pursued outside of a recognized marriage is sinful. Second, any sexual activity pursued without the express intention to procreate, even if pursued within a recognized marriage, is sinful. On this view, all homosexual activity and self-gratifying sexual activity is sinful. To the extent that heterosexual activity does not satisfy these criteria, it is also sinful. Augustine's view of marriage, sexuality, and divorce was widely influential. Catholicism recognizes still the rhythm method as the only legitimate form of birth control, greatly restricting sexual relations both inside and outside of Church-recognized marriages. Insofar as sexual behavior was not regulated by the Church, couples, and in particular women, continue to risk pregnancies that are unwanted, whether due to financial, emotional, social, or personal concerns (e.g., if pregnancy would be life-threatening). Finally, insofar as abortion is restricted save in very specific circumstances, a woman's life appears to be subordinated to the life of the fetus.

Jewish Philosophy Jewish philosophy, even in the medieval period, presents a more complex system. The primacy of reason that characterizes much of the western philosophical canon is found primarily in Maimonides and Gersonides, but is absent in the pietistic philosophers such as Judah Halevi (1075–1141). Yet even as the Aristotelian presence is noticed, it is nonetheless a modified Aristotelianism. As pre-Christian philosophers, Plato and Aristotle had a tremendous impact on the formation of Christian metaphysics. Their philosophical impact continued into the modern period and well into the twentieth century. Because Judaism as a religion emerged before the Greek philosophical period, individual Jewish philosophers were influenced by the social milieu in which they lived, but that influence was mitigated by the philosophical underpinnings of the Jewish religion as expressed in its sacred texts.

For example, in Judaism, specific dimensions of bodily life are not disparaged and are even encouraged and lauded—sexual pleasure, the enjoyment of children and family life, and so forth. The Laws of Onah and the marriage contract itself (the *ketubah*) specify that the husband is obligated to provide sexual satisfaction to his wife, even if she is unable to bear children (e.g., she is beyond the reproductive years). Yet, in spite of this view, Maimonides, in adopting an Aristotelian model of form trumping matter, also adopted a negative view of the body, women, and human sexuality. For Maimonides, the relationship between form and matter ultimately points to the necessity of female subordination to the male. She, as matter, must be dominated by masculine reason. Either she is, in which case the point is proven. Or she is not, in which case the characterization of her as recalcitrant is proven. Although Maimonides is often viewed as the dominant Jewish philosopher of the medieval period, he is certainly not the only one of importance. Philosopher Sarah Pessin argues that Spanish poet and mystic philosopher Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1021–1058) provides a counter to the Maimonidean view. Gabirol does not offer a specifically feminist view of women. Rather he explicitly privileges materiality by linking it to the divine. In so doing, he allows for the privileging of the feminine and the traits associated with it.

Islamic Philosophy Islamic philosophy, similar to Christian and Jewish philosophy, raises questions regarding the relationship between philosophy and theology. One branch of Islamic philosophy utilized Greek philosophy, in particular Aristotle's work, to counter orthodox Islamic principles. Yet the attitudes towards gender in philosophy and theology were not necessarily consistent. Insofar as Islamic philosophy appropriated Aristotle's metaphysics, its view of gender ought to have been parallel to that developed by Aristotle. Spanish philosopher and physician Averroës (1126–1198) is most noted for his view that philosophy is incompatible with religion, if each is done properly—a view not much different from that found in both modern and contemporary philosophy. In particular, the difference can be seen in Persian philosopher and scientist Avicenna's (980–1037) criticism of Aristotle's theory of generation.

Contrary to Aristotle, Avicenna claimed that the female did provide a formal contribution. However, even with this concession, Avicenna's description of the account of generation reveals that this formal contribution is inferior and secondary to that of the male. The Aristotelian influence on Avicenna can be attributed to music theorist and scholar Abu Nasr Al-Farabi (870–950), who is credited with introducing Aristotle and Plato to the Arabic world. Avicenna's concept of a person included a concept of the soul that was differentiated as male or female. Although Avicenna believed in eternal life, his lack of belief in preexisting souls—souls can be differentiated only through matter, and thus embodiment—led him also to believe that even after souls were separated from their bodies they retained their sexed differentiation. Thus even after being separated from their respective bodies, sexed souls will not attain equality. Avicenna accepted Aristotle's view of men and women (i.e., women are the privation of men), even though he was critical of Aristotle's theory of generation. Avicenna advocated the husband's required care of the woman, which allowed her the financial freedom, ironically, to pursue nontechnical forms of education—poetry, philosophy, law, and music. Although Avicenna's criticisms of Aristotle were not enough to limit Aristotle's future influence, Avicenna's *The Canon of Medicine* (c. 1593), which included discussions of pregnancy, natural abortion, and lactation, was important in the study of medicine.

In contrast to Avicenna, Averroës accepted Aristotle's account of generation: The female contributes matter and the male contributes form. Averroës claims that the latter is due to more heat in the male. Additionally Averroës held that men and women could not attain friendships of equality with each other. Interestingly the Platonic influence on Averroës led to a view of gender relations different from that yielded by the Aristotelian influence. Like Plato, Averroës believed that men and women had the same end, and that women were capable of philosophy. Insofar as he believed that Law commands the study of philosophy, one might infer that women were included in this view. In this regard, it is not clear if Plato or Aristotle had the greater impact on Averroës. Also not clear is whether Averroës's turn from Plato to Aristotle changed his mind with regard to women. Yet Averroës is noted for expressing dismay at the treatment of women in Islamic culture and he worried that women were destined to become nothing more than child bearers or servants to their husbands. His express concern that there was no space for women to develop their talents reveals an underlying Platonic influence. Interestingly these views angered religious zealots and Averroës was eventually removed from his post as jurist to the king. The fact that Aristotle's views had a lasting effect on the masses makes it difficult to determine what lasting impact Averroës's platonic views had.

Iranian philosopher Suhrawardi (1154–1191), the founder of the Illuminationist School, was influenced by doctrines of belief of both Aristotle and Avicenna. Explicitly critical of Avicenna's philosophy in many ways, Suhrawardi's philosophy resembles Plato's theory of the forms more than Aristotle's metaphysics. Suharawardi's philosophy is characterized by a focus on light, emanating from the light of lights, and decreasing evermore in intensity. This light is then governed by the light that governs reality. Most notably, in his treatise on chivalry, Suhrawardi advocates more compassion in human actions towards others. For example, if a woman has been accused of sexual immorality, he advocates compassion towards her rather than adherence to the cultural norm of obtaining four reputable witnesses to the action and then stoning her to death. His notes on chivalry, rather than paternalistic as in other such codes, genuinely advocate a sympathetic approach to both men and women, not only for their sake, but also for the spiritual development of those who would administer the accepted and expected punishment.

Islam as a practiced religion functions differently from the philosophical positions that are classified as Islamic. For example, in Islam the way to the divine is through the heart, viewed as distinctly feminine. There are numerous references in the Koran that exalt Mary, mother of Jesus, as the mediator or the connection between God and God's creation. As in Suhrawardi's philosophy, Sufism extols the typically feminine characteristics of joy, love, tenderness, and self-sacrifice. Like Judaism, the attitudes towards gender, found in the sacred texts, may differ altogether from how gender and gender roles are viewed and treated within the social-political context of the lived religion. And like Judaism and Christianity, Islam is not monolithic. Islam's emphasis on the mind or spiritual development of the individual promoted a positive view of woman.

MODERN PERIOD

The modern philosophical period (1550–1900) begins with French mathematician and philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650) and Dutch philosopher Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677), both of whom were influenced by the medieval period—philosophically, politically, and religiously. Descartes is noted for his extreme mind-body dualism. Spinoza is credited with providing a corrective to this dualism. Most significantly, Spinoza's emphasis on reason gave birth to Enlightenment philosophy. The modern period is characterized primarily by the emergence of the French and British Enlightenments, which emphasized the universality of reason. This emphasis laid the ground for universal human rights even as it contributed to maintaining gender stereotypes. In spite of claims to universality, women were often excluded from the category of beings capable of rationality. Even when women successfully entered these elite circles, the general attitude towards their supposed natural behavior remained. Women's social roles and female biological roles that fell outside the realm of rationality were ascribed a lower status.

The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), in his essay "What is Enlightenment?" (1784), concludes that women and others are unable to think rationally not because of human defect but because they have not been permitted to use or develop this faculty. Kant's view is consistent with the Enlightenment project. Yet, in so far as the dualism was accepted, behavior that could be viewed as irrational or arational was treated as less important. Including women in the category of rational beings did not necessarily improve their status or the opinion of behavior and labor that was defined as female or feminine.

In addition to maintaining the privileged status of reason, the early modern period also emphasized autonomy, freedom, and independence in its definition of human subjectivity, once again by implication lowering the status of those behaviors—childbearing, childrearing, and the nurturing of others—that were characteristic of women. Although this description is both common and accurate, it disregards the nuances that typify many of the philosophers of the modern period. For example, Swiss philosopher and writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712–1778) political philosophy reveals his desire for human subjects to be autonomous and independent in order to make wise and ethical political decision and his wish for those human beings to have healthy relationships with others. A close examination of Rousseau's educational treatise *Emile* (1762) exposes both a supremely negative view of women and also a view of women that portrays them as both ethically wise and epistemically privileged. In fact, they are presented as the model for human subjectivity. Rousseau is also clear, however, that there is a distinction to be made between men and women, male and female, and this difference is to be maintained.

Developing Rousseau's political thought, German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) appropriates the gendered description of civil society. Women are incorporated into the civil society through their participation in the family. Using the example of Greek dramatist Sophocles's (c. 496–406 BCE) character of Antigone in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel contrasts the gendered duty of Antigone's responsibility to bury her treasonous brother, an act that directly defies Creon's rule of political law, with her responsibility to the state. Even as women participated in civil society, their duties to the family would necessarily exclude them from any authentic participation.

Hegel's view of women, or gender, in both the *Phenomenology* and *The Philosophy of Right* is the source of controversy even among feminist theorists. Some twentieth-century scholars such as Luce Irigaray and Patricia Mills argue that Hegel's emphasis on the family and the role of women in the family necessarily excludes them from participation in civil society, even according them a lower status than the slave who eventually moves the dialectic. Irigaray argues that Hegel overlooked the potency of this gendered division. Using Hegel's own example of Antigone, Irigaray shows that insofar as women are confined to a particular gendered role, the fulfillment of this sexed behavior actually becomes the cause of civil society's undoing. Antigone had no choice but to act as a woman—to respect the religious law and obey it even if this obedience meant disobeying Creon's political order. The modern period brings to the fore the tension in masculinity and femininity, especially as these ideals relate to the political community.

TWENTIETH TO TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

Several philosophical developments in the twentieth century provided radical critiques of the European and North American philosophical conception of subjectivity. Phenomenology allowed for the reconsideration of the traditional model of mind-body dualism in discussions of subjectivity. German philosopher Edmund Husserl's (1859–1938) *Cartesian Meditations* (1931) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's (1908–1961) *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945) challenged the idea of a disembodied consciousness. Although neither of these philosophers made explicit reference to gender per se, the implications of their philosophical project for feminist thought and conceptions of subjectivity have been far reaching. Despite this, feminists have taken issue with Husserl's emphasis on the ego as not bodily enough and with Merleau-Ponty's examples of sexuality in the *Phenomenology of Perception*. The concern with regard to the latter is that his examples presume a traditional conception of sexuality as heterosexuality. Though the theories of Husserl and Merleau-Ponty led to the radical overturning of both Platonic and then Cartesian dualism that had gendered subjectivity for centuries, the examples used in their philosophical treatises point to a traditional conception of sexuality subtly at work.

Utilizing an existentialist framework, French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986) presents a developed account of how woman has been conceived of as other. Beauvoir's work demonstrates how a theory such as existentialism, though not itself concerned with gender, can be applied to discussions of sex and sexuality. Though radical in the way it challenges European and North American conceptions of gender, Beauvoir's philosophical project repeats many of the same themes. On the one hand, Beauvoir investigates the sustained treatment of woman as other—the second sex—to the male subject. On the other hand, her response to this conception replicates many of the same flaws found in Plato's theory and again in modernity: Women can transcend their bodies and participate in the world of the mind, but it means leaving behind or subordinating behaviors that are closely associated with women. In particular, childbearing, childrearing, and marriage are treated negatively. To be fair to Beauvoir, however, the context in which she is writing must be acknowledged. Adequate birth control was not available, marriage laws were confining if not outright oppressive, and good childcare was not readily available. Women were often forced to choose between careers and childrearing, not because of any metaphysical definition of themselves but because of the social, political, and legal context in which they lived. It should also be noted that H. M. Parshley's English translation of *The Second Sex* (1949) is not faithful to the original French in significant ways. The influence of the English translation led to widespread interpretation of Beauvoir as unsympathetic to women and the choices they made.

Inflecting phenomenology with a Jewish accent, Lithuanian philosopher Emmanuel Levinas (1906–1995) provided yet another conception of human subjectivity, one which inverted the subject-other relationship. Influenced by the German Jewish philosopher, Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929), Levinas claimed that human subjectivity arises in ethical response to the other. This reformulation of subjectivity challenged traditional gender roles by elevating ethical response to the other over the Enlightenment values of freedom, autonomy, and rationality. This reformulation utilizes the conception of the feminine as other, but in this project, the other is accorded a privileged position. Levinas presents the feminine in three distinct manifestations. In *Time and the Other* (1947) the feminine inaugurates the experience of alterity. In *Totality and Infinity* (1961), the feminine is conceived as hospitable and welcoming. Finally in *Otherwise than Being* (1974), the feminine is reconceived in the image of maternity, which he calls the ethical relation par excellence.

Levinas's ethical project transformed philosophy's relationship to otherness. Noting this transformation, feminist theorists such as Irigaray and Tina Chanter offer nuanced readings of Levinas's use of the feminine and the implications for gender and sexuality. Despite the privileged position of the other, these scholars argue that Levinas maintains the feminine stereotypes that proved so dangerous. Scholars of Jewish philosophy, such as Leora Batnitzky, while noting these concerns, also emphasize the influence of Judaism on Levinas's philosophical thought and how this can contribute to a positive reformulation of women and gender. Values such as dependence and vulnerability, associated with women by European and North American philosophy, are seen in Judaism as human values, and signs of humanity itself.

The late-twentieth century French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) radically departs from the philosophical systems that preceded him. Foucault's contribution to the discussion of sexuality and gender is not a critique of gender roles and attitudes per se—rationality versus the body. Instead Foucault analyzes the very way that the discussion develops. In *The History of Sexuality* (1976–1984), he reveals the power structures that control discourse on sexuality, in particular those surrounding sexual repression. He is less interested in *what* has been said about sexuality than he is in *who* has said it, *how* they said it, in what context they said it, and what has not been said. Foucault's primary interest lies in the production of knowledge and power, which he believes are intertwined. The genealogical method employed for his exploration of the history of sexuality radically influenced how twentieth and twenty-first century philosophy examines historical claims to power, truth, and the normative practices in which people engage. The application of this methodology to gender has proved productive for uncovering how discourse on birth control, abortion, marriage, prostitution, and so forth lies in certain premises that are uncritically accepted with particular historical presuppositions.

Feminist responses to mind-body distinction varied widely even though they did not contest the distinction itself. One line of response claimed that women were just like men and could aspire to the same rational capacities even if that meant transcending their bodily identities. A converse response was to claim that women were in fact different from men and that these differences should themselves be valued. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century that philosophy offered a critical analysis of the received view of human existence and the mind-body distinction itself. Early twenty-first century feminist scholarship reveals the history of European and North American philosophy to be more complex with regard to the mind-body distinction and philosophy's attitudes towards sexuality and gender than has previously been assumed. Although feminist inquiries reveal a pattern of misogyny, it is difficult to reject the values of the Enlightenment in their entirety. However twentieth century European philosophy, which includes phenomenology, existentialism, deconstruction, post-structuralism, and critical theory, provided a new way for thinking about philosophy with regard to sex, gender, and sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Philosophy, Feminist.*

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Claire Katz

PHILOSOPHY, FEMINIST

A number of developments since the late 1970s suggest that the distinction between sex and gender is much more malleable than feminism came to assume. These include increasingly technological reproductive means (artificial insemination, for example) and the proliferation of gender identity clinics, which enable female-to-male and male-to-female operations. Hand in hand with these developments, gender theorists are no longer as invested in parsing out the distinction between sex and gender as they are in reversing the implied causal relation between them. In these theories, it is not sex that causes gender, but gender that causes sex. Theorists such as Monique

Wittig (1992), Christine Delphy (1993), and Judith Butler (1990) have argued that there is no natural ground of gender, no sex that is somehow prior to or outside interpretation. Gender is always already at play in definitions that proceed according to culturally specific assumptions about femininity and masculinity, which require the body to signify the appropriate gender. In this sense, the body itself functions as a sign.

ORIGINS OF THE SEX/GENDER DISTINCTION

The distinction between sex and gender finds its origins in anthropology, sociology, and psychology. Influenced by Margaret Mead (1935) and the Parsonian idea of roles, whereby one's behavior is determined by one's function in the workplace, feminists developed the idea of sex roles, which took seriously the notion that social roles could be multiple and sometimes conflicting. One could be an employee, a sister, a daughter, and a mother, for example. One's social function or status determines one's role. The psychologist Robert J. Stoller (1968–1975) introduced the distinction between sex and gender in his work on transvestites in the 1970s, and the sociologist Ann Oakley (1972) defined sex and gender in a way that lays out the main contours of the distinction as it came to be taken up by feminists. The variability of gender, as opposed to what Oakley identified as the "constancy" of sex, is what made gender so central to the feminist program. If gender originates from socially inculcated roles, then it can change over time. There is nothing inherent in women's makeup or constitution that destines them to work in the home, look after children, or engage in traditionally feminine activities. Women are not hardwired to be nurturing, caring, or other-oriented—there is no genetic predisposition to prepare women for the role of mother or housewife. Only cultural expectations require that women confine their activities to the domestic, familial, private sphere.

Mary Wollstonecraft pointed out in her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1975 [1792]) the contradictory state of affairs that consisted on the one hand in the assumption that women were ethically inferior to men, and on the other hand in entrusting the rearing of children to women. If women were considered incapable of governing themselves, how could they be considered fit to educate young children? The assumption of women's ethical inferiority to men can be traced back in Western philosophy at least as far as Aristotle, who maintained that women's deliberative capacity in ethical decision making was inferior to men's. Such a view represents a challenge to Plato, his teacher, who carved out a place (albeit limited) for some women to be philosopher guardians in the ideal city he describes in the *Republic*.

Although he did not employ the language of sex and gender, John Stuart Mill argued in his 1869 work, *The Subjection of Women*, that until women were given the chance to prove themselves in the public sphere, the idea that women are innately unsuited for the rigors of politics or government remained mere speculation. With the exception of Wollstonecraft, whose most important philosophical allegiance was to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (himself hardly a feminist), it was not until 1949, with the publication of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (trans. 1953), that a thorough analysis of women's oppression was undertaken. Beauvoir argued from the perspective of existentialist ethics, which held that all humans are subjects, and as such are free to determine their own existence, but as radically free, are liable to forgo their liberty and give in to the temptation to act as if they are not in control of their own destiny. Focusing on the asymmetrical relationship between the sexes, Beauvoir contended that women must confront a special condition: Men impose upon women the patriarchal expectation that they occupy the position of "the other." Although Beauvoir did not employ the language of the sex/gender distinction, her famous claim at the beginning of volume two of *The Second Sex*—"One is not born, rather one becomes, woman"—could be read as reflecting the issues that would come to be taken up in terms of that distinction. There is no innate, essential, or natural essence of femininity, no eternal myth of the feminine; rather, women construct their identities as they live their lives. This philosophy reflects the dictum perhaps most closely associated with existentialism, "essence lies in existence."

Drawing upon cultural dictates, subjects are called to enact normative genders, which constitute facilitating or enabling scripts which both sexes take on and through which people assert their identities. From this, it is a short step to a Foucauldian understanding of power and agency. If it is true that power is not merely repressive and negative, but also productive and positive, that it operates in multiple sites, rather than univocally or monolithically, then it is also true that feminist politics can themselves become sites of repression. This is, perhaps, nowhere more blatant than in the Western, Eurocentric assumptions of the feminist movement itself, which has tended to operate in exclusive ways.

Since the 1980s feminist discussions have been critical of the extent to which gender was theorized in isolation from other forms of oppression such as race and class, with the result that, by default, racially and class-privileged women have set the feminist agenda. Gender theory in the West has therefore tended to be biased toward white, middle-class, and heterosexist experience. African-American theorists such as bell hooks (2000) have persuasively argued, for example, that to define feminist struggle as a quest for equality is to overlook the fact that such a definition assumes a privileged, middle-class point of view. Clearly, women are not striving for equality with those men afflicted by racial oppression or poverty. Accordingly, hooks suggests that feminism should be understood not in terms of the aim of equality between the sexes, but rather in terms of multiple and interlocking oppressive systems: race, gender, and class.

Mainstream feminists also made the case that women should emphasize gender over sex, thereby opening up cultural and political definitions of femininity to change, and leading to another organizing distinction that played a central role in feminism, namely that between the private and the public realms. Arguing for the right to vote, for example, was a matter of reconfiguring the demand that women remain within the confines of domesticity, within the privacy of the home. Feminism called for women to migrate into the public, political realm of the workplace. Strategically such an argument has proved crucial for some women. Many African-American women, however, worked in domestic spaces, homes that were in some sense private but that were not their own. These workers defy easy categorization in terms of the opposition of private and public: their place of work was usually that of white, middle-class families. Thus, even the organizing distinctions of feminism are not immune from privileging the experience of some women over others, in ways that are permeated by racial and class assumptions for which feminist theory must be accountable.

POSTCOLONIAL INTERVENTIONS

Third-world feminists have developed postcolonial feminist theories, which on the one hand draw attention to the ways in which women's bodies often come to be the ground on which competing versions of mythical nationalism are played out, and on the other hand defend themselves against charges that to be feminist is to be co-opted by Western ideas (Narayan 1997). In the wake of the relentless spread of global capitalism, multinational corporations engaged in offshore sourcing are particularly exploitative of third-world women (Lim 1983). Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) is among those to have highlighted the need for feminist theory to engage Marxist theory in a way that takes account of globalized exploitation.

Native American feminists have argued that while civil rights might have operated in largely liberatory ways for white, Western women, they have had repressive effects for colonized, sovereign, tribal groups. A system of government modeled after corporate America, and without the checks and balances ensured by the three branches of the U.S. government (executive, legislative, and judiciary), was imposed on tribal authorities from 1924 to 1968. Matrilineal traditions were eliminated, and women were subjected to multiple abuses, including forced sterilization. Native American women were misrepresented by white America as meek and submissive, in contrast to the considerable prestige and power they had actually enjoyed prior to their colonization and forced relocation. Their ideas about gender, which celebrated and honored the *berdache* (or third sex), were suppressed in favor of ideas emanating from a Christian, heterosexist ethic (Guerrero 1997).

SEE ALSO *Aristotle; Philosophy; Plato.*

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Tina Chanter

PHONE SEX

Phone sex occurs when one person stimulates a sexual response in another person by means of conversation, suggestive hints and cues, stories, role playing, and sound effects over the telephone. Commercial phone sex offers itself as a service through advertisements in places where those seeking to purchase sexual titillation would look to find it: on line and in pornographic magazines. In this case phone sex is conducted as a business arrangement in which one person pays another person a prearranged fee for aural stimulation. Phone sex may also be noncommercial and romantic as a part of the way two people, especially those who are separated by distance or circumstances, enjoy sexual intimacy. Phone sex is mutually consensual and thus differs from illegal obscene phone calls in which a caller offers unsolicited sexual suggestion, often as a mode of harassment.

Commercial phone sex involves paid sex workers, called erotic performers, adult phone entertainers, or phone actors. These performers may be female or male and their talents involve not only their voices, but also their ability to perceive, anticipate, and respond to a phone client's requests and desires. Such actors are skilled in conducting and managing aural scenarios. They are often sympathetic and nonjudgmental, though they may refuse a client's requests if they are too extreme. Most phone sex patrons are males who rely on the aural stimulation of a live responsive partner as an aid to masturbation. However, many also wish to explore fantasies they may be reluctant to expose, such as various forms of fetishism, bondage and discipline, transvestism, coprophilia, homosexuality, or incest, and there are those who wish to play sexually stimulating roles or fantasize that their phone partner comes from a specific group or profession. A client may wish to fantasize that he is a cable guy, for example, and his phone sex worker a housewife. Because patrons are anonymous on the phone, phone sex is a safe way to explore sexuality without the risk of exposure or the dangers of contracting sexually transmitted diseases or becoming victims of violence.

Commercial phone sex services have various ways of conducting their business. They must have a way of certifying that their patrons are over eighteen, gathering credit card information, connecting clients with appropriate phone actors, and measuring the services provided. Many work through centralized payment services. Some provide toll-free numbers for patrons to call, ask for a particular kind of service, and provide payment information, then be called back by the assigned actor. Some services still employ 1-900 numbers that charge a special, more expensive rate per minute. In 1996 the Federal Communications Commission adopted regulations governing pay-per-call services such as phone sex, which had become rife with deception. The regulations require that such services disclose the cost of calls in print advertisements and at the beginning of each call and cease funneling toll-free calls into pay-per-call services. The regulations also required that 1-900 number blocking be available.

Phone sex as a part of noncommercial relationships may be an intrinsic part of a couple's sexual life, especially if they live apart. Some couples enjoy the variety phone sex may represent as well as the kinds of fantasy it can enable. In 1990 Nicholson Baker published a novel, *Vox*, based on the imaginary transcript of a phone sex conversation.

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Judith Roof

PHYSICAL CULTURE

Based on an ideal of athleticism and physical beauty that dated back to classical Greece, the physical culture movement promoted fitness, health, and muscular strength through regular exercise, participation in sports, and proper nutrition. It had its origins in the eighteenth-century revival of interest in classical aesthetics, especially the artistic emphasis on the muscular male form, and reached its height in the United States, Britain, and Europe from 1880 until 1930. The ideals of the physical culture movement survive today in modified form in the sport of bodybuilding and in the contemporary emphasis on fitness in Europe and the United States.

HISTORY AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Perhaps the most prominent forerunner of the physical culture movement was the mid-nineteenth-century doctrine of muscular Christianity . Aimed at young men, this stressed the twin goals of physical fitness, largely through participation in sports, and religious observance, drawing its inspiration in part from the Roman satirist Juvenal's doctrine of *mens sana in corpore sano* (a sound mind in a sound body). Its advocates included such English writers as Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, who made it the underlying value system of his 1857 novel, *Tom Brown's School Days*. Despite the popularity of Hughes's novel, and although gymnasia opened in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1823, in Paris in 1847, and at Oxford University in England in 1858, the physical culture movement did not become fully developed until it was mass-marketed by Eugen Sandow (1867–1925) and Bernarr Macfadden (1868–1955) at the end of the nineteenth century.

Sandow is generally credited as the originator of what would eventually become modern bodybuilding. Born in Prussia, Sandow performed throughout Europe as a sideshow strongman before coming to America in 1893 to appear at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where he was hired by showman Florenz Zeigfeld to tour in a variety show. Sandow's act quickly evolved from performing feats of strength to displaying his muscular development by covering himself in white powder and imitating the poses of classical statues, such as *The Dying Gaul*, albeit with the addition of a discretely placed fig leaf. Photographs of him in such poses were widely marketed, establishing the tradition of physique photography. Sandow is also credited with organizing the first bodybuilding contest, "The Great Competition," at the Royal Albert Hall in London in 1901, with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle as one of the judges.

Largely forgotten now, Macfadden was known during his lifetime as the Father of Physical Culture. Influenced by Sandow's show at the Columbian Exposition, Macfadden toured in his own muscle display show, developed and marketed exercise equipment, opened physical culture clubs in cities across the country, and in 1898 began publishing *Physical Culture* magazine. By 1903 the magazine was selling 100,000 copies per month, and it would eventually provide the basis for a publishing empire. Macfadden was also an early proponent of physical activity for women, advocating that they participate in outdoor sports such as swimming and tennis, publishing a fitness magazine (*Beauty and Health*) aimed at a female audience, and campaigning against corsets and restrictive clothing. Beginning in 1904, he organized bodybuilding competitions that included both genders.

Sandow and Macfadden's success at retailing the ideal of physical culture can be attributed to a number of contemporary cultural factors that provided a fertile climate for their ideas. By the end of the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin's notion of survival of the fittest had been adapted into a related theory, social Darwinism, which applied his concepts to contemporary human societies. Social Darwinism argued that relations between societies, and between groups within a society, should be understood as intrinsically competitive, with superior individuals and groups winning out over those less suited to survival. Such ideas provided part of the conceptual framework for the colonial and imperialist projects of the era, which argued that the inherent superiority of the white race required it to bring civilization to less-developed parts of the globe. Along with this assertion of confidence in the destiny of Europeans and Americans, however, came a corollary anxiety: because evolution argued that species were continually changing, late-nineteenth-century intellectuals became concerned about the idea of degeneration—the possibility that each generation of Europeans and Americans was weaker than the last and that crime, poverty, and social disorder were increasing.

The physical culture movement can be seen as part of the response to this anxiety in its stress on enhancing male health and fitness, a goal that was of particular importance because the physical state of individual men was conceptually linked to the health of the country as a whole. Degenerate and effeminate young men, it was thought, meant a weak nation, which could easily fall victim to other countries or races (Seltzer 1992). As such, the physical culture movement is simply one part of a general emphasis in Europe and the United States on improving the fitness of the individual and thereby ensuring the future viability of the nation, an ethos that also spawned the modern revival of the Olympic Games in 1896 and the founding of the Boy Scouts in 1907.

Since the 1930s the physical culture movement has developed into the sport of modern bodybuilding, with the emphasis gradually shifting from exercise done for the sake of strength and fitness to exercise as a means of shaping and proportioning the body for aesthetic effect. Key moments in the development of bodybuilding as a recognized sport were the emergence of Steve Reeves (Mr. Universe, 1950) as a movie star in *Hercules* and other "sword and sandal" films from 1959 to 1964; the founding of the Mr. Universe and Mr. Olympia bodybuilding competitions, in 1948 and 1965, respectively; and the 1977 documentary film *Pumping Iron*, which detailed a young Arnold Schwarzenegger's attempts to win the Mr. Olympia title. The film not only launched Schwarzenegger's film career but also made bodybuilding a popular sport.

PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SEXUALITY

If only because it involves partial nudity, the physical culture movement, like modern bodybuilding after it, has always been closely tied to sexuality. As a feature of Sandow's stage shows, women were invited to come backstage afterward, where they could feel his muscles upon payment of a fee. Although bodybuilding culture has thus given women opportunities to appreciate the male form since its inception, the sport's primary relation to sexuality has been a long and uneasy association with homosexuality. Because bodybuilding is one of the few arenas in twentieth- and twenty-first-century culture where men have been allowed to look at and appreciate the bodies of other men, the sport is often seen as implicitly homoerotic (Simpson 1994). The connection between physical culture and homoeroticism is clearest, however, in the history of physique photography. Although *Physical Culture* and Sandow's photographs were the first widely accessible sources of male imagery for gay men at the turn of the last century, it was not until the late 1940s, when a recognizable gay subculture began to emerge, that physique photography began to be produced specifically for the gay community.

In 1945 Bob Mizer founded the Athletic Model Guild in Los Angeles, a photography studio that was originally intended to provide portraits for aspiring actors but quickly evolved into the marketing of photographs of muscular young men. Beginning in 1951, Mizer published *Physique Pictorial*, a magazine featuring his photographs and including brief biographical descriptions of the models. Because of the rigid censorship laws of the time, the models were shown wearing posing straps (which were sometimes painted onto the negatives of nude photographs), and Mizer justified his work by appealing to the classical tradition of male nudity in art and to the physical culture movement. Mizer's photographs, however, were clearly designed to appeal to an emerging gay audience, and customers could order photo sets that contained nude shots of the models. Other studios and magazines soon followed suit. Significant photographers of the era also include Don Whitman (Western Photography Guild) and Bruce Bellas (Bruce of Los Angeles) in the United States, John S. Barrington in England, and Gregor Arax (Studio Arax) in France. The liberalization of censorship laws in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s removed the need to justify male nude photography through an appeal to the ideals of physical culture, paving the way for the more diverse images of men found in contemporary gay pornography.

Bodybuilding has also played a direct role in the gay community. Beginning in the late 1970s, gay men began to take up bodybuilding, both because of the sport's growing popularity and because of an increasing emphasis in gay culture on masculine self-presentation. This trend was enhanced by the onset of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s, which led not only to increased health consciousness among gay men but also to a concern with *appearing* healthy as well. Among gay men, the popularity of working out has continued into the twenty-first century, and bodybuilders now comprise a large and recognizable subculture within the gay community, as web sites such as BigMuscle.com attest. Unlike straight bodybuilders, however, whose aim is usually to enhance their self-esteem by improving their appearance, bodybuilding in the gay community is often designed to objectify the body, making it more attractive as an erotic object (Miller 1992).

SEE ALSO *Beauty Pageants.*

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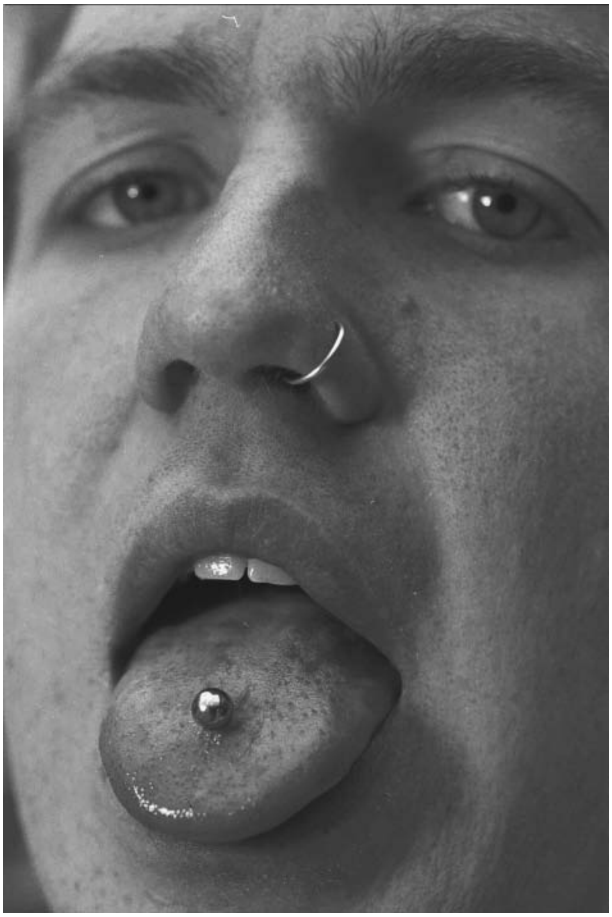
Dennis Allen

PIERCINGS

Body piercing is a type of body modification often compared to and grouped with tattooing. It uses a gun or needle to create a hole in various parts of the body, into which decorative materials such as metal rings and pieces of wood or bone are inserted. The most popular body part for piercing is the ear, as demonstrated by its popularity among people in Africa, India, Indonesia, and North and South America. Other areas of the body that commonly are pierced include the face, mouth, nipples, navel, and genitals. Facial piercings include the lip, tongue, labret (beneath the lip), nostril, septum, and eyebrow. Male genital piercings include the ampallang (horizontal bar through the penis head), dydoe (bar through the ridge of the penis head), foreskin (ring through end of foreskin), apadravya (vertical bar through penis head), frenum (bar through skin on the underside of penis shaft, below head), guiche (under scrotal sac near anus), Prince Albert (through urethra opening to bottom of penis head), and hafada (through scrotal skin). Female genital piercings include the clitoris, fourchette (over the perineum from the bottom of the vaginal opening), and labia.

Because of its connection with rites of initiation, piercing is embraced most commonly by adolescents, but adults also modify their bodies with piercing for its aesthetic or sensual appeal. Women were once a minority among the largely male population of body modifiers, but the practice has become more common within both sexes. As of the year 2000, approximately 50 percent of



Body Piercings. *A Penn State student displays some of his body piercings.* AP IMAGES.

the pierced population was female. Motivations for body piercing include group affiliation, aesthetic appeal, rites of passage, individuation, shock value, fashion trends, and sensual enhancement. Many people argue that piercing, similar to other forms of body modification, reestablishes a connection between mind and body in modern industrial cultures that privilege mental work over physical activity.

PIERCING IN HISTORY

Piercing has been practiced since ancient times in diverse cultures. Ancient Maya, Aztec, and other Mesoamerican cultures practiced nose, tongue, ear, and lip piercing. Biblical stories from the Old Testament indicate that nose and ear piercing were common practices in the Middle East (see Genesis 24:22). In India, nose piercing has been common since the sixteenth century. More recently, in Victorian England, many women pierced their nipples to enhance both sensation and the roundness and appearance of the nipple and breast. In the 1970s body piercing was embraced by various groups outside of mainstream culture, including the punk culture in Europe and North America and the homosexual culture of California. Starting in the late 1970s, the punk movement began using safety pins and other common objects to pierce and mark themselves as members of this counterculture. Similar to leather clothes and tattoos, piercing in the gay and BDSM sexual communities (practitioners of bondage and discipline, domination and submission, and/or sadomasochism) signifies an enhanced emphasis on sexuality and sensuality in all aspects of one's life. It also continues to mark pierced individuals as not subscribing to mainstream or corporate standards of appearance. The art of piercing in North America and Europe fully began in the 1980s, when Doug Malloy and others standardized the ancient practice with the use of stainless steel materials and specific, hygienic processes. Beginning in the 1990s, piercing became increasingly popular among celebrities and more common on fashion runways.

SEXUALITY AND PIERCING

Genital piercings have functioned historically as means of both enforcing chastity and enhancing sexual pleasure. Labia piercing rings can be used as chastity belts, linking together to prohibit penetration. Likewise, the male genital piercing of the frenum has been used to prevent copulation by the addition of a padlock inserted through the ring. Genital piercing can also enhance pleasure of the area pierced. Women with pierced nipples and clitorises note much higher sensitivity in those areas, and men with Prince Albert piercings and other penile piercings also experience increased pleasure during intercourse. While the Prince Albert is the most pleasurable genital piercing for men, other options such as the ampallang and the dydoe also enhance the experience for their sexual partners. In fact, the ampallang, a piercing practice begun in the areas surrounding the Indian Ocean, makes such a difference that women have been known to specify the size ampallang a man wears during intercourse or deny sex altogether to men without this piercing.

In addition to sexual uses, genital piercings also have symbolic meanings. Such piercings can compete with finger rings as symbols, so women receive labia piercings and men receive frenum piercings at the same appointment. Such piercings can also symbolize ownership or belonging; for example, a submissive woman may have a labia piercing that marks her as belonging to a certain partner. In some countries, female genital piercing is taking the place of female circumcision, satisfying the requirements of ritual bloodshed without the accompanying health risks and loss of sensation that clitoridectomies produce.

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Michelle Veenstra

PILGRIMAGES

This entry contains the following:

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I. BUDDHISM

The category of Buddhist pilgrimage involves a breadth of historical and regional heterogeneities matching that displayed by the various forms of practices and beliefs defined as Buddhism. Only through the study of specific examples can certain features of Buddhist pilgrimage in general be extrapolated, and even then broad generalizations are unsatisfactory. The local characteristics of pilgrimage sites illustrate their individual and composite character, recapitulating the syncretic nature of the development of Buddhism. In India and in Tibet, for example, Vedic gods and goddesses were incorporated within the Buddhist pantheon, and symbols from both religious spheres are found at the same pilgrimage sites. In China, Daoist deities are worshipped side by side with Buddhist ones at a number of sites. In Japan, Buddhas and bodhisattvas almost without exception have been matched to Shinto deities (*kami*).

SITES AND PURPOSES

Topologically, Buddhist pilgrimages are rarely linear journeys to single sites but often consist of circuits: Multiple sites are linked by the pilgrim's journey, with each site allowing the interaction of a pilgrim with a specific deity or set of deities. This typology differs from the classic model of pilgrimage developed by Victor and Edith Turner (1978), which was based on Christian pilgrimages. Furthermore, whereas a transformative experience for the pilgrim is central in Turner's model, Buddhist pilgrimages tend to downplay that element in favor of other experiences.

The central aim for a Buddhist pilgrim is to accumulate merit by her or his journey through sacred sites that are seen as the abodes of Buddhist enlightened beings or as places of contact with the other world; this explains the prominence of mountains as pilgrimage sites. The merit of carrying out a pilgrimage is transferable to others: In the Japanese pilgrimage around the island of Shikoku both male and female pilgrims carry blessed paper vouchers that they distribute with prayers to believers along their route in exchange for an offering. Without actually leaving for the journey, a believer can thus establish contact with the sacred through the pilgrim and accrue merit. The contact with the sacred may ensure that her or his supplications will be heeded or guarantee protection in daily life. The merit may secure for the believer future rebirth in a better station or in one of the Buddhist Pure Lands.

PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN

This logic of pilgrimage allowed the indirect participation of women in many pilgrimages that they could not carry out directly. Many sacred mountain sites in Japan, for example, were off limits for women until late in the nineteenth century because of the belief that women are inherently polluted (the blood of menstruation and parturition usually was taken as a material symbol of that pollution). Women's presence at such pure sacred sites would contaminate the sites. Women, however, could be made part of the pilgrimage indirectly by having merit transferred to them from those who undertook the pilgrimage.

Alternative strategies were developed in which women could carry out the practice of pilgrimage directly. One strategy involved the establishment of places of worship for women at or near the common pilgrimage site but distinct from the ones available to men. On Mount Fuji, for example, where that exclusion was enforced less intensely than at other sites, men and women could climb the mountain together up to a certain point; from there only men could ascend to the top, whereas a special shrine for women was set up by the local religious leader. There women pilgrims were able to witness the rise of the sun (the chief deity worshipped at Mount Fuji), one of the central practices in that pilgrimage. Another strategy implemented for the Fuji-related pilgrimage was the establishment of miniaturized replicas of Mount Fuji throughout the city of Edo (modern Tokyo). Fully open for women and men to climb all the way to the top, those sites became central in the practices of pilgrimage groups to Mount Fuji and were erected specifically to correct to an extent the gender bias at the original site.

Other pilgrimage routes were miniaturized and replicated, not always with female pilgrims in mind but making available to everyone a sacred site that otherwise might be out of reach because the original sites were too dangerous or time-consuming to reach or were strictly prohibited. The fact that the circuit had been miniaturized and established at a different site was not seen as detracting from the authenticity of the pilgrimage: The same merit was accrued and the replica was seen as a true sacred place, identical to the original site. That practice resulted overall in a less dramatic gender differentiation in terms of direct participation in pilgrimages and in an increased popularization of pilgrimages.

Beyond the acquisition of merit and the opportunity for direct supplication to a deity, Buddhist pilgrimage can be seen as a particular form of journey performed to connect the individual pilgrim to an extensive social, political, and cultural network. In many cases pilgrims would belong to organized groups, and so those chosen to be sent on pilgrimage as representatives of their group eventually would connect the whole community to the network of religious and cultural symbols encountered on that journey. Many sites of religious pilgrimage were enriched by additional stops along the way to places of historical or literary fame as well as overt recreation. Numerous travel guidebooks for male and female pilgrims–travelers were printed, and extant travel diaries illustrate the presence of both sacred and *worldly* dimensions to those journeys, which may be seen as precursors of contemporary tourism.

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Marco Gottardo

II. CHRISTIANITY

Pilgrimage is a contested phenomenon within Christianity and yet a very popular one. Its origins date to visits to the tombs of the martyrs whose witness to their faith resulted in their deaths. Many martyrs were women whose stories invariably involve attempts at sexual violence toward them. They would become models for the consecrated virgin, who removes herself from the normative world of arranged marriage and procreation to enter a holy life of devotion and strict celibacy. The formative period for pilgrimage began in the fourth century with the building of the church of the Holy Sepulcher. Many of the earliest Jerusalem pilgrimage texts involve women, many of whom build churches, hostels, and monasteries at the holy sites. There was a close relationship between monasticism and pilgrimage; many pilgrims were consecrated virgins, widows, or in chaste marriages. Egeria, a fourth-century Spanish nun, wrote the earliest surviving pilgrimage account. She sought out living holy people who populated the sacred places. The Mount of Olives was a locus of female pilgrimage in the city. Melania the Elder (d. 410 CE), a wealthy widow and pilgrim, established monasteries and a hostel on the hill. Pilgrimage to Rome began through a papal effort to open the catacombs to pilgrims. Pilgrims collected holy oil in clay flasks from the lamps burning in front of the tombs. The early seventh-century queen, Theodolinda (d. 628), had a collection of these flasks at Monza. Holy oil had healing powers and served as more than just a souvenir of the pilgrimage.

The popular pilgrimage centers of Santiago de Compostela in Spain and Canterbury in England were primarily healing shrines that appealed to lay pilgrims. Canterbury pilgrims went to visit the tomb of Thomas Becket (1118–1170), as popularized in Geoffrey Chaucer's (1342–1400) *Canterbury Tales*, which follows a diverse group of pilgrims telling stories to pass the time. The character of the Wife of Bath, with her frank discussions of her five marriages and of the overvaluing of virginity, became a model of the female pilgrim. A more accurate portrayal comes from the writing of the English mystic and pilgrim, Margery Kempe (1373–1440). Kempe was married and had fourteen children when she decided to devote herself to God and begin a life of pilgrimage, traveling to the major centers of Rome, Santiago de Compostela, Jerusalem, and around England.

In Byzantine Asia one of the most popular sites was the tomb of St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus. Manna was said to issue forth from the tomb and could be used for a variety of miraculous cures. Women in labor would mix it with water and drink it to ease their pain and ensure a safe delivery. Water from the miraculous spring of St. Tryphaena was said to increase milk production in lactating women.

Much modern pilgrimage centers on locations of Marian apparitions. The most popular American pilgrimage site is the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe (apparition in 1531) just outside Mexico City. Since the nineteenth century there has been a marked increase in the popularity of Marian apparitions, the majority of which have appeared to young women. The best known include La Salette (1846), Lourdes (1858), Fatima (1917), and Medjugorje (1981). The majority of pilgrims to these sites are women (one study states 68% of the Lourdes pilgrims are women).

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III. HINDUISM

Pilgrimage is an important aspect of Hinduism. Especially for Hindu men, pilgrimage plays an important role, as they should become renouncers and go on a pilgrimage once they have become paternal grandfathers. Pilgrimages, however, are undertaken by men and women alike, as well as by deities—male and female. Rules and prescriptions of Hindu pilgrimages commonly depend on the gender of the deity and not so much on the sex and gender of the pilgrim.

Popular pilgrimage places are rivers—such as the Ganges—often conceptualized as female, but temples, mountains, and other sacred sites are also destinations for pilgrimages, as they are thought to be where the gods may have appeared or become manifest in the world. In most Hindu pilgrimages the purifying quality of water is of utmost importance. Pilgrims bathe themselves for purification in a holy river as during the *Kumbh Mela* in the holy cities of Hardvar, Allahabad, Ujjain, Nasik, and Tryambakeshvar. Men and women alike make pilgrimages to holy rivers as the bath in such holy water is understood to wash a person free from his or her sins. A pilgrimage to the holy city of Varanasi, especially when a person comes to die in this city of death, is thought to release one's soul from the cycle of life.

Hindus make a clear hierarchical distinction between adult men, women, and children. Whereas children (especially female children) are often seen as divine, women (especially women who are in their reproductive years) are considered as dangerously polluting, especially at times of menstruation and childbirth. Therefore, women of reproductive age may be excluded from entering certain places of pilgrimage when they are pregnant or menstruating. Women also refrain from revealing sexually desirable parts of their bodies in public and can therefore only bathe fully dressed. In general, however, men and women, often husband and wife, undertake pilgrimages together once their children are married and have produced children of their own.

Because pilgrimage is an act of purification, pilgrims are often expected to observe certain restrictions concerning their food, clothing, and behavior, especially sexual contact. Purity for Hindus is an embodied state of mind; physical contact with impure persons, beings, and places, as well as impure thoughts—such as sexual desire with someone other than one's spouse and in moments of religious importance—endanger the purity of the self and thus also the deity that is the object of worship during a pilgrimage. Because sexuality, especially female sexuality, and sexual contact are considered as polluting activities, pilgrims are often expected to refrain from any sort of sexual behavior as well as impure thoughts during the duration of their pilgrimage.

Particular places of pilgrimage have particular rules and regulations for their pilgrims. In Varanasi, a pilgrim, male or female, should fast and bathe before performing any further purification rituals once arrived in the holy city. During the great pilgrimage (*Raj Jat*) of the goddess Nanda in the central Himalayas, the men carrying the Devi should stop cutting their hair and nails, stop shaving, eat only once a day, and bathe twice a day. They should avoid eating food made by a female and contact with any menstruating woman and refrain from any sexual contacts. Until recently women had been strictly forbidden to join the pilgrims during the last days of this royal pilgrimage. However, during the last *Raj Jat* in 2000, women were actually permitted to join in the royal pilgrimage.

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Karen Polit

IV. ISLAM

Pilgrimage in Islam may be distinguished from the practice in other religious traditions by its obligatory nature. In order to fulfill the requirements of the Islamic faith as elucidated in the Qur'an and traditions, every Muslim, male and female, must make a scripted visit to the Kaaba in Mecca during the assigned month of Dhul-Hijjah at least once in their lifetime, if they can afford it. This pilgrimage is known as the hajj. The limits on the requirement to make the hajj have meant that most Muslims throughout history have not fulfilled this obligation, though numbers have increased dramatically in the modern age because of improved transportation, among other factors.

Pilgrim sex ratios are not available, but it is clear that women have made up a fair percentage of those going on hajj from the earliest days of Islam, not only from contemporary reports, but also from their own accounts of the journey. Women are also documented as being among the largest numbers pursuing others forms of Islamic pilgrimage, such as visitations to shrines (*ziyara*). A few shrines, such as that of Lala Rahma at Boujad in Morocco and those to Fatima in the Shia tradition, are dedicated to holy women, while others, such as that of Sheikh Salim Chishti at Fatehpur Sikri in India, have special resonance for childless women. In some shrines, women also offer ritual services to pilgrims, though their role is rarely recognized, or perform mystical poetry (*sufiana-kalam*) in which there is a prominent female voice. Starting in the nineteenth century, however, the growth of religious reform movements with an emphasis on scripture has meant that popular pilgrimage activities have often been censured with greater importance being placed on hajj.

Modern guides for hajj pilgrims often include a separate section in which special rules for women are explicated. These rules stipulate that a woman may not go on hajj unless accompanied by her husband or another male of her immediate family with whom marriage is forbidden. They also specify that she need not wear the garments mandated for male pilgrims consisting of two unsewn and preferably white sheets wrapped around the body. Instead, she is to prepare for entering the state of purity (*ihram*) by dressing in clean, plain clothing that covers her hair, but not her face, her legs to the ankle, her arms to the wrist, and the entirety of her breasts. Male and female pilgrims alike are also directed to abstain from wearing perfume or any adorning ornaments, though women have the additional requirement of conducting themselves in such a manner so as not to attract the attention of men. To this end, they are instructed to say their prayers, including the *talbiyyah* upon entering Mecca, in silence. The only exception is if they are menstruating in which case they are not to perform any of the daily prayers, though other prayers not requiring obeisance are permitted. Women are also excused from completing the more physically demanding rites of hajj, such as running between the mountains of Safa and Marwah, and shaving off all of their hair at Mina. In terms of sex, any form of intercourse, masturbation, or other lustful touching is forbidden while in a state of *ihram*.

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Siobhan Lambert-Hurley

V. JUDAISM

At the heart of Jewish sacred history, embedded in biblical narrative, is the transformative journey of the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land, the Exodus, presented as a kind of pilgrimage from slavery to freedom and nationhood in the embrace of a covenant with God. Thus, it is perhaps surprising that pilgrimage is not a mainstay of Judaism. At the same time, from antiquity to the present, pilgrimages, especially to Jerusalem, have been an important practice with potent religious, national, and community-building dimensions. Pilgrimage practices reflect both commonalities and differences among the various Jewish cultural groupings and denominations. Gender-based differences are rooted in large part in the gendered character of key facets of ancient Judaism and modern Orthodox Judaism.

Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem dates to the first millennium BCE. Kings David and Solomon built a temple in Jerusalem to be the house of God. The city became holy as God's chosen dwelling place. Later statutes in the biblical books of Exodus and Deuteronomy mandated that all Israelite males journey to Jerusalem three times yearly, at the festivals of Passover, Sukkot, and Shavuot, each of which combines an agricultural celebration with the celebration of Israel's self-understanding of its history of redemption in the Exodus journey.

Pilgrimage may have reached its zenith in the final decades of the Second Temple, built in the sixth century BCE following the destruction of Solomon's Temple, and destroyed by the Roman army in 70 CE. The New Testament and the writings of the first-century Jewish historians Philo and Josephus describe crowds of men and women pilgrims who came to Jerusalem to pray and bring sacrifices to the temple, the centerpiece of the expanded Temple Mount built by King Herod (r. 37–4 BCE).

In the aftermath of the destruction of the temple, pilgrims became increasingly eager to visit the Western Wall, a retaining wall of the Temple Mount. During the 1967 Six Day War, it came under Israeli rule, and since then has functioned as a powerful religious and national symbol, a focus of pilgrimage, and a site of individual and communal worship and religious and national celebrations. However, the government mandates that religious practices conform to the requirements of the Israeli Orthodox rabbinate, a reflection of the privileged legal status of Orthodox Judaism and the power of the religious political parties. Thus, the Western Wall plaza was divided into men's and women's prayer sections with a partition between them. Women are prohibited by the government from engaging in such practices as reading from a Torah scroll and praying aloud in groups.

Jewish pilgrimages are not limited to Jerusalem. For example, outside of Israel, journeys to sites associated with the Holocaust function often as pilgrimages of Jewish identity formation. Within Israel many men and women, especially from Hasidic and Sephardic communities, continue the deeply rooted tradition of visiting tombs of saints. Nearly all these saints are men. Saints are venerated as embodying exceptional righteousness, piety, and holiness. Visits to their gravesites are believed by some to be a vehicle of intercession with God and to offer cures for illnesses and other life problems.

Anthropologist Susan Sered has studied the cults of women saints. These include Rachel, the biblical matriarch, whose shrine is in the occupied West Bank, and Rachel, the wife of the famed second-century Rabbi, Akiva. Their tomb sites attract many women from religiously conservative communities; the cults function to affirm their communities' image of the ideal woman—the self-sacrificing wife and mother. As Sered notes, women pilgrims view both saints as having a special understanding of their gender's problems including infertility and household strife. Gender remains a significant factor in shaping the experiences of many Jewish pilgrims.

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Barbara Geller

PIN-UPS

European and North American art abounds with images of naked women artfully posed for the delectation of male spectators. However, it was not until the Industrial Revolution's technologies for producing mass-media images that the pin-up genre emerged "to both negotiate a space for itself between the fine and popular arts and define itself through the representation of a pointedly contemporary female sexuality," observes Maria Elena Buszek in *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (2006). This book is the most comprehensive study to date of the pin-up's complex historical, cultural, aesthetic, and ideological dimensions examined in relation to the three waves of feminism. A core question posed by the pin-up phenomenon as well as feminists and other philosophers of sexuality, culture, being, and identity is: Can, or how can, individuals subjected to the consuming gaze of an other, as an object of that spectator's desire, inspiration, projection, or fetishistic fantasy, find a space in which to become subject? If, as Simone de Beauvoir has famously written, the persistent condition of *femininity* as constructed by patriarchal culture objectifies *woman* as a secondary support for the subject that is *man*, how can women contest this objectification to attain subjecthood? And how do visual images of women perpetuate and/or contest these misogynist, asymmetrical subject/object power dynamics?

WWII Soldiers Admiring Pin-up. *A group of World War II soldiers admire a photo of their favorite pin-up girl, Dorothy Lamour.* **© BETTMANN/CORBIS.**

Fin-de-siècle pin-ups arose in relation to both the advent of cinema, fan culture, and fanzines such as *Photoplay*, and the first-wave feminism of the suffragettes and the Anglo-American New Woman, who were leaving patriarchal domestic confines to seek employment, voting rights, and self-determination. In the 1880s artist Charles Dana Gibson (1867–1944) created pin-up images for *Life Magazine* that simultaneously celebrated the New Woman's resourcefulness and beauty and reinscribed her within conventional romantic narratives (Buszek 2006). Early cinema in an artistically thriving interwar Europe and pre-Hays Code Hollywood both fed and was shaped by a pin-up culture that enabled representations of provocative, ambiguous sexuality; the androgynous beauty of Marlene Dietrich (1901–1992) and Greta Garbo (1905–1990) was shot in butch and/or femme poses. Similarly valorized within pin-up culture, if not stereotypical film roles, were *exotic* foreign or racially ambiguous actresses such as Anna May Wong (1905–1961) and Dolores del Rio (1905–1983) (Buszek 2006).

The most famous pin-up artist is Joaquín Alberto Vargas y Chávez, born in Peru, 1896. *Esquire* publisher David Smart demanded that Vargas eliminate the "s" from Vargas, presumably to defuse his *foreignness*. The *Varga Girl* who graced *Esquire* pages from 1940 to 1947, became a huge sensation, embodying the shifting cultural zeitgeist. Both sweetly innocent and hypersexualized, these apple-cheeked, rosy-lipped hometown girls and bathing beauties sported physiques with endless, shapely legs, enormous but perky breasts, and taught tummies that defied the law of gravity. Airbrushed and rendered in glossy palettes of satin pink, silky black, or valentine red, their bodily contours were seductive but clad. Varga Girls were hugely popular amongst World War II (1939–1945) troops, who pinned them above army cots, had their girlfriends mime their poses, and emblazoned them upon military aircraft and barges (Buszek 2006). Traditional femininity was combined with strength and a glamorized sexuality within images of girls working, maintaining the home front, or even wearing *military drag.* This hybrid of sweetheart and siren, patriotic professionalism and soft-skinned domesticity made them ideal for consumption by a culture rife with wartime anxiety. Pin-ups and 1940s Hollywood film-starring actresses who embodied these qualities mutually reinforced these visual and cultural constructions of femininity.

The 1950s pin-up model Bettie Page's (b. 1923) trajectory illustrates a link between pin-ups and crypto-pornography in postwar, presexual revolution America. Page posed for wholesome *cheesecake* photos, as well as for film reels and photos taken by the siblings Irving (1910–1966) and Paula Klaw featuring bondage/domination scenarios, and Hugh Hefner's (b. 1926) *Playboy* (founded 1953). Hefner's *playmates* were designed as subservient objects for their male readers' pleasure as against the bondage and discipline (B&D), sadism and masochism (S&M) images starring *threatening* dominatrixes, in accordance with a postwar backlash patriarchalism that eschewed the female independence glamorized in wartime pin-ups (Buszek 2006). These discussions of sexuality unfolded within a cold-war culture both confused about and obsessed with the binaries pornography/art, American/foreign, normal/deviant, and heterosexual/homosexual. With the sexual revolution pin-ups metamorphosed into increasingly pornographic centerfold images. This shift was accompanied by fierce debates between second- and third-wave feminists who either condemned pin-ups as irreducibly sexist exploitations of the female body or valorized their potential as complex aesthetic phenomena in which to negotiate feminist sexual and existential identity.

Numerous artists from the 1960s to the early twenty-first century have appropriated the pin-up as a means of contesting patriarchal subject–object gender dynamics toward a feminist aesthetic of self-determination and pleasure. Art historian Joanna Frueh uses her own bodybuilder physique in poses that are both erotic and powerful, wedding subject and object of desiring gaze. Susie Bright's (b. 1958) deconstructed lesbian pin-up, shot by Phyllis Christopher for the feminist magazine *On Our Backs* (1989), Anna Magnuson's *Revenge of the Vargas Pin-Up Girl* (1992), whose subject turns a phallic airbrush against the photographer, and performance artist Annie Sprinkle, Cindy Sherman (b. 1945), and others have innovatively explored the pin-up's potential for celebrating feminist agency, pleasure, and autonomy.

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Leora Lev

PIZAN, CHRISTINE DE
1364–1430

Christine de Pizan, a late medieval French author, wrote more than twenty texts, many of which address issues of sexuality and desire within the structures of late medieval culture. Often considered the first professional woman of letters in French literature, Christine was born in Venice in 1364 but moved to Paris as a young child when her father, Tommaso da Pizzano, was recruited to serve as court astrologer to Charles V, the king of France from 1364 to 1380. At age fifteen, Christine was married to a royal secretary, Étienne du Castel; in her autobiographical text *Christine's Vision* (1405), she recounts that the ten years of her marriage were happy. When Christine was twenty-five, Étienne died suddenly, leaving Christine the responsibility of supporting her three young children

Christine de Pizan. MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

and her widowed mother. Rather than remarry, Christine took up her pen and pursued a life of letters under royal and ducal patronage. Her initial compositions were a series of poems, composed in the 1390s, many of which deal with the topic of her bereavement. These verses brought her recognition as a poet, and over the next two decades she produced a series of texts in verse and prose, many of which take up questions of gender. A large number of Christine's texts survive in illustrated manuscripts; because Christine was involved in the production of these illustrated texts, the visual programs in the manuscripts of her works offer additional witness to her concern with the representation of gender and sexuality.

Each of Christine's texts approaches the topic of gender differently. *Othea's Letter to Hector* (1399) offers the male chivalric reader a lesson in identity and desire. In text and images, the *Othea* rewrites classical mythology in order to tutor the implied male viewer in chivalric ethics. Although it ostensibly endorses the heteronormative values of late medieval Christianity, the *Othea* nonetheless promotes a vision of masculinity that disavows misogyny and violence against women. In 1401 and 1402 Christine participated in an epistolary debate on the ethics of reading Jean de Meun's portion of the *Romance of the Rose*. Christine's three letters in this debate characterize the *Romance of the Rose* as a misogynist text that has the potential to encourage domestic violence. This debate on the *Rose* provoked a later debate about the cultural and social roles of women that came to be known in the early modern period as the *querelle des femmes* (the debate on women).

In her *Mutation of Fortune* (1403), Christine metaphorically describes herself becoming a man in order to take up the demands of authorship. This work, a verse narrative of universal history, offers a historical account of the rise and fall of ancient cities and civilizations, a traditional view of world history that left little room for attending to the place of women in history. By contrast to the masculinist *Mutation of Fortune, The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) focuses exclusively on women. As a prose treatise in defense of women, *City of Ladies* creates an allegorical city to house and defend the women of myth and history, including the Christian saints, who are omitted from the standard structures of history. As her most sustained critique of the cultural constructions of gender, *City of Ladies* is the most purposefully feminist text of the entire Middle Ages. *City of Ladies*, however, was followed by *The Book of Three Virtues* (1405), a conduct book addressed to women that offers an entirely conventional set of instructions for female comportment within marriage and heterosexual desire, although it does criticize courtly love for the unworkable position in which it situates women.

In addition to the texts that explicitly address topics of gender, Christine also composed works on political, courtly, and devotional themes. While Christine produced a body of work that frequently criticizes the masculine bias of literary and historical traditions, she did not develop an alternative to the reproductive, heterosexual norms of the late medieval world. For that reason, she is not generally considered to be a radical—or even a subversive—literary figure. Yet despite her conventional attitudes toward sexuality, her work nonetheless presupposes gender to be a construction that emerges from—and responds to—cultural dynamics. Christine's view that gender is a construction marks a significant departure from the late medieval assumptions regarding gender, and her approach to gender as a cultural construct constitutes an important aspect of her literary legacy.

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Marilynn Desmond

PLANNED PARENTHOOD

Planned Parenthood has its roots in founder Margaret Sanger's work with birth control and birth control clinics in the early twentieth century. Sanger (1879–1966) was a social advocate who believed that a woman's right to control her body was fundamental to women's human rights; that every person should be able to decide whether or not to have a child; and that women have the right to sexual fulfillment and pleasure (Knowles 2004). As such, she worked against the Comstock laws that prohibited the distribution of information about sex, reproduction, and contraception. Sanger's work in advocating for birth control—a phrase she is credited with coining—resulted in her founding the American Birth Control League in 1921, which then became Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942 (Knowles 2004). She did not, however, promote abortions because they were both illegal and dangerous during her time. Yet Sanger did urge women to use contraception so they would not have to resort to "back-alley abortions."

Through her creation of the birth control clinics—the first one was established in 1916—she made contraception and information about sex and reproduction available to low-income, minority, and immigrant women (Knowles 2004). Her focus on these particular communities has drawn criticism because it is often linked with Sanger's association with eugenics, a popular sociological movement in the 1920s and 1930s (Knowles 2004). Planned Parenthood repudiates the accusations that Sanger subscribed to the overt racism of the eugenics movement, contending, rather, that "she agreed with the progressives of her day" (Knowles 2004, p. 3). Sanger and her contemporaries in the eugenics movement believed in "incentives for the voluntary hospitalization and/or sterilization of people with untreatable, disabling, hereditary conditions, the adoption and enforcement of stringent regulations to prevent the immigration of the diseased and 'feebleminded' into the U.S, and placing so-called illiterates, paupers, unemployables, criminals, prostitutes, and dope-fiends on farms and open spaces as long as necessary for the strengthening and development of moral conduct" (Knowles 2004, p. 3).

Sanger's controversy was not limited to her involvement with the eugenics movement. Because she promoted birth control and knowledge of sex and reproduction, Sanger often clashed with the Catholic Church and law enforcement, which frequently resulted in court battles. Also, Sanger came under fire for her alleged Marxist leanings, which, some argued, contributed more to her political agenda than her humanitarian efforts (Spooner 2005).

Despite the debate surrounding Sanger's politics, she brought to light women's health issues, began the birth control movement, and founded Planned Parenthood as part of her efforts. Sanger's family continues its involvement with Planned Parenthood. Her grandson Alexander Sanger chairs the International Planned Parenthood Council and previously served as the President of Planned Parenthood of New York City (PPNYC) and its international arm, the Margaret Sanger Center International (MSCI) (AlexanderSanger.com).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Planned Parenthood served more than five million men, women, and children yearly, and there were 120 affiliates and 860 health centers ("By the Numbers" 2006). According to the organization's mission statement, Planned Parenthood believes in "the fundamental right of each individual, throughout the world, to manage his or her fertility, regardless of the individual's income, marital status, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, national origin, or residence," and "reproductive self-determination must be voluntary and preserve the individual's right to privacy" (Planned Parenthood 1998, p. 1). Also, Planned Parenthood envisions its goals to be: "to provide comprehensive reproductive and complementary health care services in settings which preserve and protect the essential privacy and rights of each individual; to advocate public policies which guarantee these rights and ensure access to such services; to provide educational programs which enhance understanding of individual and societal implications of human sexuality; to promote research and the advancement of technology in reproductive health care and encourage understanding of their inherent bioethical, behavioral, and social implications" (Planned Parenthood 1998, p. 1). The organization works with a range of populations, and it estimates that 74 percent of its clients are at or below 150 percent of the federal poverty line ("Planned Parenthood by the Numbers" 2006). In addition to working with economically disenfranchised populations, Planned Parenthood assists young adults and teens; yet 74 percent of its clientele is over the age of nineteen ("By the Numbers" 2006). It further approximates that its contraceptive services prevent 617,000 unintended pregnancies, and only 9 percent of its clients receive abortion services ("By the Numbers" 2006).

The organization currently addresses a variety of issues, including reproductive freedom, universal access to services, universal access to sexuality education, abortion, adolescent services, censorship and first amendment rights, early pregnancy detection, international family planning, women's rights, voluntary sterilization, and population (Planned Parenthood 1998). To attend to these concerns, Planned Parenthood engages in educational campaigns from the preschool through the collegiate level, in effect reaching approximately 1.3 million people per year (Planned Parenthood, May 2006). In addition, the organization works with the federal and state governments to advocate in the area of public policy. Planned Parenthood is using the Internet to raise awareness about and challenge the "war waged on women and their reproductive rights by executive and legislative branches"). In particular, the organization targets issues concerning contraceptive equality, access to abortion, emergency contraception, family planning funding, sexuality education, censoring free speech, and replacing science with right wing ideology, and it maintains watch on federal and state court proceedings regarding reproductive issues, such as South Dakota's 2006 ban on abortion (overturned by voters).

Planned Parenthood also campaigns against and raises awareness about contraceptive access like the birth control prescription policy at the Target chain of department stores. In 2005 Planned Parenthood responded with a letter writing campaign to a Target pharmacist in Fenton, Missouri, who refused to fill a woman's prescription for emergency contraception. Following the campaign, Target made public its policy, which Planned Parenthood summarizes as "Target does not guarantee that all prescriptions for birth control, including emergency contraception, will be filled in-store, without discrimination or delay" ("Planned Parenthood Targets Target" 2005). Planned Parenthood is still working to challenge Target's policy and has even dedicated part of SaveRoe.com to this campaign (see http://www.SaveRoe.com//campaigns/target).

In addition to addressing domestic concerns, Planned Parenthood also works internationally. The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) was founded in 1952 and has five priority areas: adolescents, HIV/AIDS, abortion, access, and advocacy (IPPF.org). The IPPF is a "global network of Member Associations in 151 countries and the world's foremost voluntary, non-governmental provider and advocate of sexual and reproductive health and rights" (IPPF.org). The organization works "to improve the quality of life of individuals by campaigning for sexual and reproductive health and rights through advocacy and services, especially for poor and vulnerable people; defend the right of all young people to enjoy their sexual lives free from ill-health, unwanted pregnancy, violence and discrimination; support a woman's right to choose to terminate her pregnancy legally and safely, and strive to eliminate STIs and reduce the spread and impact of HIV/AIDS" (IPPF.org). IPPF's facilities, operating in more than 180 countries, provide a variety of services, including counseling, gynecological care, HIV-related services, diagnosis and treatment of sexually transmitted infections, infertility services, mother and child health, emergency contraception and abortion-related services (IPPF.org). In 2005, for example, 1.3 million HIV-related services were provided and over 8 million sexual and reproductive health services were provided to people under the age of twenty-five (IPPF.org).

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Michelle Parke

PLANTS, SEXUAL SYMBOLISM OF

There are no universals in symbolism—although their ordering of the world is a comforting temptation. Symbols—and the place of plants in the grammar of symbols is no exception—travel across time periods and continents, yet their visual resemblance is deceiving and their meaning can vary significantly. The fleur-de-lis, for instance, is found in various ancient cultures and in Egypt was the emblem of the southern provinces, where it symbolized fertility and wealth. It later became a Christological symbol, and then an emblem of purity and virginity applied to the Virgin Mary from a verse of the Song of Songs (2:2) before being associated with the French monarchy (Pastoureau 1997, pp. 115–116).

The apple also occupies shifting ground: Linked in the story of Genesis to the Fall, it became associated in the Christian imaginary with women and sin, reflected in modern folk expressions such as the Breton term for a pregnant woman—that "she had eaten the apple." In classical myth the golden apple that Paris of Troy bestows on Aphrodite, as well as the three golden apples thrown at Atalanta by Hippomenes to defeat her in the race (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book X, 291–295), are connected to wooing and erotic power. This also seems to be their function in Celtic myth, but here, it is the otherworldly woman/goddess who appears to entice a human man, bearing a branch from the silver apple tree of Emhnae or, like Clíodna, accompanied by birds who feast on the apples of the otherworld tree (Mac Cana 1973, p. 91). General statements about the connection of plants to fertility, birth, and regeneration (Cirlot 1958, p. 348), or worse yet, stale clichés about female flowers and male sexual aggression (Stevens 1999, pp. 380–81), are thus not very helpful in understanding the sexual symbolism of plants.

Symbols are powerful in part because they translate or even erase the predictable. Thus, historian Simon Schama pointed out how a classically trained renaissance art historian of the end of the nineteenth century Aby Warburg (1866–1929) came to shed the rationalist belief that symbols merely "… protected prescientific man from his fear of the inexplicable." Deeply troubled by the images he studied, Warburg "… began to lose this conventional confidence that knowledge could supersede symbol as a way of dealing with terror" (Schama 1995, p. 211). If terror is linked to symbols, then, the sexual symbolism of plants cannot be limited to the representation of fe/male binaries or of sexual acts, but signals designated access routes to the sacred. Such is the function of the cut pine in the cult of Atys, who becomes mad and self-castrating (Schama 1995), and of plants linked to dark magic. In ancient pre-Christian or non-Christian fertility and love cults, the pine is thus dedicated to or representative of a god/goddess or associated with life through fecundity in objects and emblems, such as the pinecone, whose sexual symbolism remains active in medieval lore linked to taverns and bathhouses (Canadé Sautman 1995).

Trees, shrubs, flowers, fruits, vegetables, herbs, ornamentals, and even noxious specimens have been culturally meaningful, foremost through the imperatives of food production and medical treatment, and thus, the practices—dietary and/or magical—that they have fostered. Their symbolic translation of sex and gender is readable in actual medical, or magicomedical, usage, contained in the materia medica and pharmacopeia of specific cultures and periods, which provide explanations or associative chains for the role of specific plants in sexuality. In medieval cultures plants became symbolic because of positive or negative physical effects on any aspect of erotic/sexual life (abstinence, passion, procreation, delivery of children) or because authoritative tradition claimed them to be so (Canadé Sautman 1995). Sexual symbolism could stem from a feature of the plant itself: Thus, with their prolific seeds, pumpkins (*cucurbite* in Latin), in order to grow, must be protected against women who should not touch them or even look at them while menstruating (*Tacuinum sanitatis* 1984). The seed, used to treat the prostate gland, coded as male (Telesko 2001) is thus vulnerable to the contamination of women and especially menses, a longstanding belief acknowledged at least since Pliny (23–79 CE) (Canadé Sautman 1995).

In sexual regulation the function of plant parts can vary immensely: thus, the rue, an astringent herb, was known since Galen (129–200 C.E.) to suppress sexual desire (*Tacuinum Sanitatis* 1984). Recommended as such by St. Albert the Great (c. 1206–1280), it was thought to preserve chastity, all the way through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (*Tacuinum Sanitatis* 2001). However, in the sixteenth-century Arabic *Perfumed Garden*, the seed of the wild rue is one of the ingredients in a drug to induce in women an irrepressible desire for lesbian passion (Taberner 1985). A derivative symbolic language of plants also stems from regimens of health that regulate what one eats to various ends beyond mere sustenance. Plants thus signify sexually regardless of their actual physical effects; for instance the eggplant was deemed a melancholy-inducing plant, and "virgins and married women" were warned to be on guard when picking it because the plant's melancholic odors combined with its hot and moist nature could arouse males to deviate from "decent behavior" (*Tacuinum sanitatis* 1984).

Preceding the sentimental language of flowers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely codified in the 1910s in the fashion of exchanging postcards, the custom of offering May bouquets that signified attraction and love was known in medieval Europe. Such bouquets could also codify sexual insults from males to young women through the incorporation of certain plants—such as hazel or elder trees—and led to confrontations (Canadé Sautman 1995).

Plants can symbolize—because of a mix of potentially toxic effects and inclusion in magical practices—particularly forbidden love magic. Toxicity is precisely what allows these plants to break psychic and physical barriers or conjure hidden forces. An example is the plant *hyoscyamus niger*, known as henbane in English, used in witches' brews and, like the mandrake and belladonna, present in alchemical symbolism and ancient medicine. Its active ingredients, which include aggressive alkaloids, penetrate through the skin and mucous membranes such as the vagina and induce violent sexual excitement, as well as lead to madness and divinatory trance (Sangirardi

1981). Another, favored as a sexual restorative and aphrodisiac from the Antiquity to the modern era in different guises, is the Artemisia group, including wormwood or mugwort (*artemisia vulgaris*), an effective if dangerous anthelmintic (worm expellant) due to the active compound santonin, which can induce epilepsy, respiratory failure, and even death (Taberner 1985).

Plants are also symbols in the representation of sexuality because of linguistic details or legendary narratives that have accrued to them. Plants in the large Orchidaceae family acquired the Latin term *testiculos* because of the double tuber at their root. According to Pliny, the *orchis* or *serapion* has a major tubercle that excites desire and a minor one that inhibits it. The older and larger tubercle, eaten by men, engenders boys; the smaller and younger one, when eaten by women, engenders girls. Thessalian women were reputed to eat its root with goat's milk to stimulate sexual appetite and to eat the old tubercle to inhibit it. These associations of shape and property with a gendered order of nature and procreation were repeated in later herbals, such as the English *Herbal* of John Gerarde published in 1636, which recommends the generative powers of the plant "testiculos leporis" (Sangirardi 1981), whose name is doubly symbolic, as the hare, *lepus*, is reputed to have volatile sexual urges. The ancient doctrine of *signatures*—every plant is marked by God to reveal its specific use—categorized many plants as sexual enhancers because of their shape, such as the asparagus. Even more so, plants whose roots resembled an entire human form, such as the mandrake, were widely recommended for use in love magic (Taberner 1985). This largely mythical plant, essential to magic and sorcery, could be different plants in its actual botanical epiphany: ginseng, or *man-root* for the Chinese; the thorn-apple (*datura stramonium*), a Solanaceae, in early European and Arabic writing; and in medieval to early modern English and French herbals, the white bryony (*bryonia dioica Jacquin*,) a wild cucumber that is quite poisonous. The magic of "like produces like," inherent to the sexual symbolism of plants, is probably at work in the custom decried by a fourteenth-century Dominican friar of young girls invoking the plantain (*plantago major*) to be married to the man of their choice (Savoie 1933). Besides the power traditionally ascribed to it, the plant does have long, pointed, tubular pistils. The parallel persists in the modern world; the root of St. John's Wort (*hypericum elodes*), popular in the twenty-first century as a mood enhancer, is said to have been used in the twentieth century as a love charm in the southern United States because of its phallic shape (Taberner 1985).

Incarnations of the fecund Gaia and Artemis led to a Marial iconography with Mary in the center of a paradise garden surrounded by flowers, fruit, and leafy trees (Schama 1995). Plants can be at the crossroads of religious (monotheistic) symbolism and of sexuality, where ambiguous zones of carnal and devotional love interface. This is particularly true in Marial devotion. For instance, in the commentary on Catholic flower and fruit garlands painted around the Madonna, the fig, a symbol of luxury in antiquity, becomes a fruit of the Virgin (Goody 1993). The iris is also ambivalent in medieval symbolism: It was at once associated with generation and with the incarnation of Christ and virgin maternity (Girault 1997). The lily is an ancient fertility symbol, but the white lily, *lilium candidum*, also signifies purity and unblemished beauty and refers to Mary as the vessel in which the seed of God is brought into full bloom. The lily is thus at once Mary's purity and Christ's glory (*Tacuinum Sanitatis* 2001).

Similarly, the sour pomegranate, *granata acetosa*, was linked to fertility, blood, and immortality in antiquity and changed in Christianity to signify the death of Christ and his resurrection and the life-giving virtue of the Virgin Mary and Redemption (*Tacuinum Sanitatis* 2001). The retable of the Dominican church of Colmar painted by Martin Schongauer (1430–1490) places in its central scene Christ and Mary Magdalene under a flowering pomegranate tree that bears ripe fruit, surrounded by a wooden fence. This is the *Hortus Conclusus* of the Song of Songs, in which Christ is the beloved, and Mary Magdalene the *sponsa* (betrothed), reconciling the apparently contradictory images of carnal sin and chastity, in "the personalized crucible of mystical faith" (Kessler 1997). The image of an enclosure around a flowering and fruit-bearing pomegranate tree is one of betrothal in courtly literature, invested with new meaning by theology, for the pomegranate is fundamental to the Christian system of vegetal symbolism because of its natural structure, which designates martyrdom (Kessler 1997).

The double meaning of fruits—overtly sexual or Christianized to signify sin and resurrection—is evident in the work of a Renaissance artist such as Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450–1516), who places oversized, round, and yellow or red fruits with seeds, partially cut open, in symbolic positions—for instance, in his *Hay wain* (Madrid, Prado), over the portal of Paradise that Adam and Eve just left. He also transforms familiar berries in the painting of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Prado), adding blue strawberries or giant raspberries, or combinations, "… to obtain the 'synthetic fruits' he needed to surcharge the symbolic equation between the flesh (of the sinner) and fruits that are made of flesh only, without a hard pit, which will constitute and symbolize at once the food and the putrefaction of the carnal sin" (Kessler 1997, p. 177–178).

Plants, trees, and, in particular, flowers, are sexually symbolic as vegetal matter, regardless of their actual species, because of their shape or growing habit. There are thus general categories of worship (protection of fertility) or spaces of symbolic transfer (shrines, bowers, woods) where human and vegetal figures are connected to love and sex. This process is particularly evident in the medieval French romance of *Flore and Blanchefleur*. The two youths become enraptured with each other, listening to birds and admiring nature in Flore's father's garden, filled with flowers and herbs of all types, including the mandrake (*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 14, vss. 241–44). In Flore's heart, Love then plants its strong stem, perpetually in bloom and more fragrant than exotic plants such as citrons, clove, or garingal (22, vss. 373–78). A sumptuous tomb is built for the two lovers, with their semblance carved on top of it, kneeling in front of each other, she holding a rose of fine gold, he proffering a beautiful lily (vss. 574–76). Trees are planted at its four corners. At the head, a small, leafy ebony, covered with white flowers all year long, that can never be burned by fire; at the foot a red terebinth, more beautiful than the rose; on the right a mythical tree that produces the oil of baptism; and on the left a balm tree. No fragrance in the world equals theirs, and they were planted with invocations to all the gods that made them always bear abundant flowers (34–36, vss. 603–642). In contrast, the tree in the emir's garden is linked to predatory sex: His completely red *tree of love* is not natural but has been rigged to always have flowers and drop one on the woman the emir has chosen to be his for a year, before he puts her to death (vss. 104–107).

Whereas the examples discussed so far have been almost all European, there is no dearth of symbolic associations between plants, gender, and sexuality in other cultural regions of the world. Thus, flowers appear early in Chinese literature in relation to courtship and marriage, where the beloved is compared to a plum or peach blossom, to slender bamboo, to the pepper plant or lotuses, as early as the *Book of Odes*, c. 800 BCE (Goody 1993). Beginning with the poet Li Po (701–762), "flower poetry" depicted the world of the courtesans and singing girls as "beautiful flowers," and flowers, natural and human, interplayed in a genre both popular and literary (Goody 1993). A strong element of eroticism is built into the very depiction of flowers, as a range of terms in written characters describing beauty have a female radical and are applicable only to women, flowers, and fruit. Thus, in the euphemistic language of lovemaking, the feminine is the plum blossom and the masculine is the bamboo. Women painters of flowers, some of them courtesans themselves, furthered the association by reproducing the systematic—and conventional—girl-and-flower equations. Courtesan painters particularly favored the orchid as subject matter, as in the "rock and orchid" composition, because it was a metaphor for a lovely girl living in seclusion (Goody 1993).

Orchid, sexual status, and women were linked in legend and literature when the seventeenth-century author of the *Mustard Seed Garden* recounts that, after the princesses of Xiang were given away as concubines by their father, the orchid fields "reflected a blush of shame and yet continue to bring forth no ordinary flower . . ." Specific flowers elicited a literature of their own, for instance the twelfth-century *plum poetry*, in which the blossom of the flowering plum is likened to lovely chaste women. The peony, on the other hand, even in contemporary contexts, stands for both wealth and sensuality, whereas the begonia was feminine because it likes a cool shady spot, and the iris was linked to fertility and the birth of sons, as was the red pomegranate, which also was expected to ward off bad luck (Goody 1993).

Notwithstanding these refinements, however, the general category of flowers in Chinese culture went beyond referring to women and female beauty in general to a very precise usage linked to prostitution, evidenced in the language of the sex trade, with terms such as "looking for the flowers and asking after the willows," "flower smoke rooms," or going to "drink flower wine" (Goody 1993). Traditional Chinese brush painting has, on the other hand, elegantly codified the auspicious symbolism, not only of single flowers and plants, but of compositions: bamboo with plums signify marriage; peony and bee, lovers; two lotus blooms or one bloom and one leaf indicate shared love; a willow with a female golden oriole and a male butterfly evoke love; and plants otherwise incorporated in erotic language, when grouped in threes, can signify the Three Purities, as do plum, pine, and Buddha's hand citron (Cherrett 2003).

The elaborate ancient and early modern systems—medical, magical, erotic, and religious—that governed the symbolic value of plants in art or in literature have receded, at least in the Europe and North America, in the modern period, where they obey different syntaxes, idiosyncratic to a specific author or artist. Thus Marcel Proust (1871–1922) uses the hermaphroditic *orchidaceae cattleya* to evoke Swann's passion and to signify making love, and constantly regenerating desire (Fladenmuller 1993). Some plants, however, have a culturally symbolic range, combining popular tradition with literary craft. The sugar cane and the canebrake itself have acquired complex meanings in Caribbean and African American literature, interfacing erotic allusions and situations with a broader reference to the tensions and struggles of plantation cultures, a trend evident in works as varied as Jean Toomer's unique and foundational *Cane* (1923), in Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* (1982), or in Lemuel Johnson's poem "sudden ecstasies in lefthanded places" (Johnson 1992). Modern artists have also openly sexualized flowers and fruit, their individual eye conferring sexual ambiguity to them, as in Georgia O'Keefe's (1887–1986) 1927 painting *Red Cannas*, read by some through her bisexuality, or photographer Edward Weston's (1886–1958) 1929–1930 renditions of peppers (Appel 1992). Finally, many modern vernaculars retain the sexual associations of plants, as in the Italian *finocchio* (fennel) for homosexual, the English use of *cherry* for the virginity of girls, or the French *gousse* (garlic clove) for lesbian.

SEE ALSO *Erotic Art; Folk Beliefs and Rituals; Folk Healers and Healing; Folklore; Legends and Myths; Magic; Medicine, Ancient.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

PLATT LYNES, GEORGE
1907–1955

George Platt Lynes, born in East Orange, New Jersey, on April 15, was the son of Joseph Lynes, a lawyer, and Adelaide Sparkman, a Southerner who was raised in New York. Joseph changed his profession to Episcopalian minister after George's birth and moved the family to Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Although George had a brother, Russell, three years his junior, George was the more pampered of the two, possibly because he was sickly. An undistinguished student, he attended the nearby Berkshire School, studied French in Paris, and then briefly attended Yale in 1926. He also studied book selling at Columbia and tried that occupation. Platt Lynes was always self-taught. He died of lung cancer in New York City on December 6.

THE NUDES

In the early twenty-first century Platt Lynes is known chiefly for photographs of nudes. Mainly male nudes, they were a dominant theme in his work after the early 1940s, though he also photographed nudes for most of the 1930s. These pictures always were intended for private viewing, but some achieved exhibit status in his lifetime. When Platt Lynes was in his early forties, Dr. Alfred Kinsey began amassing hundreds of his negatives and positives, along with examples of his other artistic and commercial works. However, the nudes did not earn Platt Lynes a livelihood.

Literary creation, not photography, was Platt Lynes's first calling, and he was encouraged by Gertrude Stein, who befriended him in France before he was twenty. By 1930, however, he was dissuaded in that enterprise by the two lovers who invited him to return to France and join them in 1928, Glenway Wescott and Monroe Wheeler. Madly in love with Wheeler, Platt Lynes began a three-person affair that would last, off and on, for about fifteen years.

The relationship also served him professionally. Wescott, who was established as a writer when they met, eventually worked with him, writing texts to accompany Platt Lynes's photographs on mythological themes. Wheeler, who became the director of publications and exhibits at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, facilitated Platt Lynes's early entry into important MoMA exhibitions. The first occurred in 1932 ("Murals by American Painters and Photographers"), in which he displayed a triptych arrangement ("Landscape") that included classical idealized nudity that was made ambiguous by other superimposed images that direct the viewer's gaze toward a central phallic edifice. More significantly, in 1936 MoMA showed "The Sleepwalker," a photographic montage of male nudes in a surrealist mode.

Surrealism, the style of many of the early works, suited Platt Lynes both practically and stylistically despite André Breton's diatribe against homosexuality. Through surrealism, as well as through Platt Lynes's mythological thematics (1937–1940), he could both legitimize the still not tolerated male nude photograph and satisfy an esthetic principle: He was usually against including both full face and genitalia in an image. The unlikely supplanting realities that surrealism customarily aimed to achieve could make the male nude photograph possible in an era when it seldom could appear in print.

Not only did Platt Lynes adopt the stylistic norms of the friends he made in French art circles (Jean Cocteau, Man Ray, Hoyningen-Huene, Berenice Abbott, and Paul Outerbridge, among others), he used them in his creations in such a way that he eventually was able to launch full-fledged photographic programs that found an outlet in the male nude. An example would be the mythological and the ballet photographs, especially those depicting a new version of the ballet *Orpheus* (1948), for which Francisco Monción and Nicholas Magallanes performed dance poses naked before the camera. This series, which is recognized as the culmination of the ballet photography that Platt Lynes began to cultivate in 1935, provides a link among dance, mythology, and male nudes as photographic thematics. It had its deepest roots in Platt Lynes's association with his wealthy schoolmate Lincoln Kirstein, the founder of the New York School of American Ballet developed by George Balanchine, who until a financial disagreement in the mid-1950s sponsored Platt Lynes's ballet photographs. The point was usually static form, not movement, a norm that seemed to be in conjunction with the Greco-Roman idealizations that are the foundation of many of Platt Lynes's male nudes—in other words, with the antipornographic bent of his male nudes.

The cast of characters in the nudes included dancers, models, gymnasts, and even studio assistants, men with beautiful bodies who sometimes became involved in sexual affairs with the photographer. In the case of George Tichenor, Platt Lynes grew enamored of him to the point of long grieving over his death in World War II, an event that occasioned a subsequent affair with George's brother, Jonathan. However, sex may not have been the usual end of Platt Lynes's male nude photographic enterprise, just as pornography was not, although the photographs are considered in art history to be exemplars of homoeroticism. Platt Lynes photographed himself nude and posed in the nude informally for his intimate friends and formally for Man Ray. Women were the subjects of some of his nudes, including close acquaintances and family members, such as his sister-in-law.

PORTRAITS AND FASHION PHOTOGRAPHY

His portraiture, which helped support the photographer financially, began as casual and grew to be formal. His portraits depict close acquaintances: lovers such as Glenway Wescott and Monroe Wheeler and the poet René Crevel, as well as Alfred Kinsey and friends from the world of art, literature, music, film, and theater such as Christopher Isherwood, Jean Cocteau, Katherine Anne Porter, Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas, Johnny Weismuller ("Tarzan"), Aldous Huxley, Edna Ferber, Thomas Mann, Edith Sitwell, e.e. cummings, Igor Stravinsky, Marsden Hartley, E. M. Forster, and Yul Brynner (nude). In the case of Porter, who was many years his senior, it is said that she wanted to have an affair with Platt Lynes in spite of his professed leanings, and Platt Lynes did reside with her briefly.

Fashion photography in New York was Platt Lynes's source of revenue, and the abandonment of it led to his financial undoing. It was his chief means of sustenance during the time he experimented with nudes (1930s), and one sometimes finds studio trappings in the nudes similar to those found in fashion shots. It is rumored that he may have had brief affairs with the fashion models Laurie Douglas ("Douggie") and Helen Bennett.

Although Richard Avedon and Irving Penn picked up some of the New York commissions that Platt Lynes abandoned when he left to become a *Vogue* director in Hollywood, it was photographers such as Robert

Mapplethorpe and Bruce Weber who undertook the cultivation of sophisticated male nude photography in the years after Platt Lynes's death.

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Lee Fontanella

PLATO

c. 427–347 BCE

One of the most important figures in the history of Western philosophy, Plato is the source of ideas and the locus of debates about assigned gender roles in society, male homosexuality, and the nature and role of erotic drive in human life.

LIFE AND WORKS

Although scholars have little secure data about his life, it is clear that, after 387 BCE, Plato founded a philosophical institution, called the Academy, and that in the 380s he began writing dialogues in which the Ideal Philosopher (Socrates) discusses moral, political, educational, and similar topics with a variety of serious and interesting opponents. The Platonic dialogue is a unique literary and philosophic form. Clearly designed to make discovering doctrines difficult, the dialogues are full of ideas and arguments, myths and metaphors, humor and irony. They mix the technical and simple, subtle and candid, playful and serious, concrete and abstract. Plato is notoriously inconsistent about technical vocabulary, but he probably invented philosophy as a distinct discipline or intellectual practice.

PHILOSOPHY

The heart of Plato's philosophy is a two-level vision of reality. The lower level, material things that change, is sensed and derives its shadow of reality and value from the higher, unchanging level of immaterial Forms or Ideas that are truly real and known by thought. So Ideas are the proper focus of human pursuit, and Platonism is thus the first and most influential of all forms of Idealism, the view that ideas are more real and more important than material things. It derives from a dramatic ethical and psychological story.

According to Plato, everyone by nature wants to be "happy" (the Greek *eudaimonia*, usually translated "happiness," is not a feeling; it is a state or condition), but popular ideas about happiness—wealth, pleasure, status, or power—are false. So are popular assumptions about the ultimate reality and importance of material things and the derivation of knowledge from sensation. True happiness consists in wisdom and knowledge, which can be attained only by means of a special kind of rational thinking called dialectic. One must give up the false beliefs that the welfare of the body is more important than that of the soul, and that material things are real and important. If thought and speech are to make sense, then, apart from material things, there must be eternal, unchanging, immaterial entities that are truly and permanently what their material copies are only partially and temporarily. These, usually called Platonic Forms or Ideas, humans grasp with their intellects, not their senses. The human soul is by nature able to ascend from sensation to rational awareness of these Forms and philosophy is at once a daunting, private, educational journey to the happiness that is found only in rational knowledge and a heroic, public, religious mission to goad one's fellow citizens into pursuit of these loftier pursuits.

SEX AND GENDER THEMES

Several of Plato's dialogues have specific relevance to issues of sex and gender. In the *Timaeus* (50d–51c), a creation myth similar to that in *Genesis* and other creation myths envisages an active male, heavenly power impregnating a passive female power, called the receptacle. The gender role assignments in the *Timaeus* myth are consistent with disparaging attitudes toward women expressed in a few other dialogues but inconsistent with what is found elsewhere.

In the *Republic*, Socrates describes a city he says would be perfectly just. Run by a class of philosopher-rulers selected for character and intellectual ability in which women are included (Books 4 and 5), it violated the assigned gender roles in Greek society, providing equal opportunity for women in the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom and in higher social functions (military service, including war, and public administration). Further provisions abolish families and establish a community of wives and children and strict control over sexual intercourse, reproduction, and child rearing. The ruling class also is denied wealth and personal property. Many of the same topics are discussed in the *Laws*, but from a less idealistic perspective.

Plato and Aristotle. *In this detail from Raphael's* The School of Athens, *Plato (left) walks with Aristotle.* © TED SPIEGEL/CORBIS.

Male homosexuality is a theme in the *Phaedrus*, *Lysis*, and *Symposium*. In the first, Phaedrus reads Socrates a speech written by Lysias arguing that a boy should grant sexual favors to an older man who does not love him rather than to a lover: love (*eros*) makes people crazy, resulting in harm to the boy, whereas the nonlover, not being crazy, will help, not harm him. Socrates explains *eros* as a form of divine madness, like that of poets and prophets, and not harmful if one understands the nature and destiny of the human soul. The soul is immortal and is like a chariot driven by a rational charioteer, pulled by a noble horse that tends toward right action and an ignoble one that tends toward immediate, physical gratification. The soul in its naturally good condition has seen truth and reality beyond the physical world, including true Beauty, the Form. Incarnated, fallen into the physical world, souls lose their natural wings and do not rise to this vision. But physical beauty reminds them of the Beauty previously experienced and stimulates the drive of *eros*, which, properly understood, leads the soul back to its native, divine, knowing state. Thus sexual attraction is the first step along the way to knowledge of the Forms. True *eros* leads not to the physical act of sex but to the intellectual act of philosophic inquiry.

Dinner party participants in the *Symposium* give speeches in praise of *eros*. Several glorify the homoerotic relations between older and younger men that were not uncommon in upper-class Greek society at the time. Aristophanes says there were originally three sexes, male, female, and hermaphrodite. People were double beings, split in half by the gods for presumption. Now individuals go through life looking for their "other half," and this is what the erotic love drive is. Some people are halves of male–male beings, others of female–female beings, and still others of male–female beings of a sort of bisexual or androgynous nature. Socrates reports what a priestess, Diotima, taught him about "erotics." *Eros* is the power that drives all human action. Its goal is "giving birth in the beautiful," but since there are different levels of beauty from that of individual bodies to that of souls, knowledge, and the Forms, there is a "ladder of loves" that specifies the best life for human beings. The ultimate goal of *eros* and of human beings is intellectual union with the Beautiful. The true erotic relationship—"Platonic love"—is between men who jointly pursue wisdom through dialectical conversation and knowledge of Forms, rather than pursuing physical pleasure through sexual activity.

DEBATES ABOUT PLATO

Plato's devaluation of sensory experience and his transformation of the erotic drive into a universal power leading to intellectual creation and discovery rather than to physical pleasure or procreation has been praised for its idealistic inspiration and elevation of human life but also criticized as a falsification of human nature, which can only be truly healthy when its animal needs are met. Aristophanes' speech in the *Symposium* has been a rich source of discussion about androgyny, and the frankness with which Plato seems to accept the homoeroticism of many of his characters has seemed a vindication of contemporary views about sexual difference. However, the idea that Platonic love is the highest form of *eros* might seem to support a rather different conclusion about the importance of sex altogether.

The gender role and family arrangements of the *Republic* suggest that Plato is ahead of his time, a protofeminist, for recognizing that women are equally capable of learning and ruling. Others claim that absorbing women into the male training program amounts to an antifeminist denial of difference. The reproductive lottery in the *Republic* has seemed to encourage abhorrent programs of eugenics, and the community of wives and children in the *Republic* has been compared, for praise or blame, to communistic social experiments from early Christianity to the communes of the 1960s. Some scholars think the social and political arrangements envisaged in the more "idealistic" *Republic* are not retained in the more practical and "realistic" *Laws*; others disagree. In short, it is possible to find in Plato a misogynist, a sexist, or a forerunner of women's liberation.

PLATO'S INFLUENCE

Plato is one of the three formative influences on the Western cultural tradition, the source of ancient, medieval, and modern Platonisms and Neoplatonisms, as well as modern "rationalism," and the various forms of "idealism" that led to the work of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) and Karl Marx (1818–1883) as well as to American Pragmatism. The *Republic* has inspired utopias from the Platonopolis of Plotinus (third century CE) through Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) and Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1623) to utopian social experiments of the nineteenth century. The *Symposium* theory of *eros* as the driving force behind all human action reappears in Sigmund Freud's discussions of *eros* and *thanatos* as primary psychic drives, and the chariot image of the soul in the *Phaedrus* reappears in his theory of the id, ego, and superego.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny.*

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Gerald A. Press

PLAYBOY

Playboy, the brainchild of Hugh Hefner, was born in 1953. Its first issue, featuring Marilyn Monroe, was undated because, as Hefner put it, he was not sure there would be a second (Miller 1984). Not only was there a second issue, there has been more than half a century of one of the world's most successful men's sex magazines, one that has continued to be profitable while its competitors have fallen by the wayside and one that brought the nude girlie magazine out of working-class garages and into the cultural mainstream.

Alfred Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) was a major inspiration for Hefner, as was Kinsey's follow-up study of sexual behavior in the female published five years later. Hefner linked himself directly to Kinsey: "We believe … that we are filling a publishing need only slightly less important than the one just taken care of by the Kinsey Report" (Miller 1984, p. 39). Max Lerner commented that "in the sexual revolution Kinsey was the researcher and Hef its pamphleteer" (Petersen 1999, p. 229).

For Hefner, image, in both senses of the term, was the key. His pages created a fantasy world and guide for the

Playboy ***Founder Hugh Hefner with a Group of Bunny Girls.*** AP IMAGES.

man about town. Hefner had the ability to read America after World War II. Whereas other men's magazines touted the great outdoors, Hefner made it clear to his readers that "we plan spending most of our time inside" (Miller 1984, p. 39). The logo created by Hefner's team was a bunny with large ears. Symbolically ambidextrous, the rabbit could represent the sophisticated man about town positioned to enjoy the pleasures of life. As a bunny in a rabbit-eared costume, it represented the available female. Both images function as symbols of sexual activity. In its ubiquity the *Playboy* rabbit has been second only to the equally large-eared Mickey Mouse, and it survives on clothing and other consumer products as a symbol of openness to sexual pleasure.

Hefner's reader was treated to a monthly female Playmate who was posed provocatively to suggest the American ideal of that time: blond, white, young, and buxom. In 1965 *Playboy* featured its first African-American Playmate. In the 1970s the magazine felt pressure from other sex magazines, specifically *Penthouse*, to include pubic hair in the photographs. The Playmate pictorial is the one area of the magazine that Hefner always has insisted on supervising personally. The result has been an extraordinary consistency of vision across the years of changing fashions and sexual mores. The pornographic equivalent of comfort food, Hefner's pictorials feature soft, nonthreatening nude and seminude girl-next-door types and generally eschew the darker provinces of eroticism.

However, *Playboy* did not restrict itself to pictures of human flesh. In 1956 the magazine began to publish fiction by authors such as Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977) and James Baldwin (1924–1987). In 1962 the *Playboy* classic interviews began. The list of interviewees included world celebrities in the arts, literature, and politics: Nabokov, Malcolm X (1925–1965), Peter Sellers (1925–1980), Jean Genet (1910–1986), George Wallace (1919–1998), Jimmy Carter (b. 1924), and many others. The pages of the magazine were filled by suggestions from the Playboy Advisor, followed by the Playboy Forum (1963). The Advisor was there to answer questions from readers with problems, whereas the Forum published letters penned by readers. Hefner adumbrated a *Playboy* philosophy composed of critiques of censorship and advocacy of open sexual expression all wrapped in a democratic egalitarianism and associated with the magazine's rampant consumerism. *Playboy* succeeded in combining the open sexuality of the girlie magazine tradition with enough high cultural features to create a kind of Hollywood respectability and a durable position among American cultural elites. The opposition of feminists illustrated, for example, by an investigative article penned by the young Gloria Steinem, barely dented the magazine's influence as Hefner took a prowomen's rights but prosexual liberation stance.

Hugh Hefner did not simply publish a revolutionary magazine but changed the face of sex world wide. He created a veritable corporation, including Playboy Clubs in many cities, a phase in the development of the Playboy Enterprises that later was eliminated. As head of the empire Hefner has been succeeded by his daughter, Christie Hefner. Despite some grim naysayers, Playboy Enterprises has remained a major forum for sex because of its successful combination of consistency and adaptation to the American culture that gave it birth.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

PLEASURE

The most inclusive uses of *pleasure* (commonly conceived as the opposite of *pain*) are both critical to and distinct from its development in the technical vocabulary of psychoanalysis as well as its more recent proliferation in the fields of queer and sexuality studies. This entry describes pleasure as conceived in psychoanalytic approach and then considers how the term has morphed in feminist, gender, and queer studies.

The colloquial connotations of pleasure include *desirable*, *satisfaction*, *enjoyment*, *indulgence*, *delight*, and *gratification*. Pleasure in its everyday use bears close relations to the realm of the sensual and sexual: *To pleasure* can mean *to have sex with* or *to masturbate*. The link with sex is also apparent when pleasure means *indulgence in sexual desire*, evident in phrases such as *pleasures of the flesh*, or the somewhat archaic phrase, *a woman of pleasure*, to indicate a prostitute (sex worker).

The pleasure/pain dichotomy has long been questioned. Multiple disciplines (psychoanalysis, philosophy, psychology, and biology) have produced epistemological terrains for understanding pleasure and pain. Plato (427–347 BCE) argues that emotions often combine feelings of both pleasure and pain. Likewise, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) gives us the example of the affect of anger, which requires taking pleasure in thoughts of revenge.

PSYCHOANALYTIC UNDERSTANDINGS OF PLEASURE

In Freudian psychoanalysis, the pleasure principle dominates over mental life, binding excitations to ensure that they remain at a low, constant level (pleasure) as opposed to a high, fluctuating level (unpleasure). Unbound energy travels freely in the unconscious, whereas bound energy undergoes a regulatory mechanism. Binding prevents unpleasure by mastering energy that might otherwise overwhelm the senses due to its excess.

According to Freud, the pleasure principle operates alongside the reality principle, which introduces an ability to postpone feeling and a *temporary toleration* of unpleasure that helps navigate sensation. The basic principle is that the ego is threatened by unbound processes. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1922) Freud writes that unbound processes create extremely intense feelings, both of pleasure and unpleasure. Pleasure and unpleasure here are not diametrically opposed but entwined and enmeshed, sometimes serving as each other's own limits.

Freud studied trauma neuroses where there is a feeling of fright, an inability to protective oneself against external dangers. In traumatic neuroses one often repeats the trauma (in dreams, hallucinations). For instance, children often relive unpleasurable events in order to gain mastery over them. After a child undergoes a scary doctor's appointment, the child may go home and re-enact the experience—only this time, the child plays the role of the doctor. *Re-experiencing*—a compulsion to repeat—repressed material is necessary, but the more re-experiencing (which implies immediacy) can be exchanged for remembering (which implies distance), the better. In this sense it is necessary to undergo a certain amount of unpleasure to reach a state where it is possible to bind newly liberated repressed material and to keep stimulation low.

Freud sees in instincts a conservative urge to retreat to an earlier stage. In one sense the compulsion to repeat is a form of this desire to return to an original state. Yet the compulsion to repeat is also in opposition to the pleasure principle because it does not encourage low, stable levels of stimulation. The final goal of all instincts is to return to the initial state of inertia. Thus, where pleasure is concerned, "the aim of all life is death." However, it is important to keep in mind that the reality principle helps check the pleasure principle: It modifies what Freud calls the Nirvana principle, and this is, in part, due to the influence of the libido. This creates a distinction between the pleasure principle and immediate death or inertia, because the pleasure principle, unchecked, is in tension with survival. As well, it introduces the idea of *constancy* as necessary for pleasure, one of the notions that later BDSM (bondage and discipline/domination and submission/sadism and masochism) sexual subcultures took to heart. These various factors can account for the differences between experiences of pleasurable tension and unpleasurable tension.

The pleasure principle is intimately connected to the sexual instincts due to early autoeroticism of the infant and prepubescent stages of sexual development. Sexual instincts are thus attached to fantasy and pleasure. For Freud, unbound drives are both tempting and dangerous due to their heightened intensity, and it is noteworthy that Freud identifies untamed drives as perverse, wild, irresistible, and instinctual. Whereas this has been a subject of debate, it is important to recognize that pleasure is often closely linked to danger. Michel Foucault, for instance, wrote about the Speaker's Benefit, the phrase he uses to capture the idea of the pleasure one has in speaking about sex in a culture where discussing sex, sexual desire, and sexuality is considered taboo.

FEMINISM, SEX, AND PLEASURE

Being castigated for expressing pleasure has long been a topic of feminist concern. In nineteenth-century Western European countries as well as the United States, some women who expressed too much sexual pleasure were considered dangerous and deviant. If their sexual pleasure was taken too far, they may have been diagnosed with nymphomania and subjected to treatments ranging from the bedrest cure to genital cutting—the removal of the clitoris as a site of pleasure.

The fact that variously gendered bodies and subjectivities have been officially punished, medically diagnosed, or culturally shamed for seeking pleasure in the wrong object, wrong thought, or wrong act has long been a topic of gay/lesbian/bi/trans/queer concern. The late 1960s and 1970s feminist movements taught women to discover their own pleasure. Consciousness-raising (CR) groups, along with books such as *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (1973), helped educate people about female anatomy and pleasure. Positive attitudes toward diverse ways of achieving sexual gratification also inspired the founding of the woman-centered sex store Good Vibrations in 1977. Within feminism, debates about pleasure, such as when one's fantasy or sexual life involves pleasure not traditionally seen as feminist in nature (e.g., domination, submission), exploded at the infamous Barnard Conference on sexuality in 1982 out of which much literature and an anthology, *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexualities*, appeared.

Pleasure is also integral to the sex-positive movement that includes cultural *sexperts* such as Susie Bright, Annie Sprinkle (b. 1954), Carol Queen, and Patrick Califia-Rice (b. 1954), and activist organizations such as COYOTE, Samois, and the Society of Janus. Here the feminist slogan *the personal is political* could be tweaked to read that *the pleasurable is political*.

Pleasure has also received a great deal of attention in feminist and queer film studies, an enterprise that incorporates both scopophilia, or pleasure in looking, as well as the multiple objects and sites of pleasure in cinema. In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1913), Freud noted that in a dream the dreamer (or the spectator of a film) can inhabit multiple subject positions. That is, the dreamer can be the one dreaming, the one being dreamt about, the one controlling the dream, or even several people in the dream. Pleasure, then, is not a simple feeling. It is linked with the realm of fantasy, and it has long been noted that fantasies do not necessarily match up with political commitments. Pleasure can be experienced contradictorily, or in combination with unpleasure.

The second volume of Foucault's *History of Sexuality* serves as another seminal text on pleasure. Titled *The Use of Pleasure*, Foucault's book considers pleasure in ancient Greek society and argues that sexual pleasures were structured by moral experiences and ethical problems involving sexual ethics of *aphrodisia* (the "acts, gestures and contacts that produce a certain form of pleasure"), the use or type of subjection that practicing pleasures underwent to attain moral valorization, the mastery that was required to produce one as an ethical subject, and the concept of moderation that ultimately characterized ethical sexual subjects.

In sexuality studies the term *jouissance* (orgasmic bliss, rapture that transcends or shatters the stable subject) may mistakenly seem to be interchangeable with pleasure due to that term's derivation from the French verb *jouir*. Jouissance does not belong to the same stream of thought. French social and literary critic Roland

Barthes (1915–1980) distinguishes the terms. For Barthes, *plaisir* is pleasure linked to enjoyment and does not threaten the ego. Whereas jouissance shatters and disrupts, pleasure confers upon the subject a sense of self. For French psychiatrist Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), jouissance is not just pleasurable; it is heightened sensation aroused to a point of discomfort—the place where a cry of pleasure and a cry of pain become inseparable. This is different from the bound state or the wish to return to the inorganic state that Freud theorizes when he conceives of sex as increased stimulation, something that does not necessarily resonate with the pleasure principle.

Another critical point about pleasure, particularly in the wake of the essentialism versus social constructionism debates, is that there is nothing natural about whom or from what one derives pleasure. Whether it is a sexual experience, a sensual experience, a culinary pleasure, a pleasure in looking, a pleasure in shopping, or a pleasure in certain sex acts, pleasure varies among individuals, cultures, and time periods. Gayle Rubin's influential article "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality" (1984) made it clear that a culture might valorize certain sanctioned pleasures and castigate what does not fall into the *charmed circle* of acceptable forms of pleasure, but this is a distinctly cultural, not a natural or biological, phenomenon.

SEE ALSO *Bondage and Discipline; Dreams and Eroticism, Dream Books; Erotic Art; Kiss, Modern; Kiss, Pre-Modern; Lust; Sexual Subcultures.*

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Christine Rose

POLITICAL SATIRE

The phrase *political satire* is so current in common parlance that defining its range of applicability may seem daunting at first. The first problem is to define what is meant by *political*: even by excluding more contemporary forms of mass-media-related satire in liberal and democratic political contexts—and, because of space constraint, cinema, journalism, and video art—and provisionally agreeing on the referential nature of satire (to the world outside the text, to history, to the community—indeed, critics have often pointed out that satire flourishes in urban settings), the scope of political remains redoubtably broad. In times when free speech was inconceivable, any reference to the *body politic* could be conveyed through various levels and forms of indirection and sometimes perpetuate the premodern entanglement of politics and ethics. In many instances tackling the political implication was a task left to the reader. As Dustin Griffin notes, "if open challenge is not permitted, writers will turn to irony, indirection, innuendo, allegory, fables—to the fiction of satire. Indeed, satirists would seem to *prefer* indirection to frontal attack, and thus to be spurred to do their best works by restriction" (Griffin 1994, p. 139).

To give an example, William Congreve's retelling of the Ovidian myth of Semele bore, at the time of its publication (1705–1707), a more vague political reference than it would when, in 1743, George Frideric Handel (1785–1859) set it to music as an oratorio. The story of a woman, Semele, who is burnt because she asks to mate with Jupiter in his divine form and not in a human disguise, could immediately be linked by the public to contemporary events, namely, the intrusive political maneuvers of King George II's (1683–1760) German mistress. In Stephen Lawless's 2006 stage production of the oratorio, Semele, Juno, and Jupiter were portrayed, respectively, as Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962), Jacqueline Kennedy (1929–1994), and President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963), and the program notes at New York City Opera contained excerpts from journalistic reports on the Monica Lewinsky (b. 1973) and Chandra Levy (1977–2001) affairs. It must be noted that Handel and other composers switched from the opera to the oratorio form as a result (among other causes) of the immense impact of the parody, and satire, of Italianate opera John Gay's (1685–1732) *The Beggar's Opera* of 1728.

Just to quote another operatic example, William Hogarth's (1697–1764) *The Rake's Progress* (1733–1735), which began as social (and, indirectly, political) satire in visual arts became, in the hands of librettists W. H. Auden (1907–1973) and Chester Kallman (1921–1975) (writing for Igor Stravinsky's [1882–1971] opera of 1951), a text inspiring reflections on gender normativity, body politics, and orientalism (through the character of Tom's bearded wife, Baba the Turk). But the opera could be perceived as conveying an even broader satirical message. As the Italian poet Eugenio Montale wrote after attending the world premiere of the opera, "A great European by choice (i.e., Stravinsky) warns Europeans not to become barbarians." (Montale 1982, p. 249)] A further example of a text not intrinsically political but that exerted an enormous impact on civil society could be Gore Vidal's *Myra Breckinridge* (1968), a satirical novel that, challenging sexual normativity, became a milestone of early queer literature.

A second problem is that of the ambiguous definition of satire as a genre, even within the confines of highbrow European and North American literature. In Alistair Fowler's words, it is "the most problematic mode to the taxonomist, since it appears never to have corresponded to any one kind" (Fowler 1982, p. 110). Whereas new critics had imposed a genre status on satire, and Northrop Frye (1912–1991) had developed a complex taxonomy of it as a mode articulated in multiple phases, deconstructionists and neohistoricists have attacked, from very different angles, an essentialist and rhetorical notion of the genre. Unlike most classical genres, which were mainly defined by formal (metric) characteristics, this quintessentially Roman practice had initially (as in Horace's [65–8 BCE] *Sermones* [35–30 BCE]) avoided even the use of the word, probably to disengage the genre both from the Greek words *satyr* and *satyresque* (the latter used by Aristotle in the *Poetics* [350 BCE]), and from the *Lanx Satura* miscellaneous genre. In fact, the word remained polyvalent, and eventually (as in John Dryden's [1631–1700] *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* of 1693) was used to indicate (1) the formal verse satire of Horace, Juvenal (late first–early second century CE), and Persius (34–62 CE), (2) the miscellaneous Varronian (or Menippean) satires, and (3) the lampoons and related forms. This ambiguous meaning of the word has resonated with contemporary theorists such as Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975), who, in the Menippean tradition, identified the polyphonic, positive, or at least ambivalent genre (leading to the novels of Fyodor Dostoevsky [1821–1881]), and, in formal verse satire, the monological (and therefore negative) type.

Given the immensity, and the blurred boundaries, of the field, it is particularly arduous to even imagine the possibility of an exhaustive treatment of the implication of gender- and sex-related issues in (political) satire, though some threads can be sorted out. For instance, a study of the tradition and influence of Juvenal's *Satura VI* ("a monument of misogynistic satire" in Amy Richlin's words; 1986, p. 1) could yield at least a genealogy of texts (Dryden translated it). And recent studies have discussed Jonathan Swift's (1667–1745) use of scatology and extreme misogynistic stereotypes in his attacks on women (for instance, in texts as highly religiously and politically charged as *A Tale of a Tub* [1704]), as well as the attitude toward women of other great Scriblerian satirists who were members of the literary Scriblerus Club, such as Alexander Pope (1688–1744) and John Gay. In this context it is important to remember the personal involvement, as satirist-attacker as well as victim of Pope's retort, of a woman, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1716), who had parodied Pope's *Epitaph on the Lovers Struck by Lightning* (in 1718) and was subjected to a counterattack, famously, in the Scriblerian's *Dunciad* (1728). In later times notable women satirists became involved in political burlesque literature, as is the case of Elizabeth Ryves (1750–1797) with *The Hastiniad* (1785), and of Lady Anne Hamilton's (1766–1846) *The Epics of the Ton* (1805, see Johns-Putra 1999). If Lord Byron's (1788–1824) misogynistic attitudes and his representations of (hetero) sexual politics have been well investigated (see Wolfson 1987), a very interesting reading of *feminist misogyny* in Mary Wollstonecraft's 1792 *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (though not formally a satirical work) has been proposed (see Gubar 1994).

Critics have often debated the possible reasons for the very limited citizenship enjoyed by women writers in early modern and modern European satirical literature. Whereas recent studies on early authors such as the English Aphra Behn (1640–1689) and the Italian Arcangela Tarabotti (1604–1652) have extended the roster, and more canonic writers such as Jane Austen (1775–1817) receive ever more attention, a question on the quasi-invisibility of women satirists in more recent times still lingers: in Griffin's words, "have women been excluded from the canon of satire? [...] Or have they excluded themselves?" (1994, pp. 189–190).

Other scholars have provided indirect answers, extending the discussion beyond literature proper and into the realm of visual arts. In a 1995 book on contemporary American satirical novels, Steven Weisenburger, delving into the old *vexata quaestio* of the conservative versus progressive nature of satirical literature, has proposed a distinction between two *modes* of satire: the *generative* mode (whose purpose is "to construct consensus and to deploy irony in the work of stabilizing various cultural hierarchies"), and whose gamut ranges from Pope to Mark Twain (1835–1910) to contemporaries such as Tom Wolfe (b. 1931); and the *degenerative* mode, akin to Bakhtin's Menippean mode, which instead is subversive and delegitimizing, as it can be found in works by William Gaddis (1922–1998), Ishmael Reed (b. 1938), Don DeLillo (b. 1936), and Thomas Pynchon (b. 1937). To this degenerative mode could ascribed, according to Weisenburger, works by feminist artists such as Cindy Sherman (b. 1954) and Jenny Holzer (b. 1950) (and, I would add, those of Kiki Smith (b. 1954), who deals with body politics as much as Sherman does). To these must be added the many women artists who, through body art, video, performance, and other media and forms, have produced satirical works on gender and sex politics.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Enlightenment; Juvenal; Literature: I. Overview.*

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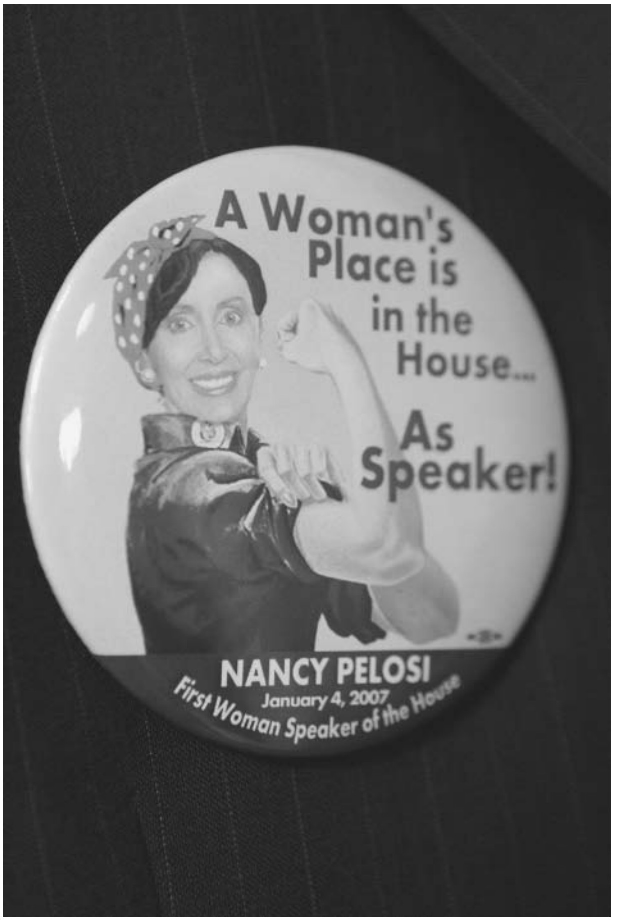
Paolo Fasoli

POLITICS

In January 2007 Nancy Pelosi became the first woman to serve as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. Her achievement signified the continued advancement of women, but it also underscored the historical disparity between the sexes in terms of political agency and opportunity. Political questions about sex and gender require an



Supporter Wears Speaker of the House Pelosi Button. *A supporter of 2007 Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi of California wears a button with Pelosi's likeness.* © MATTHEW CAVANAUGH/EPA/CORBIS.

understanding of the relationship between enfranchisement and representation, activism and advocacy, and authority. Women have historically possessed positions of leadership, but these powers were consistently contested, marginalized, and violated. The emergence of political rights in modern Europe and North America has increased women's political freedoms, but women still endure underrepresented and disproportionately held leadership. Initial progress of women to high, elected, national offices has occurred in third-world political settings—Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), India, and Israel are the best examples—where emergent, postcolonial, nation-states are providing enhanced opportunities for female participation in the process of universal franchise.

SEX, GENDER, AND POLITICS IN PREMODERN SOCIETIES

In Greco-Roman society the state (*polis*) was deeply interconnected with the household (*oikos*). Males controlled both entities, with the husband, as the head of the household (or the paterfamilias), ruling over his wife, children, and slaves. Based on his understanding that men and women are naturally different (predicated on biological notions of sperm as the seed of life), Aristotle (384–322 BCE), in his *Politics*, affirms the husband as the ruler, for "the male is by nature fitter for command than the female," and thus there is a permanent inequality between them. Supposed to have distinctive natures women were disqualified from citizenship because "the natures of the citizens are equal, and do not differ at all"; thus, women could not participate in the political life of the community. Aristotle argues that men and women could both possess virtue, but he envisages this virtue as manifested differently and with political implications: "the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying." Within Greek tragedy Sophocles's (c. 496–406 BCE) *Antigone* depicts a woman's struggle to honor her commitments to her family and properly bury her brother Polyneices despite its prohibition by the political ruler Creon (no traitors can receive a proper burial). Though her sister Ismene protests that women cannot challenge political authority ("You ought to realize we are only women, not meant in nature to fight against men, and that we are ruled, by those who are stronger"), Antigone defiantly determines that such resistance is necessary and ultimately suffers death by her own hand (and not by a political means). Judith Butler (2000) retrieves Antigone as a model to examine the relationship between sex, gender, kinship, progressive feminism, and politics.

In early Christian communities women did have some leadership roles. As part of his ministry to challenge unjust social structures, such as patriarchal privilege, Jesus invited women to join his movement. Wealthy women facilitated the development of Christianity by providing space for house churches. Nonetheless, numerous scriptural passages proscribe preaching and teaching by women. Women such as Perpetua (d. 203 CE) became martyrs for the church, but the narratives (written by men) that recorded their feats depicted them as becoming like males in their willingness to suffer and die for their beliefs. In the Middle Ages (476–1350) women served principally as procreative agents and as manual laborers. Denied access to the education that occurred in cathedral schools and in newly established universities, women were not able to secure economic, political, or religious positions of power. Women were governed by strict civil codes, dominant autocratic powers, feudal lords, or ecclesial structures.

SEX, GENDER, POLITICS, AND MODERNITY

In the early modern period, monarchial systems of government were often restrictive and harsh, but they did enable women through familial right and political alliances to ascend to leadership. In Great Britain Queen Mary I and Queen Elizabeth I ruled in the sixteenth centuries, laying the groundwork for Queen Anne (eighteenth century), Queen Victoria (nineteenth century), and Queen Elizabeth II (present day); in Russia, Catherine II (the Great) reigned during the eighteenth century and rebuilt the country. With increasing modernization and the rise of the nation-state, women monarchs gradually became merely symbolic figures. In the early twenty-first century, countries such as Japan still refuse to accept the legitimacy of a woman monarch (regardless of the sex of the firstborn heir).

The Enlightenment (1600–1800) ushered in political, legal, and economic systems that promoted individual autonomy, rationality, progress, and rights, as well as social contract theory. Tolerance, self-determination, and equality constituted central political values, but women did not fully benefit from such values. In his *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), John Locke proposes a model of a European liberal constitutional state characterized by limited, nontyrannical government, private property, and natural freedom and rights. Yet, as did Aristotle centuries before (though with a greater recognition of shared powers), Locke describes paternal power as normative. Carole Pateman (1988) argues that presuppositions of domination and subordination along gendered lines are embedded in the supposedly gender-neutral social contract theory and European and North American liberalism. The writings of Mary Wollstonecraft, notably her *Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) and *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), appeal to Enlightenment ideals of rationality and equality to promote the political rights of women. Nevertheless, Wollstonecraft holds that the British constitutional structure created class divisions and that women needed wider educational opportunities and property rights. Nearly a century later the English philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) wrote *The Subjection of Women* (1869), a treatise dedicated to promoting the equality of men and women. Mill notes the burgeoning political protests of women in Europe and in the United States seeking to attain this equality.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL OFFICE IN THE UNITED STATES

Protests by women helped to mobilize political change in the United States. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) had specifically referred to the denial of *males* aged twenty-one and older the right to vote as unconstitutional; women challenged this narrow construal of political citizenship. Suffrage for women at the federal level occurred in the United States in 1920 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. This achievement was made possible only through the efforts of women activists and reformers. Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1848 helped to galvanize the women's suffrage movement at the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. The convention culminated in *The Declaration of Sentiments*, which concluded:

> Now in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.
>
> *(Stanton 1881, pp. 70–71)*

Susan B. Anthony advocated for women's voting and social rights on constitutional grounds and, with Stanton, founded the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869. Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) led an antilynching campaign and resistance to gender and racial injustice. Jane Addams (1860–1935) addressed social justice and urban poverty by establishing the Hull-House in Chicago. Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) served in the League of Women Voters and the Women's Trade Union League.

The Nineteenth Amendment signaled progress, but it further demonstrated a substantial political chasm along sex and gender lines. The right to vote for women came fifty years after African-American males had gained the franchise through the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment and seventy-two years after the Seneca Falls Convention. Even after women had achieved the universal franchise, they faced political, legal, and social obstacles. Local communities attempted deterrent mechanisms, such as poll taxes and voting tests, all of which violated the constitutional right of enfranchisement. Despite these obstacles women gradually achieved greater political participation. In 1933 President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–1945) appointed the first woman to a cabinet position, designating Frances Perkins (1882–1965) to head the Department of Labor. Jeane Kirkpatrick (1926–2006) served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations from 1981 to 1985, and Madeleine Albright (1997–2001) and Condoleezza Rice (b. 19954) served as secretary of state in the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, respectively. In the 110th U.S. Congress of 2007, there were eighty-seven women, with sixteen women in the Senate (16 percent of the seats) and seventy-one in the House of Representatives (16.3 percent of the seats).

WOMEN, POLITICS, AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

In terms of international developments, the United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952) promoted and protected the freedoms and rights of women. The first three articles secure women's entitlement to vote on equal terms with men, women's eligibility for election to all publicly elected bodies, and women's entitlement to hold public office and to exercise all public functions established by national law. In several countries women have used grassroots organizations to help transform totalitarian regimes and dictatorships into democratic governments. For example, Jeong-Lim Nam (2000) discusses the contributions that women—formally excluded from the political process—made in the South Korean transition to democracy in the 1980s. Women demonstrated on the grounds of human rights, social justice, and democratic freedoms and utilized interunion solidarity strikes and labor union activities. Women have increasingly participated in global protests and global conferences to identify the central political issues impacting women.

Through the work of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), women have also influenced the formation and implementation of international law. For example, the efforts, advocacy, and leadership of the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice at the Rome Conference (1998) on the International Criminal Court helped establish codified punishments for the crimes of mass rape and forced pregnancy. Nonetheless, the continued practices of honor killings, female infanticide, and female genital mutilation demonstrate the oppressive character of tradition and political authority. Autocratic powers, whether in the form of monarchies or military regimes, govern women strictly and do not afford enfranchisement. Countries such as Saudi Arabia continue to deny women the right to vote.

Since the mid-1960s a number of women have ascended to political leadership. Prominent examples include Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India (from 1966 to 1977 and from 1980 to 1984); Golda Meir, prime minister of Israel (from 1969 to 1974); Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain (from 1979 to 1990); Angela Merkel, chancellor of Germany (elected 2005); and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, president of Liberia (elected 2006). Since the 1970s women have held presidencies or prime minister positions in Bangladesh, Chile, Finland, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Latvia, Malta, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Sri Lanka—where Sirimavo Bandaranaike was appointed the world's first female prime minister upon her husband's assassination in July 1960—and Turkey. These positions have principally been in the so-called developed or first-world countries; by contrast, women in the so-called developing or third-world countries have endured significant marginalization from political structures.

THEORIES OF WOMEN AND POLITICS

Feminist thinkers have engaged a number of lenses and interlocutors in discussing sex, gender, and politics.

Feminist theories of politics have appealed to Karl Marx's (1818–1883) theories of class struggle, oppositional consciousness, and historical materialism, and Michel Foucault's (1926–1984) genealogies of knowledge, sexuality, and power. Other feminists insist that politics should attend more fully to a care approach (focusing on relationships and trust) rather than a justice approach (focusing on universal, rational principles). Contemporary debates about democracy and gender focus on questions of difference. Whether construed in terms of race, gender, class, ethnicity, or other distinguishing factors, dimensions of difference have resulted in identity politics. Feminist thinkers such as Iris Marion Young, however, prefer the term *politics of difference*, holding that "political claims asserted from the specificity of social group position, and which argue that the polity should attend to these social differences, often serve as a resource for rather than an obstruction of democratic communication that aims at justice" (2000, p. 82). Hence, Young argues, there is need for pluralistic representation to address and engage constructively these differences.

Seyla Benhabib also addresses questions of difference, and she critiques the tradition of European and North American political thought that has differentiated public and private in extreme terms. The deconstruction of the female self has occurred through public rhetoric that has assumed household duties, reproductive choices, and care for the young as exclusively private and thereby inaccessible to public political discourse and debate. Benhabib insists that these putative distinctions are false dichotomies and deleterious to women's participation in society: "Challenging the distinction of contemporary moral and political discourse, to the extent that they privatize these issues, is central to women's struggles which intend to make these issues 'public'" (1992, p. 108). Women must continue to struggle to exercise their political voices.

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Charlotte Radler

POLYGAMY

SEE *Marriage.*

PORNEIA

The Greek word *porneia* refers to prostitution, with the related terms *porne* and *pornos* referring to female and male prostitutes, respectively. In ancient Athens prostitution was legal and was taxed, although it was considered both illegal and shameful for freeborn citizens. Thus, in seeking to discredit a rival, the Athenian orator and politician Apollodorus charged his enemy's partner Neaira with being a *porne* (c. 340s BCE; Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*). In another famous case Aeschines prosecuted his opponent Timarchus for prostitution, arguing that a man who sold his body for profit could never be trusted with the affairs of the city (c. 346–345 BCE; Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*).

Porneia thus had a decidedly negative connotation, and expressions such as *pornes huios* ("son of a whore") were used as pointed slurs. In the moralizing literature of the first and second centuries CE, men were warned not to squander their inheritance on *pornai* and were condemned as licentious (*akolasia*) if they overindulged in trips to the brothel. Tax receipts, legal documents, and historical writings from the Roman period show that prostitution continued to be regulated and taxed despite the fact that *porneia*—with an expanded sense indicating any illicit sex—was condemned by Greco-Roman moralists. A double meaning of *porneia* prevailed: *porneia* as a recognized profession forced upon slaves or taken up by impoverished persons of low status and *porne* or *pornos* as a sharp insult that could be directed at "honorable" men or women.

The rhetorical potential of the category *porneia* was used effectively by early Christian authors to target outsiders accused of visiting prostitutes, engaging in incest at brothels, and confusing former prostitutes with inspired prophetesses (1 Corinthians 5–6; Revelation 2:20–22; Hermas, *Similitudes*, 9.13.9; Justin, 1 *Apology*, 36; Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies*, 1.6.3, 1.23.3, 1.25.3). Those authors built upon a tradition they had inherited from the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible), in which idolatry—worshiping gods other than the god of Israel—was associated with improper sexual acts, including incest, male homoerotic sexual intercourse, and bestiality. Thus, Israelites were warned not to "play the whore" (*porne*) by going after other gods (Hosea 4:15–19, Septuagint) and Canaanites were said to "prostitute themselves" (*ekporneuo*) to their gods (Exodus 34:15–16, Septuagint). Equating false religiosity with sexual acts, authors such as John of Patmos called their enemies "whores" (*pornai;* Revelation 2:21–22, 17–18).

A tendency to confuse highly charged Christian rhetoric with historical fact has contributed to the stereotype of the "pagan" or "heretical" commitment to sexual excess, especially in the context of religious rituals. For example, Paul's anxiety about *porneia* in Corinth (1 Corinthians 5–7), combined with comments in other first-century literature about the *hetairai* ("companions" or "courtesans") associated with the temple of Aphrodite (Strabo, *Geography*, 8.6.20), has been taken as evidence of sacred prostitution despite a lack of archaeological evidence. This interpretation fails to recognize the metonymic equivalence of *porneia* and impiety in Christian sources. *Porneia* was and continues to be a widely applied loaded term that is as useful for slandering various targets as for describing a social and economic practice.

SEE ALSO *Adultery; Aphrodite; Courtesans; Fornication; Greco-Roman Art; Inanna-Ishtar; Prostitution.*

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Jennifer Wright Knust

PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography consists of literary texts, images, magazines, films, videos, audio tapes, erotic arts, theatrical events, Internet sites, and other forms of representation that depict sexual and/or salacious subjects without sufficiently redeeming artistic merit. The purpose of pornography is to excite its consumers sexually, but what may count as pornography at any given time or location is defined by the tastes, ideals, fears, and repressions of the local community. Although the ancient Greeks employed the term *pornographos* (*pornos* meaning prostitute and *graphos* meaning writing), referring to writing about the lives and acts of prostitutes, the term and its more modern concept do not appear in English usage until sometime between 1755 and 1857. As literary scholar Walter Kendrick points out, the term pornography was not new but, instead, arose from "the grave" (Kendrick 1987, p. 2), as the obscene frescoes and statuary from the Roman ruins of Pompeii were unearthed. Its reappearance represents the continual clash of religious values and repressions introduced by the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the censoring actions of governments, the introduction of new technologies such as photography and mass production and distribution, and a burgeoning class of consumers who desired and could afford such entertainment.

The term pornography refers generally to material depicting sexual activity intended to excite its consumers sexually, rendered in a way deemed obscene, unchaste, or lascivious. The degree of explicitness and the kinds of activities depicted in pornography change from time to time and from place to place. Pornography may depict nudity, especially images of women's breasts, genitals, or various stages of suggestive striptease or partial nudity. Naked women and men are drawn or photographed in suggestive poses on everything from ancient Greek pottery to modern-day playing cards, magazines, and calendars. Pornography often depicts sexual activity between males and females, including coitus, anal intercourse, cunnilingus, fellatio, and sex involving multiple partners. It may also include images of erections and ejaculations (the latter called a *money shot*) from both males and females. There are depictions of sexual encounters between males and males, often engaged in anal intercourse but also in fellatio. Lesbian sexual behavior is a staple in many otherwise heterosexually oriented stories and films, including images of kissing, cunnilingus, and penetration with a dildo. Pornography includes accounts and images of sadomasochistic behaviors such as bondage, spanking, and flagellation. It may include images of sex with animals or acts involving excretion, such as *golden showers* or urinating on a partner, or the use of feces. Pornography may be aimed at fetishists—those with fixations on particular objects such as shoes or lingerie. It may involve children posed as sex objects or engaged in sexual acts with one another or adults. In short, pornography portrays anything that has been known to stimulate anyone sexually and is produced in almost any medium in which such subject matter can be portrayed, depicted, or described.

Different cultures have had different attitudes toward the kinds of obscene material now commonly classified as pornography, but notions of the pornographic and the obscene are always relative and involve sets of cultural values. Because the concept of pornography is linked to ideas of outlawed sexual excess, access to which is restricted, how cultures understand obscenity determines whether or not a concept of the pornographic—as that which is beyond permissible expression—even exists. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term obscene, often used in relation to pornography, derives from the Latin word meaning *adverse* or *inauspicious* and includes material that is "offensive to modesty or decency" and is "impure, indecent, lewd." Although all pornography may be expected to be obscene, not all of what might be considered obscenity is pornography. Not all obscenity is outlawed nor viewed with as much fascination by those who would prefer to censor it. Some obscenity, even in the most repressive of cultures, is linked to high art or other forms of expression—novels, paintings, films—whose artistic values mitigate its presence. Obscene material that appears in these forms is not considered pornography, although the qualities that endow a work of literature or art with redeeming value change from culture to culture and through time. In the early twentieth century, for example, the United States banned James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* (1922), which is no longer censored. The same is true of novels such as D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), and Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934).

HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF THE PORNOGRAPHIC

In the Middle East and Europe, ancient cultures understood sexuality as an integral part of life and social relations. The Hebrew Bible includes numerous accounts of passion, sexual liaisons, adultery, and other behavior, which might be deemed pornographic if such instances had not also often been occasions for moral lessons. Ancient Greek writing about prostitutes was not pornographic in the modern sense. The Greeks were fairly open about sexuality and nudity, seeing it as a form of social commerce. Greek culture, especially among the upper classes, often featured multiple sexual liaisons with courtesans (or high-class prostitutes) and male youths. Greek theater featured obscene material, not only Oedipus's liaison with his mother, but also and especially in such comedies as Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* (411 BCE), which depicted the very evident effects of a women's sex strike on their warring husbands. Greek sculpture, pottery, and painting depicted nudes as well as overt sexual activity, even on such everyday items as children's eating utensils.

The Greek attitude continued in ancient Rome until the time that Christianity, with its more ascetic attitude toward pleasure and the body, promoted sexual abstention as a virtue. However, the Romans, as did the Greeks, left marks of a more openly sexual culture on their cultural artifacts, including, crucially, the walls of homes in Pompeii, which, when unearthed in the eighteenth century, led most directly to the notion that pornography had risen from a grave.

The art excavated from Pompeii posed a problem for Enlightenment Europeans because, as Pompeii had a Roman and non-Christian attitude toward sexual pleasure, sexual behaviors were liberally and overtly represented in wall murals and on artifacts. Viewed by the Enlightenment European eye, these artifacts could neither be destroyed nor could they remain hidden, as knowledge needed to be disseminated. Valuable but indecent, the more salacious artifacts became a part of the *secret museum* of Pompeii, located in a locked room at the Museo Borbonico, a museum noted for its pornographic content and visited by discreet gentlemen. The word pornography first appears in English, according to Kendrick, in a translation of C. O. Müller's 1850 handbook of the archaeology of art titled *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kuns*, referring to the antiquities of Pompeii. Contemporaneously French historian Paul Lacroix (1806–1884) wrote a six-volume history of world prostitution, producing another kind of pornography whose meaning reverted to the more ancient practice of writing about prostitution.

From its second embodiment pornography was a vexed topic in and of itself. It included public health topics such as prostitution, treated exhaustively and scientifically by Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet (1790–1836) in a two-volume work on the lives, working conditions, and treatment of prostitutes in Paris. William Acton (1814–1875), an Englishman, published a treatise on prostitution in London in 1857, as did American William Sanger in *History of Prostitution* (1858). These were scholarly writings, but their fate, like the destiny of most educational materials having to do with sex, sexual behavior, birth control, prostitution, or even medical texts, had restricted readership. These kinds of serious texts, too, were insistently kept out of the hands of *the young person*, who in Victorian times was the model whose imagined sensitivities needed protection.

On the other hand, there was not only the secret museum of Pompeii and its descriptions, but also the salacious pleasure that might be derived even from reading dry scientific works about prostitutes. As Kendrick suggests, the term pornography "names an argument, not a thing," (Kendrick 1987, p. 31). Pornography's argument is not only an issue of access—of who should be permitted to see the obscene—but also touches upon the impact of representation—about how the representations of sexual topics affect their consumers. Imagined to be at stake were the souls and innocence of the young, whose morals and values would certainly have been affected, it was assumed, by seeing material that suggested sexual excitement. Even some educational materials designed specifically for young people were repressed, such as American Margaret Sanger's (1183–1966) pamphlet, *What Every Girl Should Know* (1913), about birth control options.

Curiously, the only materials to escape such crusading zeal were some older classics, such as Greek drama whose holistic appeal to life values excluded them from consideration. At its rebirth obscenity required censorship in order to be pornography. It was not sufficient that works represent merely the kinds of obscene materials that had always circulated in everything from Greek plays to Italian author Giovanni Boccaccio's (1313–1375) stories and Geoffrey Chaucer's (c. 1342–1400) poetry. Books became the objects of obscenity trials in England and the United States. In the United Kingdom, Lord Campbell sponsored the Obscene Publications Act in 1857, which was aimed at the importation or public display of obscene materials, defined as materials devised with an intention to corrupt without redemptive qualities. Most ancient classic or high art productions were not included in the act. Other works, such a the British re-publication of *The Confessional Unmasked*, a pamphlet from the early nineteenth century aimed at exposing rather spectacularly the imagined errors of the Catholic Church, became the notorious objects of obscenity trials. During the trial Lord Chief Justice Cockburn of the Court of Queen's Bench not only found that the text had the "tendency to corrupt the minds and morals of those into whose hands it might come" (Kendrick 1987, p. 122), but also that having such tendency, the text must also have been intended to have such tendency. In a law that punished those who intended to produce corruption, finding intent in the presence of corruption extended the law to cover almost any work that contained any kind of salacious material.

The Cockburn decision and its underlying logic of assuming an intention to corrupt became the model, as Kendrick suggests, for antipornography legislation in the United Kingdom and the United States. Even France, typically more liberal than the English-speaking countries, tried Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1857) for obscenity. In the United States, the Customs Act of 1842 outlawed the importation of obscene material and became the basis for the zealous Anthony Comstock's (1844–1915) one-man campaign against pornography. Comstock had taken it upon himself as a private citizen to attack and confiscate the inventories of producers and distributors of unwholesome material, including that of prolific Irish-American publisher William Haines, the successful entrepreneur who had introduced pornography into the United States. Comstock's energetic private prosecutions soon won him support in the form of New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, formed by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Under the auspices of the YMCA, Comstock continued to purge society of what he considered to be smut. Thinking the Customs Act fell short of what was necessary to suppress vice, Comstock lobbied energetically for a new federal statute, passed in 1873, which made it illegal to send pornography through the mail. Known as the Comstock Act the new law also earmarked funds for a special agent to enforce the law, a position given to Comstock and which he held until his death in 1915.

Comstock's activities—and especially his disregard for other rights or laws—were not popular with everyone, although, as in Great Britain, public sentiment against pornography seemed to be the majority opinion. The early twentieth century saw both a continued attempt to preserve the kind censorship that made pornography the paradoxically fascinating subject it had become and a challenge to the range of expressions permitted to exist as artistic expression. As with Flaubert, whose *Madame Bovary* had undergone judicial review, the first installments of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1920) were banned. England tried Radclyffe Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) for obscenity, and the novel was successfully suppressed. The story of a sexual invert—or women who felt herself to be and acted as if she were a man—the novel was considered to debauch public morals by many people, including the judge who presided over the New York obscenity trial. In the United States, however, the finding of obscenity was overturned on appeal as the novel contained no overt descriptions of sexual activity; the novel, partly because of the notoriety of the various trials, sold more than 1 million copies.

In the 1930s Miller's novels *Tropic of Cancer*, *Black Spring* (1936), and *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939) were all banned from the United States as obscene. Even as late as the 1950s, Grove Press had to fight to publish an unexpurgated version of Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Judicial opinion about materials considered obscene was also changing from the repression of almost anything that tended to corrupt public morals to an examination of the entire work, which, if deemed to have artistic merit, could overcome accusations of salaciousness based on a few episodes or even pretexts. When Théophile Gautier's novel *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, about a woman who poses as a man and courts women, was tried for obscenity by a New York court in 1922, the court found that books should be considered as a whole instead of on the basis of a few episodes and that *Mademoiselle de Maupin*'s value as art indeed overcame its subject matter. Ideas about the suppression of literature finally turned to a less censorious practice with the American trial of the full version of Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1932, the year that Random House published the novel. The novel was found not to be pornographic on the basis that, taken as a whole, it tended not to be obscene. It tended not, according to the Judge, to excite sexual feelings in its readers.

Although various books would continue to be put to the test, and the idea of protecting the public and particularly young people from the deleterious effects of knowing the details of sexual behavior, would continue in many other forms, pornography had succeeded in establishing itself as both a secret pleasure fostered in part by public condemnation (a public that enjoyed the voyeurism of its chastising court cases) and a shameful practice to be continually rooted out and suppressed. As government actions regarding sexually explicit material became more oppressive, the more sexually explicit material was produced. This paradoxical phenomenon occurred both during the repressive Victorian period in England, when many of the antipornography statutes were developed and prosecuted, and in the 1980s during Ronald Reagan's presidency, when more fundamentalist religious discriminations became mainstream and began to try to exert a direct political force on public policy. The 1986 Meese Report, ordered by President Reagan, embodied the controversy over the actual effects of sexually explicit materials on consumers, presenting once more the idea that pornography is harmful, produces violent behaviors, and is linked to organized crime. However, instead of being imagined to damage the morals of the young, who had served as the protected sensibility in the nineteenth century, pornography was now deemed to harm women at the hands of male pornographers. This theory was promulgated in the work of some feminist critics such as Catherine MacKinnon but was also evident during obscenity trials related to some men's magazines. Larry Flynt (b. 1942) the publisher of *Hustler Magazine* and outspoken advocate of First Amendment rights, was prosecuted for obscenity several times beginning in 1976 based on the explicitness of his magazine's depictions of women's genitalia, as well as his ownership of several strip clubs.

PORNOGRAPHIC LITERATURES

Obscene texts have existed ever since there have been texts, if obscenity is defined as the representation of sexual activity. Most texts, such as the Bible, that in some way portray a vision of life and human history, include sexual matters because they are an integral and important part of life and its dilemmas.

Ancient Greek literature reflects the culture's pleasure in sexuality. As the originators of pornography focused on descriptions of prostitutes, the Greeks produced a large number of texts on the lives and habits of courtesans (professional women of pleasure). Greek dramatic comedies often consist of sexual humor, such as Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* and *The Frogs* (405 BCE). Even such tragedies as Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex* (427 BCE) and Euripides's *The Bacchae* (c. 407 BCE) situate sexual excess at the center of their plots. More philosophical writings also include discourses on prostitution, homosexuality, and sexual pleasure, such as those presented in Atheneaus's *Deipnosophists* (Dinner table philosophers) from the third and second centuries BCE. Other Greek works present homosexuality and pederasty as typical elements of Greek life, to be rued, at least according to Plato (c. 428–347 BCE), and enjoyed, according to Socrates (c. 470–399 BCE). The poet Sappho (who lived in the seventh century BCE) ostensibly addressed some of her love poetry to women.

The pre-Christian Romans continued the Greeks' pleasure in sexuality, represented particularly in the poet Ovid's work *Ars Amatoria* (The art of love) (2 BCE), a guide instructing men in the fine arts of seducing mistresses and keeping them happy, and instructing women about how to keep men happy sexually. Ovid's work extols the mutuality of pleasure and offers advice about many modes of lovemaking—from genital intercourse to digital fondling. Ovid's rather courteous approach to lovemaking contrasted with the more brutish and extreme pleasures of some of the Roman emperors, in particular, Tiberius (42 BCE–37 CE), Caligula (12–41 CE), and Nero (37–68 CE), who indulged in pornography, sadistic sexual practices, homosexuality, and incest. Tiberius decorated his palace at Capri with pornographic pictures and had available the books of Greek female pornographer Elephantis (dates unknown). Some of the spirit of this excess is captured by Roman poet Petronius in his work *Satyricon* (c. 61 CE), which describes everything from fellatio, flagellation, and sodomy to pederasty and pedophilia.

In India in the second century BCE, Vatsayana composed the treatise of sex and lovemaking known as the *Kamasutra*. Presenting a detailed exposition of sexual practices, behaviors, and techniques, the *Kamasutra* was widely available in India. During the same period other Asian cultures produced erotic paintings and statuettes, including phalli.

In Europe, Roman excess contrasted with the ascetic philosophy of early Christianity, which, instead of indulging freely in sexual pleasure, saw sexuality as a fleshly evil that should be repressed. In its focus on chastity the church, as with later censors, had a tendency to enjoy a kind of reverse pleasure in the contemplation of sex as that which one should not enjoy. However, some texts that contained sexual scenarios—often involving philandering priests, from the period between the fall of Rome in the fifth century and the burgeoning of the Renaissance in Italy in the fourteenth century—survived. Surviving also from the later centuries of the Middles Ages were ribald and satirical tales of Renard the Fox, whose exploits often included adultery. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, troubadours and Goliardic poets from France and Germany wrote and sang love poetry whose double entendres often betrayed the air of desperate purity maintained by a poet who pined for the lady he loves who stays forever out of reach.

At the end of this period, Boccaccio composed *The Decameron*, published in 1371. A collection of ten days' worth of traditional tales and invented stories told to pass time by a group of nobles fleeing the plague, the stories of *The Decameron* contained everything from adultery to fornicating priests and were told often in unveiled detail. *The Decameron* was joined by other collections of bawdy tales of illicit love, including the poetry of Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales*, especially in "The Miller's Tale"; *The Heptameron* by sixteenth-century French writer Margaret of Navarre; the satirical and finely obscene narratives of François Rabelais in *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua* (1534); and, in the Middle East, the tales collected in the eighth and ninth centuries in Persia circulated as *One Thousand and One Nights*.

Writers were less squeamish about sexual matters during the Renaissance than they would become after the Reformation. William Shakespeare's plays often included lewd puns and commentaries on explicit sexual practices, which were frequently given to lower-class characters, such as the servants in *Romeo and Juliet* (1597). English drama continued its interest in seamy sexual situations during the Restoration with plays such as William Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675). In eighteenth century France, the Marquis de Sade, imprisoned for sexual crimes, wrote a series of erotic novels that presented a philosophy of sex and contained numerous accounts of sadistic and licentious behaviors; most of these novels were suppressed until the twentieth century.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an explosion in the production of print pornography, including John Cleland's novel *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749) more commonly known as *Fanny Hill*. The novel details every form of sexual encounter, from flagellation to attempted rape, multiple forms of intercourse, and homosexuality. *Fanny Hill* ends with the redemption of its initially naive heroine in marriage with her first seducer. *Fanny Hill* was the first book prosecuted for obscenity in the United States in 1819–1820.

As public culture in the nineteenth century grew more aware of and repressive toward erotic literature, more was produced—often of less interest or literary quality. Pornographic literature took the form of instruction books, confessions, autobiographies, letters, and adventure novels involving gentlemen, young girls, boys, courtesans, school masters, priests and clerics, and rich old men. These characters engaged in everything from intercourse and group sex to sadomasochism, homosexuality, and voyeurism. Literacy increased, and printing technologies made erotic literature more widely available in the form of books and magazines. Pornography became for some a gentleman's hobby, especially those who collected erotic literature. Famous among these was Henry Spencer Ashbee (1834–1900), whose three-volume bibliography of erotica was published from 1877–1885. The United States had no producer of pornography until the 1840s when Haines entered the empty field.

As reformers such as Comstock tried to clean up the literary marketplace—in the process of doing so, helping to produce the modern conception of pornography—the market and tolerance for material containing obscenities gradually grew, resulting in the eventual acceptance in the twentieth century of the obscene as an integral part of artistry. This tolerance produced a less repressive market for literary material in Europe and North America. Print classics, such as Grace Metalious's *Peyton Place* (1956) and Jacqueline Susann's *Valley of the Dolls* (1966) engaged women readers in the consumption of novelistic obscenities, whereas erotica, or literature about sex, became more widely available, including texts as varied as Anais Nin's *Delta of Venus* (published in 1969 but written earlier) and Terry Southern's *Candy* (1964). Pulp fiction novels (cheap paperbacks aimed at mass-market sales) depicted the melodramatic existences of gay males and lesbians, with occasional erotic scenes, whereas romance novels piqued the libidos of housewives.

Attempts to study and control pornographic material in the United States continued, most notably during the Reagan administration in the 1980s. Pressure from those who earnestly believe that people should not be permitted to excite themselves sexually through any kind of representation continues in the early twenty-first century, although the threshold for social acceptance of risqué materials has lowered.

PORNOGRAPHIC IMAGERY

From the time of the ancient Greeks, images of sexual activity have been inscribed on walls, pottery, and other everyday items. Nude studies in sculpture and painting are common. The walls of Pompeii included many sexually explicit murals, whose exhibition in the eighteenth century was limited initially only to discerning gentlemen. Erect phalli dotted some landscapes, and genitalia protectively adorned architecture. Some of these images evoked gods of fecundity; others celebrated daily life in societies where sexuality was more open.

After the Renaissance more openly erotic art gradually became a part of the fine art tradition. As printing technologies became more sophisticated and cheaper, artists began producing caricatures, lithographs, and etchings with overtly pornographic topics. George Cruikshank illustrated *Fanny Hill*, whereas Thomas Rowlandson produced illustrative pornographic plates to accompany such books as *Pretty Little Games for Young Ladies and Gentlemen* (1845). By the end of the nineteenth century Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898) was producing stylized erotic drawings for magazines and books.

With the invention of photography in 1839, a new medium for the mass production of garishly realistic pornography became available. From the 1850s on pornographers, usually in home studios, produced series of photographic images depicting female nudes in a dazzling array of postures; sadomasochistic practices; various positions of sexual intercourse; male nudes; fellatio; lesbian sex; and naked children, sometimes engaged in sexual play with adults. One such pornographer was Henry Hayler, a London photographer whose studio was raided in 1874 by police. Although Hayler escaped prosecution by fleeing to New York, police confiscated 120,248 obscene photographs.

Despite antipornography legislation such as the Comstock Act, pornographic images continued to be produced and distributed in the form of calendars; pinup pictures, often movie stills; watch fobs; playing cards; and finally, movies and video. Most visual pornography was aimed at heterosexual males and consisted of females seductively clothed or, later, posed in the nude in suggestive positions. Some more explicit images depicted scenes of overt sexual activity, including bestiality. There was also a market in explicit gay male images.

In the 1930s mainstream magazines such as *Esquire* (founded in 1933) began including pinup pictures, and by 1953 Hugh Hefner, who began his career working for *Esquire*, founded *Playboy*. The first issue included a nude photo spread of actress Marilyn Monroe. Other pornographic magazines followed, including *Penthouse* and the more graphically explicit *Hustler* (founded 1974). Along with these magazines came an entire industry of pornography, including strip clubs sponsored by magazines, such as the Playboy Clubs, or owned by the magazine publishers, such as Larry Flynt of *Hustler*. Magazines spun off movies, videos, and cable television channels. Porn stores emerged along interstate highways catering to truckers and other travelers. These industries became more mainstream and acceptable throughout the twentieth century. Their heyday was truncated, however, by the onset of the AIDS epidemic and consequent demands that pornography responsibly depict safe sex. In part the spread of video pornography was enabled by the ways such materials were kept away from minors in stores (paradoxically, restricting pornography produces it); in part its spread was possible because sexually explicit material was increasingly more available in mainstream films, books, and—eventually—television.

PORNOGRAPHIC FILM INDUSTRY

The first erotic film images came from the serious work of English photographer Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904), who took a series of still photographs of nude women carrying out everyday acts in the period from 1884 to 1887. The subjects' nudity permitted the viewer to see how the body moved. Erotic cinema is as old as the film industry itself. Thomas Edison (1847–1931), who began to produce short films in the late 1890s, made some provocative entries, such as *What Happened in the Tunnel* and *Aunt Sallie's Wonderful Bustle*. Early film pioneer Georges Méliés (1861–1938) produced an 1897 film called *After the Ball–The Tub* depicting a naked young woman in a bathtub attended by her maid. In 1896 a short film screened in Ottawa, Canada, showed the first on-screen kiss, and some viewers called the police. In the early twentieth century, the nickelodeon, a type of theater invented by Edison, showed very short films, including *What the Butler Saw* and *How Bridget Served the Salad Undressed*.

This auspicious beginning for unregulated cinematic erotica ended in 1915 when the Supreme Court of the United States held that films were a business endeavor and not entitled to First Amendment protection. This finding led the film industry to adopt the Hays Code, a set of self-regulatory guidelines, in 1930. The Hays Code prohibited excessive kissing, fondling, complete nudity, licentiousness, or anything that was contrary to the moral standards of the time. The code was a response, in part, to the popularity of stag films—short films depicting overt sexual activity usually between young women and convenient passersby. These films were promoted by itinerant entrepreneurs called *stag masters*.

Except for the underground stag cinema, the Hays Code effectively eliminated sex and nudity from American mainstream cinema, even though plots and circumstances were often sexually suggestive. Joan Crawford played a high-class call girl in *The Women* (1938); however, the film contained no sex scenes. Adultery was the pretext of other mainstream offerings, such as *Indiscreet* (1958), in which Ingrid Bergman and Cary Grant carry on an adulterous love affair. Screen beauties such as Betty Grable were sought-after pinup girls, their photographs adorning soldiers' barracks during World War II.

After Hefner began *Playboy* in 1953, photographers became more adept at imaging seductive female nudity. The skills of photographers such as Russ Meyers and Bunny Yeager crossed over to filmmaking, producing *nudie cutie* films such as *The Immoral Mr. Teas* (1959). The 1950s hosted a fairly modest pornographic film industry, which featured nudie films made of people frolicking in nudist camps. The convention that governed these films and made them barely legal was a prohibition on any images of pubic hair or *pickles and beaver*—male and female genitals. These and other more illegal *loops*, or short films of sex acts, played at burlesque theaters and other illicit venues. Burlesque theaters were the precursors of modern-day strip clubs in which women in various stages of undress would dance and remove clothing for patrons, though in theory full nudity was prohibited.

By the late 1960 and early 1970s the pornographic film industry was booming, aided by the demise of the Hays Code and adoption of a rating system that identified film content by a series of letters. An *X* rating, indicating appropriateness for mature audiences, quickly became a code for pornography. Pornography was divided into two categories: *hard core* for graphically explicit sexual scenes, and *soft core* that showed very little male frontal nudity, no erections, and only simulated sex scenes. The pornographic film industry had its greatest success in the late 1960s and 1970s, producing the famous *Deep Throat*, starring Linda Lovelace, and *Behind the Green Door*, starring Marilyn Chambers, both released in 1972. Porn films included, from 1968, full frontal nudity and pubic hair. Films depicted oral and anal penetration, fellatio and cunnilingus, various forms of bondage and discipline, group sex, bestiality, masturbation, and the famous money shot footage of male ejaculation. Ruben Sturman invented the *peep show booth* that provided a means for the private screening of pornographic films in adult theaters and adult bookstores. In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled, in *Miller* v. *California*, that each state could develop its own definition of obscenity. As a result pornographic films such as *The Devil in Miss Jones* (1973) became financially successful, and a profitable gay male pornography industry was born.

Jenna Jameson. *In 20000, porn star Jenna Jameson founded the entertainment company, Club Jenna, which had $30 million in revenue in 2005.* © CHRIS FARINA/CORBIS.

The pornographic film industry was gradually altered by the invention of video formats and the availability in the 1980s of consumer camcorders. Although changes in format made production of film pornography cheaper and easier (even if of lower quality), the industry struggled against crackdowns by the Meese Commission, public disapproval spurred by the AIDS crisis, and confiscation of all films made by porn star Traci Lords, who made the films when an underage actress. Cheaper video equipment enabled a greater number of amateur filmmakers to begin production of pornography. The availability of home video players began to cut into the business of burlesque theaters—the major outlets for the production of the film pornography industry. Competition with amateurs lowered the already bare-bones standards of porn films, though it also enabled pornography to infiltrate to a larger number of consumers. Pornography finally became a choice among cable television offerings, and mainstream films became increasingly more explicit, showing full frontal nudity and explicit sexual scenes (still shot tastefully).

In the early twenty-first century, pornography is widely available in both video and DVD formats. Vendors sell on the Internet, which also hosts X-rated sex sites with pictures, videos, and live Webcam performances. Attempts to control children's access to Internet porn sites have been stymied by successful constitutional challenges to federal legislation. However, authorities have had success in suppressing web sites offering pornography involving children and have apprehended and prosecuted predators who seek child sex partners online.

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Judith Roof

POSSESSION

According to "possession" beliefs, spirits or demons may control the bodies of human beings. Such beliefs are ancient, widespread, and linked to concepts of the duality of the human person, consisting of a body and a separate animating entity (one or more souls, a spirit, etc.), which may be replaced by another being. Comparisons between possession and multiple personality disorder have been made.

In Western tradition, possession beliefs are rooted in Jewish and Greek sources. Among non-Western people, Christian missionaries have often misidentified positive possessions by ancestral spirits with demons to be expelled.

Ritualized possession generally involves an altered state of consciousness (trance, dissociation). In Haitian *vodou*, a religion that combines Catholic, African, and local elements, a spontaneous trance state, illness, bad dreams, and/or personal problems may be interpreted as calls for initiation by a spirit. These symptoms themselves are not considered to be evidence of possession. Initiation turns the spirit into a protector and helper. It is the spirits who claim their human servants. A woman possessed by a male spirit enacts a male personality, a man possessed by a female spirit, a female personality. The majority of possession trancers are women, most of whom have male spirits. Spirits are invited to participate in ceremonies by means of drum rhythms, songs, and dances. Each spirit has its own personal attributes, as well as songs, dances, and tastes in food, drink, adornment, and colors. Spirits interact with each other and with their human faithful, state their demands, and give advice.

Women possession trancers are referred to as wives of spirits. Men may marry a female spirit in a ceremony in which a possessed woman acts as the spirit's vehicle. These men may then experience the presence of the spirit in dreams. Spirits are said to "mount" their human hosts, who are also referred to as "horses." The dances of some aggressive spirits are also more sexually suggestive, even orgasmic.

Haitian spirit possessions and rituals are related to those of Cuba, Trinidad, and Brazil and are derived from the same African origins: Both men and women may be possessed and may be priests, and women comprise the majority of possession trancers. In Brazil the strong value placed on assertive masculinity may inhibit men's participation as possession trancers in African-derived religions. Men who do participate are often perceived as effeminate; many are homosexuals.

The predominance of women in possession-trance religions has been noted from many parts of the world. In Burma, for example, where the dominant religion is Theravada Buddhism, a woman medium, who may already have a human husband, undergoes a formal marriage ceremony with a spirit who has fallen in love with her. If she refuses this call to her profession, she risks illness and misfortune. Her work requires the help of this spirit.

In Bali, where the dominant religion is Hinduism, possession appears in many forms: among women healers, little girl trance dancers, men and women kris dancers, men and women who dance with a *kris*, or Balinese knife, pressed against their chests, male hobbyhorse dancers, and in masked ritual dramas, where men act out the role of female characters. Ritual possession is common, controlled, socially useful, highly valued, encouraged, and satisfying. This is in contrast to parts of India where negative possession and exorcisms are found. The possessing spirits are those of the dead, and the victims are most frequently young married women. The exorcism is harsh, seeking to drive out the spirit by causing it pain.

In traditional Judaism, too, the victims of possession are frequently young women, and the possessing spirits are those of dead sinners, mostly men. The exorcism ritual, conducted by a rabbi, involves questioning the spirit about its identity, its sins, and the sins of the victim that made the attack possible.

Possession has a long history in the United States, yet it virtually disappeared in the nineteenth century. It has experienced a revival since the 1970s and has become the subject of mass media attention, both as reportage and as fiction. In this context, possession is understood as harmful, causing physical and mental disorders. The possessing sprits are demons and the cure is exorcism by a Catholic priest, a Protestant minister, or lay self-trained exorcists who take their scriptural authority, in part, from references in the Gospels (Luke 8:30, Mark 5:1–13, Matthew 10:11). Exorcism is seen as a means of treatment of a variety of perceived social and psychological maladies, which are understood as being caused by demon possession. These complaints range from schizophrenia and depression to alcoholism and apparent character changes. In the United States the Exodus movement, a branch of the ex-gay movement since the early 1990s, links "treatment" of homosexuality and the forcible expulsion of the presumed demonic possession that causes individuals to succumb to the homosexual way of life.

Several television programs, including primetime specials on the ABC network, and widely syndicated newspaper stories demonstrate the widespread popularity and growing faith in the efficacy of exorcism as a form of intervention and treatment. In the American theater and cinema classic *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* George, the male protagonist, mockingly recites a lengthy passage from the rite of exorcism of the Catholic Church to rid his wife of alcoholism and other demons that seem to plague their lives.

Since the mid-1960s, accelerating in the United States during the 1980s, in Catholic, Protestant, and secular cases, demonic possession has been identified as

Exorcism. *An exorcism is performed on the possessed, whose body contorts painfully.* © CHRISTEL GERSTENBERG/CORBIS.

the force believed to impel adolescent girls to behave in ways considered excessively or inappropriately sexual. In other cases, in which homosexuality is the presenting problem, families have sought the intervention of exorcists. These are sometimes laypersons who are prepared for their tasks in a set of community-recognized (not church-sanctioned) practices. At other times, ordained Catholic priests, who are not assigned the position of exorcist in their diocese, perform the rites in violation of church prohibitions against their practice.

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Melinda Kanner

PRAYER

Gender and sexual identity have had varying implications for prayer in different devotional traditions, sects, and denominations, related primarily to the language of prayer in fixed liturgies (especially as it ascribes a gender to God), the gender of those credentialed to lead prayers in worship communities, and the matters about which one prays. Traditional liturgies in monotheistic traditions often presume a male God in the use of masculine pronouns and male imagery (God identified, for example, as Father or King), even when the underlying theology assigns no gender to God. When praying communally most Muslims and Orthodox Jews pray in sex-segregated groups, and in most religious traditions, women are relative newcomers to prayer leadership. In some Christian traditions the cleric's role as a representative of a male-embodied Christ privileges male prayer leadership; classic Jewish law (*halakha*), which specifies that a quorum for prayer be ten men, requires that the cantor, or public representative, be a man; and in Islam, where full bowing is a repeated feature of prayer, rules of modesty are among the reasons that restrict women from assuming a position at the front of the prayer space.

TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

Prayer—whether petition, thanksgiving, or confession—often reflects the priorities of a religious tradition. Blessings for uniquely female experiences—such as onset of menses or childbirth—have typically not been codified in formal liturgies, though there is a history of women's private traditions for sanctifying their experience or pleading for health, for example, in pregnancy and labor. Similarly, public rituals that include prayers have had a heterosexual bias: Religious commitment ceremonies or same-sex weddings are relatively recent innovations in traditions with an otherwise long history of sanctifying marriage.

In many world religions in which prayer tends to be meditative, private, and personal without a formal leader or fixed liturgy, these gender imbalances are less in evidence. In some of cases of polytheism the different characterization of gods and goddesses has implications for the construction of gender. In Hebrew Scriptures women's prayers are efficacious. Early in Genesis, Hagar's prayer, unusually, receives a direct response when God provides water in the desert for her son, Ishmael. Other biblical matriarchs' prayers for fertility are answered, and in the Book of Samuel, Hannah's fervent prayer, with moving lips, later becomes the textual basis for the Jewish practice of shaping the words with one's mouth during the important silent devotion prayer. Moses utters the first biblical prayer for healing on behalf of his sister Miriam ("Please, God, heal her!") when she is struck with leprosy. And the figure of Mary has also been a focus for Christian prayer, especially for prayers of intercession. Although the monotheistic faiths generally maintain that all prayer reaches God equally and that God is without gender, over time, men's prayers were codified in prayer books, the God to whom adherents pray was imagined in masculine form, and houses of worship privileged men's authority and community, whereas women more often prayed privately at home.

CONTEMPORARY INNOVATIONS

Christian and Jewish feminists have led the way in modifying prayer experiences to make them more inclusive. Liberal Christian and Jewish denominations have afforded authority to women prayer leaders and have embraced equal participation for women and men in worship, though some denominations still do not ordain out gays and lesbians. There has also been a growth of Christian women's prayer circles, and in Judaism all-female *minyanim* (prayer quorums) in which women chant from the sacred Torah scroll in women's community even if they would be unwilling to do so in a mixed-gender group. Some Jewish women gather in groups monthly to ritually celebrate the new moon. Because formal Muslim prayer is largely reading from the Koran, the focus of Islamic feminists has not been on prayer. Orthopractic Muslim imams and male worshipers in the Middle East, Asia, and even Europe and North America often exclude women from Friday prayers. Those Muslim women who regard Islam as an egalitarian faith have protested such exclusion.

More complex has been the gender identity of God, a problem energetically articulated in 1973 by Mary Daly in her theological treatise, *Beyond God the Father*. In the years since then, some Christian feminists have advocated for *vertical inclusive language*, using such strategies as balancing paternal with maternal imagery, utilizing gender-neutral language, or replacing formulations such as the *Son of God* with *Divine Child*. Jewish feminists have reached into mystical literature and recovered the *Shechinah*, a feminine characterization or aspect of God, for use in prayer. Feminist liturgists have experimented with changing classical blessing formulas, as Marcia Falk (1996) does when she replaces *King of the Universe* with *Source of Life*. Nonmonotheistic and mystical traditions have been a resource for images that have been imported into patriarchal traditions. In addition to the systematic editing of prayer books for gender inclusiveness in the liberal denominations, some feminists have worked to discover women's unique folk traditions, including prayers written by or for women (such as Yiddish *techines*) as a way of honoring the heartfelt expressions of the foremothers. Feminists have also been responsible for a flourishing of new rituals and liturgy, ranging from welcoming ceremonies for daughters to croning ceremonies for women elders and including prayers sanctifying coming out as a homosexual and blessing same-sex unions. The ceremonies described on ritualwell.org evidence decades of creativity and effort to enlarge the opportunities for prayer in a traditional religion by acknowledging the distinctive experiences of the female body and other long-neglected transcendent human occasions or needs.

The power of the printing press and art did, however, reify traditions that privilege men and masculinity, and the process of defrosting religious language and ideas can be slow. Although the Internet has become a resource for innovative prayers and practices, revising liturgical canons and codifying innovation remains challenging. Nevertheless, attention to gender and sexuality has led to some significant adjustments in how people define prayer communities, who is authorized to pray on whose behalf, which pronouns and images are used for God, and which compelling subjects are included in prayers.

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Lori Hope Lefkovitz

PREDATOR, SEXUAL

A sexual predator receives sexual satisfaction by engaging in exploitative and/or nonconsensual acts with less powerful individuals. The majority of sexual predators are men who target women and children, but women commit 1 to 4 percent of reported sexual offenses. Predatory acts include rape, sexual assault, lust homicide, incest, and domestic violence. Other nonviolent predatory acts occur in exaggerated cases of sexual paraphilias (disorders) with nonconsenting partners, including exhibitionism, voyeurism, and frotteurism (touching or rubbing against a person in public without consent). Certain types of pornography and prostitution are connected with sexual predators who enjoy the unequal power dynamic implicit in those practices.

TYPES AND MOTIVATIONS

Sexual predators are motivated by emotions such as anger, aggression, loathing, fear, and insecurity, and their actions typically are aimed at controlling or dominating others. Although not all people who practice deviant sexual practices such as voyeurism become aggressive sexual predators, most predators who commit illegal sexual acts displayed deviant sexual tendencies in their youth. Those people possibly become predators because their desires are not fulfilled by culturally sanctioned sexual acts. They experience increasingly intense sexual arousal focused on a paraphilia such as pedophilia that demands greater and greater stimulation, ultimately resulting in predatory acts that endanger others.

The appearance and popularity of the Internet have created a new venue for sexual predation. The Internet sex industry uses the most innovative technology on the Internet and in the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century accounted for $12 billion in annual revenue. Predatory acts on the Internet include organized prostitution tours, mail-order brides, online prostitution, child pornography, and sexually abusive text conversations with children.

Because it is impossible to regulate all Internet activity, many concerns have been raised about children's ability to access pornographic material that is readily available online. However, online interaction between children and adults is particularly problematic because it allows for several types of sexual predation. Many predators use online chat rooms to seduce underage children into sexually explicit conversations, often following up with attempts to arrange physical meetings. Those predators may take on an identity other than their own, often claiming to be children when they are much older. If they arrange a meeting, they usually abuse the children sexually and may kidnap them.

Pornography and prostitution can be considered forms of sexual predation, especially because prostitutes or models are often financially desperate and unwilling participants in at least some of those acts. In addition, most of those individuals are subject to physical and emotional violence from their clients or pimps. Studies have shown that at least 70 percent of prostitutes have been raped, and those rapes are not always committed by a client or pimp. Both the Internet and globalization have produced an international sex industry that allows sexual predators from wealthy first-world countries to gain access to victims in impoverished, underdeveloped, or war-torn countries. As sex tourists, predators may visit a country such as the Philippines and then post their experiences with prostitutes, many of whom may be underage. Other people can then access this often pornographic, misogynist, and/or sadistic information and learn how to procure and treat prostitutes when they visit.

AMERICAN LAWS AGAINST SEXUAL PREDATION

There are both federal and state laws that punish sexual predators, attempt to limit opportunities for predation, and inform communities about known predators. Several laws outlaw forcible rape, and starting in 1976, marital rape no longer was excluded from punishment. Laws designed to protect children prohibit incest, sex with minors, and kidnapping. The federal Child Abuse and Prevention Treatment Act of 1974 defines child abuse and neglect and mandates public support and information for communities. Aimed at stopping child pornography, the Sexual Exploitation Act of 1978 prohibits the transportation of children across state lines for purposes of sexual exploitation. Other federal laws prohibit child prostitution and pornography, punishing pimps, pornographers, and parents who allow their children to be misused in that way. Several laws from the 1990s are aimed at preventing child pornography on the Internet and limiting underage access to pornographic material. Child prostitution is illegal in all fifty states, and prostitution is illegal in every state except Nevada. To reduce trafficking in women and children, the Mann Act, originally passed in 1910, prohibits the interstate transportation of women or girls for commercial sexual purposes. A 1986 revision expanded its terms to include all genders and noncommercial activities. To protect communities and keep known predators under surveillance, all the states have laws requiring sex offenders to register with a local agency, and that information is made available to the public.

SEE ALSO *Rape.*

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Michelle Veenstra

PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is the condition of carrying one or more developing embryos or fetuses in the body. It starts as soon as the ovum is fertilized and implants (normally in the inner lining of the uterus, the endometrium) and continues until the delivery of the baby, usually 280 days after the last menstrual period (though this number may vary, most occur within two weeks of the due date). During pregnancy, both ovulation and menstruation cease—the first indication of pregnancy is often a missed menstrual period. Women frequently note nausea early in the pregnancy (morning sickness), breast enlargement (often accompanied by tenderness), and darker pigmentation developing around the nipples.

As the fetus grows larger, the woman's abdomen increases in size to accommodate it. This is frequently accompanied by stretch marks, reddish depressions in the skin that streak across developing areas of the body, especially the abdomen and breasts. Many women apply cocoa butter preparations to the skin to minimize their occurrence, but there is no guarantee that these lotions will prevent stretch marks. Often a brownish-black line (the linea negra) appears at the midline of the abdomen as pregnancy advances. In addition, the face may develop irregularly sized and shaped brownish patches. Both of these colorations generally disappear soon after childbirth (or parturition). The nipples typically grow larger and may begin expressing a thick and yellowish fluid (colostrum) that contains many proteins and antibodies, which the nursing mother passes onto her newborn.

Pregnant women gain weight primarily due to the extra mass of the growing uterus and fetus, the enlarged breasts, and the increased maternal blood volume (to meet the demands of the growing uterus and to provide a safeguard for excessive blood loss during childbirth). This weight gain continues throughout pregnancy until childbirth. Pregnancy makes high demands on the maternal iron and calcium stores, and for this reason women frequently take supplements with prenatal vitamins and minerals prior to and during the course of the pregnancy. Water retention is common as pregnancy advances and women may notice pitting edema (where the skin retains an indentation when a finger is pressed against it). Women may also notice a spreading of the pelvic bones caused by a hormone (relaxin) that causes changes in the connective tissue that helps the reproductive tract accommodate the growing uterus and baby and facilitates childbirth.

STAGES OF PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is arbitrarily divided into three trimesters, each lasting roughly three months. During these gestational periods, the bodies of the mother and the baby undergo changes. Though there is variation in when these changes occur, the following represents a typical timeline of the different stages of pregnancy.

The first two weeks after ovulation and successful fertilization of the ovum, which occurs in the fallopian tube, the newly formed embryo continues into the uterus where it implants in the endometrium. The ruptured follicle of the egg continues to support the hormonal needs of the pregnancy for the first three months. After that, the placenta (which grows at the site of implantation) takes over, nourishing and supporting the fetus until the end of the pregnancy.

By the end of the sixth week of pregnancy (after the last menstrual period) the embryo is roughly twenty-two–twenty-four millimeters (mm) in length with a relatively large head compared with its trunk. It has a fully formed heart, fingers and toes, elbows, and an upper lip and rudimentary elevations that will eventually develop into ears. At the end of eight weeks, the embryo is called a fetus (an arbitrary designation). By this time, the fetus has grown to almost four centimeters (cm). Though its lungs begin to develop, this period of time is predominately devoted to the growth and maturation of organs and tissues formed during the first eight weeks.

At twelve weeks, the uterus is just palpable above the pubic synthesis. The length of the fetus (measured from crown of the head to rump) is about six–seven cm. Most of the fetal bones begin ossifying (hardening due to the deposition of calcium), and fingers and toes become differentiated. By this time, both the skin and nails have developed, and the beginnings of hair appear. The external genitalia show early signs of being either male or female, and the fetus begins to move (though this is not necessarily apparent to the mother). This period of time up until the twelfth week is known as the first trimester. Morning sickness (if present) usually resolves by this stage.

By sixteen weeks, the crown–rump length is about twelve cm and the growing baby's weight is about 110 grams (g) (slightly less than four ounces). The external genitalia are now more clearly differentiated. The sixteenth week marks the starting point of the second trimester of pregnancy. Women begin to put on weight and may notice fetal movement starting at this point (known as quickening).

At twenty weeks, the pregnancy is at its midpoint. The fetus continues to grow and now weighs more than 300 g (slightly more than ten ounces). The skin is less transparent, and a downy hair (lanugo) covers most of the body. Some hair also begins to develop on the head.

At twenty-four weeks, fetal growth continues to about 630 g (a little less than one-and-a-half pounds), and though fat begins to be deposited in the body, the baby's skin is wrinkled. The head is still proportionally larger to the body than that of a newborn. The eyebrows and eyelashes start to become apparent. The lung tissue begins to develop, and fetuses born at this time will try to breathe, though most will not be able to successfully manage this on their own because the lung tissue is not yet fully formed.

At twenty-eight weeks, the crown–rump length is about twenty-five cm and the fetus grows to about 1,100 g (about two-and-a-half pounds). The skin appears red and is covered with a white creamy substance (the vernix caseosa) that protects the fetal skin. The thin membrane that covers the pupils disappears at this time. Infants born at this time show more energetic limb movement and are able to weakly cry. If no other conditions exist, they have a 90 percent chance of survival provided they are given medical support.

At thirty-two weeks, the fetus is about twenty-eight cm long and weighs about 1,800 g (about four pounds). The skin surface continues to be wrinkled and red. This period marks the beginning of the third and final trimester of pregnancy. During this time, the infant continues to mature, especially its eyes, muscles, and brain. Infants born at this time may need special neonatal care, but are likely to survive.

At thirty-six weeks, on average, the length of the fetus from crown to rump is around thirty-two cm and the weight increases to about 2,500 g (about five-and-a-half pounds). Fat deposits under the skin cause the body to round out and lose its wrinkled appearance. Infants born at thirty-six weeks have an excellent chance of survival under the proper care.

At forty weeks, pregnancy reaches its term. At this time, the fetus is fully developed and ready for birth. Though the average length at term is about thirty-six cm (nineteen inches) and weight approximately 3,400 g (seven pounds, eight ounces), healthy babies may be larger or smaller depending upon genetic predisposition, maternal nutrition, and health of the mother and fetus.

Labor, characterized by regular uterine contractions and changes in the cervix, commences at the term of pregnancy to propel the baby out of the womb. Though most women will deliver their newborn vaginally, complications of labor or fetal distress may necessitate a Cesarean section (C-section; surgical removal of the baby). In the case of obstetrical emergency, an emergency Cesarean section may be performed. In other less urgent circumstances, such as a failure of labor to progress, multiple births, or a previous Cesarean section, an elective or scheduled C-section may be performed under regional anesthesia, allowing the mother to be alert during the birth. A Cesarean section may be performed with a classical (vertical) incision, but this type is rare because of the increased risk of complications. The majority of C-sections are performed with a low-transverse uterine traditional incision.

Medical wisdom has held that once a woman has a Cesarean section, all subsequent pregnancies must be delivered surgically as well. However, studies have shown that many women are able to deliver vaginally following previous C-sections (vaginal birth after Cesarean section, or VBAC). Despite a concern over the number of Cesarean sections performed, a growing number of women are requesting an elective primary C-section to avoid the pain of natural childbirth and the loss of vaginal tone which may accompany it.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD PREGNANCY

Historical and cultural attitudes toward pregnancy and pregnant women generally reflect society's view of sexuality and women. Romans regarded pregnancy as a duty and women earned their freedom from guardianship and their right to inherit property only after successfully delivering four babies. Other cultures considered pregnancy and childbirth a natural part of a woman's life with women continuing to perform their daily chores up to and immediately following childbirth. Certain societies confined women approaching their due date to the home or areas specific for those menstruating (and thus considered *unclean*). A quote often attributed to St. Augustine (354-430) describes this attitude: "We are born between urine and feces" (De Beauvoir 1989, p. 167).

Many cultures historically believed that pregnant women (and thus their unborn children) were vulnerable to evil spirits and were therefore not allowed to go to funerals. Before scientific enlightenment, most thought that women were responsible for the sex of the unborn child, and failure to produce a desired male offspring could be accompanied by a slap on the new mother's face, divorce, or even execution. Mental or physical birth defects were also thought to be the fault of the woman. In Christian cultures, people believed that the pain of labor was God's punishment to all women for Eve's original sin.

Until the twentieth century, women gave birth at home and were often assisted by midwives or women experienced in the birthing process. During the Renaissance, maternal modesty was so revered that midwives often had to grope under the mother's skirts to assist in the delivery. Even in the early twentieth century, doctors were rarely consulted, and when they were, it was only because of medical emergency (a common adage was "When a man comes, one or both must die."). Indeed maternal and infant mortality was high during the pre-antibiotic days primarily due to infections contracted during childbirth.

Medical reliance on technology marked a significant change in the attitude toward pregnancy and permitted an understanding of pregnancy as a medical condition akin to illness. Subsequently, babies were born more often in hospitals than at home. Routine use of ultrasound to view the unborn infant, electronic monitors (to record fetal heartbeat and the progress of labor), intravenous lines, drugs (to alleviate pain and induce labor), and episiotomies (a surgical cut in the perineum to help facilitate birth and prevent tearing) all indicate that medical professionals consider pregnancy to be a condition that can be treated. In the early-twenty-first century there is a trend away from what some see as an overuse of technology back to natural childbirth.

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Diane Sue Saylor

PRE-RAPHAELISM/ SYMBOLISM

Founded in 1848 by the artists Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais, and William Holman Hunt, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood represented a youthful rebellion against the established aesthetics of the Royal Academy. The term "'Pre-Raphaelite' was chosen because it reflected their admiration for the early Italian painters of the period before Raphael" (Wood 1981, p. 10). Although the brotherhood lasted only until 1853, Pre-Raphaelite art continued to flourish till the 1920s in the works of followers and disciples such as Arthur Hughes, John William Waterhouse, Marie Spartali, Joanna Boyce, and Evelyn de Morgan.

PRE-RAPHAELITE AESTHETICS

At a turbulent time, with revolutions raging in Europe, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood initiated a revolution in British culture that had far-ranging effects. Rossetti, Hunt, and Millais resisted the precepts advocated by Raphael's successors and the first president of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds. Instead of hierarchical idealism, they promoted egalitarian and naturalistic realism. The belligerent critical reception of John Everett Millais's *Christ in the House of His Parents* (1849–1850) illustrates the Pre-Raphaelites' blow against aesthetic, class, and gender hierarchies. Their commitment was not limited to aesthetics but extended to social reform as they sought to establish an egalitarian society that would be accepting of unconventional class and gender constructs.

GENDER AMBIGUITY

Dante Gabriel Rossetti was a poet-painter who often composed poems to accompany his paintings, guiding the spectator's interpretation. Subverting conventional representations of femininity, he created highly sexualized women; his femmes fatales combined feminine and masculine characteristics, with their long necks, massive shoulders, powerful arms, luxuriant flowing hair, and rosebud mouths, as in *Lady Lilith* (1868), *Fazio's Mistress* (1863), and *Astarte Syriaca* (1877).

Critics often denigrated Millais for the flagrant reversal of gender roles in his depictions of women rescuing

Proserpine ***by Dante Gabriel Rossetti.*** © CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/ CORBIS.

men, such as *The Order of Release, 1746* (1853), and *The Proscribed Royalist, 1651* (1852–1853). Ambiguity and indeterminacy govern outdoor paintings that are devoid of narrative content, such as *Autumn Leaves* (1856), *Spring* (1856–1859), and *Vale of Rest* (1858–1859), in which, rather than endorsing the doctrine of separate spheres, Millais creates a matriarchal world untouched by the law of the father. Unlike Rossetti and Millais, Holman Hunt remained faithful to the principles of Pre-Raphaelite art to the end of his life; like them, he represented gender ambiguity, especially in the *The Lady of Shalott* (1886–1905) and *Isabella and the Pot of Basil* (1867) and in his popular religious paintings *The Light of the World* (1853) and *The Shadow of Death* (1870–1873), all of which combine conventionally male and female characteristics.

The gender ambiguity initiated by the early Pre-Raphaelites became prevalent in the paintings of the second-generation advocates of aestheticism (art for art's sake) led by Edward Burne-Jones. Privileging the aesthetic over the mimetic, he was upbraided by critics for "sublimely sexless" subjects (James 1989 (1956), p. 147) in paintings such as *Laus Veneris* (1873–1878), *Le Chant d' Amour* (1868–1877), *The Beguiling of Merlin* (1874), *The Mirror of Venus* (1873–1877), and *The Days of Creation* (1870–1876). "In a period which was so fraught with sexual anxiety it is perhaps not surprising that the guilt . . . and the sense of personal impurity and national degeneracy . . . should be projected onto forms of visual art" (Bullen 1998, p. 216).

A fluid representation of masculinity and femininity also characterizes Simeon Solomon's paintings, such as *Love in Autumn* (1866), *Bacchus* (1867), *The Evening Star* (1871), and *The Sleeper and the One Who Watcheth* (1870), which critics found effeminate or emasculated. In Solomon's figures the poet Algernon Charles Swinburne noted a "supersexual beauty in which the lineaments of woman and of man seem blended as the lines of sky and landscape melt in the burning mist of heat and light" (quoted in Mancoff 2005, p. 36). Solomon's homoerotic figures represent his attempts to deal with the taboo subject of Victorian homosexuality.

The Pre-Raphaelites' representation of gender ambiguity can be explained partly in terms of their desire to represent life truthfully and thus undermine the idealized, stereotypical gender hierarchy. If one considers that the Pre-Raphaelites deliberately chose to create effeminate men and masculine women that critics saw as "grotesque" and "repulsive," one may realize the scope of their contribution to the extension of gendered boundaries. Their representations of gender ambiguity or unconventional gender roles reflect their awareness of legislative movements (divorce laws, women's higher education, women's suffrage) to ameliorate women's social and legal status and redress legalized gender inequities. Besides painting, Pre-Raphaelite art shaped poetry, as in the work of Swinburne and William Morris as well as the novels of writers such as Elizabeth Gaskell, Wilkie Collins, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy (Andres 2005). The Pre-Raphaelites offered literary artists new ways of extending gender boundaries and representing perceptual, psychological, and poetic realism.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Androgyny; Art; Effeminacy; Love Poetry; Symbolism.*

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Sophia Andres

PRESLEY, ELVIS

1935–1977

Elvis Aaron Presley, American singer, guitarist, and actor, was the most successful of the mid-1950s artists who were identified with the new genre of rock 'n' roll. Often called the King of Rock 'n' Roll, Presley was crucial in the formation of the images and sounds of early rock and its mythology. Popular music has often been a generative site for representations of masculinity, sexuality, and race, and Presley's career embodied many of the controversies that circulate around these social categories.

Born in the American South during the middle of the Depression, Presley had many musical influences, ranging from the gospel of the Assemblies of God Pentecostal churches he attended (which were among the first racially integrated congregations) to country, bluegrass, jump blues, blues, rhythm and blues, and popular ballads. His professional career began in 1954 when he recorded the Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup blues number "That's All Right" with the Bill Monroe bluegrass song "Blue Moon of Kentucky" on the B-side. Presley's career is often broken into four phases: his early rock phase, his movie career in the 1960s, the *1968 Comeback Special*, and Las Vegas in the 1970s. The first phase of his career, generally considered to have ended in 1957 with his induction into the U.S. military, tends to generate the most praise from rock critics, along with the *'68 Comeback Special*.

Presley's early image was that of a longhaired working-class greaser with big sideburns who sported clothes from Lansky Brothers on Beale Street, a store with a predominantly African-American customer base. Although he was soft-spoken and unfailingly polite, his image and musical sound were very much in opposition to the crew-cut, All-American standard of mainstream, middle-class, teenage suburban masculinity. He mixed white, working-class, Southern masculine codes with African-American masculine codes and some feminine codes (he wore his hair long and also went on stage wearing eye shadow). While the newly emerging youth demographic, especially teen girls, flocked to his concerts, adults were increasingly concerned with his displays of sexuality. His performances were denounced as devil music from church pulpits and his records were banned from radio stations. Frequently, attempts were made to censor his sexuality and tame the hysteria that would grip audiences who watched him on stage. In August 1956, a Juvenile Court judge in Florida called Presley a "savage" and threatened to arrest him if he shook his body while performing at Jacksonville's Florida Theatre, claiming his music undermined the morals of American youth. His early career was marked by many similar attempts to contain his body, including his famous 1957 appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, where he was filmed only from the waist up. This era symbolically ended with the shearing of Presley's long hair during his induction into the U.S. Army in 1958.

What followed was a period in the 1960s when his sound embraced more popular crooning influences, like that of Dean Martin (1917–1995), and he spent most of the decade starring in successful Hollywood films and releasing soundtrack albums. Although those films were financially successful, for some critics they represented the emasculation and mainstreaming of a rock rebel. However, such views uphold a binary of masculine rock/feminine pop to which Presley never subscribed. After his Hollywood period, he came back into the rock scene through his televised *'68 Comeback Special*, a much-praised return to his roots as a black leather–clad rocker. Soon after, he installed himself as an extraordinarily successful Las Vegas performer, wearing white rhinestone-encrusted jumpsuits with high collars and courting an older fan base.

In 1992 the U.S. Postal Service announced a commemorative stamp of Presley and asked the public to vote on which image should adorn it, the young rock 'n' roller or the older white jumpsuited Vegas Presley. The public overwhelmingly chose the image of the young Presley. However, the ensuing debate highlighted many of the tensions around Presley and his image. Although many rock critics have praised his machismo, his toughness, and the rebellious sexuality of his early period, there is more to his image than aggressive masculinity. Sue Wise has deconstructed the "butch god" formation of Presley's image, noting that it was mostly a construction of male

Elvis Presley. *Elvis Presley performs for an excited crowd.* AP IMAGES.

writers and pointing out that he had other images, such as the sensitive teddy bear of "Love Me Tender."

Yet there are complications even within the butch sex god of songs like "Hound Dog." This song was originally a hit by blues shouter Big Mama Thornton, and the gender ambiguity is still present in the Presley version. Additionally, the infamous pelvic gyrations that were typically featured in Presley's performances of "Hound Dog" came from a Las Vegas burlesque show that Presley and his band had seen while on tour. As Robert Fink has pointed out, Presley's macho performance of sexuality was in part a copy of a female strip show, and in fact, Presley was frequently compared to strippers in 1956, the year of "Hound Dog." In his June 6 *New York Times* column, the journalist Jack Gould dismissed Presley as a "virtuoso of the hootchy-kootchy," noting that Presley's "one specialty is an accented movement of the body that heretofore has been primarily identified with the repertoire of the blonde bombshells of the burlesque runway."

Marjorie Garber has elaborated a theory of Presley as a female impersonator, situating him on an unmarked transvestite continuum with Rudolph Valentino and Liberace. She analyzes Presley's self-display, his artificiality, his status as object of the gaze, his wearing of makeup, and media focus on his hips, lips, and weight. Garber's focus is on the Vegas-era Presley, and she categorizes him as a type of covert drag queen. However, Presley's status as butch lesbian icon (along with James Dean and Marlon Brando) points to even more complex appropriations of his masculinity and sexuality.

Another important aspect of Presley's position in the discourse of gender and sexuality is the legion of impersonators who copy his look and mannerisms. In addition to drag king Elvis impersonators (such as San Francisco's Elvis Herselvis), there are impersonators of all different ethnicities. As a figure of impersonation he has somehow attained a status beyond race and gender—rather than male or female impersonation, there is Elvis impersonation. Presley seems to have become an ambiguous but affectively intense figure who can personify an almost infinite number of sexualities and gender configurations, from Southern working-class to lesbian to gay male to heterosexual, from tender to tough, from American icon to outsider rebel.

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PRIESTHOODS, PRIESTS, AND PRIESTESSES

The priest's specialized role in social life has been addressed in many studies, but the exact nature of the priest has remained elusive to many. The idea that the priest reflects some universal construct was apparent to the ancients and is a widely employed scholarly concept for analyzing religious practices. In their consideration of the priests of pagan Rome, however, contemporary scholars (e.g., Beard and North 1990) find that a single term that encompassed all types of priests was lacking among the Romans. Nonetheless, the cross-cultural utility of such a concept is reflected in a frequently used Roman term for a priest, the *flamen*, which is associated with the

Sanskrit word for priest, *brahman*. Roman priests occupied a diversity of specialized roles, duties, organizational structures, and functions that had foundations in the very early history of Rome. Nonetheless, there was a basic similarity in the religious roles of the *Pontif*, *rex sacrorum*, kings, magistrates, and others responsible for rituals of the state cult (Winkelman 1992). What Roman priests share in common is belonging to a cult, which is a social group that operates as a collective entity with specialized knowledge in managing rituals "mediating between men and gods" (Beard and North 1990, p. 7). This mediation of priests involves regulation of the human approach to and communication with the divine. Originally the role of the priest was reserved for members of patrician families, but later became more widely accessible to those with the financial resources to join the cults. The basic ritual functions of the priests were also carried out by many others who performed some priestly acts, such as the *paterfamilias*, the master of the house or family who was responsible for propitiation of the spirits of the ancestors. One of the most ancient and general images of priestly activities involves sacrifice, the killing, offering, and consumption of domestic animals.

These priestly cults or colleges of Rome distinguished themselves most fundamentally in contrasting the *pontifices* and the *augures*, the mediators with the community, and the communicators with the gods, respectively (Beard 1990, Gordon 1990). The principal focus of priestly mediation in Rome was in the Senate, which decided on valid divine communication and the permissible human rituals to deities, mediating human responses and relations with deities, and so offering an intermediary role between the citizenry and the government. Priests provided the required rituals in the Senate, where they served as consultants on matters of law and interpretation and also regulated the ritual life of families through their official roles in burials.

In their analysis of the priests of pagan Rome, Beard and North (1990) note the interpenetration of religion with politics, commenting that it was assumed that a political career included participation in the priesthoods of the state. The most powerful figures of Rome's public life (e.g., the Caesars) achieved this through combining the priestly and political roles. It was the priestly colleges that provided the most important integrative functions during the Roman Republic (Gordon 1990), creating a wide diffusion of power among the elite class, as well as a permanent political presence by virtue of the prestige conferred by official membership. The lack of permanency in political power created by one-year terms in the Senate was superseded by religious cult memberships and priesthoods that generally were permanent. The integration of the powers derived from the religious ritual system of priests with the power derived from the political system allowed for processes of domination by the elite in ways not generally apparent to the masses.

PRIESTS

The characteristics of the Roman priests are not unique but reflect a cross-culturally valid conceptual type, according to the research of ethnologist Michael Winkelman (1992), whose analyses illustrate similarities of priests found in different societies around the world. His study sample included the priests of major religions, such as clergy of the Ethiopian Coptic Church, the Buddhist priests, and the Islamic murids and mullahs, as well as others such as the Roman Pontiff and priests of the state cult and practices of ancestor worship found there and in other societies around the world.

Priests are not found in all societies, but do appear universal in societies with a primary reliance on agriculture. Priests are found in societies with political systems with two or more levels of political integration beyond local communities (i.e., villages organized into districts organized into states). The priest exemplifies male power in society, with female involvement in activities typically only as assistants or servants; the occasional empress or queen serving in the role of a high priestess is an unusual exception to exclusively male functionaries. Although priests may represent preeminent power on earth, being members of the elite classes, they do not control the gods but, rather, serve as intermediaries who petition the gods on behalf of the people. Priests may also have personal religious power in ritual knowledge or control of an impersonal power, such as mana.

Priests typically acquire their positions by virtue of inheritance, typified in ancestors' cults, in which the reigning member of the lineage is also the chief priest; this post, is passed on to a son upon the priest's death. Priests typically exercise control over considerable economic resources and hold important political positions either as consultants or as the supreme political leader such as chief or king. Priests generally hold formal judicial power, ruling on everyday disputes as well as life-and-death decisions. Priests were often members of legislative bodies and are generally considered to be the moral authorities of society.

Priests are typically in charge of a permanent institution (e.g., a church). Priesthoods are organized in a hierarchically ranked group that provides a system of administrative control over society. The highest level of the priesthood may involve the king, emperor, or chief. Official duties, sacred and secular, generally take up all of a priest's time.

Priestly religious activities involve collective propitiation of group's deities with sacrifices and feasts, particularly public rituals associated with particular parts of the agricultural cycle (e.g., planting and harvesting). These rites of intensification are to aid the general fertility of animals and crops as well as to provide thanks for the abundance provided. Harvest rituals typically sacrifice some portion of the harvest to the gods, but the sacrifice may be consumed by the priest and participants. Sacrificial offerings generally involve domestic animals (e.g., cows, pigs, chickens), which are typically first sacrificed to the gods before their consumption by participants, which emphasizes the importance of the priests as a controller of ecological relations (Rappaport 1967, Lansing 1991).

The role of the priest provides the most important contrast with the primordial religious functionary, the shaman. This contrast emphasizes the priest as an intermediary with the spiritual world who petitions the intervention of deities rather than someone who enters into a direct relationship with the deity or presumes to control them. Priests are leaders of what anthropologist Anthony Wallace (1966) called *communal cults*. These communal religious activities involve heads of clans or other kinship groups organizing activities related to ancestor worship and specialist professional associations of ecclesiastical cults that organize the worship of collective deities. The dual political–religious role characteristic of the priest is emphasized in the role of the *divine king* who holds supreme secular and religious power and is a deity as well.

Male priests are a typical feature of the gender restrictions found in religions worldwide. Although female participation in specialized religious roles is widespread if not universal, women have not typically been allowed to serve as priests. The leadership roles in religions where women are dominant may be called priestesses, but their characteristics differ significantly from those of priests. Female-dominant religions involve mediums. Mediums reflect adaptations of more complex societies to the therapeutic potentials of altered states of consciousness and local community healing rituals that were first manifested in shamanism. In contrast, priests organize society-wide rituals involving integration of separate community groups into larger political hierarchies. Thus, gender plays an important role in the human division of labor in accessing supernatural power.

Functional Perspectives on Priests The role or position of the priest is found in sedentary agricultural societies (and some pastoral societies that depend on herd animals such as cows, camels, and reindeer for subsistence). These roles have a functional relationship to the leadership needs of these more complex societies. When found in societies without complex political hierarchies, priests are still associated with ritual activities intended to ensure the success of agriculture and to occupy positions of political leadership based on succession. It appears that the role of priests evolved in response to the needs of agricultural societies but that their origins may lie in the organizational principles of clan structures and ancestor worship.

Bishop Katharine Jefferts Schori is the 26th Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church. *Jefferts Schori, 52, is the first female priest to lead a national church in the nearly 500-year-old Anglican Communion.* © MATTHEW CAVANAUGH/EPA/CORBIS.

Winkelman's cross-cultural research found that when religious practitioners are selected for their roles on the basis of social inheritance or social succession, they exercise judicial and political power as well and engage in collective rituals of propitiation. These are the priests reflecting an adaptive aspect of religion in which the biological and social power of kinship groups is united in religious practices of ancestor worship. A hierarchy linking heaven and earth places one's living kin in supernatural positions of authority.

"COMPLEX HUNTER-GATHERER TYPE RELIGIONS": THE RISE OF ANCESTOR CULTS AND PRIESTS

How did this new form of religiosity represented by priests come to supplant shamanism as the central feature of religiosity in society? Archeologist Brian Hayden (2003) reviews evidence of the emergence of this new form of ritual development during the early Upper Paleolithic period (approximately 15,000 years ago) when hunter-gatherer groups developed more complex organizations called *trans-egalitarian* societies. Their rituals emphasized accumulation and storage of large amounts of food for use in extravagant ritual displays focused on enhancing group fertility, worship of ancestors, and integration of large groups of people.

These public displays of prestige and success may have been a turning point in the evolution of religion—a dramatic shift from popular cults focused on earlier communal healing practices of shamanism to that of elite cults that manipulated their communities through religious rituals and symbols. Food, art, and monumental architecture were resources for exercising ritual control and influence by the elite. These new fertility religions used animals to represent their clans and lineages, ancestor cults to elevate their ancestors as group gods, megalithic architecture as public places to make ritual statements of their power, public feasting for solidification of alliances and kinship-based political systems, and commodity items in gift giving, exchange, and tribute to increase wealth, power, and prestige.

The public cult activities of these religions focused on fertility, epitomized in the *Venus figurines*, stone and clay depictions of pregnant women. The exaggerated female features (e.g., broad hips, large breasts and buttocks, and prominent genitalia) indicate a fertility cult. The involvement of specialists in their production and their role as prestige items is indicated by the high quality of the depictions, the extensive work involved in their production, and the standardization of their features. Hayden views the fertility cults as elite families' prestige competition in attracting females as wives who could produce children, who represent the ultimate long-term strength in kinship-based political systems. Fertility cults, marriage, and feasting were all part of a system that helped to ensure production of future food surpluses.

During the Neolithic period (approximately 12,000 years ago), these kinds of rituals became dominant social institutions. Their focus was on animal cults and the lineages and ancestor worship they represented. Ancestor cults and veneration are suggested by the special care given to the burial of a few elderly men, who were interred with elaborate grave goods and offerings that indicated their elevated status. These offerings that were found in their graves seem to indicate people with unusually important social positions, such as the heads of clans. Their skulls were often removed and used as ritual objects, reflecting the continued importance of these individuals in their afterlife roles. Central to these elite-focused religions were warfare, human sacrifice, and megalithic architecture. These manifested a chief's ability to organize groups to achieve goals that, while often viewed as collective (i.e., protecting our village), generally served the interests of the elite. Hayden postulates that the emergence of the more complex priestly religions was a consequence of increased competition for economic resources. Increased resources contributed to social stratification and contests between the elite and communities.

The new Megalithic societies can be regarded as similar in activity to near-modern chiefdoms in which leaders ruled by virtue of their positions in kinship systems. Public rituals involved wealth exchanges and prestige competition as mechanisms for differentiating the chiefly elite from the nonelite. Through ritual exchange the elite control social life—wealth exchanges, bride exchanges, arranged marriages, social alliances, debt payments, and allocation of resources in times of scarcity. The gods, embodied in the elite's ancestors, are believed to be key actors in ensuring group well-being, particularly in issues related to fertility. Their key roles in managing political needs of complex societies are exemplified in the role of the divine king.

THE DIVINE KING AND RITES OF INTENSIFICATION

A fundamental function of priests is a concern with the fecundity of the earth and its crops in particular. The role of the priest is exemplified in the *divine king*, a supreme leader whose life and health are intimately related to fertility of all of society and nature. Priests' rituals of intensification involve symbolic depictions of the connection of the king with the fecundity of the earth. The roles of these divine figures were explored by the Scottish anthropologist and folklorist James G. Frazer (1935) in his considerations of divine sacrifice, making the king himself a sacrificial offering to the gods as a scapegoat for famine or drought. The king theoretically offers his life as a sacrifice for the good of the community or is sacrificed by his own people, particularly his counselors, when the his health or that of the community in general has declined. Frazer characterized regicide and human sacrifice as reflective of an early development of religion in which people saw human life and nature as intimately interconnected. The sacrifice of a human life fed the energy of nature and restored the fecundity of the earth. These rituals are part of a general effort to perpetuate the cycle of life and to ensure the fertility and prosperity of both the agricultural fields and domestic animals.

Frazer's concept of the divine king, a supreme priest who in failing health is sacrificed for a renewal of nature, is not typical. Most divine kings were not sacrificed. As David Hicks (1996) describes in the ritual regicide in Timor, a substitute for the king is put through the motions of sacrifice, a feigned blow to the head preceding the ritual act of tying the individual up in fishnets at the shore of the lagoon. This substitute, however, is not killed either; rather, a pig or buffalo is ritually offered as a substitute for the king. This sacrifice is thought to reestablish relations between the spiritual and human populations, regenerate the divinity, and induce the spirits to give fecundity to the world. These rituals are generally performed in August during the shifting from the dry season to the rainy season. The sacrificial offering of the lifeblood of an animal is seen as helping ensure the fecundity of nature and this seasonal change from the male season to the female season.

These rituals reflect the fundamental role of priestly religions in mediating relationships with the environment. This is exemplified in anthropologist Roy Rappaport's (1967) discussion of Tsembaga ancestor rituals and the ecological relations maintained through the sacrifice of pigs. These ritual festivities also allow these groups to assess their allies' fitness for the warfare that begins soon after the pig festivals have ended. Because there are no political authorities that command these groups, the ability of a group to effectively exercise warfare depends on attracting kinsmen in other groups to join them in their fight. An invitation to attend a dance is tantamount to a request for military support, and that support is solidified in the context of the festivals and feasting.

ALCOHOL AND PRIESTHOODS

The characteristic of priests as mediators with the supernatural world rather than entering the spirit world is reflected in their general lack of notably altered states of consciousness (ASC). Unlike shamans who enter into an ecstatic relationship with the spirit world, priests remain in this world. The priest may nonetheless experience some less profound ways of altering consciousness produced by social isolation, restrictions involving fasting and sexual prohibitions, and prolonged prayer. ASC rituals of priests also generally involve consumption of alcoholic beverages by priests and congregations. Drinking alcohol may not seem like a religious activity, but the notion of alcohol as *spirits* reflects a past where alcohol was a sacred beverage. The connections among public ritual, consumption of alcoholic liquids and food, and power found its way into the religions of medieval and modern times in Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism, for example. This sacred role of alcohol is exemplified in the Roman Catholic Church, where the priests consume wine during the Mass, considered a symbolic representation of the blood of Jesus. Sacred consumption of alcohol is associated with rituals for integration of the community, particularly formation of alliances.

ALCOHOL CULTS IN PREHISTORY

Priests were part of prehistoric public festivals of alcohol use involving rituals that reinforced community solidarity, social cohesion and rapport, and internal hierarchies. Alcohol's central role in the religious life of pre-Christian European and of Jewish ceremonial uses led to its continuation as a central sacrament of Christianity, where it was viewed as creating a spiritual connection and enhancing community solidarity. The continued importance of wine in the Christian traditions was reinforced in accounts of the drinking of wine by Christ at the Last Supper, which came to be a symbol of Jesus's own blood and his sacrifice for humanity. Early Christian communities consumed wine to bring joy to life in communal ritual celebrations.

Anthropologist Terrance McKenna (1992) suggests that in social evolution from premodern societies, alcohol cults played a central role in the development of *dominator exploiter* cultures. These weakened male–female relations in enhancing tendencies toward ego obsession and immediate gratification, reflecting anxiety produced by alienation from the feminine qualities of nature. During the Neolithic period alcohol cults spread as agriculture made large amounts of sugar-producing plants available for the fermentation process involved in the production of alcohol. This accompanied periods of rapid social and economic change and new political structures that developed to meet the needs of complex agrarian societies.

Winkelman and Keith Bletzer (2005) review research revealing elite male warrior cults that were key components of alcohol cults. Their central roles in society are attested to by the prominent inclusion of drinking vessels found in graves of the elite by Richard Rudgley (1993). According to archaeologist Bettina Arnold (1999), alcohol was central to religious ritual and political life of Europe during the Iron Age (c. 900 BCE–100 CE), a key element in establishing relationships between rulers and their supporters and maintaining the latter's allegiance. Consumption of alcohol provided a social lubricant for important rituals used to moderate intragroup competition and establish relations of power. Alcohol was consumed at feasts organized by nobles, where followers made public commitments to provide military defense for their noble benefactors.

Alcohol rituals are exemplified in feasts provided by Celtic kings of the British Isles. These feasts were expressions of the king's generosity, and bonds of friendship were enhanced by bountiful consumption of alcoholic beverages. This ritual consumption became an exclusive practice of the high elite as these festivals became dominated by the consumption of wine that was acquired through overseas trade connections with the Mediterranean world. Wine was capable of being stored for long periods without spoilage, unlike beer. This storable commodity enhanced the power of political aggrandizers who rose by replacing beer with wine as a source of alcohol in public religious feasts. These ostentatious public ceremonies provided contexts for the rulers to carry out political and judicial processes and allowed for competition in military games to establish a hierarchy among their supporters. These public rituals also involved supporters making public declarations of their loyalty to the ruler, supporting long-term political alliances. This was a domain of men, not women.

FEMALE-DOMINANT RELIGIONS

Although not normally functioning as priests, women are not absent from religion. In *Priestess, Mother, Sacred Sister*, anthropologist Susan Sered (1994) used a cross-cultural case study to characterize religions in which women are dominant figures, illustrating their similarities with cases from the Okiinawa shrine maiden and traditional women's societies of Africa, the Korean household rituals of shamanism, as well as more modern examples, such as the North American Shakers and the development of Christian Science. Although conventionally referred to as *priestess*, roles in female-dominant religions are much more like those of shamans than of male priests. Sered's research illustrates how the leadership roles in religions dominated by women differ from the leadership roles involved in the practices of priests.

In female-dominant religions, those who occupy roles of authority do so through their personality or supernatural power rather than from acquisition of a position within a formal hierarchy. Nonetheless, these religious leadership roles are dominated by older women. Sered points out that these groups may have unequal statuses among women and may promulgate ideas of gender inequality, endorsing prevalent masculine notions of male dominance and female subordination. Sered also notes that societies in which women's religions are present, women tended to have a relatively high level of autonomy. Their societies are likely to be matrilineal or matrilocal. These religions enhance women's roles within these societies, particularly in activities related to their responsibilities as mothers.

Women's religions emphasize the interpenetration of public and domestic spheres, incorporating ritual spaces and processes into the home. Female-dominant religions focus more on the needs of the individual rather that the broader societal concerns emphasized in the activities of male priests. Rituals of women's religions focus on domestic areas and involve food rituals as a central element. In contrast to priestly religions, female-dominant religions generally did not involve animal sacrifice. These are not proselytizing religions and are not focused on the rules of moral behavior and their enforcement. Women's religions are not centralized and institutionalized but, rather, integrated around individuals who are closely related by kinship and care a lot about one another. It is not morals that are codified but rather relationships that have important implications for the community: enhancement of interpersonal relations and familial bonds and providing nurturance and support for the family, particularly those who are ill or suffering.

According to Sered, ''what does receive attention and elaboration in these religions is women's social roles as nurturers and healers, women's rights and responsibilities as primary child care providers, women's emotional experiences of pain at the illness and death of children, women's social ties with other mothers, a matrifocality and women's proclivity for discovering the sacred which is evident in the everyday world of care and relationship'' (p. 286).

Women's religions are characterized by high levels of emotionality and broadly appeal to those of marginal economic and social circumstances. Female-dominant religious groups emphasize an emotional dynamics of *brotherly* love and sisterhood in the strengthening of family and community. Female-dominant religions' concerns focus on their role as mothers and domestic issues of children, health, and home, particularly with the explanation of illness and other forms of misfortunes and the provision of solutions for problems of the practical world. These female-dominant religions have a significant emphasis on illness in the process of selection and development of healers. Spirit possession characterizes the emotional ASC that typify female-dominant religions. The concept of *possession* is rooted in the belief that spirits can enter into the bodies of people and take over their personality and behavior. According t Sered, ''possession trance is a pivotal component in the majority of women's religions'' (p. 181).

These possession experiences are a consequence of how women's marginalized and subordinated position affects their material, emotional, and social relations in ways that facilitate dissociative altered states of consciousness. Possession allows for the adoption of the persona of dominant males exhibited by their possessing spirits. The frequent belief that possession involves a sexual relationship with spirits is reinforced by erotic gestures and other sexual elements frequently noted in ecstatic possession trances. Sered further notes a central feature of women's religions that involves spirit possession of predominantly female audiences, as well as the professional mediums who become possessed in order to heal the afflicted. These possession states are induced through a variety of techniques, including singing, chanting, drumming, dancing, and sometimes the use of alcohol or other drugs. In a height of frenzy the spirit *mounts* or enters the woman, whose body then becomes the medium through which the possessing spirit communicates with the community. These possession relationships are central to the religious experience in women's religions although not in the ecstatic soul flight of shamans.

Priestesses as Mediums The term priestess has been applied to female religious practitioners without regard to whether they engage in typical activities of priests. The term has been generally applied to what Winkelman (1992) has characterized as *mediums*, another type of religious practitioner identified cross-culturally. Mediums are found in societies with complex political hierarchies. Their characteristic possession experiences reflect an adaptation to the shamanistic potentials associated with ASC under the powerful influences imposed on individual psychology by the interpersonal and personal conditions derived from considerable social and economic stratification and oppression.

Like priests, mediums are generally believed to be moral people and protectors, acting against the influences of sorcerers, witches, and evil spirits. Also like priests they engage in worship and propitiation of spirits. But unlike priests mediums are typically women and of lower social and economic status, being subordinate to the power of the priests, the dominant religious practitioners in their societies. Mediums may nonetheless have a relatively greater prestige than others in the society as well as some informal social power. This social power is reflected in their ability to designate sorcerers and witches as the cause of their patients' illness and in their relationships to powerful spiritual entities manifest in their possession.

The medium's possession states of consciousness generally begin as spontaneous seizures that occur in late adolescence or early adulthood, experiences outside of their personal control that are seen as constituting a call to the profession. These possession episodes are interpreted as the personality and will of the individual being taken over by a spirit entity. The training and religious rituals of mediums involve a deliberate induction of spirit possession that often manifests powerful male deities that enable mediums to exert important social influences. The belief that the spirits control the medium's body and communicate through the medium makes their proclamations divine demands that others are obliged to follow.

This is exemplified in the functions of the priestesses in the Near East discussed by Savina Teubal (1984) in *Sarah the Priestess: The First Matriarchs of Genesis*. The priestess was supposed to supply information about current or future events, to act as oracular prophets of the deities, and to provide military and political advice to rulers. The priestess was an inspired figure, giving utterance to divine revelations that were the will of the deity, not her own.

The psychodynamics of possession ASC have been interpreted as providing mechanisms for control of the person's emotions and attachments through the concept of outside possessing forces that act on the patient's body and consciousness. Possessing spirits provide opportunities to engage in alternate selves that express socially prohibited roles and emotions and a displacement of responsibility for feelings and behaviors from the patient to the possessing spirit entities. By considering the possessing spirits responsible for emotional expressions and behaviors, possession allows for indirect influences on others' behavior and perceptions.

CONCLUSIONS: PRIESTS AND MEDIUMS AS SACRED GENDER SPECIALIZATIONS

The societies in which mediums are found as exemplifications of female-dominant religions have male priests as representatives of the more powerful religious institutions dominating the politics and economy of society. This copresence of mediums with priests reflects female and male specializations in religiosity. Male priests lead rituals that are related to the broader sociopolitical needs of society, whereas women address the domestic dynamics of the health and well-being of the family and intimate community.

Men and women in most cultures have access to some form of religious position with leadership roles. These commonly accessed statuses and roles involve using the shamanistic therapeutic potentials involving collective rituals with altered states of consciousness. Although men predominate in many of these shamanistic religious traditions, female-dominant religions are found cross-culturally in stratified societies in forms of shamanistic healing known as mediums and possession trance. These women, often called priestesses, are the dominant participants and leaders in rituals focused on the well-being and health of family and community. Men are virtually exclusive occupants of the position of priests, the most important societal religious activities. These traditional restrictions on female access to the powerful positions of priests persist throughout the modern world but are increasingly challenged. Even in the early twenty-first century, the Roman Catholic clergy remains exclusively male; so, too, in Zoroastrianism where the magi are all men who inherited their positions. The situation in Orthodox Judaism is similar. Only by the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Protestant denominations are female ministers or pastors gradually becoming part of the church hierarchy. In Conservative (1984) and Reform (1972) Judaism, women have been accepted in rabbinical roles by certain congregations. Although women serving as priests remains a highly controversial concept, their acceptance reflects broader societal trends of increasing gender equality in professional spheres.

SEE ALSO *Baha'i Faith; Buddhism; Celibacy; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Confucianism; Daoism (Taoism); Egypt,*

Pharaonic; Gnosticism; Goddess Worship; Hinduism; Islam; Jainism; Judaism; Menstruation; Mysticism; Protestantism; Shamanism; Shintoism; Sikhism; Yoga; Zoroastrianism.

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Michael Winkelman

PRISON, DETENTION, AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Most prisons and jails have rules that prohibit inmates from engaging in sexual activity with staff or each other. Notwithstanding these policies, prisons and jails remain highly sexualized environments in which a great deal of sexual activity, including consensual sex as well as harassment and sexual coercion, takes place. The physical nature of incarceration contributes to the sexualized nature of imprisonment. Imprisonment involves physical restraint, surveillance of prisoners' bodies, and the concentration of prisoners in crowded spaces. In addition, prison subcultures appear to place great importance on sexual and gender roles, so that sexual identities become very important to the experience of incarceration.

ADULT MALE PRISONERS

There is very little reliable empirical research on overall rates of sexual activity in prisons. The U.S. prison population is overwhelmingly male, and most existing studies of sex in prison focus on nonconsensual sex among male prisoners. These studies have produced highly divergent reports. Some studies estimate that as many as 15 to 20 percent of male inmates are victims of sexual assaults by other inmates (Struckman-Johnson 2000, Struckman-Johnson 1996), whereas other researchers have found much lower rates of victimization, closer to 1 percent or even less (Saum 1995, Nacci and Kane 1983).

The image of prison rape prevalent in popular culture—attacks by physically violent predators against weak and naive new prisoners—appears to capture only a very small portion of inmate sexual assaults in male prisons. Studies show that young, white, first-time offenders are more likely to be the target of sexual coercion, and correspondingly aggressors are more likely to be experienced, long-term prisoners. But most coerced sex does not involve an act or direct threat of physical violence (Human Rights Watch 2001, Struckman-Johnson 2000). Instead, many prisoners who recognize themselves as vulnerable will trade sex for protection. In prison slang, a *punk* may agree to have sex with a *man*, *Daddy*, or *jocker* in an ongoing relationship in which the punk may expect his man to protect him. Coerced sex is apparently often interracial: aggressors tend to be disproportionately African-American and their targets are disproportionately white (Human Rights Watch 2001, Lockwood 1980). It is unclear whether this pattern is traceable to specific racial animus or is simply the result of sentencing patterns in the United States, where prisoners serving repeat or long sentences are disproportionately African-American. Some researchers argue that prisoners serving a sentence for a sex offense are themselves more likely to be the victim of a sexual assault behind bars, but this claim has not been substantiated by empirical research.

By prisoners' own reports as well as empirical studies based on interviews or surveys, many inmates choose to engage in sexual activity for reasons other than fear of immediate or possible violence. Prisoners sometimes have sex in exchange for money, food, cigarettes, drugs, or other valuable items. Moreover, like persons outside of prison, prisoners sometimes have sex for physical gratification or as part of an emotionally committed relationship. Few researchers have tried to determine the prevalence of consensual sex among prisoners, but those who have addressed the issue suggest that consensual sex is far more common than coerced sex (Saum 1995). Most prisons have official rules that prohibit prisoners from having sexual intercourse; some institutions also prohibit masturbation. These rules do not actually stop such activities from occurring, but they almost certainly shape prisoners' decisions about whether to report sexual assaults. Prohibitions against sexual activity may contribute to one of the greatest difficulties facing prison sex researchers: the assessment of whether a particular sex act is consensual or not.

Both external and internal prison observers have difficulty distinguishing between coerced and consensual sex. The existing studies do not use consistent definitions of consent and coercion; some studies fail to define these terms at all. Most prisons are sufficiently dangerous and unpleasant that the prison environment could be said to be inherently coercive. Of course, distinguishing between coercive and consensual sex is difficult even beyond the prison context. But the peculiar environment of the prison makes this distinction especially elusive.

Studies of sexual activity face other methodological problems. Prisoners are reluctant to participate in research studies: a prison code of silence creates a strong norm against reporting fellow prisoners' misbehavior. Even among those prisoners who disclose information, there are incentives both to underreport (to avoid reprisals or breaking the code of silence) and to overreport (to gain attention or to protest prison conditions generally) sexual violence in prison. In 2003 the Prison Rape Elimination Act became law in the United States. This legislation mandates record-keeping, reporting, and research on sexual violence in prison. These requirements may eventually produce better information about the issue.

Even beyond actual incidents of coerced or consensual sexual activity, sexual dynamics shape prison life profoundly. Researchers as well as former prisoners describe a prison subculture that "fuses sexual and social roles and assigns all prisoners accordingly" (Donaldson 1993, p. 118). To a significant extent, prisoners appear to be defined by their identities as aggressors, victims, or nonparticipants in sexual encounters as well as sexual harassment. Sometimes sexual aggressors force their victims to clean, do laundry, or even alter their appearances to appear more feminine. Some victims are treated as property and rented or sold as sexual slaves.

Assessment by researchers of these sexually defined roles has changed over time. Early studies of prison sex approach the subject as one of the psychology of homosexual preferences, distinguishing *true* homosexuals from *situational* homosexuals. Many of the older studies advanced a *heterosexual deprivation* thesis that assumed that 1) sexual orientation is fixed; 2) most inmates are heterosexual; and 3) heterosexual males need regular sexual activity or they will suffer deprivation and turn to same-sex intercourse as a poor but necessary substitute.

More recent studies tend to incorporate two critical claims of gender theorists and feminists. One claim is that sexual identities and the significance of those identities are at least partly socially constructed rather than based entirely on fixed biological differences. Another claim is that (constructed) sexual differentiation is often a site upon which to ground inequality. Researchers' use of differentiated sexual categories to organize hierarchies in male prisons gives considerable support to these claims.

Reported constructions of sexuality inside prisons do not always correspond to constructions of sexuality that are common outside of prisons. Prisoners do not view all participants in male-to-male sexual contact as homosexual. Many researchers emphasize the intensely masculine atmosphere of male prisons. Some of these conceptions may be changing, however. According to some reports, many male prisoners describe a general understanding among prisoners that sexuality is fluid rather than fixed.

Corrections officers or other staff have on occasion encouraged or exploited sexual hierarchies among prisoners. There are reported incidents (some resulting in litigation) in which staff have intentionally placed vulnerable inmates with known sexual aggressors; in addition, staff in many institutions seem to tacitly accept and sometimes encourage punk-daddy relationships. By some reports, prison officials on occasion use sexual humiliation or orchestrated sexual violence as a disciplinary measure. Some of the most notorious incidents of deliberate sexual humiliation of prisoners occurred at the hands of U.S. military personnel at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. There have been reports of similar, though less well-documented, sexual abuse in some prisons within the United States.

ADULT FEMALE PRISONERS

Less research is available on women prisoners than on men. With respect to coerced sex, existing studies suggest lower rates of inmate-on-inmate assault in women's prisons than in male-only institutions. In one study, 7 percent of female inmates reported being sexually assaulted by another inmate (Struckman-Johnson 1996). Published letters from one prisoner describe patterns of assault somewhat similar to those in male prisons, in which sexual aggressors establish ongoing relationships of domination over their victims and require their victims to clean, do laundry, or otherwise play a domestic and subservient role. According to the same source, heterosexual women viewed by prison staff as *feminine* may be more likely to initiate sexual aggression, in part because staff view such prisoners as nonthreatening and give them more leeway. Openly lesbian and bisexual women may be more likely to be targets of sexual aggression. Racial tensions in women's prisons are not reported to be as high as they are in men's prisons, and researchers have not reported racial patterns in sexual violence among women prisoners. As with male prisoners, however, the existing studies of prison sex do not have clear definitions of consent and coercion, and the rate and nature of sexual assault in prison remains an area about which very little is known.

Early studies of purportedly consensual sex in women's prisons reported that prisoners formed "pseudofamilies" and dyadic sexual relationships that mimicked domestic familial relationships outside of prison. More recent research reports that women prisoners who choose sexual relationships do so primarily for economic reasons (to get money or goods from commissary), and many women prisoners emphasize the manipulative nature of most sexual relationships between inmates. However there continue to be some reports of caring, intimate relationships among women prisoners.

Some sources report that female prisoners are much more likely to be sexually assaulted by staff members than are male prisoners (Human Rights Watch 1996). Assaults or harassment by staff members have produced a considerable amount of litigation, and women prisoners appear to be somewhat more successful in the courts than are male prisoners.

Pregnant women prisoners face particular challenges. Access to adequate health care is not always available. In addition, most prisons either prevent or restrict greatly women prisoners' access to abortions. Although some prisoners have brought legal challenges to the denial of access to abortion, these challenges have usually been unsuccessful as courts have applied a legal standard that is deferential to prison administrators.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS, IMMIGRATION DETENTION, AND NON-U.S. PRISONS

Some researchers have suggested that the rates of sexual assaults may be higher for juvenile offenders and in immigration detention centers. In immigration centers, overcrowding, inadequate access to counsel or outside monitors, and cultural and language differences appear to create a higher prevalence of sexual assaults (Stop Prisoner Rape 2004). When juveniles are incarcerated in adult prisons, they are estimated to be five times more likely to be victims of sexual assault (Stop Prisoner Rape 2006).

The few available studies that address sex in prisons outside the United States report assault rates from 1 percent (Banbury 2004) to 2 percent (Butler et al. 2002). One study found a higher victimization rate of 5 percent for sexual coercion (defined more broadly than rape) (Banbury 2004). There is no evidence of racial patterns to sexual abuse in foreign prisons, although this is an area on which there has been very little research.

SEXUAL HEALTH

Among both male and female prisoners, the rate of sexually transmitted diseases is higher than in the general population. HIV and AIDS are particular problems; reports at the state level in the United States estimate that prison populations have HIV-infection rates of three to five times the infection rate of the population as a whole. In the United States, prisons are required by law to provide basic medical care to inmates, but the quality of care actually provided is often insufficient. Most prisons do not make condoms or other forms of protection available to prisoners.

CONCLUSION

Sex and sexual identities appear to structure the experience of incarceration in profound ways. Even beyond the specific acts of sex, harassment, or sexual stereotyping discussed above, there is a further way in which prison is inherently sexualized and will remain sexualized even if sexual coercion is successfully reduced. Prison is sexualized to the extent that prisoners remain sexual beings. Prison life precludes almost any degree of privacy. Accordingly the sexuality of prisoners is continually visible to other prisoners and to the prison staff. Measures promoted by the Prison Rape Elimination Act, such as increased surveillance, are likely only to increase the lack of privacy and the extent to which prison life is sexualized.

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Alice Ristroph

PRIVACY

Privacy is the condition of being outside the scrutiny of others. The concept of privacy began in Rome as seclusion or withdrawal from public life. The term has been used in English since the late Middle Ages (c. 1450) to refer to seclusion, solitude, or retirement from public life. Privacy is understood as protection against intrusion into an individual's personal emotions, thoughts, sensations, and experiences in domestic and private life. Privacy thus refers to the realm of the intangible as opposed to being a property right, the benefit of a contract or business arrangement, or an explicit constitutional right in the United States.

PRIVACY AS A LEGAL ENTITLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

As a legal entitlement, the idea of a right to privacy has evolved slowly from expanded concepts of property and contractual rights but seems to have arisen in the nineteenth century as a self-evident principle of Western law. As Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis, a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, wrote in the *Harvard Law Review* in 1890, "That the individual shall have full protection in person and in property is a principle as old as the common law" (Warren and Brandeis 1890, p. 1). As nineteenth-century law courts in both Great Britain and the United States developed a right to privacy, they had recourse to a series of analogies that included protection against bodily injury or assault; the model of nuisance, or protection against offensive odors and noises; libel and slander, or the protection of reputation; and copyright and laws protecting intellectual property. Just as the law protected infringements on physical or proprietary existence, it began to recognize that emotions, thoughts, and sensations deserved similar protection. In addition, the development of photographic and other technologies that made it easy to invade the domain of individual private existence in addition to the increasingly invasive activities of the press made the issue of a right to privacy more pressing in the nineteenth century in both the United States and Europe.

"The right to be left alone," as Warren and Brandeis define the right to privacy, is an intrinsic part of what they called the "right to life." This right is more figurative than literal and refers generally to one's right both to conduct one's private affairs in the ordinary course of existence and to what Judge Cooley called "the right to be left alone–the right to live unmolested by the government and others" (Warren and Brandeis 1890, p. 2). There are several constitutional premises for this right, though the right to privacy is never mentioned specifically in the U.S. Constitution. Some of the first American cases involving the right to privacy were based on the provisions of the Fourth Amendment to the Bill of Rights, which guarantees "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures," and the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. Those amendments protected Americans against the kinds of abuses previously practiced by the British government to obtain information.

Olmstead v. *United States*, a U.S. Supreme Court case involving the conviction of bootleggers that resulted partly from evidence gathered by tapping telephone conversations, entailed a determination of the rights guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment. Although the Court held that government phone tapping was not a violation of the Fourth Amendment, it declared that the rights protected in the Fourth and Fifth amendments of the U.S. Constitution applied "to 'all invasions on the privacies of life.' No exact definition of the term has been found, but obviously it is a comprehensive term and surely includes the right to be left alone." In noting the capabilities of developing technologies, the dissenting Justice Brandeis asked, "Can it be that the Constitution affords no protection against such invasions of individual security?" (*Olmstead* v. *United States* 277 U.S. 438 [1928]).

Later cases proliferated the constitutional bases of a right to privacy. The First, Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth amendments and particularly the Fourteenth Amendment have been interpreted as extending a right to personal privacy. The Fourteenth Amendment provides in part: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of laws." Like the Fourth Amendment, the Fourteenth Amendment does not establish a specific right to privacy, but it suggests a right to live without undue governmental interference.

CONTEMPORARY LEGAL CASES

Since the 1960s many landmark Supreme Court cases defining the right to privacy have focused on governmental regulation of sexual, marital, and reproductive practices. *Griswold* v. *Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965), determined that there is a right to privacy in marital relationships. *Eisenstad* v. *Baird*, 405 U.S. 438 (1972), protected a right to privacy in individual decisions by the unmarried to use contraception. *Roe* v. *Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973), guarded a woman's right to privacy with respect to pregnancy and its termination. *Whalen* v. *Roe*, 429 U.S. 589 (1977), suggested a right to privacy in the disclosure of personal information. In a long series of earlier cases, however, the Supreme Court also found that the rights protected are only those that can be considered "fundamental" or "implicit in the concept of ordered liberty" (*Palko* v. *Connecticut*, 302 U.S. 319, 235 [1937]). By imposing a standard of fundamentalism or implicitness on the privacy rights protected by the Constitution, the courts for a time were able to prevent the extension of any right to privacy to issues of personal sexual conduct.

A series of challenges to state laws that regulated private sexual behavior continued the process of the delineation of a right to privacy. In 1986 Michael Hardwick, who had been arrested under a Georgia statute that made consensual adult sodomy in the home a misdemeanor, challenged the constitutionality of that statute, claiming that private sexual practices are part of the fundamental rights protected by the right to privacy implied by the Fourteenth Amendment. Although the acts took place in the home and although sexual relations are an intrinsic part of the private intimate relations individuals may have with others, the court found that the Fourteenth Amendment "does not confer any fundamental right on homosexuals to engage in acts of consensual sodomy" (*Bowers* v. *Hardwick*, 478 U.S. p. 186). By refusing to include sexual privacy as a fundamental right, the court was able to exclude sexual acts from constitutional protection under any formulation of a right to privacy.

The decision in the Bowers case was reversed in 2003 in *Lawrence* v. *Texas*, 539 U.S. 123. As in the Bowers case, homosexuals were arrested for engaging in consensual homosexual behavior in their home, but this time the court found that the "convictions of two adults for consensual sexual intimacy in home . . . violate[d] adults' due process liberty and privacy interests." The court found further that "the state could not demean the adults' existence or control their destiny by making their private sexual conduct a crime, as the adults' right to liberty under the due process clause gave them the full right to engage in their conduct without intervention of the government" (*Lawrence* v. *Texas*, 539 U.S. 123 [559]).

Although *Lawrence* made it clear that private sexual conduct is a fundamental right protected by the implied right to privacy in the Fourteenth Amendment, courts still refused to recognize a fundamental right to sexual privacy. Constitutional protection for all private sexual conduct was still unclear at the time of Lawrence (i.e., 2003). In *Williams* v. *Alabama*, 378 F.3d 1232 (2004), the Federal Appeals Court for the Eleventh Circuit determined that there is no fundamental right to sexual privacy, that matters of personal autonomy and privacy sufficiently "fundamental" to be protected under the Fourteenth Amendment are fundamental "not simply because they implicate deeply personal and private considerations, but because they are 'deeply rooted in this Nation's history and tradition and implicit in the concept of ordered liberty, such that neither liberty nor justice would exist if they were sacrificed'" (Elimelekh 2006, p. 261). The plaintiff in the Williams case had challenged an Alabama statute prohibiting the sale of sex toys, but the appeals court decided that the state could limit such commerce not only because it was not a constitutionally protected right but also because states can restrict the "sale of sex" as part of antiobscenity legislation.

FUTURE EVOLUTION OF THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY

Because the question of how fundamental specific private practices may be is often a question of contemporary values and ideologies and because the right to privacy is not guaranteed explicitly in the Constitution, the evolution of the right to privacy will continue. At the start of the twenty-first century individuals' rights to their own credit, shopping, and other information are assailed by computer, Web, and global positioning technologies that can track their purchases and expenditures and determine what they read, where they go, and what their medical histories are. Ideas about what may constitute personal information and what aspects of that information may be kept private are likely to occupy the courts in the future.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Closets; Fornication; Foucault, Michel; Fundamentalism; Inquisition, Spanish.*

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Judith Roof

PRODUCTION CODE (HAYS CODE)

The Hays Code, also called the Production Code, was a self-imposed system of regulation that explicitly and implicitly affected the themes, story lines, and tone of Hollywood films produced between 1930 and the 1960s, particularly with regard to the treatment of sexuality.

In the years leading up to the popularization of sound cinema in about 1930, certain segments of the American public had come to believe that Hollywood films exemplified the decline of American moral values. In 1915 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the First Amendment did not apply to motion pictures, and city governments began to ban the exhibition of "immoral films." A series of Hollywood scandals involving drugs, bisexuality, and murder occurred in the early 1920s. Throughout the 1920s general social changes were threatening the cultural hegemony of the Protestant middle class with an influx of "alien" modernism and Jewish and Catholic influence (Maltby 2003). After the Wall Street crash of 1929 production companies feared the financial effects of an impending Catholic ban on their films (Leff and Simmons 1990).

Fearing a government crackdown, Hollywood decided to self-regulate by creating the Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors Association (MPPDA) to oversee the moral decency of sound pictures. The Catholic Church–influenced code was created in 1930 by MPPDA head Will Hays. Although it was not legally mandatory, MPPDA production companies would be fined $25,000 for releasing a non-Code picture, and MPPDA theaters agreed to ban non-Code films.

The Production Code listed three "General Principles," including "No picture shall be produced that will lower the moral standards of those who see it. Hence the sympathy of the audience should never be thrown to the side of crime, wrongdoing, evil or sin." The Production Code also listed a variety of "Particular Applications," many of which applied to sexuality: no nudity, no "sexual perversion" (i.e., homosexuality), no adultery, and no miscegenation. "Scenes of Passion" were to be avoided along with any other treatments that might "stimulate the lower and baser element."

It took four years for the Production Code to be taken seriously by producers. During that brief period, somewhat confusingly referred to as "Pre-Code," Hollywood generated some of the raciest films seen for decades before or after. By 1934, however, the crackdown had been strengthened.

The Production Code had a powerful and wide-reaching effect on nearly all films generated by the Hollywood system over the course of more than thirty years: It affected dialogue, plot, themes, and even the selection of scripts to be produced. On a micro level minutiae such as "seconds per kiss" and "inches between twin beds" had to be recorded and negotiated. In practice the proscriptions were applied with a gender bias, emphasizing restraint of female sexual desire and behavior (LaSalle 2000, Krzywinska 2006).

However, in many cases "unacceptable" issues quietly resurfaced in "coded" form: A time ellipse during a romantic episode might signify actual sex, prostitution was evoked by showing a woman walking alone on the street, and lightly effeminate or butch characters stood in for actively gay ones.

Challenged by new domestic and foreign films with forbidden situations and language as well as by the sexual revolution and the civil and gay rights movements, enforcement of the Production Code began to wane in the mid-1950s. By 1966 it was effectively dead, though it was a direct precursor to the first Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) American ratings system in 1968, a version of which was still in effect in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

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Jennifer Lyon Bell

PROGESTERONE

SEE *Hormones: I. Overview.*

PROSTITUTION

Prostitution involves the exchange of sexual services for money or another form of material compensation. The main reason for becoming a prostitute is economic: the need for income among individuals who lack other job opportunities or believe they can earn more from prostitution than from a conventional job.

TYPES OF PROSTITUTION

The most common type of prostitution involves female sex workers and male customers. This reflects traditional gender relations between men and women: Objectification is taken to the extreme in sex work, in which the workers are valued almost exclusively for sexual purposes, and the existence of commercial sex provides men with an avenue for reaffirming their masculinity.

The gendered character of the sex industry is also evident in its power structure: Many of the managers are men, who exercise control over female sex workers and reap much of the profit. In general, power is concentrated in the hands of male pimps, traffickers, and brothel owners. The exception is the independent worker who is free of third-party control; this includes call girls and some streetwalkers.

Not all prostitution involves female workers and male customers and managers. A significant sector of the sex trade involves male prostitutes who service men. Compared with female providers, male prostitutes are involved in prostitution in a more sporadic way; have greater control over their working conditions (few male prostitutes have pimps); are less likely to have been abused as children, to be forced into prostitution, and to experience violence from customers; are more likely to enjoy their work overall and derive sexual gratification from it; and are less susceptible to arrest or harassment by the police (Aggleton 1999, West 1993).

A much smaller number of male prostitutes service women. Some women buy sex from young men they meet on the beaches and at clubs while on vacation in the Caribbean and other places. Very little research has been done on those female customers, but it appears that few of them plan to buy sex ahead of time, in contrast to male "sex tourists" who travel to another country, such as Thailand, with the express purpose of buying sex.

HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION

The Ancient World In ancient times some forms of prostitution had positive associations. "Sacred prostitution," in which men had sex with a temple priestess, was a way of worshipping a deity. Prostitution existed in ancient Greece and Rome, where it was an accepted part of life. In Greece prostitutes at the lowest level worked in licensed brothels. Those in the highest echelon, the *hetaerae*, were courtesans who were valued for their intellect and beauty. They kept salons where they fraternized with politicians, artists, and intellectuals. *Hetaerae* enjoyed great freedom and mobility unknown to other Greek women of the time (Roberts 1993).

The Romans did not operate state brothels but did attempt to regulate prostitution by requiring prostitutes to register with the authorities and mandating that lower-class prostitutes wear distinctive clothing to set them apart from upright women. Female slaves who had been captured abroad by the Roman legions were forced into brothels or exploited by individual slaveholders.

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance In medieval Europe the rapid growth of towns and cities after the eleventh century caused large numbers of rural peasants to relocate to those areas. Prostitution provided an alternative for marginalized women who could not find other employment. They worked in inns and taverns, in bathhouses, in their own rooms, or on the streets, and some were successful enough to set up their own brothels. Prostitutes also accompanied military and religious expeditions, including the Crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The Christian Church attempted to reform some prostitutes by establishing convents for their rehabilitation. However, during the Middle Ages prostitution generally was viewed as a necessary evil (allegedly preventing rape and other sexual deviance) by both religious and political authorities, and some church leaders participated in or profited from the sex trade. By the end of the medieval period prostitution flourished in most parts of the continent.

Prostitution came under attack in sixteenth-century Europe for two reasons. The first was the Protestant Reformation. The two most prominent Protestant leaders, Martin Luther and John Calvin, were appalled at the Church's tolerance of extramarital sex and campaigned for moral reform throughout society, including closing brothels. At the same time prostitution was associated with a continentwide epidemic of venereal disease, especially syphilis. The authorities closed brothels in many cities and created novel punishments for prostitutes, but elsewhere corrupt officials allowed brothels to operate. This period was marked by unprecedented religious hostility toward the oldest profession, yet prostitution continued to exist because both demand and supply remained high.

Throughout history, whenever prostitution was condemned, there was blatant gender bias: The prostitute was chastised and blamed for a variety of social problems, but male customers and male profiteers rarely were mentioned. A sexual double standard reigned supreme and has continued to do so.

The Modern Era Prostitution in the United States in the eighteenth century was confined largely to major cities such as Boston and New York. By the nineteenth century it had become more widespread as a result of increasing urbanization and the low wages paid to female laborers. Many sex workers were young, single recent migrants to the city who sold sex for a short time and then found other work or married. Their customers included the growing number of single men who emigrated from Europe. In the western states men greatly outnumbered women, producing a huge demand for paid sex. There were red-light districts and brothels in cities throughout the country. Luxury brothels known as parlor houses existed in some affluent neighborhoods and paid their workers well; more modest establishments catered to working-class men. New Orleans was known for having the largest red-light district, Storyville, spanning thirty-eight city blocks. Streetwalkers worked in various cities. In addition, dance halls, saloons, theaters, and cabarets offered sex for sale.

There was, of course, some opposition to prostitution during the nineteenth century on the part of church leaders, women's associations, and reformers, but attempts to rid the country of brothels were ineffective. Prohibitionists were more successful toward the end of the century, when antivice crusaders launched a major war against commercial sex. Prostitution not only was condemned for its immorality but also was linked to other social evils, especially the spread of venereal disease. During the first two decades of the twentieth century vice commissions were formed in more than forty American cities; they conducted investigations and urged officials to abolish red-light districts. By 1915 most states had passed laws banning brothels or criminalizing other ways of profiting from prostitution.

During that period, in both the United States and Britain, the notion of "white slavery" gained currency. Reformers claimed that a large number of women were being forced or deceived into prostitution by procurers who would take them to another country or a different region of the same country. The U.S. Congress gave credence to those claims by passing the Mann Act of 1910, which outlawed the transport of women across state lines for "immoral purposes" and provided stiff penalties for offenders. Britain passed similar legislation. Early twenty-first century scholars view the white slavery campaign as a moral panic that was based on mythical or inflated fears. Contrary to the claims of the moral reformers, relatively few women were kidnapped and forced into sexual slavery (Grittner 1990).

The Mann Act was the first stage in a larger trend toward criminalization. Most states enacted laws against aiding and abetting prostitution, running a "bawdy house," associating with a prostitute, and fornication. Statutes banning solicitation typically applied to the woman, not the male customer, and even as late as the 1960s most state laws against prostitution were gender-biased. By 1930 the era of open brothel prostitution was a relic of the past, and the sex trade became more clandestine. Instead of working in tolerated brothels, women worked out of tenements, dance halls, and other venues. Many others had little alternative but to work on the streets in more dangerous conditions.

CONTEMPORARY PROSTITUTION

The contemporary sex trade is big business worldwide, with numerous providers, customers, and third-party profiteers. Prostitution takes various forms. Independent call girls operate out of their own residences, where they do both in-call and out-call service. Escorts, who provide out-call service, are employed by agencies that advertise in the telephone book and on the Internet. Others work in bars, massage parlors, saunas, tanning salons, and brothels and on the street. Male and transgender prostitution also exists in many cities.

Stigmatization and Motives Because prostitution involves direct sexual contact, it is stigmatized more heavily than is "hands-off" sex work such as stripping and commercial telephone sex. In general, prostitutes are more stigmatized than are their customers even though both are involved in a disreputable activity. This is the case because customers participate in these transactions occasionally, whereas prostitutes do so in an ongoing manner. Also, the popular perception is that those who sell sex (unlike their customers) are expressing their central identity. "Prostitute" becomes a master status that overrides all other attributes and roles. The labels used—*whore*, *hooker*, *harlot*—are emblematic terms of dishonor, yet there are no equivalent terms for the male customer. In addition, there is a cultural double standard by which female sexual behavior is more circumscribed than male sexuality is. By virtue of being sexually aggressive and promiscuous, female sex workers break traditional gender norms for women. By contrast, male customers' behavior is consistent with male sexual socialization, which values sexual conquest and multiple partners as evidence of masculinity.

Sex workers typically attempt to deflect the stigma. They compartmentalize or separate their deviant work persona from their "real identity," conceal their work from family and friends, describe their work in neutral or professional terms (*working woman* or *sex worker*), and see themselves as performing a useful service (keeping marriages intact, engaging in sex therapy, providing emotional support to customers). These techniques are used to reduce stigma and normalize the sale of sex.

A 2000 national poll found that 17 percent of American men have patronized a prostitute at some time in their lives, though the real number is probably higher in light of the tendency to underreport disreputable activity. Customers are of all ages, races, and classes, and about half are married. Their motives for buying sex are diverse: satisfying a "need" for sexual stimulation, fulfilling a fantasy, a desire for a certain type of sex, and contact with a certain type of woman. There are at least three types of customers: (1) misogynists, who are looking for a woman to control or abuse; (2) persons who are interested only in sex; and (3) those seeking friendship or romance in addition to sex. Men who patronize call girls or escorts often are looking for companionship and emotional support (Lever and Dolnick 2000). For some regular customers involvement with a call girl can resemble what has become known as a "girlfriend experience," with some degree of romance and intimacy but without the obligations inherent in a real relationship.

Myths about Prostitution There are a number of popular myths regarding prostitution. One is that the majority of prostitutes entered the profession as teenagers or that the average age of entry is fourteen. The available data do not justify those claims. No study has been based on a representative survey of workers, which is needed to measure accurately the background characteristics of the individuals involved. Representative surveys are impossible in this field because the population is unknown; there is no comprehensive inventory of prostitutes from which a random sample could be drawn. Claims regarding the age of entry or other demographic characteristics, such as racial or class background, are based on small, unrepresentative convenience samples.

A second myth is that most prostitutes are subjected routinely to violence and other kinds of abuse. This claim is not supported by research studies, which show considerable variation in the amount and type of victimization experienced by different kinds of sex workers. Providers who work in brothels and massage parlors or as escorts and call girls are less likely to be abused by customers than are streetwalkers. Most customers do not act abusively; a small proportion are responsible for most of the violence against prostitutes (Monto 2004).

A third myth is that most sex workers were abused physically or sexually as children and the corollary notion that those childhood experiences explain why they ended up as prostitutes. Some prostitutes were abused as children, but that is not the case for most upscale sex workers. Some studies that compare matched samples of prostitutes and other women find no statistically significant difference in their experience of family abuse. Abuse may be one influence affecting some prostitutes' decision to sell sex, but it is simplistic to argue that it is a major causal factor.

A fourth myth associates prostitution with the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Risk of exposure to venereal disease and AIDS varies considerably from nation to nation and city to city and by type of prostitution. HIV infection rates are highest among street prostitutes who inject drugs but very low among call girls and escorts and among women who work in legal brothels in Nevada, Australia, Holland, and elsewhere. Condom use is mandatory in those legal brothels.

Psychological and Health Issues An important distinction is that between street prostitution and indoor prostitution. Although street prostitution has received a great deal of attention, many prostitutes work indoors as call girls and escorts or in bars, brothels, and massage parlors. Street and indoor prostitutes differ in important ways. Compared with streetwalkers, indoor workers generally earn more money, work in safer conditions, are less economically exploited, and are less likely to be victimized by managers and customers (Weitzer 2005).

Consequently, indoor sex workers express greater job satisfaction than do their street-level counterparts. The stress and danger associated with the streets contribute to negative assessments of the work as well as psychological problems. Street workers are also more likely to use addictive drugs and are at higher risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases; many experience routine abuse from pimps. Indoor workers are much less vulnerable to those types of victimization. There is one important exception: Women who are recruited by force or fraud and trafficked to work in brothels are at high risk for exploitation and victimization.

Sex workers' psychological health is associated with a range of structural factors, including their education, motives for selling sex, control over working conditions, resources for protection, and client base. In the indoor sector call girls generally control their working conditions and express greater job satisfaction and have higher self-esteem than do workers in brothels and massage parlors (Weitzer 2005). Indoor workers tend to feel that their work has at least some positive effect on their lives or believe that they provide a valuable service. All the escorts in one study took "pride in their profession" and viewed themselves as "morally superior" to others: "They consider women who are not 'in the life' to be throwing away woman's major source of power and control [sexual capital], while they as prostitutes are using it to their own advantage as well as for the benefit of society" (Foltz 1979, p. 128). Similarly, half the brothel workers and call girls in an Australian study reported that their work was a "major source of satisfaction" in their lives, and seven of ten would "definitely choose" that work if they had it to do over again (Woodward et al. 2004, p. 39). Brothel and massage parlor employees have one advantage over call girls and escorts: They are at lower risk of customer violence (because of the establishment's safety precautions) than are workers who have no third-party protection.

This points to variation not only between different types of workers but also within each level. For instance, some massage parlors and brothels offer much better working conditions than others do, and they also differ in the degree to which workers have collegial versus competitive relations with each other. Street prostitution is stratified by race, gender, age, appearance, and locale, all of which shape workers' daily experiences and earnings. HIV infection rates vary markedly among street prostitutes, with the highest incidence among workers who inject drugs or smoke crack cocaine Drug-addicted streetwalkers differ strikingly from nonaddicts in their willingness to engage in unsafe sexual practices and accept low prices.

Workers in different sectors of the sex trade thus experience different kinds of working conditions and varying degrees of freedom, job satisfaction, victimization, and exploitation. The type of prostitution is so important that broad generalizations about prostitution should be avoided.

PUBLIC POLICIES

There are three main government policies toward prostitution. Under *criminalization* prostitution and related conduct, such as pimping, trafficking, and running a house of prostitution, are illegal. *Legalization* refers to some type of government regulation, including special taxes, mandatory health checks, registration or licensing, and stipulations on the locations in which prostitution is permitted. Under *decriminalization* prostitution is not subject to a criminal sanction, and under total decriminalization it is entirely free of legal regulation. Total decriminalization is rare throughout the world, whereas legalization exists in several nations. In the United States criminalization is the prevailing policy. Legal brothels exist only in the state of Nevada but are prohibited in the large cities of Las Vegas and Reno. In 1971 the Nevada state legislature passed a law giving rural counties the option of legalizing brothels, which already existed in many small towns in that state. In the early twenty-first century there are thirty-five legal brothels scattered throughout the state, with gross earnings of $40 million per year (Hausbeck and Brents 2000).

According to the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports*, approximately eighty thousand persons are arrested in the United States for prostitution-related offenses each year in addition to an unknown number of arrests of customers. The penalties are modest, usually consisting of a fine or a few days in jail. Pimping is a felony subject to harsh punishment, but very few pimps are arrested.

As a general rule law enforcement focuses on street prostitution more than on indoor prostitution, though some cities target both. Gender bias prevails in the criminal justice system, which traditionally targeted sex workers exclusively. In most jurisdictions today arrests of prostitutes far exceed those of customers, and the customers who are prosecuted and convicted typically receive lower fines and are less likely to receive custodial sentences.

Some cities have begun to arrest customers in substantial numbers, though this remains an exception to the rule (Weitzer 1999). Customers are arrested after they have solicited an undercover female police officer posing as a prostitute. Several cities in the United States, Canada, and other countries have created "john schools" where arrested customers undergo a day of lectures on topics related to prostitution. The goal of this intervention program is to deter men from buying sex. Public shaming is another recent innovation. Several cities publicize the identities of men who have been arrested for or convicted of soliciting a prostitute (Weitzer 1999). A substantial number of Americans want customers sanctioned by shaming: In a 1995 poll half the population favored a policy of displaying in the media the names and photographs of men convicted of soliciting a prostitute.

Americans are less tolerant of prostitution than are citizens in several other Western countries. In a 1991 Gallup poll 40 percent of Americans said that prostitution should be "legal and regulated by the government," but a sizable majority in Great Britain, Canada, France, and Portugal favored legalization. In some other Western nations certain types of prostitution are legal; examples include Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, and New Zealand.

THE INTERNET

The advent of the Internet has had major implications for the sex industry and for government efforts to control that industry. Previously, the quest for commercial sex was an isolated individual affair and customers rarely communicated with others about their activities and experiences. The Internet offers unprecedented opportunities for both clients and sex workers. Providers can advertise online, chat with prospective customers, and set up appointments. Several major websites contain message boards that offer a great deal of information from customers: what to expect in terms of prices and services; "reviews" of a worker's appearance, demeanor, and performance; the location of specific kinds of workers (e.g., which massage parlors have Asian workers); and warnings about recent police activity against a particular agency or parlor. Many cyberexchanges also include pointers on appropriate treatment of sex workers, an emergent code of ethics regarding the purchase of sexual services. These sites are a window into the reasons why men buy sex, what it means to them to do so, and how they view commercial sex more generally. At the same time the police in some cities periodically review those sites for the purpose of making arrests of sex workers who advertise or chat there. Thus, although the Internet has created space for the emergence of a new virtual sex trade community, it also has widened the population of individuals subject to surveillance and arrest by the authorities.

SEE ALSO *Gigolo.*

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Ronald Weitzer

PROTESTANTISM

Protestantism derives from the Reformation, which began as a Catholic reform movement in western continental Europe in the sixteenth century and eventually led to the separation of Lutheran and Calvinist denominational churches from the Catholic Church. In addition numerous independent Protestant movements, such as the Anabaptists and the Hutterites at the time of the Reformation, and the Herrnhutters of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) and the Methodists of John Wesley (1703–1791) in the eighteenth century, have grown up outside the original (and continuing) Lutheran and Calvinist denominations of Protestant orthodoxy. From the eighteenth century on there were repeated evangelical revivals, some of which faded away and others eventually leading to the formation of new denominations, most notably the Wesleyan Methodists.

OVERVIEW OF GENDER ISSUES IN PROTESTANT HISTORY

The Reformation was male-led and focused on issues of church order; reformers did not set out to address gender issues. The Protestant leadership and the ministry of mainstream Protestant denominations remained in the hands of men. The Reformation, however, led to a Protestant reordering of aspects of gender relations within pre-Reformation Catholic institutions. Before his break with the Catholic Church, Martin Luther (1483–1546) was an Augustinian monk, ordained as a priest, and therefore living a celibate life. The reformers advocated that ministers be married and favored the abolition of religious orders. Luther himself married a former nun. The alternative to marriage offered by entry to a religious order was henceforth denied to Protestant women. Although the role of the married woman was considered worthy of respect, the Protestant woman was expected to be subordinate to the headship of her husband. The Protestant emphasis on the authority of the Bible led to male headship being underwritten by scriptural warrant arising from dominant readings of key texts, notably the accounts of the Creation and Fall in the (Old Testament) book of Genesis and of the household codes in the (New Testament) letter of Timothy.

There is some evidence of a greater scope for women in movements such as the Anabaptists of the radical Reformation, and in some subsequent evangelical revivals. Women preachers played a significant role in seventeenth-century English radicalism, but subsequently, in eighteenth-century conservative minds, became a symbol of upheaval and social instability. Women played an active and visible part in the early stages of the Methodist revival, but this was discouraged by the male leadership in the early nineteenth century as Methodism became institutionalized as a denominational church: Respectable opinion was thus appeased.

By the nineteenth century leading evangelical women, such as the English religious writer Hannah More (1745–1833), simultaneously promoted women's spiritual equality with men and their social and sexual subordination. On this basis evangelical women street preachers were active in revivals throughout the nineteenth century, and this role was given its most formal expression in the women preachers of the Salvation Army and later the (Anglican) Church Army.

Middle-class evangelical women played a major part in nineteenth-century philanthropy—social reform and poor relief. Through this female civilizing mission in the predominately Protestant countries of northern Europe and North America, women took up leading roles and were active in a variety of causes and campaigns. The evangelical social project at Kaiserwerth, Germany, provided a model that inspired similar activity elsewhere, including Florence Nightingale's (1820–1910) establishment of the profession of nursing in the United Kingdom and the founding of the Mildmay Mission in London. The Dutch Réveil movement was also significant. In the United Kingdom organizations such as the Raynard Bible women and nurses, Caroline Talbot's parochial missions, reestablished Anglican Deaconess orders, and the revived Anglican religious sisterhoods all provided opportunities for women's involvement. Nevertheless, women's autonomy was generally curtailed by control remaining in the hands of male clergy.

The early twentieth century saw the rise of *church feminism*—a term coined by church historian Brian Heeney (1988)—in the Church of England manifest in reform movements for both women's suffrage and church reform. Maude Royden (1876–1956) was a leading figure in both. The Church League for Women's Suffrage was founded in 1909, with Free Church and Friends (Quaker) leagues being founded in the following year. The League of the Church Militant, founded in 1919—superseded in 1930 by the Society for the Ministry of Women in the Church and the Anglican Group for the Ordination of Women—was the first movement to campaign for the ordination of women in the Anglican Church. But the Church of England was deeply divided on the issue. By 1922 this question was also on the agenda of the Methodist Church.

In the Protestant Free Churches, women's ministries had developed by the early years of the twentieth century. Gertrude von Petzold (1876–1952) was a Unitarian minister in the years preceding World War I (1914–1919), Hatty Baker was a notable Congregationalist de facto minister, and in 1917 Constance Todd Coltman (1889–1969) became the first woman to be ordained into the Congregationalist ministry. The Methodist Church approved the ordination of women in 1966, largely because of the initiative of Pauline Webb in reopening the question. In the Anglican Communion moves toward women's ordination took place in a number of provinces—notably in the United States, Canada, and New Zealand—but, in the United Kingdom, the Christian Parity Group, and later the Movement for the Ordination of Women, campaigned for more than two decades against vocal opposition before women's ordination was finally granted assent in 1992.

In sum, nineteenth-century women made some progress by articulating and embodying a female civilizing mission in which women were perceived as bearers of superior spiritual values. This perception of women's specific qualities provided the rationale for women to be active beyond the confines of domesticity. Liberal twentieth-century movements challenged this view, claiming a place for women's agency that no longer relied on claims of women's distinct spiritual qualities. But conservative Protestant movements continue to advocate women's subordination to the headship of men, grounded in an assertion of God-made irreducible gender distinctions between men and women, as bearers of assumed inherent masculine and feminine traits.

Sexual practices and beliefs concerning sexuality are key within these contested views of gender. The nineteenth-century English reformer Josephine Butler (1828–1906), who campaigned against the state regulation of prostitution, criticized the double sexual standard that expected women to be chaste but allowed men the routine use of prostitutes. Her remedy for the plight of, in her view, the women victims of prostitution was to demand the same standards of chastity from men. By the mid-twentieth century, through the influence of sexology and psychoanalysis, an ethos of women as sexual partners within heterosexual relationships had been established, in contrast to the assumed asexuality of nineteenth-century constructions of womanhood. The articulation of homosexual gay and lesbian identity over the same period found expression in the formation of the Gay Christian Movement, with joint Protestant and Catholic membership, during a Student Christian Movement conference in 1976—in 1986 becoming the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement. Thus, the assertions of an active female heterosexuality and of lesbian and gay identities emerged simultaneously. Conservative Protestant congregations and sects resist both developments, advocating the continuing control of female sexuality within patriarchal marriage alone.

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

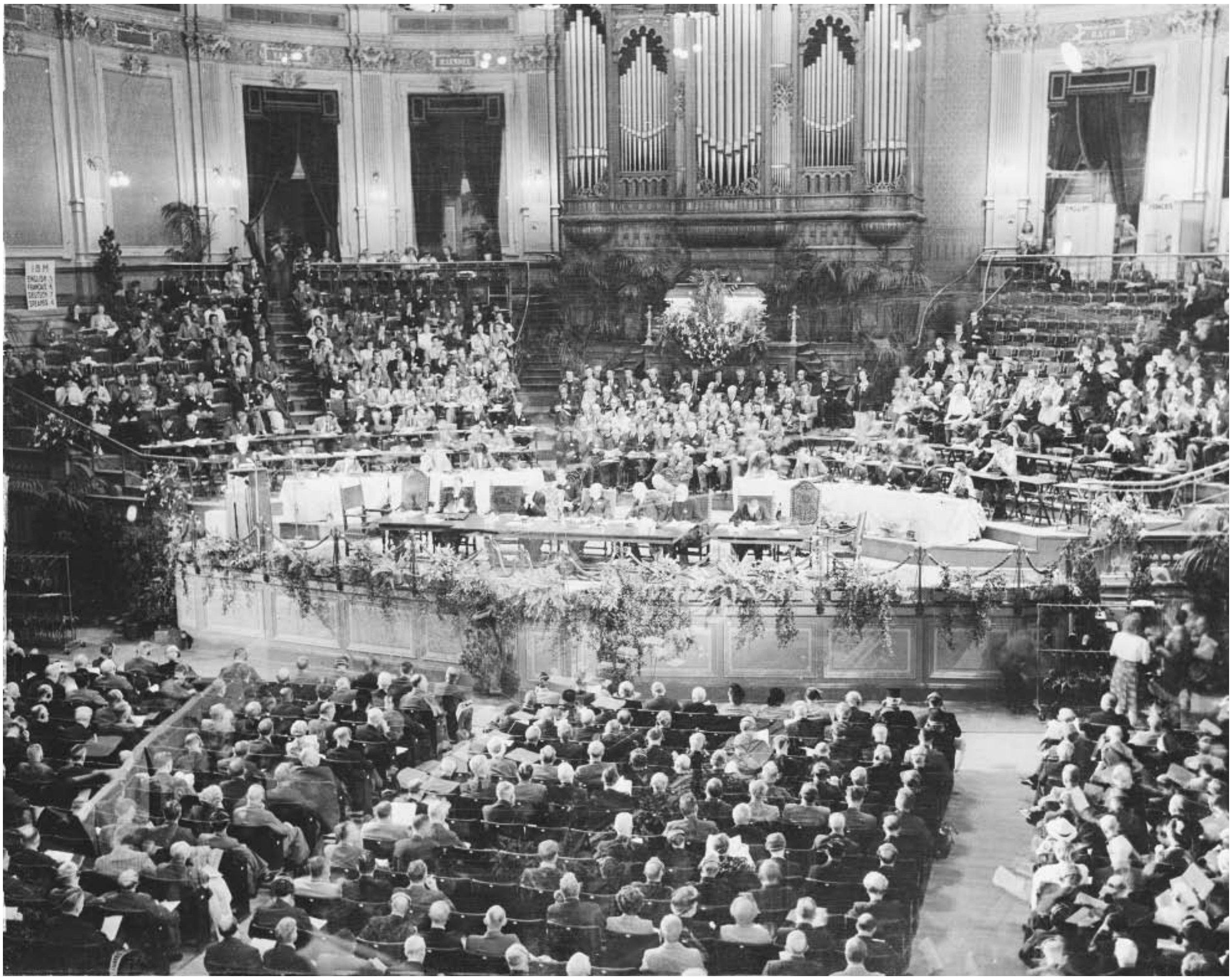
Starting in the seventeenth century Protestant Christianity spread to North America through European migration, and in the nineteenth century it began moving into Africa and Asia through missionary activity from European and North American churches. *Home* churches raised funds to support foreign missions, with women playing a significant role in this fund-raising activity. Women also served as missionaries alongside men. Whereas married women tended to work under the authority of their husbands, the geographical remoteness of many mission stations meant that single women frequently had a greater scope for initiative and self-reliance than women of similar backgrounds who remained at home. Among returning missionaries were those who brought these qualities to early twentieth-century church feminism. Figures cited by Sean Gill (1994) show that in 1909, 824 out of 1,390 Church Missionary Society (evangelical) missionaries were women, 438 of these being single, whereas the (liberal) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1900 had only 186 women missionaries. Despite this contrast the missionary societies portrayed women's work in foreign missions as a call to submissive service, as an antidote, rather than a response, to the growing *first-wave* women's movement, and thus as an expression of traditional gender roles.

Given the assumed superiority of European and North American culture, missionaries sought to impose nineteenth-century gender roles from European or North American societies on indigenous contact cultures. Thus, writing of American missions to the Zulus, Amanda Porterfield (1997) argues that "issues concerning women were central to encounters between missionaries and traditionalists" and that "[t]he Americans regarded the treatment of women in Zulu society as the epitome of heathenism, and held up missionary women, marriage, and family life as the epitome of Christianity" (p. 71). This judgment showed a woeful failure in understanding Zulu culture, which ignored the importance of women in Zulu society and eventually undermined traditionally sanctioned opportunities for their protection, wealth, and status.

This pattern of disruption to traditional patterns of gender relations was widespread in the mission field, with Christian schooling creating gender dichotomies based on a European and North American model. Thus, Misty L. Bastian (2000) cites a Church Missionary Society missionary to Nigeria, the Reverend J. C. R Wilson, writing in 1909, who shows a readiness to judge an African culture by European and North American standards:

> When African children of both sexes roam about at will indoors and out-of-doors without clothing of any kind, until in some cases 18 years of age, & when Christian mothers allow the same unclothed condition to prevail among their own young ones, the innocence of infancy is lost at birth, & how is it possible for the young people to be either pure in thought or chaste in deed? When the older girls and women are unclothed to the waist, & when even among Christian mothers an upper covering is considered a "fad," rather than an act of decency, is it to be wondered at that the young men fall an easy prey to the enticements of the girls? The African Christian woman has yet to learn her responsibility in this direction, & we trust that the Missions to Women held during the year in this District and elsewhere . . . may lead women to see their duty in this matter of Social Purity
>
> *(Bastian 2000, p. 145).*

A gendered separatist schooling scheme aimed to prepare male converts for work in the mission field, whereas, as Bastian puts it, "girls were trained in the doctrines of the Christian faith, to become 'helpmeets' for their Christian male contemporaries and proper mothers of the next Christian . . . generation" (Bastian 2000, p. 145). This Christianized domesticity mirrored that of European and North American middle-class women of the time, and thus created a gulf between the monogamous model Christian home of the missionized



World Council of Christian Churches. *A view of the first business meeting of the World Council of Christian Churches (WCC) in the Concertgebouw Hall in Amsterdam, Aug. 23, 1948.* AP IMAGES.

and the traditional gender roles of the unconverted. The staffing of girls' schools by women missionaries and the need for married missionaries to model the gender relations of the required Christian home generated the demand for women to serve in the mission field alongside men. Further, boys educated at mission schools were regularly recruited as the next generation of teachers, whereas girls left school to be married; thus women missionaries continued to be needed to staff the girls' schools. Kathleen Sheldon (1998) offers an analysis of minority Swiss Presbyterian and American United Methodist Church missions alongside Catholic missions in Portuguese colonial Mozambique. She describes identical patterns of subsequent generations of women missionaries in mission schools training girls for their domestic role as Christian wives in this contrasting cultural and mission context.

The International Missionary Council played a major role in the creation of the ecumenical movement, which was institutionalized in the founding of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1948. As the mission churches moved toward indigenous leadership, the WCC provided a forum for global theological debate and cooperation.

FEMINIST THEOLOGY

With the advent of the *second-wave* women's movement in North America, feminist theology emerged. Although the first feminist theologians were mainly Catholic—notably Mary Daly, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza—the questions they raised pertained to the patriarchal nature of Christianity as a whole, and Protestants, such as Letty M. Russell and Carter Heyward, were quick to respond; Heyward is among those who raise lesbian voices within feminist theology. Simultaneously, the WCC provided a forum for women in the European and North American churches and for Latin American, African, and Asian Christian women to articulate their concerns. The Community of Women and Men in the Church consultation (1977–1981) and the Ecumenical Decade of the Churches in Solidarity with Women (1988–1998) provided a focus on gender issues.

Feminist theology quickly became, Kwok Pui-Lan stated in a 2002 work, an *intercultural discourse*. In the light of feminist theology, Mercy Amba Oduyoye, the leading African theologian, suggests that women's approach to mission is characterized by mutuality, partnership, interdependence, and solidarity. A challenge to the gender roles imparted by the missionary societies is underway. In addition, women theologians have become active in the Women's Association of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT), originally founded in 1976 by male theologians mostly from the global south. Writings emerging from EATWOT conferences have been collected in the texts *With Passion and Compassion: Third World Women Doing Theology* (1988), edited by Virginia Fabella and Oduyoye, and *Through Her Eyes: Women's Theology from Latin America* (1989), edited by Elsa Tamez. The Women's Desk of the Christian Conference of Asia also provides a significant forum for Asian Christian women.

Feminist theology from Latin America, Africa, and Asia shares with European and North American feminist theologians a commitment to the struggle for gender justice. Distinct contextual concerns with class struggle (Latin America), indigenization (Africa), and religious pluralism and interfaith dialogue (Asia) are also evident. Oduyoye founded the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians in 1989, which by 2007 had 600 members across the continent and had done much to raise the profile of women within African Christianity. The Korean theologian Chung Hyun Kyung caused a stir at the 1991 WCC Assembly in Canberra, Australia, with a performative plenary address that interpreted the Holy Spirit in terms of Kwan Yin, an East Asian goddess of wisdom and compassion.

Protestant congregations are spread on a wide spectrum. At one end are those inclusive congregations that welcome the ministry of women and a partnership between women and men in the leadership and life of the church; have embraced inclusive liturgical language; are open to all, irrespective of sexual orientation or practice; and are informed by feminist and queer perspectives in the preaching of the Word. At the other end of the spectrum are those who maintain fundamentalist interpretations of the Bible and seek to retain male headship and the subordination of women within traditional gender roles, rejecting homosexual practice as perverse and sinful. This division exists across the globe: Both elements are to be found among congregations in the global north and those in the south. In the early twenty-first century the Anglican Communion was on the verge of schism over sexuality and gender: The burning questions were whether heterosexuality is compulsory in the church and whether women may be ordained as bishops.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Fundamentalism; Witchcraft.*

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Jenny Daggers

PSYCHIATRY

Sigmund Freud introduced psychoanalysis into the United States in 1909 through his lectures at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. By the 1940s, psychoanalysis and its proponents were having a powerful, controversial impact on American psychiatry. "Dynamic" therapies, such as psychoanalysis, focused on changing patients' motivations rather than on altering their cognitions or behavior. By the 1940s, dynamic therapies were prestigious and were greatly enhanced by the emigration to the United States of prominent German psychoanalysts fleeing Hitler. Dynamic therapies were treatments of choice for those who could afford them, but early on the medical tie between psychoanalysis and psychiatry was determined by James Jackson Putnam (1846–1918), the founder of psychoanalysis in the United States. Putnam was in disagreement with Freud over the necessity that psychoanalysis have a medical base. Although psychiatry emerged as a branch medicine in the first half of the nineteenth century in the Western world, the United States remains the only country in the world to require medical training for the practice of psychoanalysis—in countries other than the United States, one can be a psychoanalyst without medical training, without being a psychiatrist. Although the beginnings of psychosomatic medicine are attributed to the German physician Johann Christian August Heinroth (1773–1843) in 1818, its roots in America were distinctly psychoanalytic and psychodynamic (Scully, et al 2000, p. 136).

One of the first tasks given to psychiatry was to classify mental disorders. Psychiatry began to be applied to those living outside institutions, as well as to those in hospitals, workhouses, and sanitariums. In Great Britain, psychiatry applied specifically to medicine, while in its earliest manifestations in North America it covered the work of other mental health professionals such as clinical psychologists and social workers.

Psychiatry developed in the 1920s and 1930s in the Unites States as a practice characterized by the use of electroshock treatments and frontal lobotomies for those people kept in mental hospitals. Only in the 1940s and 1950s would antipsychotic drugs such as Thorazine begin to be used in treatment of the severely mentally ill. Indeed, in the decades since, psychiatry has evolved as a pharmacological and biological set of treatments for distressed individuals. Even in the twenty-first century, psychiatrists still use electroconvulsive therapy as a last resort for those in extreme distress. The basis for deciding what treatment to pursue followed the social and historical contingencies of science. As a science, psychiatry privileged the most immediately effective treatment methods, comparing a patient's behavior before and after treatment. Women in particular were treated by surgeries in which their ovaries or breasts were removed to cure "neurotic" diseases. It was thought that such surgical treatments could cure patients via the sympathetic arc syndrome (Shorter 1992).

The history of psychiatry's development is, however, often difficult to trace. Elliot Valenstein's *Great and Desperate Cures* is perhaps the most extensive publicized account of twentieth century biological therapies. Indeed, the early sparse history of psychiatry is told more through medical records than through literature on the subject. To quote Michel Foucault, "The new methods of power [were] not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalization, not by punishment but by control" (1979, p. 9). Hydrotherapy, electroshock therapy, and lobotomy were all practices approved by contemporary science. So disturbing were the treatments of the early twentieth century that the 1960s and 1970s saw the beginning of antipsychiatric movements.

"Psychiatric Education after World War II" cites the power and omnipresence in clinical practice of psychoanalysis up through the 1950s (Scully et al. 2000). In 1951, a conference was held at Cornell University to focus on the role of psychiatry in medical education. While the medical knowledge required was neuroanatomy, neuropsychology, and neuropathology, the "new" science of psychiatry was based on psychodynamics. The thrust was to correctly diagnose patients, to differentiate between normal, neurotic, psychopathic, psychotic, and intellectually defective behavior (Scully et al 2000). Since World War II, a great number of changes have occurred in psychiatry. There has been a great effort to increase the number of psychiatric training programs focusing on neuroanatomy and neuropathology. Still, psychoanalytic theory and practice were seen as the highest goal to be obtained. Most departmental heads of psychiatry departments remained psychoanalysts.

By the late 1970s, however, a reaction against psychoanalysis occurred. Schisms developed in departments between those oriented toward brain and those oriented toward mind. The 1990s were marked by the increased use of medical treatments for mental illness; mental asylums and hospitals themselves were largely abolished in the 1960s and 1970s due to cost efficiency concerns (Ragland-Sullivan 1989). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, many of the severely mentally ill end up in the prison system.

In the 1990s the role of the psychiatrist became less clear so far as managed care programs took over much of the practice previously overseen by psychiatrists. Managed care chose the psychiatrist to be used and specified only a few sessions that would be paid for. Indeed, medical insurance tended to cover only care by psychiatrists—not psychologists or social workers—and only for short-term treatment. Although psychoanalysis always tried to close the gap between psyche and soma (mind and body), the swing of the pendulum toward psychiatry as a specialty differentiated it from the rest of medicine and constantly risked obscuring its foundation, psychoanalysis (Ragland-Sullivan 1988).

The contemporary orientation of psychiatry derived from World War II, the effect of which was to bring medicine and psychiatry ever closer (Lipsett 2000). Indeed, one cannot study psychiatry as practiced in the United States in the twenty-first century without reference to its key manual, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. The disorders listed in the manual have become reality paradigms and inform medical and pharmaceutical recommendations for cure. Yet, cure does not seem to be the goal of the *DSM* system, but rather continued maintenance of stable behavior via medication. Insofar as the *DSM*, like the empirical scientific method on which it relies, opposes variables of behavior (its positive data) to a control (some concept of a correct or normal reality to attain), it is far from psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's (1901–1981) theory that scientific proof itself depends upon the function of exceptionality as structurally necessary to explain a phenomenon after the fact (Ragland 2007). Although psychiatry from its beginnings argued that mental disease was an illness of the nerves (Shorter 1992), Freud's revolutionary find rested on the discovery that symptoms of psychic suffering could be made to disappear, or transform themselves into "better" symptoms, upon treatment by talking.

The history of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* as created by the American Psychiatric Association reflects the practice of psychiatry itself. The manuals started as a census-taking venture in search of families whose military members could not be found, but to whom compensation was owed. The *DSM* evolved slowly as a manual that listed "disorders," defined in relation to no particular theory. Rather, the first three manuals were eclectic, even apologetically so. Freudian diagnostic categories, such as obsession and hysteria, remained intact in the first three manuals, alongside object relations theories and various kinds of psychotherapies. But with the *DSM-III-R* (1987), the manual became more aggressive and began to call the myriad disorders cited as themselves the "disease" at issue. The *DSM* goes from the paralysis cited as characteristic of hysterics in the nineteenth century to the "chronic fatigue syndrome" of contemporary medicine (Shorter 1992).

Changing his depiction of psychiatry in *Blaming the Brain: The Truth about Drugs and Mental Health* (1998), Valenstein says that the *DSM-II* and the World Health Organizations's *International Classification of Diseases*, eighth edition (*ICD-8*) "were both published in 1968, but it wasn't long before these manuals were widely criticized. The criteria were found to be ambiguous, and several studies made it clear that diagnostic labels were often being used arbitrarily. The criteria for diagnosing schizophrenia, for example, varied between institutions and between countries" (1998, p. 157).

The *ICD-10* manual was published in 1992, and the *DSM-IV* manual in 1994. Valenstein goes on to say that:

> All of the diagnostic and statistical manuals have been atheoretical and basically descriptive in nature. The authors were frank to admit that the cause of mental disorders, except for those involving obvious brain damage, were not known.. . . The large group of specialized consultants working on the later *DSM* editions split different symptoms into distinct disorders, which often simply reflected the specialized interests of the consultants, rather than any compelling scientific rationale."
>
> *(1998, p. 158)*

In the *DSM*, paradigms of disorders to be treated by psychiatry have become medical and pharmaceutical descriptions of behaviors, without addressing the meaning of the symptoms. The point of the medical method of treatment does not, indeed, focus on cure, but on controlling disorders rather than treating their causes. For example, the *DSM* describes pedophilia as involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child, generally thirteen years or younger. The pedophile will be sixteen years or older and at least five years older than the child. There are exclusive types of pedophiles who are attracted to only one type of child. The nonexclusive type can sometimes be attracted to adults. They believe that the child derives sexual pleasure from them, or that the child is sexually provocative to them. These themes are popular in their pornography as well. Children may be in their own family or outside it. Except for those engaged in sadism, pedophiles usually care about the child's needs to assure his or her affection. This *DSM* description is, then, reduced to diagnostic criteria that merely restate the description given, but in an outline form (*DSM-IV*, pp. 527–528). The *DSM IV-TR* does reference fantasies.

The *DSM* discusses female sexual arousal disorder in two pages, describing it in relation to its onset—lifelong versus acquired. This disorder is, in brief, "a persistent or recurrent inability to attain, or to maintain until completion of the sexual activity, an adequate lubrication-swelling response of sexual excitement." It is not only a medical condition, but an interpersonal dysfunction (*DSM-IV*, p. 500). Hysteria, which was treated in long sections in earlier manuals, has become in the *DSM-IV* three pages analyzing histrionic personality disorder, which is crossed diagnostically with borderline, antisocial, narcissistic, and dependent personality disorders (pp. 655–658).

Because these categories of disorder are not treated as symptoms, the *DSM* implies that no meaning causes a given disorder, and, thus, cannot be found in order to unravel the symptom and the suffering caused by it. Psychiatry, thus, increasingly treats and allays symptoms, instead of addressing their causes. To speak of a symptom as a psychoanalyst instead of a psychiatrist implies that meaning functions via displacement and substitution.

Lacan, a medical doctor and psychiatrist who practiced psychoanalysis, criticizes the logical positivism lying at the base of *DSM* concepts of disorder. Logical positivism seeks to elaborate and classify knowledge based on positive facts available to the conscious mind and observable in behavior. Gone is the unconscious or unconscious desire as the cause of a symptom that might be unraveled through the language and identifications that produced the symptom in the first place, thus alienating a person in language and by the separations or cuts that make humans lacking, less than whole. Insofar as logical positivism lies at the base of conscious knowledge and of the practice of psychiatry, it provides an inadequate framework for qualifying or quantifying mental health or any other attribution of meaning whose proof lies outside the obvious.

Insofar as suffering from sexuality lies at the traumatic base of human suffering—itself a difficult thing to assume for anyone—one will not be enlightened by the *DSM*, which describes "mental disorder": "no definition adequately specifies precise boundaries for the concept 'mental disorder.... nevertheless, it is useful to present a definition of mental disorder that has influenced the decision to include certain conditions ... as mental disorders and to exclude others" (*DSM-IV*, p. xxii). Each mental disorder is, then, described as a "clinically significant behavioral or psychological syndrome or pattern ... associated with present distress ... or disability. ... There is no assumption that each mental disorder is a discrete entity with sharp boundaries (discontinuities) between it and other mental disorders, or between it and no mental disorder" (p. xxii).

Not all psychiatrists have been happy with these new medicalized guidelines of the *DSM* system. Indeed, Don R. Lipsett argues in "Psyche and Soma: Struggles to Close the Gap," that the respect for the individualistic nature of each patient is abandoned "for the sake of *not merely rapprochement with* medicine, but perhaps *even absorption* into medicine" (2000, pp. 179–180). Further, Lipsett argues that although the efforts of many neuroscientists and psychopharmacologists have shed much light on the multiplicity of ways in which the brain functions and potentially connects with the mind, we are reminded that any conceptualizing that veers too much toward the brain runs the risk of evolving into a "mindless" psychiatry.

The authors of the *DSM-III* declare that their language does not classify persons, only disorders. By changing the language of the *DSM-III*, which still used adjectives such as "schizophrenic," the *DSM-III-R* describes, rather, "a person with schizophrenia." The authors have subterraneously shifted the theoretical bias of the 1980 *Manual*, which still equated a person with his or her kind of suffering, to delineate the person as separate from that which causes his or her suffering. In the earlier formulation, the person is not a suffering being, but is a disorder. In this change of language from that used in the 1980 *DSM-III*, the American Psychiatric Association has changed the assumptions about symptoms by gradually exchanging the concept of "mental disorder" for a concept of physical disorder.

Although psychiatry has become increasingly concerned with gender, including the treatment of homosexuals and lesbians as nonpathological orientations to sexuality, there is no mention of homosexuality or heterosexuality in the *DSM-IV*, although it mentions gender disorder and lists several medical dysfunctions under "sexual dysfunctions."

The medically based American Psychiatric Association has imputed a largely biological set of causalities to psychological symptoms. This reflects the American Psychiatric Association's long and gradual swing towards more biological, empirical, and medicalized disorder categories. For example, in 1918 the *Statistical Manual for the Use of Institutions for the Insane* had twenty-two categories of disorders, twenty of them disorders with organic causes. Because nomenclatures used in 1918 no longer applied to the patients being seen who were not veterans, the American Psychiatric Association came up with its new system of nomenclature in *DSM-I*, published in 1952. Many psychiatrists regard the *DSM* as a great advance over the early statistical manual, especially in so far as the word *organic* is not used. Ensuing editions of the *DSM* continued to revise categories and nomenclature, a revision process that has been conservative and driven by empirical research. Removing categories was shunned in favor of adding categories. The issue of what might constitute a category is as large as the question of what *empirical* itself means.

This version of American psychiatry is a world apart from Lacanian psychiatry, wherein psychoanalysis works with the subject as desiring, as *lacking* at the point of desire that first alienated him into the language of the Other, and separated him from partial Ur-objects-cause-of-desire. Here desire is the inverse face of a lack-in-being because the first social desire is to please the other; desire is not only structurally based on lack, but is also creative of alienation into someone else's desire. Lacan's challenge to the *DSM* system is radical and total. He argues that trauma lies in assuming an alienated identity in the first place, one in which the taking on of identity as sexuated is at stake. He argues that the *cause* of dis-order is the cause of suffering itself, which comes from an alienated desire that we take on as our own unconscious language, unconscious language being concrete language that functions as the major tropes of language—metaphor (substitution) and metonymy (displacement). Not only do we suffer from living out someone else's desire, we suffer from the losses that form the subject as itself divided between being and having, between unconscious knowledge and conscious perceptions. The differential categories Lacan evolves are a return to Freud, albeit a radical rereading of Freud. The *DSM-III* claims that "for most of the … disorders … the etiology is unknown. Many theories have been advanced and buttressed by evidence … attempting to explain how these disorders come about. The approach taken in the *DSM-III-R* is atheoretical," say the authors (*DSM-III-R*, p. xxiii).

Instead of seeing categories of disorders as listed in the *DSM*, Lacan taught that the taking on of sexuality as identity involves a trauma regarding being divided from the mother, who is the first Other to both sexes. In learning difference one from the other, each boy and girl is "castrated" or found lacking in terms of being a whole self. This search for completion is a structure that compels humans to search and suffer throughout their lives. This is directly opposite from the *DSM*'s lack of a theory of cause. Depending on how one takes on sexual difference, the Lacanian clinic posits four differential categories: the normative masquerade, the psychoses (paranoia, schizophrenia, manic-depression), the perversions (sadism and masochism), and the neuroses (hysteria and obsession). Each one is tallied by an individual's response to sexual difference that is not gender based, but based on an interpretation of a given masculine or feminine that marks their experience with the lack of being whole. The normative person represses the sexual difference; the neurotic denies it; the perverse subject repudiates it; the psychotic forecloses it. Given these broad categories, each subject, then, goes his or her own very particular way in living out his or her sexuation. The order of the particular is Lacan's fourth category of knowledge, the other three being the real (trauma and sexuality), the symbolic (language and culture), and the imaginary (identifications and narcissism). The fourth is the symptom or *sinthome*. This order is that of the Oedipal paternal metaphor, rewritten since Freud, to include one's interpretation of the mother's unconscious desire vis-à-vis the Father's name signifier, which is a *function* that acts as a third term in separating the early mother-infant symbiosis, not a person per se. Thus, cognitive or undifferentiated somataform disorders are not at issue, but the unconscious formations of an Ideal ego, of a fundamental fantasy, of loss at the start of being, of desire as interfaced with lack. And sexuality and sexuation lie at the center of being, not some disembodied disorder that is not even labeled as a symptom.

SEE ALSO *Eating Disorders; Krafft-Ebing, Richard; Lacan, Jacques; Pedophilia; Psychoanalysis.*

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Ellie Ragland

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Psychoanalysis is both a theory of the psyche and a method of treating psychological disorders. The word *psyche*, a term borrowed from the Greek *psyche*, meaning soul, refers to the human mind. Most psychoanalytic theories understand the mind as a dynamic, organized system that connects to the entire body. The psyche is a complex, multilayered apparatus that operates according to certain processes that react to and reflect an individual's experiences and environment. The psyche is often envisioned as a space with layers, one of which—the unconscious—an individual cannot directly know. The techniques of psychoanalysis are designed to reveal the contents and operations of the unconscious, many of them sexual, to cure physical and nervous symptoms that have no physical cause.

The basic premise of psychoanalysis is that certain mental conditions are the effects of the mind repressing memories, experiences, sexual wishes and desires, and traumatic events. When such material is repressed—or kept away from consciousness as if it had never happened—the mind finds other ways to express and react to such material. These other ways constitute *symptoms*, which represent indirect, often symbolic or metaphorical, responses to the repressed material. The goal of psychoanalysis is to stop such symptoms by tracing and revealing the repressed material that such symptoms express. The theory is that when repressed material is brought to light, the symptoms by which it is otherwise expressed will stop.

Psychoanalysis also conceives of the mind as having multiple layers, some of which are conscious and accessible and others of which are not. It also assumes that the body often reflects through symptoms what the mind hides from itself, that the layers of the mind and the body work together in certain predictable ways, and that experiences and traumas will partially contribute to shape an individual's psyche. Concepts of how the layers of the mind work together are often mechanistic and dynamic, but they also interact with and are formed by relationships and events from the outside world, such as the family, encounters with other people, and traumas.

Methods for discerning and understanding the unconscious have included mesmerism; hypnosis; categorizing hysterical states as revealed by the body; listening to and analyzing what a patient says (the *talking cure*); analyzing dreams, slips of the tongue, and other manifestations of the unconscious; and analyzing stories and case histories of psychotic behavior. Psychoanalysis began as an offshoot of medical practice, but it operates in the early twenty-first century more as an aspect of psychological treatment as opposed to medical interventions made by psychiatrists, which often include the use of drugs.

PSYCHOANALYSIS BEFORE FREUD

Although Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) is probably the most famous as well as the most influential psychoanalyst, psychoanalysis as known in the early twenty-first century started a century before Freud began his work. In the late eighteenth century, Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), a Viennese medical doctor, believed that individuals had what he called *animal magnetism*, which was quite literally a magnetic fluid in the body. If the fluid became disorganized, individuals suffered symptoms that could be cured by using magnets or the *laying on* of the physician's hands to realign the magnetic elements of the fluid. Mesmer believed that for healing to occur, patients needed to have an intense rapport with the doctor, who, by stimulating crises in a patient, could understand and control the symptoms.

Mesmerism seems a far cry from the more sophisticated theories of psychoanalysis, but Mesmer's ideas opened up a field of inquiry in which the mind and body are linked and disorders are treated through the relationship between doctor and patient. Two French physicians, neurologists Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893) and Pierre Janet (1859–1947), continued to develop modes of defining and analyzing patients with physical symptoms that seemed to have no physical cause. Having been assigned to the Salpêtrière, an old Paris hospital crowded with impoverished patients—many of them prostitutes and women afflicted with *hysteria*, or various uncontrollable symptoms thought to be caused by a wandering *womb*—Charcot began working to categorize his patients' maladies. He determined that the illnesses of some of the patients were mental rather than physical, and he used hypnosis to alleviate symptoms. Charcot also took photographs of female patients with hysteria to demonstrate what he thought were definitive stages of the disease. Janet, who followed Charcot at the Salpêtrière, further developed modes of analyzing patients, providing empirical proof of the existence of the unconscious, and beginning to theorize that hysteria and other conditions were effects of the flow of psychic energies. The idea of the psyche as a system that worked around the disposition of energy provided the basis for Freud's ideas about repression, symptoms, and the treatment of psychical disorders.

FREUD'S THEORIES

Freud, who began as a neurologist and studied with Charcot in Paris, offered what became the most far-reaching and influential model of psychic functioning. Beginning his studies with hysterical female patients, Freud developed a talking cure, in which patients talked to him, narrating dreams, feelings, and experiences. By listening to and analyzing how a patient related thoughts and feelings, the analyst could deduce what the repressed material was that produced symptoms. In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), Freud suggested that dreams represent not only the expression of unconscious thoughts but also wish fulfillment, and that dream expressions follow specific rules—a dream grammar—which also indicates the general ways the unconscious itself works. According to Freud material in dreams is often condensed; that is, figures and events are combined in a composite figure. Or they are displaced—that is, they are expressed through material typically associated with other material in the unconscious. By tracing these logics back from the dream material, the analyst could discern the basis for the dream.

Freud believed that sexual impulses and desires constitute much unconscious and repressed material, including both the idea that children have sexual feelings and that their relations with others are formed through desire and prohibitions enforced in the family. The Oedipus complex results from the father's prohibition of the son's desire for his mother. The prohibition takes the form of a threat of castration. Freud believed that many of his hysterical adult female patients were reacting to an early seduction by adults, a theory he later altered by suggesting that fantasies of such seduction might function in a similar fashion.

Freud also developed a theory of mental functioning that worked around desire, the libido (or sexual energy), and the alleviation of excitement. Believing that the psyche seeks levels of lowest excitement, Freud saw mental functioning as an effort to balance and discharge the various excitements that occur in the course of living. The psyche also works as the interrelation of different functions such as the ego, which is formed in relation to others, as a defense against prohibitions, and as a sense of agency for the individual. For Freud most people are neurotic, which means their behaviors in some way constitute a symbolic expression of early childhood psychical conflicts.

OTHER THEORISTS AND FOLLOWING FIGURES

Freud's work was joined by a burgeoning number of analysts, including Alfred Adler (1870–1937), who developed an *individual psychology*, a radically different set of assumptions that derive from the individual's relation to the community. Adler's thought developed in contradistinction to that of Freud. Although Adler agreed that infantile experience is important to individual development, he thought that psychology is derived from two opposing drives: the desire for community and belonging and a desire for individual superiority. Adler's emphasis on interpersonal relationship would form the basis of a psychoanalysis based on the analysis of the effects of those relationships. This mode of analysis, which deemphasized the sexual in favor of the relational, was later known as object relations analysis. Its practitioners included Harry Stack Sullivan (1892–1949), Karen Horney (1885–1952), Erik Erikson (1902–1994), and Erich Fromm (1900–1980).

At the same time, another acquaintance of Freud's, Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), developed his own complex system of psychoanalysis. Called analytic psychoanalysis, Jung's theory set out the ideas of psychic totality and energism as the basis for the organization of the psyche. He invented the concepts of introverted and extroverted personality types. For Jung the unconscious had two aspects: a personal dimension and a dimension comprised of archetypes derived from a *collective* unconscious. The goal of Jungian psychoanalysis was wholeness composed of a harmony between an individual's consciousness and the two aspects of the unconscious. Because of Jung's insistence on the collective character of the unconscious and his rejection of sexual trauma as the basis for mental disease, he and Freud parted ways.

Followers of Freud and Adler continued to develop the precepts of psychoanalysis, some such as Otto Rank (1884–1939) and Anna Freud (1895–1982) working through Freudian ideas, and others such as Melanie Klein (1882–1960) and D. W. Winnicott (1896–1971) developing Adler's insights about the importance of an infant's early relations with other people. Rank worked closely with Sigmund Freud but focused on early infancy, including birth trauma. Rank explored the various cultural manifestations of what he dubbed the *pre-Oedipal*, or the period of separation before the Oedipus complex. He differed from Freud in that Freud believed all neuroses derived from the Oedipus complex.

Freud's youngest daughter, Anna Freud, focused on a study of the ego as it struggles to navigate through desires, conflicts, and the necessities of living, forming defense mechanisms. She concentrated her studies on the psychology of children, developing techniques for treating them, and showing that children manifest similar personality traits and disorders as adults. Child psychology was also the field of Klein, an object relations analyst who adapted Freud's idea that life is governed by the opposing dynamics of the desire to live and the desire to stop living.

Object relations psychoanalysis continued to evolve with the work of Winnicott, a British psychoanalyst who further developed Klein's theories. Focusing on the idea that the psyche is formed in its relations with other people, particularly the mother, Winnicott theorized that a mother who functions as a *good enough mother* must allow the infant to use her to gain a sense of its own omnipotence. This *holding environment* enables the infant to become autonomous. Infants without good enough mothers develop frustrations and *false self* disorders. Like Adler, Winnicott de-emphasizes the sexual in favor of the relational.

Winnicott's work anticipates Heinz Kohut's (1913–1981) later formulations of *self psychology*, which emphasize *self states*, such as one's sense of worth. Kohut thought that to combat the emotional costs of others' negative judgments, individuals continue to need positive and nurturing relationships throughout life.

THE THEORIES OF JACQUES LACAN

Perhaps the most influential of Freud's followers, however, was Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), a French psychiatrist who took up Freud's ideas. Working with psychotic patients, Lacan reinterpreted Freud's work through the insights of philosophy and more contemporary theories of language. Lacan saw the individual as a flexive system that, inevitably suffering the trauma of separation from the fullness of its pre-Oedipal existence, develops language, desire, and drives as ways to fill in for the lack-in-being precipitated by the inevitable recognition that one is separate and alone. Lacan used the analogy of the insight of individual separateness gained by seeing oneself in a mirror to characterize the stage at which infants begin to understand that they, too, will become separate human beings.

Lacan theorized that individuals are formed in relation to how they process this separation or symbolic castration, part of which becomes the process by which individuals take on a sex. He showed that all individuals are formed by prohibitions deriving from the recognition that they are not whole. This lack produces desire, which is itself temporarily fulfilled by objects or people in the world. If individuals have not internalized this basic prohibition, they may become psychotic, which means that they know no limit. As did Freud, Lacan worked through a transferential relationship between the analyst and the analysand (the person being analyzed) in which the analysand projects feelings about others onto the analyst and thereby works through the problems. Lacan also formulated such concepts as the *gaze*, or the sense individuals have of being seen, as well as the idea that all existence occurs through the knotted registers of the symbolic, or the realm of law, language, and rules; the imaginary, or the realm of images and representations; and the real, or the realm of unmediated material existence.

CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES

Psychoanalysis continues as a practice in the early twenty-first century, no longer necessarily attached to the medical practice of psychiatry. Different schools of analysis are practiced throughout the Europe and America, though one mode or another may dominate in specific places. While still practiced in the United States, psychoanalysis has increasingly given way to the psychiatric medical treatment of mental illness; by contrast, in Europe and South America, psychoanalysis is a more often practiced alternative to psychiatric care. Psychoanalysis has become an intrinsic part of literary and cultural criticism, especially in the ways some psychoanalytic theories such as those of Freud, Lacan, and Jung emphasize the importance of literature, myth, and visual representations and provide a language by which critics can understand the operations of desire and sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Freud, Sigmund; Lacan, Jacques; Psychiatry.*

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Judith Roof

PUBERTY

This article addresses the social construction of puberty, or adolescence, and the role rituals and customs play in gender identity.

Puberty refers to the physiological, anatomical, and hormonal changes in sexual maturation. Puberty begins with menarche in girls and the first ejaculation in boys and marks the beginning of adolescence, a complex psychological and developmental process that spans the years roughly from eleven to twenty. Sexual maturation starts this process, but the process of puberty occurs in the context of a social life and is thus influenced by these forces: it is socially constructed. Peter Blos (1979) views adolescence as the *second individuation*. The first individuation is completed toward the end of the third year of life, with the development of self and object constancy. Both periods share the vulnerability of the personality, and there is also urgency for maturational progress. It is hoped that three transformations occur in adolescence: disengagement from the infantile ties to the parents, discovery of orgasm and sexual desire directed away from the parents, and primary identification with one of the parents as an adult. For heterosexuals the primary identification is with the same-sexed parent; for homosexuals the primary identification is with the opposite-sexed parent. These transformations begin with the onset of adolescence, which many writers agree is a recapitulation of infancy. Infantile sexuality, repressed during latency, is revived in adolescence with the reappearance of Oedipal conflicts: the threat of attraction to the opposite-sexed parent and the wish for the disappearance or death of the same-sexed parent.

Puberty is the result of the interplay between the individual experience of physiological changes and the cultural milieu in which the individual is developing. Just as nursery rhymes and fairy tales express the developmental needs of the preschool child, the popular European and North American culture of music, fashion, and movies serves as agent of expression for adolescents' age-specific conflicts, fantasies, and defenses. Children enter adolescence with the mandate to grow up, "an obligation that inspires ambivalence" (Rosenblum, Daniolos, Kass, et al 1999). Themes of loneliness and insecurity are evoked in popular music, fashion, and movies and serve roles for expressing and facilitating the transformation from adolescence to adulthood. One such musical example is: "I can't get no ... satisfaction" (Jagger/Richards, 1964). In fashion magazines clothes project a distinct image of estrangement and preoccupation. And in movies different narratives express adolescent feelings, conflicts, and fantasies. The immensely popular *Harry Potter* series of books and movies is a story reflecting universal feelings that are part of adolescence: an orphaned child, mistreated by an aunt and uncle who resent him, escapes to a school of witchcraft and wizards, and becomes a wizard himself. This is both enjoyable escapist fantasy as well as a narrative for adapting, changing, and maturing.

The successful completion of adolescence results in new modes of dealing with the exigencies of life. Behavior, attitudes, interests, and relationships are more predictable and stable. Specifically, gender roles become established with some degree of comfort, less conflict, and more satisfaction. Family function and dysfunction, as well as cultural values and norms, interact with the adolescent's development of a sense of felt and expressed sexuality. A family and/or culture that facilitates the adolescent's challenges assists in a successful second individuation. A family and/or culture that inhibits the three transformational challenges of adolescence—the lessening of infantile ties, an acceptance and understanding of individual sexuality and gender, and a primary identification with a parent—will see adolescents who fail to grow up.

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Michael Bieber

PUBIC AREA

SEE *Genitals, Female; Genitals, Male.*

PUBIC HAIR

SEE *Genitals, Female; Genitals, Male.*

PULP-FICTION (ROMANCE NOVEL) SEX

SEE *Media.*

Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

VOLUME 4

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EDITOR IN CHIEF

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QUEEN

The term *queen* denotes a gender and/or sexual category that is notable for its simultaneous ambiguity and concreteness: It creates a specific image while subtly eliding what, exactly, that image refers to. Its grammatical function mirrors its social one. It is most often used in conjunction with another word, but it is unclear which word is the noun and which is the modifier. Examples are *drag queen*, *drama queen*, and *scream queen*. Its similarity to the word *queer* is not coincidental, and when *queen* is used by itself (in description of a nonroyal personage), it almost always denotes homosexuality. This can take the form of false titles, such as when Michael Holroyd dubbed the British artist and personality Quentin Crisp "the Queen of Queer Street," or it may be used as a solo adjective, such as in the 1982 film *Victor/Victoria*, in which Robert Preston says of himself "there's nothing worse than an old queen with a head cold."

Queen as a gender position denotes flamboyance and extravagance, but also falseness and impersonation. The person in question is not actually a sovereign. The term is sometimes used affectionately or even in admiration in reference to a revered member of a community or one who has persevered through tribulation. In this sense, it does evoke the regal sense of an actual queen, but it always encompasses the metaphorical nature of the title. It may also be used as a term of derision, relating directly to the feminine nature of the title. Gender positions vary widely within the gay community, and the excessively effeminate are often a focus of ridicule, much as is true in the world at large. As with other terms of disrespect, such as *faggot* and *queer*, the word *queen* has been at least partially reclaimed by the gay community and used as a label proudly. It differs from the other terms, however, in that it is mostly used within the gay community, whereas the other terms are used both within the gay community as well as by outsiders when speaking of members of that community.

The most well-known use of the word queen is in the term drag queen. These are men who dress in exaggerated female garb to mock the obvious gap between their biological sex and their gender expression. In the sense of being overdone, larger-than-life approximations of women who could not actually exist, they are like actual queens wearing formal coronation robes that have never been common fashion. They also encompass the contradictory nature of queenness, in that they are so exaggerated that they clearly are not attempting actual female impersonation, yet they are, at least temporarily, eschewing their maleness, creating instead an undefined space outside normative sex and gender.

As Julian Fleisher notes, the term queen also "connotes someone with a defining attraction to a particular type of person or thing. For example, someone who enjoys, say, Latin lovers is called a 'Salsa Queen'" (1996, p. 5). Because the nature of this usage is to call attention to an attraction or desire or to make public that which is usually private, it is often coupled with a term that would otherwise be potentially offensive. For example, a person who is attracted to African American men can be called a chocolate queen, and a person attracted to Asian men can be called a rice queen. Queens can be attracted to certain activities (e.g., gym queens, people who spend a great deal of time on physical fitness, and circuit queens, gay men who frequently attend massive circuit parties). The term also applies to attitudes or a predilection for certain objects: For example, drama queens cultivate chaos in their life and others'; shoe queens take an unusual degree of pleasure in shoes (this is not the same as a shoe fetishist, but merely implies someone who enjoys owning and wearing shoes and probably has quite a collection). The term queen employed in this manner is commonly used in the heterosexual community as well as in the gay community and can be applied to heterosexual men as well as women.

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Brian D. Holcomb

QUEEN OF SHEBA, MYTH OF

Otherwise known as the Queen of the South (*regina austris*), or variously as the Sabaean, Maqeda (Makeda), Belkis (Bilqis), or Nikaule (Nicaula), the Queen of Sheba first appears in the Old Testament. Competing interpretations of the figure since biblical times have cast her alternatively as a figure of wisdom and faith, or as suspect and even demonized (Ginzberg 1982, VI.292.55). Jacob Lassner has devoted an extensive 1993 study to postbiblical Jewish, and then medieval Muslim, texts and traditions in which she is shown as troubling the natural, binary, gender order of male dominance over women, and being brought to heel by Solomon (Lassner, passim, and esp. 80–83). As a wealthy, powerful woman, she attracted negative gendered readings, and she was denounced by some authors for seizing power from a husband she had murdered, while for others she wrested power from an unjust tyrant. Sheba narratives are deeply gendered in a manner disdainful of or hostile to women, stipulating that the queen's desirability must be neutralized by submission to Solomon's powers, which reaffirm the gender order willed by God, against the usurped power of a woman and her wily tricks to blur gender distinctions. Iconography, by stressing the gesture of kneeling before the king, has also made her an image of subjection and subservience.

NARRATIVES

The biblical tale recounts that she hears of Solomon's wisdom and sets out to meet him, returning to her kingdom as a convert to monotheism (1 Kings 10:1–13, largely repeated in 2 Chronicles 9:1–12). In the later texts of Josephus, her love of learning is emphasized, and she is given the name Nikaule (*Antiquities* 8.6.2ff), a tradition continued by Giovanni Boccaccio in his *De claris mulieribus* (c. 1360–1374; On famous women) and Christine de Pizan in her *Cité des dames* (1405; City of ladies). In the New Testament, the Queen of the South is referred to by Jesus along with the Ninevites as an exemplar, contrasted to the lack of faith of the believers who rejected him (Matthew 12:42 and Luke 11:31). In the Jewish tradition, known in the second Targum (Aramaic translation) to Esther, gender boundaries are stressed. The hoopoe (an Old World bird) informs Solomon that the land of Kitor in the East is ruled by a woman, and that its people do not know how to fight or shoot a bow and arrow. When the queen arrives at Solomon's court, she is tricked by Solomon to lift her skirts while crossing to him over a large glass expanse made to look like a pond: "on her bared feet the king noticed hair, and he said to her 'thy beauty is the beauty of a woman, but thy hair is masculine; hair is an ornament to a man, but it disfigures a woman" (Ginzberg 1982, vol. IV, pp. 142–149). She then put his wisdom to the test with twenty-two riddles. In riddle three, she placed males and females in front of him of the same stature and garb, and told him to distinguish them; Solomon had corn and nuts brought in, and the males seized them with bare hands, while the females took them with gloved hands beneath the garments (Ginzberg 1982, VI, 290–291.46.47).

Historian of religions Alexander Krappe suggested that the warrior queen Semiramis, a masculine woman, coupled with the effeminate Sardanapalus, could be Sheba's alter ego, and that both stories are linked by the motif of donning gender-inverted clothing (Krappe 329).

The medieval Ethiopian *Book of the Glory of Kings*, the *Kebra Nagast*, recounts her departure from her kingdom, her arrival at Solomon's court, verbal interactions with him, and sexual concourse resulting in the begetting of a son, the founder of the Ethiopian dynasty. It was indeed in Ethiopia that she gained the highest importance as Makeda, founder of the royal lineage begun by her son Menelik, even though her biblical kingdom has been ascribed by others to present-day Yemen. The legend of her dynastic foundation was maintained in the tradition of Axum at the beginning of the twentieth century (Littmann 1904). The *Kebra Nagast*, concerned about dynastic history, is sexually specific, and details the trick Solomon plays on her so that she will forgo her virginity and surrender to him. At the same time, it stresses her strength along with her beauty, as the queen first opposes her son's

King Solomon Receiving the Queen of Sheba. MANSELL/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/ GETTY IMAGES.

departure to find Solomon, telling him that she is at once "his mother and his father" (Colin 2002).

In an esoteric Christian tradition, transmitted in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (c. 1260), the queen acquires prophetic powers. Seeking access to Solomon's superior and famed wisdom, because she is herself dedicated to wisdom and philosophy, she is the one who recognizes the wood that will become the True Cross in a makeshift bridge thrown by Solomon's carpenters across a stream. She refuses to walk on it, and instead kneels to worship it. In a slightly different version, she returns to her kingdom and sends word to Solomon that a tree has been found that will bring the end of the kingdom of the Jews: he has it buried in the bowels of the earth, but it surfaces anyway as pond called Probatica (Jacobus de Voragine 1993). This may be the basis for her inclusion in church iconography, such as at the south porch of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres, France, where she can be found among twenty-eight figures of prophets.

INTERPRETATIONS

The queen of Sheba became an early form of the Western gendered exotic, and even exoticism itself. It has thus been argued that the Sheba narrative fits neatly into Western early colonial projects, in England, and, by conflation with the figure of the Bride in the Song of Songs, into an ideological construction of foreign and dark women as dangerous and disturbing temptresses who lead powerful, exemplary male figures astray (Hall 1995). She could indeed be portrayed as black, and was represented as a black woman in Renaissance art (Hall 2000). Her exotic appropriations are most obvious in two Orientalist operas, where she is shown engaged in trysts with a man attached to Solomon's court, and as plotting against the king with her lover who betrays Solomon for her (Gounod 1862; Goldmark 1875). In Karl Goldmark's opera, the wily, seductive queen is clearly counterposited to figures of Jewish identity and religious piety, not only in the plot but through the music as well.

Her stature in Africa stretched beyond Christian Ethiopia. Nigerian folk tradition, perhaps under Muslim influence, conflated Bilqis, lover of Solomon, with the figure of Bilikisu Sungbo, a powerful, childless widow who wanted a funerary monument in her name and was buried at the Eredo of the ancient kingdom of Ijebu-Ode. The Eredo is a boundary site consisting of a thousand-year-old, hundred-mile-long rampart ditch, in places seventy feet deep. There is an annual pilgrimage of hundreds of thousands of Christians and Muslims alike, visiting Bilikisu Sungbo's grave, a magical shrine in a grove of tall trees (Dosumu 1955, Pearce 1999, African Legacy). Yet this worship of the queen remains based on a normative script as the lover of Solomon and mother to a son.

A different positive gendered reading of the Sheba figure was offered in the twentieth century by Afrocentrist critics, who, basing themselves on the narrative itself and on common associations of female figures with wisdom, have interpreted her as an allegory of wisdom and the Afrocentrist heuristic process, harbinger of a distinct, non-Western form of knowledge (Monges 2002).

SEE ALSO *Legends and Myths; Queens; Sex, Race and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

QUEENS

Queens are female sovereigns. A queen regnant rules a kingdom in her own right (or, in rare cases, by sharing power with a king). A queen consort is the wife of a reigning king but is not a part of the government and has no official power to rule. Regardless of their legal authority, many queens consort have held great power. In many cases a queen consort has served as regent following her husband's death until her child comes of age to rule, thus effectively having control of government. More rarely, some queens consort have succeeded their husbands to the throne, either by force or by popular demand. In most cultures patrilinear primogeniture has traditionally applied, meaning that title and power is passed from a male to his oldest son, then to other males. Although rare, women can inherit titles and power, thus becoming queens regnant, if no other males survive to inherit. In some cultures women are specifically excluded from inheriting the power to rule (e.g., in France, this is due to the Salic law), but even in those cultures queens consort have sometimes held actual power, if not in title. The longest continuous hereditary succession without a queen regnant was the Peacock throne of Persia (Iran), whose last shah was overthrown in 1979. Since 1980 Sweden and Nepal have adopted a rule of absolute primogeniture, meaning that the oldest child of a monarch inherits title and power regardless of sex. Other countries have considered adopting such rules, whereas Japan, which went most of the late twentieth century without a male royal birth, may be forced to amend its constitution to allow women to inherit. The Netherlands has also lacked male royals and has had female sovereigns since 1890.

Kings and queens serve both practical and symbolic functions. Regardless of the amount of political power they hold (if any), their primary role is to parent heirs to the throne, thus assuring stability and continuity of government. Thus, monarchs are distinctly sexualized because their primary function is reproductive. Queens, in particular, are often considered primarily as mothers of future monarchs, and their sexual and reproductive practices become a matter of public concern. The ways that individual queens manage their official and reproductive duties are often definitive of the way they are publicly perceived. Queens are unique among governmental figures in that their sexual lives are fully part of their public lives and often determine their legacy. A number of historical queens are famous as sexual or sexualized beings. Others are known for particularly astute or powerful control over government. A smaller number combine those qualities, and fewer still manage to avoid accusations of their political effectiveness as being based on their sexual control over others.

ANCIENT QUEENS

Hatshepsut Hatshepsut (fifteenth century BCE) is recognized as the first female pharaoh of Egypt. She was married to her half-brother, Thutmose II, and ruled with him as coregent for thirteen years. Upon his death she reigned alone for twenty-two more years, effectively usurping the throne from her nephew. She is known to have fostered very strong trade relations with other countries, bringing a great deal of wealth to Egypt. Her tomb is a massive complex of terraces and balconies built at the foot of a cliff at Deir el-Bahri near the Valley of the Kings and is her most lasting legacy. The removal of names of deceased pharaohs from monuments was common practice in ancient Egypt, but for reasons still unknown, Hatshepsut's name was excised from almost all records. Without the obviousness of her funerary complex, she may have been forgotten. Her unusual status and the lack of concrete information about her have made her the subject of many works of historical fiction.

Nefertiti Nefertiti was the wife of Egyptian Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (later Akhenaten) in the fourteenth century BCE. Sources indicate she played a variety of roles, including holding political power. She was likely the stepmother or stepsister of Pharaoh Tutankhamun. She is most famous for a bust of her, which was produced by Thutmose and copied widely by Egyptian artists. It has been seen, along with the Venus de Milo, as a model for feminine beauty for millennia. The original was found in 1912 and is now on display in Berlin.

Helen Helen, a mythological Queen of Sparta, was a beautiful woman whose abduction by Paris is often credited as the cause of the Trojan War. Although archaeological evidence suggests that Troy and other Greek city-states fought a war, probably in the thirteenth or fourteenth century BCE, there is no concrete proof that Helen actually existed or that she was in any way involved in the war. The legends of Helen are numerous, however, with sources including Homer's epic poems *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* (sixth to seventh century BCE), Euripedes's play *Helen* (fifth century BCE), and the Trojan Cycle of the *Cypria* (seventh century BCE).

According to legend Zeus fell in love with Leda and came to her in the form of a swan. The two mated and Leda produced an egg from which Helen was born. Leda married Tyndareus, the king of Sparta, making Helen a royal princess. Her beauty brought her many powerful suitors, and she eventually married Menelaus, who succeeded Tyndareus as king of Sparta. Some years later she was visited by Paris, a prince of Troy, who had been promised Helen as a prize by the goddess Aphrodite. Sources disagree as to whether Helen fell in love with Paris and went to Troy with him willingly or was abducted against her will. Menelaus gathered the kings of other Greek city-states to join him in waging a ten-year war on Troy to secure the return of his queen. Although a political war its direct cause was Helen, who was prized for her beauty. The number of forces engaged in the war led to Helen's label as *the face that launched a thousand ships*. After the fall of Troy Menelaus took Helen back to Sparta, although the state of their marriage from then on differs in almost every account.

Jezebel Jezebel is a name for two different women in the Bible, neither of whom is fully identified. In popular use the two different figures are often merged into a single entity. The first Jezebel was a queen of ancient Israel and is mentioned in 1 Kings. During the reign of her husband, King Ahab, she persecuted the priests and prophets of Israel (most particularly the prophet Elijah) and opened temples to the god Baal, thus leading the people of Israel away from monotheism. After Ahab's death she held power through her sons, who each held the throne for short periods. She is therefore a controversial and divisive figure but not for reasons related to sexuality. In the New

Testament a woman named Jezebel appears in Revelations. She is a figure of complete debauchery, encouraging sexual licentiousness and desecration of sacred offerings, as well as the worship of idols. In popular culture the two Jezebels have become linked, and most identify Jezebel as a queen known for sexual deviance and immorality. The name *Jezebel* is often applied to women who are considered immoral, often for sexual activity.

Queen of Sheba The Queen of Sheba (who is unnamed in the Bible but is sometimes called Makeda, Bilqis, Nikaule, or Nicaula in other traditions) was the ruler of Sheba, an ancient kingdom on the Red Sea, probably in modern-day Ethiopia, Eritrea, or Yemen. In the Hebrew Bible (1 Kings and 2 Chronicles), the Queen of Sheba traveled to Jerusalem to test the famed wisdom of Solomon. Impressed by him she gave a blessing to the God of his people, they exchanged gifts, and she returned to her country. Legends developed from this event, including the belief that Solomon and the queen were lovers. Some even attribute the erotic poetry in *The Song of Solomon* to Solomon's love for the queen, although most assume the dark-skinned female lover mentioned is Solomon's wife. A variety of apocryphal stories emerged, including that Solomon's reaction to the Queen of Sheba's hairy legs gave rise to the use of depilatories by women. First-century CE Jewish historian Josephus claims that Sheba gave birth to a son fathered by Solomon who would become Menelik I, the first emperor of Ethiopia. The line of Ethiopian kings claiming descent from Solomon was unbroken until 1974, when Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed. The link to Solomon is also responsible for Ethiopian claims as a lost tribe of Israel and guardians of the Ark of the Covenant. Little evidence, including a name, exists for the Queen of Sheba, but she remains mythologized as a powerful woman seduced by a powerful man.

Cleopatra Cleopatra VII of Egypt (69–30 BCE) was a pharaoh of Egypt, the last of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, and the final independent pharaoh before Egypt was incorporated into the Roman Empire. Cleopatra and her younger brother, Ptolemy XIII, became corulers when their father died in 51 BCE. Although female corulers were common in Egypt, they were expected to be subordinate to their husbands and were invested only symbolically with power. Cleopatra, however, dominated her younger comonarch, leading him to exile her in 48 BCE. Ptolemy formed an alliance with Rome but in a diplomatic error angered Julius Caesar, who took control of Egypt.

Cleopatra returned from exile rolled into a carpet given to Julius Caesar. When it was unrolled she emerged from it naked, presenting herself to Caesar. Although he was thirty years her senior, the two became lovers, and she gave birth to Caesar's son, Caesarion, in 47 BCE. Caesar overlooked Caesarion and named a distant nephew, Octavian, as his heir. Cleopatra's brother died under mysterious circumstances in 44 BCE, making Cleopatra and Caesarion corulers. In 42 BCE Cleopatra met Mark Antony on a state visit and became his lover. In 40 BCE she bore him twins, and when he returned to Egypt in 37 BCE, he married her (although he was already married to a Roman woman) and lived in Egypt until his death in 30 BCE. When Roman forces led by Octavian attacked Egypt, Antony committed suicide, followed by Cleopatra a few days later. According to legend she put two asps into a basket of figs from which she ate, knowing that she would be bitten.

Although there is evidence that Cleopatra was quite plain in appearance, she is nonetheless popularly conceived of as a beautiful seductress. It is true that she convinced two of the most powerful men in the world to be her lovers, at least one through presenting herself to him naked. Some see her actions as opportunistic and self serving, but others view her as using her savvy and intellect to endear herself, and thus Egypt, to men who had the power to destroy both.

Theodora Theodora (c. 500–548 CE) was empress of the Byzantine Empire and wife of Emperor Justinian I. Her background is poorly documented, although it is known that she was born into the lower classes and rose to fame as an actress specializing in physical, often eroticized comedy. Some sources also claim that she had been a well-known courtesan and was scandalous and ridiculed among the elite. It is unclear how she came to Justinian's attention or why he considered her to be suitable as a bride. They married in 523, however, and he made her coruler. She seems to have been well suited to government and politics, and Justinian endowed her with actual, not merely symbolic, power. Many of her initiatives involved the rights of women. She is the first recorded official Byzantine proponent of abortion; she also publicly proclaimed women's right to commit adultery. In addition to her voicing her opinions, she accomplished a great deal of legislation concerning women, including revoking the ban on nobility marrying lower-class women. She also outlawed forced prostitution, gave women rights in divorce, and established severe penalties for rape, including the death penalty. She is seen by many women as a champion of power and rights for women but is recognized by the Orthodox Church (who made her a saint) as a woman of exemplary morality who opposed prostitution.

Empress Suiko Empress Suiko (554–628 CE) was the first female emperor of Japan. A royal princess from birth she was consort to her half-brother, Emperor Bidatsu. She bore him several children and eventually became his official wife after the death of his first wife. After Bidatsu's death her brother became emperor for a brief period. Upon his death Suiko was asked to take the throne to avoid a civil war among rival families over the succession. She ruled from 593 to 628, and although princes were established as her regents, she is considered to have held considerable power. In addition to having risen to power via an incestuous marriage, she is remarkable in that after her husband's death, she became a Buddhist nun. She is responsible for official recognition of Buddhism in Japan and ruled as a nun. She also adopted the Seventeen-Article Constitution in 604 CE. Rather than a legal document, it was a treatise on the moral codes underlying the Japanese monarchy, stressing the kind of virtues expected of a monarch and government officials to ensure and legitimate an absolute monarchy.

Zenobia Zenobia (third century CE) was queen of Palmyra, an ancient city located in modern Syria. She is descended from several important families in the ancient Middle East and Greece and claimed Dido of Carthage and Cleopatra of Egypt as ancestors, although these claims are doubtful at best. Beautiful and well educated she married Septimius Odaenathus, King of Palmyra, around 258 CE In 267 CE, her husband and his son from his first marriage were assassinated, leaving Zenobia as regent until her own son came of age to rule. She did not merely maintain the kingdom but expanded it, leading her army to conquer Egypt in 269. She then conquered much of Asia Minor and the Levant before expanding eastward toward the Euphrates River. Her forces were finally defeated by the Roman Emperor Aurelian, who took Zenobia and her son to Rome as captives. Zenobia entered Rome in golden chains as part of Aurelian's victory procession. He and the Romans were so taken with her beauty that she was freed. She established herself as a socialite and a woman of education and eventually married a Roman senator. She is known for both her beauty and her education as well as being one of the few documented warrior queens who assembled an important empire.

Boudica Boudica (also spelled Boudicca or Boadicea) was a first-century CE Celtic queen in Britain. When her husband died the Romans forcibly annexed his kingdom (in current-day Norfolk), Boudica was flogged and her daughters were raped. In response she led an uprising against the Romans, destroying three Roman cities (including Londinium, now London), burning them to the ground and killing between 70,000 and 80,000 people. The Romans eventually rallied and defeated her, reclaiming their lost territories. Boudica was forgotten through the Middle Ages (476–1350), but a Renaissance (1350–1600) find of ancient texts helped historians rediscover her. Particularly in the Victorian era she was recognized as a national hero. In 1905 a statue of her was placed on Westminster Bridge next to the Houses of Parliament.

Amalasuntha Amalasuntha (sixth century CE) was a queen of the Ostrogoths in Italy. As regent for her young son she attempted to bring the Gothic and the Byzantine Empires closer together through negotiations with Justinian I, husband of Theodora. After her son's death in 534, she took her cousin Theodahad as her coruler and was murdered in her bath on his order in 535. Totila, one of Theodahad's successors, sacked Rome in 546.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE QUEENS

Eleanor of Aquitaine Eleanor (1122–1204) was queen consort of France then queen consort of England; in addition, she held the French region of Aquitaine in her own right, making her one of the most powerful women of the medieval period in Europe. She was married to the heir to the throne of France, but the marriage contract stipulated that Aquitaine and France would not be merged until the following generation, keeping Aquitaine in Eleanor's own control. Her husband entered into a series of religious conflicts in France leading to the deaths of thousands of people. To atone he agreed to the Pope's wish for him to go on a crusade to Jerusalem; Eleanor accompanied him, one of the few noble women to go on a crusade. A massacre en route was popularly blamed on a delay caused by her excessive baggage, even though this had little to do with the events, and her popularity in Europe decreased. Her experiences on the crusade led to her opening trade with Constantinople for the Aquitaine and later for England, a major economic development. Her lack of popularity among the French and the lack of a male heir (Eleanor and Louis had two daughters) caused Louis to annul their marriage. The Church granted his request based on the fact that he and Eleanor were third cousins and thus not eligible to marry. Their daughters became illegitimate and Eleanor retained control of Aquitaine.

Immediately after her annulment, Eleanor proposed marriage to Henry of Anjou, Duke of Normandy. Not only did she take the lead in their courtship, but she had been rumored to have previously taken Henry's father as one of her many lovers. In 1154, two years after their marriage, her husband became King Henry II of England. They had eight children, two of whom (Richard and John) would become kings of England. Her husband was openly unfaithful, fathering many illegitimate children and carrying on a long-term relationship with

Rosamund Clifford. Eleanor seems to have accepted Henry's infidelities, although their marriage became strained over Henry's desire to rule Aquitaine independently of Eleanor. In 1173 their son Henry attempted to depose his father, and Eleanor encouraged her other sons to join the revolt. Her husband put down the revolt, captured Eleanor, and imprisoned her in various castles in England for the next fifteen years. It is this period of their marriage and power struggle that was fictionalized in James Goldman's 1966 play *The Lion in Winter*. From 1184 to 1189 Eleanor was free to travel but was kept under guard by Henry. Upon Henry's death in 1189 Eleanor was freed and her son Richard was crowned. He went on the Third Crusade, leaving Eleanor as regent in his absence. After Richard's death and John's accession, she was a trusted advisor and political ally. Eleanor is famed both for her sexual freedom as well as for her political power.

Katun Börte Ujin of Mongolia Börte (twelfth and thirteenth centuries CE) was the wife of Genghis Khan, the founder of the Mongol Empire. Her father married her to Genghis (then called Temujin) at age seventeen to form a political alliance. Immediately after the marriage Börte was kidnapped by a rival tribe, raped, and held captive for eight months. She gave birth to a son shortly after she was recaptured by Temujin; the unknown parentage of the son clouded the issue of succession. After Temujin became Khan Börte was crowned his empress, and she became one of his most trusted advisors. She was left in charge of the Mongol homeland while Genghis was on his military campaigns.

Catherine de' Medici Catherine (1519–1589) was the daughter of Lorenzo II de' Medici, ruler of Florence, and a French princess. She inherited the title Countess of Auvergne from a maternal aunt. Her second marriage was to Henry II of France, who also had a lifelong relationship with Diane de Poitiers, whom Catherine exiled following her husband's early death. She ruled as regent for her young son François II, who died young, and for her second son, Charles IX. She held power for many years and was particularly deft at handling the internal struggles of the French wars of religion between Catholics and Protestants. As Victoria I of England did three centuries later, she succeeded in marrying her children into the most influential dynasties of Europe, thus creating familial ties among many of the monarchs of the day. Her third son, Henri III, took the throne late in Catherine's life, but her power had waned by this point, and he ruled independent of her influence.

Elizabeth I Elizabeth I of England (1533–1603) was the first major queen regnant of England and Ireland. She succeeded her half-sister Queen Mary (also known as Bloody Mary for her ruthless burning of Protestants) and Queen Jane (also known as the Nine Days' Queen and often not considered an actual queen). She came to power in a period of religious and political turmoil. Her father, Henry VIII, had refused to recognize the authority of the Pope while remaining a Catholic. His son Edward VI was a staunch Protestant and continued his father's religious reforms. Mary was a devout Catholic who reversed the Reformation and reestablished ties with Rome. Elizabeth is known for a hands-off religious polity in which she maintained the authority of the monarchy over that of Rome but chose to not openly support or outlaw most religious practice, herself a practicing Protestant. This stance, combined with her lengthy reign following several short ones, allowed England to settle into a largely peaceful domestic period. Her foreign policy was strong yet restrained. Her predecessors had all but bankrupted the crown through unsuccessful wars with France and alliances with foreign powers. Elizabeth largely focused on maintaining the stability of the English nation without concern for expansion. Her greatest military success was the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Elizabeth is given credit for the victory largely due to her speech to the troops at Tilbury, in which she declared "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a King of England too!"

Aside from her political and military prowess, Elizabeth is well known for her refusal to marry, causing her to be referred to as *the Virgin Queen*. The colony (now state) of Virginia in North America was named after her. Whether Elizabeth was actually a virgin has been a subject of much debate; her status as virgin stems from her unmarried status. She certainly was in love with men throughout her life. Her earliest infatuation seems to have been with Thomas Seymour, the fourth husband of her stepmother Katherine Parr. Rumors of an illegitimate child born of their relationship circulated, but nothing more than some overly affectionate embraces has ever been determined to take place. The most long-term love of her life was with Sir Robert Dudley, one of her courtiers, but they never married or publicly announced their love. As a queen with no heir Elizabeth was much sought-after for marriage, and she often used this to her political advantage in international dealings. She died unmarried and without heir, ending the Tudor Dynasty and passing the crown to James VI of Scotland, the son of her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots. He became James I of England and joined the crowns of England and Scotland into the United Kingdom.

Mary, Queen of Scots Mary Stuart I (1542–1587) is the most famous of all Scottish monarchs, although her fame derives from scandal more than from political acumen. The only child of King James V of Scotland, she became queen at the age of six days when her father died. Afraid for her safety her French mother sent the child to live with her relatives on the Continent, where she grew up speaking French and eventually marrying François II, making her queen of France. After his death less than a year into his reign, Mary returned to Scotland and reclaimed her throne. She ruled as a foreigner and an outsider, however, and never truly came to understand the Scots. As a descendant of Henry VII of England, she had a claim to the English throne, making her a rival to Elizabeth I. For much of her life Elizabeth (whom she never met in person) promised to name Mary as her heir assuming Elizabeth had no children. Mary made a series of unwise political moves, including marriage to Lord Darnley without the consent of Elizabeth or any of her own advisers. She took a series of foreign officials into her confidence, excluding the Scottish nobility, and was also criticized for having a series of lovers rather openly. She was later implicated in Darnley's death, the first recorded regicide by explosion. She was forced to abdicate by the Scottish nobility and was later tried for treason in England and beheaded at the order of Elizabeth I. Although an unwise ruler Mary is romanticized by many as a woman who put passion ahead of her status as queen.

LATER QUEENS

Christina of Sweden Christina (1626–1689) became queen regnant of Sweden at age six during the turbulent years of the Thirty Years War with Germany. She is often considered a selfish queen, caring more for the arts and her study of the sciences than for her official duties. She refused to marry and provide an heir to the throne, sided with the aristocracy against the lower classes in many disputes, and nearly bankrupted the crown by creating and funding new noble titles. She favored Catholicism and had no patience with Protestants, even though queen of an overwhelmingly Protestant country. In 1654, at the age of twenty-seven, she abdicated her throne in favor of her cousin Karl X Gustav, converted to Catholicism, and moved to Rome. When Gustav died in 1660 she attempted to return to Sweden and reclaim her crown, but the people rejected her. She returned to Rome where she lived until her death. She is one of only four women to be buried in St. Peter's Basilica.

Mabola Bai of Bhopal Mabola Bai (1715–1795) was the wife of Yar Mohammad Khan of Bhopal, India. Her background is uncertain, although she seems to have been of noble birth and likely was a Hindu. She was part of Yar's victory spoils in his campaigns to gain control of the Bhopal region. Mabola Bai was childless but was stepmother to Yar's children from his Muslim wives. After Yar's death his sons were ineffective rulers, and Mabola Bai ruled in their names for almost fifty years until her death in 1795.

Marie Antoinette Marie Antoinette (born Maria Antonia Josefa Johanna von Habsburg-Lothringen, 1755–1793) was married to King Louis XVI of France at age 15 and was the queen of France during the French Revolution. She is most famous for her extravagant tastes and expenditures on luxuries. Most likely she was no more extravagant than many other royals of her day and before, but in contrast to the majority of French citizens of the day, she is remembered as caring only for her own comfort over those of her people. She was executed by guillotine on October 16, 1793, during the Reign of Terror.

Catherine the Great Catherine II of Russia (born Sophie Frederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst, 1729–1796) was a German princess who, through marriage and coup, came to rule Russia from 1762 to 1796. Although a rather minor princess in her own right, Catherine was closely related to many reigning monarchs in eighteenth-century Europe, making her a politically advantageous match for the future tsar, Peter III. Her husband (then Grand Duke Peter of Holstein) was also German and had been selected as heir by Empress Elizabeth of Russia. Catherine (the name Sophie took in the Russian Orthodox Church) and Peter married in 1745. By all accounts Peter was mentally immature at best and probably impotent. Catherine, a brilliant woman who needed to produce an heir to secure her own safety and who desired intellectual stimulation as well, almost immediately began extramarital affairs with courtiers.

Catherine learned the Russian language, which Peter did not, and became familiar with Russian politics, whereas Peter remained interested only in German affairs. Peter also tried to force the Russian Orthodox Church to adopt Lutheran ideas, whereas Catherine conformed to the church of her adopted homeland. As such she was far more popular than her husband. When Peter became tsar in 1762 and almost immediately used his power to interfere in a war between Denmark and his native Holstein, palace officials overthrew him and established Catherine as empress. Peter was reigned for only four months before being exiled to a place outside of St. Petersburg. He died six months later and there are indications that his death was by Catherine's order, or at least took place with her approval.

Under Catherine's rule Russia expanded geographically and economically. Although she maintained a tight, often ruthless, control, she was also a wise ruler who brought Enlightenment (1600–1800) ideals to Russia and made her country a major European power. She is also widely known as a sexual figure; her affairs during and after her marriage are well documented and numerous. Her own diary strongly suggests that her son, Tsar Paul I, was conceived extramaritally. Her sexual life during her reign was not secret, and her appetites were remarkable. Her last lover, when she was in her sixties, was forty years her junior. Legends about her sexual encounters developed even during her own lifetime, and the most notorious began shortly after her death. Catherine died of a stroke at age sixty-seven, but it was almost immediately rumored that she had died while attempting to copulate with a stallion, something that she was also said to have done as a young woman. Although no evidence substantiates this myth, it is possibly the most lasting legacy of her sexual life.

Nandi Nandi (1760–1827) was a member of the Nguni nation in modern-day South Africa and became the wife of Senzangakona of the Zulus and later the mother of Shaka Zulu. As a minor wife of the chief, Nandi had little power, even though she was mother of his oldest son. His other wives convinced Senzangakona to disinherit Shaka in favor of their sons. Zulu legend claims that Nandi encouraged her son to become ruthless and warlike so that he could take back his birthright by force when his father died. Shaka not only became chief but expanded the Zulu Empire and brought much of southern Africa under his control. When Nandi died Shaka is said to have ordered a ritual slaughter of thousands of his enemies and to have ordered his people into a year of forced mourning.

Victoria Victoria (1819–1901) was queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the first empress of India. With a reign of sixty-three years, she is the longest-reigning monarch in British history. Her rule, often called the Victorian Era, covered much of the nineteenth century and saw a variety of political, social, and economic changes. The Industrial Revolution reached its height and the British Empire reached its greatest extent, both making Great Britain the world's richest country. Victoria became queen due to a series of untimely deaths among her male relatives and succeeded William IV when she was only eighteen years old. Because she was a woman, she did not inherit William's other title as king of Hannover, a German realm that followed Salic law and allowed only male rulers. As a political figure Victoria was quite weak. She was a political conservative during a period marked by growing liberalism and often disagreed with Parliament in her early years. As queen of England her major political function was to form a government following elections. In a situation known as the Bedchamber Crisis, Victoria attempted to form a minority government more in line with her political leanings. Robert Peel, who she asked to be prime minister, refused her invitation, and a majority Tory government was formed. This was the last time that a British monarch attempted to exert political power in defiance of the democratic process, and the position has been largely ceremonial since.

The reign of Victoria is most notable for a distinctly conservative turn in British society. Victoria chose to wear white for her wedding, initiating a custom that still continues. Many other traditions surrounding the marriage event in American culture can be traced to Victoria. She married her first cousin, Albert, in 1840, and her devotion to him became legendary. They had nine children together, most of whom were married into the ruling families of Europe. As such, World War I was, to some extent, a family crisis, as the czar of Russia, the German kaiser, and the king of England were first cousins and childhood friends. When Albert died in 1861, Victoria entered a lifelong period of mourning. She never again appeared in public without wearing black, and she became known for her unending devotion to Albert, even in death. As such, she initiated a kind of cult of widowhood. Whereas her ancestor Elizabeth I is known for her virginity, Victoria is known for both her fertility and her perpetual widowhood.

Cixi of China Cixi (or Tz'u-hsi) was born in 1835 and lived until 1908, making her life roughly contemporaneous with the rule of Victoria of England. She was a minor concubine of Emperor Xianfeng of China, who ruled from 1850 to 1861. Upon his death she attained power as the mother of his only son (Tongzhi), for whom she served as regent. From 1861 to 1908 Cixi held power in China, either in her own right or in the name of her son or nephew (Guangxu). She is remembered as a conservative ruler and a despot, and many historians have credited her reign with the downfall of the Qing Dynasty, which effectively brought an end to the Chinese monarchy. Her role as a queen is overtly sexualized, as she began her relationship with the emperor as a concubine. She is also unusual among female rulers in that she orchestrated a series of coups to bring herself to power.

When Xianfeng died in 1861 Tongzhi was five years old. Xianfeng left power with a council of regents, and his imperial consort and Cixi were charged to jointly raise his son until he was old enough to rule. Cixi and the consort, now the Dowager Empress Ci'an, overthrew the council, taking power for themselves. The dowager empress, however, was uninterested in politics, leaving power largely in Cixi's hands. She ruled in her son's name and was in the process of teaching him the skills of statecraft when he died at age nineteen, probably from syphilis.

Cixi violated the normal order of succession by naming her three-year-old nephew, Guangxu, as heir to the throne, thus assuring herself many more years in power until he came of age in 1889. As emperor he instituted a number of reforms toward a system of constitutional monarchy. In 1898 Cixi assumed control as regent and worked to restore the absolute monarchy. She continued to rule in Guangxu's name until her death in 1908. Her later rule was marked by a series of political disasters, including the Boxer Rebellion and unsuccessful dealings with European powers.

Queen Lili'uokalani of Hawai'i Queen Lili'uokalani (1838–1917) was the last monarch of Hawai'i. She married John Owen Dominis, an American statesman, in 1862 and inherited the throne from her brother in 1891. Her predecessor had approved the Bayonet Constitution of 1887 under force (hence its name), which stripped the monarchy of power and gave it to the wealthy citizens. The Constitution not only disenfranchised the poor but was completely discriminatory against Asians. Queen Lili'uokalani tried to write a new constitution restoring power to the monarchy but was resisted by Europeans and Americans who would lose the right of suffrage. They claimed that by trying to subvert the Constitution, she had effectively abdicated, and they deposed her. With the assistance of the U.S. government, the Republic of Hawai'i was established in 1894. The queen was held under house arrest until 1896 when she was voted a pension by the new government and officially abdicated to gain the freedom of her supporters. The Republic was annexed by the United States in 1898, and Queen Lili'uokalani lived in Honolulu until 1917, when she died of a stroke.

SEE ALSO *Zenobia.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

QUEENS, POWER AND SEXUALITY

In her Elegy I the poet Louise Labé (1516 or 1523–1566), to evoke the invincible powers of Love, adduced the infelicitous example of legendary Assyrian queen Semiramis—a celebrated and fearsome warrior reveling in victorious combat and bloodshed, she was felled by the harshest conqueror, Love. She thus went from impetuously charging into battle to languishing in her bed in the throes of an incestuous passion for her own son, "her virile heart" corrupted (vss. 61–90). The story of Semiramis—notably exonerated, nonetheless, by Christine de Pizan (1363–1430) in her *City of Ladies*—was a mainstay of male Renaissance discourse on the flaws of women and their inability to rule (Richards 1997, pp. 108–114).

To speak of queens and power one has to factor in the publicity of their sexual comportment and the driving public concern to control their sexuality. At the core of the specific nature of queenship lie the tensions between the concept of queen as a powerful sovereign, sometimes imbued with sacred or supernatural powers, and the subjected, subaltern status of a woman in any given society where women/the female are at the bottom in a hierarchy of sex and gender. The sacred character of kingship and the dangerous, ambiguous, or even abjectified nature of queens as women pull in opposite directions and create restrictions on their exercise of political rule. The ambivalence toward a female ruler may have reflected two competing concerns: that the good, masculine behavior will render her unfeminine, and thus barren, and that lust and lack of chastity will remain likely. These complexities have attracted considerable attention from scholars of medieval and early modern Europe in particular (including Theresa Earenfight [2005] and John Carmi Parsons [1993]).

The king is said to have *two bodies*, one public and one private, but queens have two bodies as well—one stamped with the aura of the sacred, the other marked with the staining threat of pollution. In France where queens were excluded by law from political power as heirs to the throne, the queen's person and her office were distinct, a doctrine that confers only one body, albeit an exalted one, to the queen consort (*uxor regis*), for instance, in the coronation and privileges of office of Anne of Brittany, Queen of France (1477–1517). In another model, in which the queen is not equal to the king, her symbolic body may unfold into simultaneous and competing incarnations: besides the king's consort, that of his mother or sister. The latter is suggested by the role of Anne de Beaujeu (1461–1522; also called Anne de France or Anne de Bourbon), elder sister of Charles VIII (r. 1483–1498), named regent over the boy king with her husband by her father, Louis XI (r.1461–1483), on his deathbed. Better known in that capacity is Margaret of Navarre (1492–1549), sister of Francis I (r. 1515–1547), and, at times, "queen in all but name" (Cholakian and Cholakian 2006, pp. 40, 43).

The subject/subjected role of queens is not particular to a given part of the world, and in many cultures queens have been held to strict rules of propriety, ceremonial behavior, and to subject status—both as subject of the king and to his social, political, and sexual power—yet at times have exercised considerable power of their own. Thus, diverse structures of royal power have interfaced with gendered norms to harness sexual power and the display of sexuality.

When women are banned from exercising full power and a woman seizes power through intrigue or force of arms or both, rebellion and political upheaval ensue. Thus, the sultana Shajarat al-Durr (c. 1223–1257), widow of the last Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, died 648 HE/1250), came to power through the Mamluk army, whose soldiers she had impressed for her leadership role in the battle of Damiette against the French. The caliph of Baghdad condemned her rule, and she tried to operate without him, giving herself the title Malikat al-Muslimi (Queen of the Muslims). Deposed, she married the new sultan, a Mamluk general, and ruled with him for seven years. But when he attempted to displace her with another sultana and return her to the harem, she had him murdered, and even though a portion of the army still supported her, she was then brutally put to death. In her case male gender ideology was not uniform: for the clergy she was anathema, but for the military, skill and courage could overcome her status as a woman; in the end, however, she met her death as a disobedient, rebellious consort.

In France all royal women were successfully excluded from titular royal power through a dexterous political slight of hand enacted in the late Middle Ages (1283–1386), producing a distorted interpretation of the Salic law. French queens could exercise political power due to circumstance but could neither be fully anointed as rightful ruler nor inherit the throne: thus, Claude of France (1499–1524), legitimate daughter of Louis XII (r. 1498–1515) and Anne of Brittany (r. 1491–1498 and 1498–1514), only became queen as spouse of the king, and the throne went laterally to the man she married, Francis of Angoulême, the future Francis I (r. 1515–1547). Catherine of Medici (1519–1589) crafted the position of queen mother to heights never attained before or after her in France, presenting herself in the imposing seal made for her as *Governess of France*' at the death of her son, King Francis II (1544–1560), not merely as queen mother, but as "Catherine by the Grace of God, Queen of France, Mother of the King" (Frieda 2003, p. 144). She is consistently referred to as the queen, my mother, even during the reign of her son, in the memoirs of her daughter, Margaret of Valois (1553–1615). In another twist of the gender/power interface, Margaret was the only one of her younger children capable of ruling and the one Catherine consistently mistreated and sacrificed to her sons.

In the void caused by dead, absent, ailing, or too young male heirs, royal women of the Renaissance (1350–1600) across Europe rose to such authority and power that this period—of which feminist historians have asked whether women actually had a Renaissance—could paradoxically be seen as the rule of women. Catherine ruled forcefully (and effectively) through her sons, whereas her husband had kept her in a subjected and invisible position below his mistress. The sons were quite willing to leave the hardships of on-the-ground governance to her, the details of which, involving the work and support of women as much as men, transpire in her lengthy correspondence. Her long-lasting and often effective rule hinged not only on her significant

Catherine de Medici. *Catherine de Medici transformed her traditionally minor role as queen mother into one of great power and influence.* TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

personal political skills but also on the elaborate public performance of faithful widowhood and devoted motherhood, visually signaled by the cloaking, indeed veiling, of her body in black.

The world over, some queen mothers have been formidable figures, with enough prestige and authority to be the effective leaders of their nation. One such woman was Yaa Asantewaa (c. 1840–1921), the queen mother of one of the Asante states in Ghana, who led a largely successful military uprising in 1896 against British occupiers, much to the latter's astonishment.

The concept of two bodies of the king incarnated in a parallel female sovereign is most clear in certain African nations. In the east-African kingdom of Buganda (northern shore of Lake Victoria), the institution of queen mothers was a crucial regulator of good government and remained so until the combined upheavals due to long-distance trade and wars of plunder between chiefs at the end of the nineteenth century. In Buganda, queen mothers did not rule as a side effect of their son coming to power. On the contrary, as "in Asante, Dahomey, Lagos, and many other African polities, queen mothers built up political coalitions that brought their sons to power." (Hanson 2002, p. 220). Since the sixteenth century the authority of the Bugandan queen mother "mirrored that of the king" (Hanson 2002, p, 221), as she held her own lands, had her own palace, and appointed her own ministers, independent from the king. Queen mothers acted to place their son on the throne by mobilizing their powerful lineages and brokering vast alliances, and they protected (or sometimes turned against) their son, the king, against his enemies through these networks. Most importantly the function of the queen mother in Bugandan government was to constrain excessive power exercised by the king, in particular, his urge to be too violent and to behave cruelly. The gendered power structure was thus that the mother's role as guardian, nurturer and *civilizing* influence was folded into the office of queenship.

QUEENS: STRONG RULE AND SKILLED POLITICS

Elizabeth I of England (r. 1558–1603) maintained her position on the throne in spite of numerous attacks on the ability of women to hold power and maintained her sole rulership by refusing to marry and be subject to the rule of a husband. Contemporary historians and ambassadors alike were baffled by her ability to remain crowned and unmarried, whereas, for her, the assertion of her own preferences in marriage—or to not marry, if she did not meet the spouse of her liking—was "proof of her political consequence" (Bell 1995, pp. 69–72). Yet she was never fully allowed by her subjects to forget that she was female and, as a single woman, an anomaly on the throne. She had to reinvent herself and construct her personal life along a multiple deployment of female roles—wife, mother, sister—which she revisited to affirm female power.

In contrast, the late fifteenth-century rule of Isabel of Castile (r. 1474–1504) successfully blended the obligations of marriage and sexual convention with the exercise of power and the conquering projects of an expanding empire. In this case her husband, Ferdinand II, was actually king of lesser Aragon, and she was the legitimate feudal ruler (señora) of Castile, where he was merely the prince consort. Isabel also came into power in circumstances that were doubly unusual with respect to sex and gender. First, all the contenders for the throne at that point were women, and she held distinct advantages over her rivals. Second, in contrast to the late king—her hated half-brother Henry IV, accused of having favored Jews and Muslims, of being impotent and not the father of his daughter, and of homosexual tendencies—she was legitimized as the restorer of the faith and of normative sexual conduct on the throne. Isabel aptly bridged the gaps between the status of queen and leader of the land with the duties of a wife, picking and blending both conventional and unusual gendered behavior traits. She accepted admonitions from her religious advisers to act as an obedient wife, bearing numerous children, and, against custom, appeared in public during the visible stages of pregnancy; she acted as a sovereign in all matters, casting herself in that role through elaborate ceremony, and, with Ferdinand, took ultraconservative measures to curb the sexual wantonness ascribed to women, by enforcing strict claustration of nuns.

Dona Ana de Sousa Nzinga Mbande (c. 1581–1663), Mbundu monarch of the Ndongo and Matamba Kingdoms in present-day Angola, skillfully manipulated the independence of celibacy coupled with a careful reinvention of self, first as regent, then as legitimate queen from a royal line, and, intermittently, as good Catholic dealing directly with the Portuguese envoys, or as Imbangala convert. She became viceroy in 1622 and fully succeeded her brother, Joao, in 1624, having had her nephew killed, and ruling until her death in 1663 at the age of 81. She alternatively attempted to accommodate the demands of the Portuguese rule over her nation and its riches and to resist its encroachments, engaging at times in protracted warfare. She came to power with the support of the growing class of court slaves and eventually created a controversial alliance with the Imbangala, a warrior people who held to a common origin as "slaves" (Thornton 1991, pp. 29–31). She had to fight, on and off the battlefield, to affirm her legitimacy as ruler against the Portuguese and her local rivals, including on the very point of whether a woman could hold the kingdom.

In the last decades of her life, Nzinga responded to claims against her legitimacy by twisting the obligation of marriage around: She "became a man" and married several dependent men at once, who were her "concubines," had to dress in female clothes, sleep among her maids in waiting, but not touch them sexually under the threat of death. She also engaged in male pursuits, leading troops, handling weapons expertly, and transforming her female retinue into a personal guard dressed as soldiers (Thornton 1991). She held to the ideas of female power and royal descent, and in her 1655 negotiations with the Portuguese, she tried to have them recognize her sister as heir to the throne—neither she nor her sister had children of their own. In effect, having established the precedent of female rule, in part through her gender transformation to becoming a man, she paved the way for a string of female rulers. Her sister ruled briefly after her, followed by Veronica I from 1681 to 1706, then by Ana I, Veronica II, Ana II, and Ana III over a period of eighty years after Nzinga's death, until 1767.

In conclusion, whereas the sacred could make the power of the prince, male or female, more efficacious, sexuality has always lurked, for good or ill, behind the power of queens. This holds true whether they act as ritual mothers of their people, as mothers to the royal brood, as spectacular anomalies as single women, or most often, through the carefully crafted performance of chaste behavior—perhaps the most powerful weapon for queens and their supporters to subvert rules barring women from access to the throne.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Catherine the Great; Celibacy; Elizabeth I; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Marriage; Royalty; Sex, Race and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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QUEER

The term *queer* has traditionally meant strange, odd, or suspicious. In the twentieth century the word acquired almost exclusively sexual connotations, and as such, came to be used as a fundamentally derogatory label for homosexuals. Having been reclaimed by gay and lesbian activists in the 1980s as a term of self-identification, in the early twenty-first century queer is primarily used to refer to any form of nonheteronormative gender, sex, and sexuality, as well as in contradistinction to more straightforward categories of sexual identification, such as lesbian, gay, and bisexual. While it serves as an umbrella term to include a broad range of sexual orientation and/or gender expression, quite a number of people to whom it might apply still consider queer to be a derisive and offensive term, especially when it is used by heterosexuals. Others, in contrast, have embraced it as a liberatory, antilabeling term with the critical power to open up systems of sexual and gender classification per se. The term queer is sometimes used as a verb, in which instance it refers to the attempt to replace normative, heterosexual meanings with those of minority sexualities. The contradictory appreciations of the term's semantic values extend into its various contemporary usages and consequent critiques.

ORIGINS AND EARLY USAGE

Emerging in the English language in 1508, possibly from the German word *quer* (cross, oblique, squint, perverse), queer, in the sense of *peculiar*, *eccentric*, or *not in a normal condition*, was generally used with reference to people perceived to be suffering from a mild form of insanity or whose social behavior was not considered to be quite right. By 1800 the word had additionally acquired the slang significance of *drunk*. The phrase *Queer Street* was used in British English to refer to an imaginary street where people in difficulties, often of a financial nature, reside. By 1837 the term connoted any kind of difficulty, fix, trouble, bad circumstances, debt, or illness. Alongside these meanings the adjective queer was used from 1561 onward to designate something bad or worthless, often used with reference to thieves. The verb *to queer* became English slang in 1791, in the sense of to *quiz*, *ridicule*, or *cheat*, and evolved from meaning *to spoil* or *put out of order* in 1812—which meaning is still commonly used, as in the phrase to *queer someone's pitch*—to establish itself in 1845 in the sense of *to put someone out*, or to *make someone feel queer*. The term acquired its implication of sexual deviance in the late nineteenth century, undergoing a semantic shift, so that queer came to be predominantly used as a derogatory term for effeminate and/or gay males and to others displaying nonnormative gender behavior. This semantic shift has since come to overdetermine the various meanings of queer in its twentieth-century usage, especially in the United States, where it served to emphasize the supposed unnaturalness of homosexuality. Though earlier meanings persist in some contemporary usage, the overly sexual connotations of the term queer entail that even when used to describe someone who is a bit odd, the subtext implies that the subject might also be gay.

For most of the twentieth century, queer was used as a strongly pejorative term or hateful slur to designate a homosexual, usually male. As such it was also employed within gay and lesbian communities, either as a term of self-deprecation or as an epithet for a lesbian or gay man regarded as less conventionally lesbian or gay or more extravagant in her or his expression of gender deviancy. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, an important change occurred in this use of the term. Partly as a response to the gradual establishment of lesbian and gay as respectable identity categories, partly as a result of the AIDS crisis and its (enforced) opportunities for close collaboration among sexual *deviants* of all kinds, and partly as a result of the relative institutionalization of lesbian and gay studies in the European and North American academy, political activists, who rejected any constraining sexual and gender categories, and a number of academics, critically concerned with the emerging blind spots and silences in lesbian and gay studies about differences defined in other than the binary terms of gender and sexuality, sought to reclaim the term queer and rob it of its negative meanings. Consequently, queer began to be used as an inclusive, sociopolitically unifying term that designates all those who are sexually dissident, including self-identified gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, but also those who are transgender, transsexual, intersexual and/or *genderqueer*, as well as those who embrace any other transgressive form of sexuality. These may include asexuality or *autosexuality*, and even nonnormative modes of heterosexuality.

ACCEPTANCE AND MAINSTREAM USE

Mainstream European and North American society gradually absorbed the positive usage of the term, as is clear from the popular success of such TV shows as *Queer as Folk*, originally shown in the United Kingdom and exported to the United States, or *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* in the United States. In the early twenty-first century, nonheterosexuals use queer with reference to their own culture, as in *queer politics* or *queer cinema*, with no negative connotation. However, the term can still be offensive, especially to older gay men who, in the 1960s and 1970s, fought for the acceptance of *gay* to replace the solely sexual and pathological signifier homosexual, and more generally by gays and lesbians who dislike the term, even in its reclaimed usage, because they personally remember the pain caused by its pejorative meaning. Still others object to the term queer because its all-inclusive character threatens to render invisible, and ultimately irrelevant, the specificity of the narrower categories of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender as distinct from, and variously at odds with, heteronormative gender identities.

While certainly no less disputed, or even straightforwardly rejected, by academics involved in lesbian and gay studies, it is within the phrase and practice of *queer theory* that the newer usage of the term has gained most effective and abiding currency. Introduced by feminist theorist Teresa de Lauretis in her introduction to a special issue of the journal *differences* in 1991, queer theory entered critical discussions as an antiessentialist term aimed at critical self-reflection among gay and lesbian scholars and as aligned with other modes of postmodern theorizing. In this context queer designates, in the words of critical theorist Annemarie Jagose, a "suspension of identity as something fixed, coherent and natural" (Jagose 1996, p. 98), aiming at the deconstruction of all forms of identity categories, and especially opting for the strategy of denaturalization with regard to sexual and gender identities defined in constraining, binary terms (i.e., straight/gay; male/female). As such, queer also refers to changing understandings of more broadly defined concepts of subjectivity, identity, and sociopolitical conditions. The queer critique of identity-based models of theory and politics of all kinds—whether defined in terms of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, age, or ability—is usually accompanied by a constructive emphasis on multiplicity, instability, and fluidity. Instead of conceptualizing identities as fixed or stable and unitary, queer theorists foreground the contextual and contingent, hence provisional, nature of any mode of identification, including such oppositional forms of sexuality and gender identification as those commonly captured under the acronym GLBT (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender).

Queer is a controversial term not only in sociocultural contexts but also within theoretical debates due to its negative history and the concomitant ambiguity of its simultaneously elusive connotations. Whereas some celebrated the term as a tool of resistance against essentialist readings of sociocultural realities as well as cultural texts, and thus as an instrument capable of "point[ing] to things that destabilize existing categories, while it itself is becoming a category—but a category that resists easy definition... except that it is something non-straight or non-normatively straight" (Doty 2000, p. 8), others have been concerned that queer "will neutralise [sic] the efficacy of lesbian and gay as an identificatory category, and that its flexibility will connect lesbians and gay men with others whose commitment to homophobic politics is disputed" (Jagose 1996, p. 112). Indeed, though de Lauretis, three years after coining the phrase queer theory as a critically disruptive term that she hoped would inaugurate a new self-reflexivity within lesbian and gay studies, openly rejected it as a "conceptually vacuous creature of the publishing industry" (de Lauretis 1994, p. 297), others continue to embrace the queer project as a fundamental critique of identity, as a "way of pointing ahead without knowing for certain what to point at" (Jagose 1996, p. 131). As a category under construction, or a site of permanent becoming, the term queer ultimately remains elusive, offering what Jagose defines as the "ambivalent reassurance of an unimaginable future" (Jagose 1996, p. 132).

SEE ALSO *Homophobia.*

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QUEERING, QUEER THEORY, AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE

Queer theory and queer studies are approaches that date to the late 1980s and early 1990s (Teresa de Lauretis is credited with naming queer theory in 1991 in the journal *differences*). Queering approaches emerged from an earlier gay and lesbian studies; feminist theory, as it questioned the unitary nature of the categories "woman/women," recognizing that women of color, working class women, and lesbians might have very different concerns from the white, middle-class women at the center of Western, second-wave feminism; and (post)structuralist thought, especially Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, Jacques Derrida's deconstruction, Jacques Lacan's psychoanalysis, and Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's challenges to Marxism and psychoanalysis. Where gay and lesbian studies depend in large part upon an assumption that lesbian and gay identities exist transhistorically, queer theory (following Foucault) emphasizes that what has as *sexuality* is a modern deployment, and that bodies and pleasures may have been very differently organized in the past. Not only can we not be sure to find modern homosexuals in the past, heterosexuality in its modern form has only recently emerged.

Queer theory also recognizes that constructing all sexual difference around a homo/hetero binarism (powerfully analyzed by Eve Sedgwick) excludes many possibilities, and—under the pressure of this recognition—gay/lesbian studies has itself widened to embrace bisexual, transgender, and intersex experiences. The category "queer" indeed often subsumes any sexuality excluded from the "normal," including non-normative *hetero*sexualities. Judith Butler understands the power of queer to reside precisely in the fact that its boundaries are not determined in advance, that it does not name some stable entity but is constantly in the process of being redefined and rearticulated.

Most generally, queer scholarship negotiates back and forth between (1) defining and interrogating the norms by which societies construct dominant sexualities and (2) considering what is excluded by those norms as queer. The "normal" always defines itself against others, marginalizing and silencing these; at the same time, the norm depends upon the queer others that it uses to define itself, and those others haunt the edges of dominant social/sexual spaces, potentially resisting and disrupting "normality."

Most queer theory has been articulated in relation to nineteenth- and twentieth-century material, in part because of the influence of Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (Volume I). An exception is Jonathan Dollimore's *Sexual Dissidence*, where Dollimore's work as an early modernist informs his theorizing of perverse sexuality. Although premodern sexual experience and social formations differed significantly from their modern counterparts, their study might nonetheless benefit from queer approaches. Foucault, after all, followed Volume I of his *History* with investigations of ancient Greek and Roman sexuality. In bringing queer theory to play in premodern contexts, scholars must be careful not simply to apply models that have been developed to understand more recent materials; queer theory must be historicized, brought into a conversation with what can be recovered about earlier historical moments and their treatment of the erotic.

An overall sense of the richness of queer work in medieval and early modern studies can be gathered by examining the many essay collections published since the early 1990s, including Susan Zimmerman's *Erotic Politics: The Dynamics of Desire on the English Renaissance Stage* (1992); Jonathan Goldberg's *Queering the Renaissance* (1994); Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero's *Premodern Sexualities* (1996); Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler's *Desire and Discipline* (1996); Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James Schultz's *Constructing Medieval Sexuality* (1997); Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson's *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (1999); Glenn Burger and Steven F. Kruger's *Queering the Middle Ages* (2001); Francesca Canadé Sautman and Pamela Sheingorn's *Same Sex Love and Desire among Women in the Middle Ages* (2001); and Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke's *Love, Sex, Intimacy and Friendship between Men, 1550–1800* (2003) and *Siting Queer Masculinities, 1550–1800* (2005).

HISTORICAL RECOVERIES, RECLAIMINGS, REREADINGS

As suggested above, a gay/lesbian studies that considers homosexual identity to be largely transhistorical can be distinguished from a queer studies that calls stable identities into question. But one should not imagine Queer approaches simply superseding gay/lesbian ones: Queer work builds on much earlier gay/lesbian scholarship. Both queer and gay/lesbian study of the premodern has been concerned with rethinking a traditional historicism that has not considered sexual (and especially queer) experience an important topic of investigation. As with feminist work in women's history, gay/lesbian and queer scholarship has moved both to *recover* past moments, texts, experiences, and social structures previously ignored and to *reclaim* and *reread* better-known material by placing the sexual and erotic at the center of attention.

Two works that predate queer theory have been extraordinarily influential for the queer medieval/early modern work that has followed: John Boswell's *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (1980) and Alan Bray's *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982). Both find rich materials for the historical study of homosexuality, but Boswell and Bray also exemplify opposed approaches. While Boswell is aware of significant changes in how homosexuality is understood across the centuries, he insists nonetheless on the transhistorical usefulness of the category. (Boswell's position was immediately controversial; for later assessments of his work, see Matthew Kuefler's *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* [2006].) Bray, on the other hand, follows Foucault, insisting that "to talk of an individual in [the early modern] period as being or not being 'a homosexual' is an anachronism and ruinously misleading" (1995, p.16).

The work of historical recovery, reclaiming, and rereading done since Boswell and Bray has been extremely varied. In literary studies, scholars have uncovered new or little-known texts—letters exchanged between women or between men that evince erotically-charged affection; poetry like that which Thomas Stehling collects in *Medieval Latin Poems of Male Love and Friendship* (1984), and Richard Barnfield's late-sixteenth-century homoerotic poetry. Critics have also returned to canonical texts to reread these from queer perspectives. Unsurprisingly, it has been especially works containing explicit sexual material that have benefited from such rereadings: Alain de Lille's twelfth-century *Plaint of Nature*, in which a personified Nature complains about the prevalence of non-procreative sex; Dante's circle of sodomites in the *Inferno*; the performances of such queerly embodied figures as the Pardoner, Wife of Bath, and Summoner in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; Christopher Marlowe's drama, especially *Edward II*, with its depiction of erotically charged male/male relations; William Shakespeare's sonnets, especially those in which the male speaker ardently addresses the "young man," and the Shakespearean drama that plays with cross-gender identifications. A significant body of scholarship on the Renaissance stage, like Stephen Orgel's, considers how the experience of cross-dressed acting signified culturally.

Many literary studies have also cast their web more widely, to examine and queer texts not so explicitly homoerotic. Richard E. Zeikowitz's *Homoeroticism and Chivalry: Discourses of Male Same-Sex Desire in the Fourteenth Century* (2003) and James A. Schultz's *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (2006) take up, in very different queering ways, a "courtly love" poetry typically taken to be "heterosexual." Tison Pugh's *Queering Medieval Genres* (2004) develops readings of lyric, fabliau, "tragedy," and Arthurian romance. Anna Kłosowska's *Queer Love in the Middle Ages* (2005) considers a wide range of medieval French texts. Carolyn Dinshaw's *Getting Medieval* (1999) and Glenn Burger's *Chaucer's Queer Nation* (2003) look not just at Chaucer's Pardoner and Wife of Bath but also at Lollard writings, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Dinshaw), and the representation of marriage (Burger) as sites for queer reading. While focused largely on Shakespeare, Valerie Traub's *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (1992) also attends to a variety of other early modern cultural material. Mario DiGangi's *Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* (1997) surveys a wide range of dramatic genres to show the centrality of homoeroticism to each, as to many early modern institutions and social experiences. Richard Rambuss's *Closet Devotions* (1998) looks to the intensely corporeal religious poetry of Robert Crashaw, George Herbert, and John Donne for queer affect. Also broadly conceived in the texts they take up and the formulations they develop are Gregory W. Bredbeck's *Sodomy and Interpretation: Marlowe to Milton* (1991), Jonathan Goldberg's *Sodometries* (1992), Bruce R. Smith's *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* (1994), Jeffrey Masten's *Textual Intercourse* (1997), and Daniel Juan Gil's *Before Intimacy: Asocial Sexuality in Early Modern England* (2006).

Such literary scholarship can be seen as uncovering several complex sorts of discourse—fictional, dramatic, lyrical—through which medieval and early modern writers understood emotional/affective and sexual/erotic experience. Other queer historical scholarship similarly recovers and reinterprets discourses shaping and shaped by eroticism. (A useful overview of medievalist work is provided by Ruth Mazo Karras in *Sexuality in Medieval Europe* [2005]. Kenneth Borris's *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance* [2004] provides a compendious collection of early modern texts.) Scholars like Joan Cadden, Danielle Jacquart, Claude Thomasset, and Karma Lochrie (for the medieval) and Katharine Park, Valerie Traub, and Thomas Laqueur (for the early modern) have excavated medical/scientific discourses of the sexualized body. Many others have examined theological and religious engagements with sex and eroticism: condemnations of sodomy, beginning with Peter Damian's eleventh-century *Book of Gomorrah*; writings on spiritual friendship, beginning with Aelred of Rievaulx in the twelfth century; penitential manuals; women's mystical reflections; fire-and-brimstone sermons like Bernardino of Siena's in early Renaissance Italy; Reformation (and Counter-Reformation) theology and exegesis. Those contributing to this scholarship include Boswell, E. Ann Matter, Brian Patrick McGuire, Mark D. Jordan, Lochrie, Allen Frantzen, Dyan Elliot, Jacqueline Murray, Judith Bennett, Franco Mormando, Helmut Puff, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Alan Stewart, and Bray. Political and legal discourses on disallowed sexuality have also received significant attention—for instance, in the detailed archival work done by Michael Rocke in *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (1996), or, in a very different vein, by Ruth Mazo Karras in *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (1996).

Especially prominent in examinations of medieval and early modern religious, political, and legal formulations has been *sodomy*, a term that included much disallowed sexual behavior. Mark Jordan's *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (1997) shows how sodomy became a common way of understanding queer sex. William Burgwinkle's *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature* (2004) develops a sophisticated reading of how legal and religious understandings of sodomy are written into, and rewritten by, literary texts. Sodomy has been even more central in early modern scholarship, including Helmut Puff's *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (2003); the essays collected by Thomas Betteridge in *Sodomy in Early Modern Europe* (2002); and several books of literary criticism—Goldberg's *Sodometries*, Bredbeck's *Sodomy and Interpretation*, Alan Stewart's *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (1997), and Richard Halpern's *Shakespeare's Perfume: Sodomy and Sublimity in the Sonnets, Wilde, Freud, and Lacan* (2002). These emphasize especially the *slipperiness* of the term, in Goldberg's words, its "relational" function as "a measure whose geometry we do not know, whose (a)symmetries we are to explore (*Sodometries*, p. xv). That is, sodomy, as Foucault emphasized, is a "thoroughly confused category," and it is precisely its incoherences that give it social power and literary/interpretive resonance.

Some scholars (for instance, DiGangi) have objected to making sodomy the sole focus of work on premodern sexualities. After all, other homoerotic and antinormative discourses and experiences are culturally significant. Alan Bray's *The Friend* (2003) traces the experience of homosocial friendship from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. Theodora Jankowski's *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama* (2000) reads women's virginity as queerly resisting patriarchal marriage; in this resistance, it echoes the earlier practice of "chaste marriage" described by Dyan Elliott in *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (1993). The emphasis on sodomy also tends to privilege *male* sexuality, though the category of sodomy had an impact as well on defining and limiting female sexuality, as noted in several of the essays in Sautman and Sheingorn's *Same Sex Love and Desire among Women in the Middle Ages*. Lochrie, morever, argues that there were medieval discourses of *female* sodomy that we should attend to, and her own work—both *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (1999) and *Heterosyncrasies* (2005)—examines medieval women's eroticism. In early modern studies, Valerie Traub's *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (2002) similarly calls attention to the complex discourses and experiences of female/female love, desire, and eroticism.

HISTORICAL RECONFIGURATIONS

Not all of the work of recovery, reclamation, and rereading just detailed identifies itself as queer. But all contributes to a larger queer project of understanding both the sexual norms of medieval/early modern culture and the ways in which the experiences of individuals and communities queerly exceeded those norms. Also crucial to this project is a political impulse to make the historical work of medieval and early modern studies pertinent for our twenty-first-century moment. Can understanding a queer past make queer lives in the present more livable? In Dinshaw's resonant formulation, can the past and the present *touch* each other queerly?

The answers offered to such questions have been complex and often contradictory—ranging from the assertion of direct continuities between the medieval and the (post)-modern to insistence on the unbridgeable alterity of present and past. For the most part, self-defined queer scholarship has, following Foucault, emphasized difference. Thus, Lochrie, in *Heterosyncrasies*, argues that even to talk of medieval "norms" or "normality" is anachronistic; that such categories are the product of the statistical thinking of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and that a dynamic of *norm* and *queer* deviations simply does not work in analyzing medieval material. But even those who strongly emphasize the premodern's alterity do so with the current moment at least partly in mind: to recognize how different sexual configurations were in the past is also to suggest how different they might become in the future. To argue, as Burger does in *Chaucer's Queer Nation*, that late-medieval marriage was radically changing destabilizes (queers) a hegemonic understanding of modern heterosexual marriage as unchanging and universal.

Burger also explicitly connects present and past queernesses, beginning his book by comparing Chaucer's "Miller's Tale" and its effects to John Preston's twentieth-century gay pornography. Dinshaw, in *Getting Medieval*, is consistently concerned with how medieval and post-modern "sexualities and communities" might touch each other. Goldberg's *Sodometries* takes up not only early modern materials but their resonances with representations of the Persian Gulf War (1991) and the U.S. Supreme Court sodomy decision in Bowers v. Hardwick (1988). And Carla Freccero argues in *Queer/Early/Modern* (2005) that a sequential historicism of past, present, and future does not do justice to the operations of history, emphasizing that the past continues, spectrally, to inhabit the present and to insist on new future configurations. Her readings move back and forth from Petrarch to Melissa Etheridge, sixteenth-century European colonial accounts of cannibalism to the anti-transgender violence of the Brandon Teena case.

The future of queer historicist work is itself unpredictable, but such experiments in bringing past and present to touch each other will continue, as queer scholars consider how their historical work matters in the present moment. And, as queer studies more generally moves to examine the intersections of sexuality with such other categories as gender, race, religion, class, and age, medieval and early modern work might also move in a similar direction. The scholarship of Jeffrey J. Cohen, Steven F. Kruger, Kim Hall, Dymphna Callaghan, and Madhavi Menon, for instance, begins to think through some of these intersections, but there is a need for further investigation.

SEE ALSO *Literature: II. The Study of; Queer.*

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Steven F. Kruger

R

RABELAIS, FRANÇOIS
1483–1553

François Rabelais, the sixteenth-century French Humanist, was born in Touraine near the city of Chinon between the years 1483 and 1494. An ordained priest and medical doctor, he accompanied, first, the cardinal Jean Du Bellay (1492–1560), and then Guillaume Du Bellay (1491–1543), governor of Piedmont, in their travels to Italy. His most important writings were published between 1532 and 1564. The novels, which were based on popular chronicles of giants from folklore, combined comedy and satire, scatology, and play with language to attack institutions, the monastic life, and the Scholastics in a multilayered fictional narrative. The first two books, *Pantagruel* (narrating the adventures of the son) and *Gargantua* (narrating those of the father), were published under the pseudonym of Maistre Alcofribas Nasier, an anagram of his name. Rabelais signed the *Tiers Livre* (1546) and the *Quart Livre* (1552), but the authorship of the *Cinquième Livre* (1564), posthumously published, remains uncertain. All five books were condemned by the Sorbonne, the parliament, and the Vatican, who added them to the index of forbidden books. Rabelais died in Paris in 1553.

Rabelais's work is at the junction of the Middle Ages (476–1350) and the Renaissance (1350–1600), incorporating characteristics of both periods. Although numerous critics have emphasized the misogynistic aspect of his writings as privileging the masculine, the instability of gender is nevertheless manifest in Rabelais's texts. If masculine dominance and symbolic violence seek, through visible signs of masculinity, to protect the male body from the type of vulnerability it projects onto women and the female body, the masculine is destabilized through performativity and parody. Indeed, many episodes in his works expose a crisis in masculinity, blurring the markers of an identity determined in terms of the established gender order of the Renaissance.

In a period of transition Rabelais problematizes a certain status and position of women in society that makes evident a decentralized place of men in the universe. In 1985 Carla Freccero, one of the few feminists challenging the overwhelming masculinist Rabelais criticism, argued that, if women are, as it is commonly affirmed, absent, silent, or pale figures in Rabelais's work, it is because the homosocial bond between Pantagruel and his servant Panurge, in particular, is so strong. The two share a jealous and exalted friendship that excludes women and in which power and passion are interrelated. Françoise Charpentier's work (1986), by contrast, simply states that Rabelais's texts are centered on a genealogy of men asserting domination and exercising the power that their gender is invested with by the perceptions and structures of society.

The body is the obsessive and recurrent theme in all five books. Mikhaïl Bakhtine's (1970) study of Rabelais's work remains essential for the history of its relation to the body, to popular tradition, and the carnivalesque, but his analysis, oblivious to gender, views the feminine as univocal. His focus is on the grotesque body, a fragmented body associated with nature and related to the digestive and reproductive functions.

Yet beyond their reproductive capacities, women's insatiable sexual appetite are frightening and, furthermore,

Francois Rabelais. **SPENCER ARNOLD/GETTY IMAGES.**

threatening to male potency, calling into question male sexuality. In *Pantagruel*, Panurge suggests relying on female promiscuity to ensure the protection of Paris by using female genitals as building materials for a fortress that would not close the city but open it, one that would attract and repulse at the same time. Paradoxically, the fragmented women warriors would be defending the city by exposing themselves (Charpentier 1986).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, bodies are still gendered to reflect social status and sexual identity. The oversized codpieces of Gargantua and Panurge, emphasizing a gender-specific silhouette, are deliberately conceived as the exterior form of the enhancement of a man's virility (Persels 1997). Yet such a hypermasculinity rather signals overcompensation for a lack thereof.

The popular episode of the assault on the body of the Lady of Paris is a prevalent farce of the period made famous by masculine readers. Panurge, encouraged by his previous sexual prowess, fails in his attempt to seduce a woman of different social status. Rejected, he transfers his desire onto a hyperbolic number of dogs he attracts by spreading the scent of a female dog on the woman's sumptuous dress. The dogs will then inscribe abjection all over her. Panurge supplants failure with revenge, but even though the misogynistic joke denounces in women a sexuality that is irrepressible and hidden, it only masks Panurge's impotence.

The tradition of the *querelle des femmes* raging in France and Italy between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries is at the heart of the *Tiers Livre*. The construction of male gender identity emerges as the result of the misogynistic discourse representing the negative qualities attributed to women and the necessity to domesticate female desire. Panurge is the central figure of this episode, questioning the misogyny of the intellectuals of his time and the institution of marriage. He has abandoned his codpiece, a disproportionate sign of virility, and appears as a more ambiguous character, doubting everything in search of an answer to his quest.

In another register the medallion evidently placed on Gargantua's hat is an androgyn, with the two heads facing each other. Whereas it seems to derive from Plato's (428–348 BCE) image linking the physical and the spiritual, the ideal sought in the Renaissance, the figure in *Gargantua* is equivocal and rather represents the paradoxical relationship between spirit and flesh.

In the *Quart Livre*, the episodes of Quaresmeprenant and the Andouilles, related to the carnival period, are plagued with gender confusion. Rabelais continues his play and reflection on language to demonstrate the gaps between words and things they represent. Indeed, in this episode, beyond an obvious and literal phallic appearance, the Andouilles (chitterlings) have a feminine noun and live in a matriarchal system in which the name of the queen is that of the male organ in Hebrew.

Throughout the adventures and travels of Pantagruel and Panurge, sexuality, gender, and identity continuously intersect. As Lawrence Kritzman (1991) affirms, Rabelais's text depicts sexual difference as emanating from the difference of desires creating fictions of sexuality that investigate the very questions of male gender identity, a notion that appear no longer to be stable.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Folklore; Literature: I. Overview; Obscene.*

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RAFFALOVICH, MARC-ANDRÉ
1864–1934

Born into a Russian Jewish family on September 11, 1864, and raised in Paris, Marc-André Raffalovich moved to London in 1882, planning to attend Oxford but instead becoming an English writer and socialite as well as a contributor to the growing science of sexology. Raffalovich wrote five books of poetry and two novels as well as several plays, some coauthored with John Gray (1866–1934), whom he met in 1892. Because Gray was a literary protégé and perhaps a lover of Oscar Wilde (1845–1900), Raffalovich is known more for his connection to Gray and Wilde than for his literary and sexological work. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, Raffalovich was not only an English poet of some note but also one of the most prolific contributors to French studies of homosexuality.

His first collection of poetry, *Cyril and Lionel and Other Poems* (1884), was followed by four more volumes of vaguely homoerotic verse. Although his work may seem typical of the Uranian—a term adopted by homoerotic writers of late-nineteenth-century England to denote homosexual but more specifically, pederastic, love—writers of the 1880s and 1890s, Raffalovich demonstrates a surprising and subversive inventiveness. The most sensuous of his books, *Tuberose and Meadowsweet* (1885), includes the image of the decadent orchid of late Victorian writing and references to a love seen by others as *shame*, but it also cleverly revises the language of flowers, a traditional nineteenth-century discourse of heterosexual courtship. Raffalovich and Gray's play *The Blackmailers* (1894) toys with melodramatic associations of homosexuality and blackmail by tracing the growing relationship between a blackmailer and the young man he seduces into a life of crime.

It was as a contributor to French journals of sexual science, however, that Raffalovich played a role in the developing understanding of homosexual identity. In 1895 Raffalovich published two essays, "L'Affaire Oscar Wilde," a vituperative commentary on Wilde as a corruptor of youth, and "L'Uranisme: Inversion Sexuelle Congénitale," a study of sexual inversion. Both were incorporated into the larger study *Uranisme et Unisexualité* (1896), which was published in a series of criminological studies. In 1897 Raffalovich became the editor of the "Annals of Unisexuality" in the journal of criminal anthropology *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, and he contributed to the journal until at least 1905.

In 1896, following Gray's example, Raffalovich converted to Catholicism, and after Gray finished his studies for the priesthood, Raffalovich moved to Edinburgh, Scotland, to live near his beloved friend. Raffalovich died there on February 14, 1934, followed in June by Gray.

In *Uranisme et Unisexualité*, Raffalovich argues that homosexuality is both congenital and natural. He specifically rejects the sexological model of sexual and gender inversion: the female soul in a male body. He insists that congenital homosexuals are not effeminate or cross-gendered *inverts* and proposes the term *unisexuality* to denote sexual attraction to someone of the same sex, a conceptualization closer to modern understandings of homosexual identity.

Raffalovich also offers a remarkable portrait of the psychosexual development and awakening self-awareness of the homosexual child. He argues that most *unisexuals* are born that way, and he retraces the fantasy life and erotic imagination of the gay child. In an attempt to map the physiological sensibilities of inversion, he suggests that there is a precocious association of pleasure with the smell of the male body.

Although Raffalovich argues for the normality of homosexual identity—neither a sin nor a crime nor a disease—he draws a distinction between orientation and behavior similar to that established in 1997 by the Catholic Church, which found orientation morally neutral but proscribed sexual behavior (Roden 2002). Raffalovich proposed a *sublime* form of homosexual identity, an emotional, spiritual, and nongenital relationship of the type some biographers insist he had with Gray, a relationship in which they were devoted to Christ and to each other.

In opposition to this figure of a spiritualized homosexual friendship, Raffalovich constructs Wilde as the figure of the criminal pervert, guilty of practicing sodomy and seducing youth. Both Gray and Raffalovich were haunted by their association with Wilde, terrified of being connected to the scandal of the Wilde trials, and the fact that Wilde was also a social and perhaps romantic rival colors Raffalovich's attack.

Because of his hyperbolic vilification of Wilde and his construction of superior and inferior forms of homosexual identity, modern readers may find "little in Raffalovich's argument that recommends itself to modern gay politics" (Hanson 1997, p. 321). However, in the ontext of late-nineteenth-century criminological and medical studies of homosexuality Raffalovich's work seems "radically prohomosexual" (Rosario 1997, p. 97), even "a radical text for its time" (Roden 2002, p. 182).

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Male, History of; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Ed Madden

RAPE

Defining the concept of rape is as complex as defining the crime itself. There are legal, clinical, moral, and political definitions of rape and sexual assault, and each jurisdiction varies in its classification of the offense. Although the law may be local, the incidence of rape is universal. Rape affects every socioeconomic and racial group and is not limited to assaults on women; men are victims too. Much research has been conducted to develop profiles of both the victims and the perpetrators of rape, but because of the complexities of the crime, those profiles provide only limited insight. With increased attention to rape prosecution and victim services in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, standardized procedures for evidence gathering, victim examination, and postrape victim assistance have been developed in most jurisdictions. Though states and localities have revised investigative measures and more services are available for victims of rape, there are still legal and cultural obstacles to the prosecution of rape crimes.

DEFINING RAPE

The researchers John O. Savino and Brent E. Turvey (2005) identify four categories of rape: legal, clinical, moral, and political. These broad divisions allow the inclusion of differing perspectives on how the American culture addresses this crime. The legal definition of rape is specific to each jurisdiction and is based on the local penal code, with the assistance of the courts. Broadly, rape is a criminal offense in which a victim is coerced into and forced to perform sexual activities; this can include vaginal or anal penetration and oral copulation.

The CCM Definitions In an effort to standardize definitions the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) developed the *Crime Classification Manual* (CCM), in which the classifications of rape are based on the primary intent of the offender and the status of the victim (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Rape and sexual assault are divided into three categories in the CCM: adults, adolescents, and children. Adults are eighteen years of age and older and are capable of consent under the laws defining sexual activity, although exceptions may be made for persons with mental impairment or physical damage to the brain (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Adolescents are between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, and their ability to consent varies by jurisdiction (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Children are defined as individuals twelve years old and younger who in all jurisdictions are considered minors incapable of giving consent (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). The CCM includes eleven categories of rape and sexual assault, many with subcategories. These divisions illustrate the variety of rape crimes as well as the potential difficulty in prosecuting them.

Criminal enterprise rape is defined as coercion, abuse, or assault that is committed for material gain (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Felony rape is rape committed during the perpetration of a felony, and this crime is defined on the basis of whether the rape was primary or secondary. When the offender does not intend to rape the victim as the primary criminal act but another felony is the intention (e.g., robbery or breaking and entering), the rape that occurs is primary felony rape. Secondary felony rape occurs when rape is the primary intent of the offender, with a secondary felony also planned.

The third CCM category is personal cause rape and sexual assault. These crimes committed for personal causes are acts stemming from personal/psychological internal aggression, with the desired outcome being the sexual victimization of a known or unknown individual. Personal or emotional conflicts underpin the offender's behavior (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Domestic sexual assault is one of nine subcategories within personal cause rape and sexual assault and is defined as rape or sexual assault committed against a spouse, partner, or family member.

Entitlement rape, which includes social acquaintance, subordinate, power-assurance, and exploitative rape, is another subcategory under personal cause rape and sexual assault. Entitlement rape occurs when the offender forces the victim to perform sexual activities as a result of various psychological motivations. The key factor in defining entitlement, anger, and sadistic rape is the amount of aggression exhibited by the offender (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). A number of acts can contribute to the classification of the degree of aggression displayed, including injuries greater than minor cuts, force exceeding that needed to attain the victim's compliance, specific acts during the crime (e.g., burning, mutilation, stabbing, choking), and desire or attempts to humiliate the victim (language used, use of feces or urine, forcing a male to observe or evidence of forced fellatio after sodomy) (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b).

Within the subcategory of entitlement rape is social acquaintance, or "date," rape, which is defined as rape that occurs between an offender and a victim with prior knowledge of or a relationship with each other. This crime often occurs on a date or can occur between a teacher and a student or an athlete and a coach, for example. Subordinate rape is defined by the relationship between the offender and the victim and is a crime involving subordination or an imbalance of power. The offender, who has power over the victim that is based on employment, education, or age, exploits that positional imbalance to take advantage of the victim. Power-reassurance rape is a sudden assault, often against an unknown victim, with little injury caused to the victim. Exploitative rape, or opportunistic rape, is an offense committed with little aggression but with great indifference toward the victim (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b).

Anger rape, another subcategory within personal cause rape and sexual assault, is defined by the primary motive of the offender: anger. This type of crime is driven primarily by impulse, and a high degree of aggression is displayed (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Within the category of anger rape, four subcategories are identified: gender, age, racial, and global. Gender rape is a crime committed by offenders who hate women and express their rage through rape. Anger rape with an age focus is a crime committed against a victim on the basis of the victim's age, typically involving a child or an elderly individual. Racial anger rape is rape motivated primarily by racial hatred. Global anger rape is committed by an offender who is angry at the world generally and displays a high level of aggression.

Sadistic rape is another subcategory of personal cause rape and sexual assault. The offender employs a level of violence that clearly exceeds that which is necessary to gain the victim's compliance. This level of aggression can cause injuries and even death to the victim. The victim's pain triggers the offender's sexual arousal. Abduction rape is also a category of personal cause rape and sexual assault. Abduction by a stranger occurs when an individual is transported in a vehicle, within a building, or farther than twenty feet for the purpose of the commission of a crime, in this case rape (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b).

Group cause rape and sexual assault constitutes another classification of rape within the CCM. This type of rape is committed by three or more offenders, whereas two offenders involved in the crime would be categorized under personal cause, and the motivation of the offenders typically varies. Included within group cause rape are formal and informal gang rape and sexual assault. Formal gang rape and sexual assault are committed by a group of three or more offenders who display a sense of cohesiveness and belong to a group that has some internal organizational structure and a name (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b). Informal gang rape and sexual assault, in contrast, are committed by three or more offenders who do not have an internal organization structure and are loosely organized, and this type of rape and sexual assault often occurs on the spur of the moment (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001b).

Finally, the CCM identifies rape and/or sexual assault not classified elsewhere. This crime may exhibit characteristics of some of the categories listed above but does not fall easily into any one of those divisions.

The Clinical Definition These legal definitions differ from a clinical definition of rape in a number of ways; most important, the clinical definition approaches rape from a treatment-oriented perspective. Savino and Turvey (2005) note that clinicians define rape in treatment-oriented terms to gain a better understanding of the offender's pathology or to help the victim overcome the trauma of rape. This definition also focuses on the perceptions of the victim rather than the offender's intent (Savino and Turvey 2005). In clinical terms, rape or sexual assault is a form of sexual aggression that is not motivated by sexual desire.

Political Definitions Political definitions of rape stem from a particular political position or agenda and are advanced by specific groups such as offender or victim advocates, political parties, political movements, and religious institutions. These definitions often represent self-serving objectives that are based on a group's political position. Moral definitions of rape and sexual assault can be perceived as a particular type of political position. These various categorizations emphasize judgments (e.g., good, bad, right, or wrong) of the offender's actions and can be inflammatory. They can reflect anger or a need for retribution or revenge, and moral perspectives on rape and sexual assault often come from victims, advocates, or the media (Savino and Turvey 2005).

Myths about Offenders and Victims Undergirding these definitions of rape and sexual assault are numerous myths about the offender and the victim. A few of the prominent myths about rape offenders are the myth of the stranger, the myth of the loner, and the myth of uncontrollable arousal. The myth of the stranger remains a pervasive idea about the type of individual who perpetrates the crime of rape. This belief can be dangerous because it suggests that one is safe at home, in a car, or with people one knows. The stranger myth is refuted by rape statistics. According to the National Violence against Women Survey, only 14.1 percent of rape victims are attacked by strangers, whereas 76 percent of rapes and sexual assaults are committed by intimate partners. The statistics change somewhat when the victims are adolescents. The National Survey of Adolescents notes that 23.2 percent of rapes and sexual assaults against adolescents are committed by strangers and 73.7 percent of attacks are perpetrated by family friends, relatives, or nonrelatives who are known well by the victim (e.g., neighbors) (Savino and Turvey 2005, p.16).

The myth of the loner is linked closely with the myth of the stranger. The assumption here is that rape offenders are disenfranchised social outcasts, but studies indicate that the majority of offenders are in consensual relationships when they commit their crimes (Savino and Turvey 2005). Another myth is that of uncontrollable arousal. Everyone's brain chemistry, psychological pleasures, and pain associations are different, and varying degrees of sexual dysfunction occur during the commission of rape (Savino and Turvey 2005). Moreover, rape is not committed to satisfy sexual desire; instead, the offender is seeking to fulfill his or her need for power and control. In this sense rape is a pseudo-sexual act that is a means to achieve the offender's goals (Savino and Turvey 2005).

In addition to offender myths, false beliefs surround the behavior and characteristics of rape victims. A prominent myth is that the victim is responsible for arousing the offender and/or that the victim does not discourage the perpetrator from committing the crime. A victim's clothing or behavior is not an invitation to forced sexual activity. If an individual consents to some sexual activity, that consent does not cover all sexual activity; if the individual says "no" or "stop," that constitutes dissuasion. Additionally, a persistent myth is that if a victim takes drugs or alcohol, the ensuing attack is not rape or sexual assault. An individual under the influence of alcohol or drugs does not cause anyone to assault her or him. Many state laws note that individuals under the influence of alcohol or drugs are impaired and cannot consent to sexual activity. Moreover, offenders who employ drugs or alcohol to subdue a victim are committing a crime in addition to rape or sexual assault.

STATISTICS

Research on crime in the United States indicates a decline in the commission of most crimes, with the incidence rape and sexual assault remaining consistent. In fact, since 2000 FBI data show a 5 percent increase in rape crimes (National Coalition against Domestic Violence [NCADV] 2006). In the United States "1 in 5 women and 1 in 33 men have experienced an attempted or completed rape" (NCADV 2006). According to the National Violence against Women Survey, 76 percent of those who commit rape and/or sexual assault are intimate partners (current or former spouse, cohabitating partner, date, or boyfriend or girlfriend). Intimate partner rape and sexual assault often are linked with physical abuse; 68 percent of physically abused women report sexual assault within their intimate partner relationships (McFarlane and Malecha 2005). Marital rape, which is more specific than intimate partner rape and sexual assault, accounts for 25 percent of all rapes, and married women are likely to experience multiple rapes and/or sexual assaults before escaping from the abuse (NCADV 2006). In addition, individuals who are disabled or pregnant or have attempted to leave a relationship are at greater risk for being victims of intimate partner rape and sexual assault. Intimate partner rape and sexual assault are not limited to heterosexual relationships; the NCADV (2006) notes that 52 percent of the participants in a study of gay and lesbian sexual coercion indicated that they were victims of at least one sexual assault.

Although intimate partnership is the primary relationship in which this type of violence occurs, the most commonly affected demographic group is women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, and 70 percent of the rape and sexual assault committed against teenage and college-aged women is perpetrated by an acquaintance or date (NCADV 2006). The National Center for Victims of Crime estimates that 5 percent of college women experience rape in a year and that 60 percent of rapes on college campuses occur in a casual or steady relationship (National Center for Victims of Crime 2006).

Sexual assault and rape in the college environment received increased attention in the first decade of the twenty-first century, and the Department of Justice produced a December 2005 report titled "Sexual Assault on Campus: What Colleges and Universities Are Doing about It." This report highlights the significance of rape and sexual assault on college campuses and also indicates how universities are complying with federal laws and providing resources to victims "unevenly." Moreover, the report notes the widespread underreporting of rape and sexual assault in this environment. The researchers focused on "whether schools have a written sexual assault response policy; whether and how they define sexual misconduct; who on campus is trained to respond to reports of sexual assault; how students can report sexual victimization; what resources are available to victims; and what investigation and adjudication procedures once a report is made" are available ("Sexual Assault" p. 4, 6). These findings indicate the need for continued reform on campuses in a range of areas, such as the development of campus-wide sexual assault policies and efforts to increase reporting.

Women experience rape and sexual assault at a significantly greater rate than do men, but college-age men report unwanted kissing or fondling more than unwanted intercourse, and these advances generally are made by other men. However, most male victims do not report a rape or sexual assault, and so the statistics for this demographic are often unavailable (the FBI Uniform Crime Report does not report men as rape victims, for example). Researchers have begun to address men as victims of rape on college campuses in particular and have noted that men account for approximately 10 percent of rape victims (Sampson 2002, p. 3).

PROFILE OF A RAPE VICTIM

Any woman or man in any racial, socioeconomic, age, and sexual identity category can be a victim of rape despite the fact that the most commonly affected demographic group is teenage and college-age women. Most research on rape victims has focused on the effects of rape, such as rape trauma syndrome, but the existing research has not produced a definitive profile of a rape victim. Most likely this is the case because rape spans such wide cultural categories and because the complexities of the crime make it difficult to identify a single type of victim. For example, the type of abuse, event characteristics, offender pathology, the relationship between victim and offender, victim personality, and the victim's response after the crime are all dimensions that define the crime of rape (Johnson and Sigler 1997). However, these factors offer investigators and prosecutors strategies for gaining insight into a particular crime, and this tool traditionally is called victimology, or the study of victims. By employing victimology, investigators can narrow the suspect pool and achieve a better focus for their case and develop a context for the crime.

Although the victims of rape vary and the crime circumstances are case-specific, the aftermath of rape for the victims has been researched and documented thoroughly. First, victims must decide to report the crime and involve the judicial system. This process requires the victims to convince law enforcement and prosecutors that a crime did occur; they also must convince prosecutors that the crime can be tried in front of a jury; and they then must persuade a jury to convict the offender (Savino and Turvey 2005). Victims may encounter disbelief from friends and/or family members or scrutiny from the public, and that may affect the decision-making process.

Victims also experience rape trauma syndrome. Burgess and Hazelwood (2001a) describe rape trauma syndrome as having two phases—acute and long-term—and as being a syndrome of behavioral, psychological, and somatic responses to a life-threatening situation. The acute phase is described as disorganization, and victims respond emotionally and physically to the immediate impact of the crime. Physical responses can include disturbances of sleeping and eating patterns and symptoms specific to the area or areas that underwent physical trauma during the crime (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Emotional reactions vary widely, but fear is the primary emotional response; that fear is typically of death, mutilation, and/or physical injury (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Other emotional reactions noted by Burgess and Hazelwood include guilt, shame, humiliation, degradation, and embarrassment. After the acute phase of the syndrome, victims undergo the long-term process, which is defined as reorganization. A number of factors contribute to the way victims reorganize their lives, including personality, the support received after the crime, and how those they told about the rape responded (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a).

Burgess and Hazelwood (2001a) identify four lifestyle areas that frequently experience disruption as a result of rape: physical, psychological, social, and sexual. In the long term victims may experience physical problems in the areas of injury and gynecological and/or menstruation difficulties, such as chronic changes in menstruation patterns (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). The psychological reactions during the reorganization process often carry over from the acute phase, such as dreams and nightmares. Common psychological responses also include fears and phobias; fears develop as defense mechanisms, whereas phobias are frequently maladaptive (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). A victim's social lifestyle can be affected in a variety of ways, including minimal social functioning. A common response is to seek support from family members regardless of geographical distance (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Finally, victims can experience a fear of sex after a rape, and that fear can increase when a partner wants to return to a previous sexual pattern (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a).

One type of victim remains understudied: the male victim. Approximately 5 to 10 percent of all reported rape victims are men, and the demographic profile is typically heterosexual: White men in their early to middle twenties and gay men are raped at higher rates than are heterosexual men (Scarce 2001). Most male victims are assaulted in or near their homes by heterosexual men they know, and multiple assailants are more prevalent in assaults on men than in those on women. Weapons are used more often against men than against women. Moreover, men are more likely to deny that a rape occurred. However, the effects are fairly similar because male victims can experience rape trauma syndrome, shame, guilt, anger, depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder.

PROFILE OF A RAPE OFFENDER

As with a rape victim, a specific profile of a rape assailant is difficult to construct because of the variety of personality types, modi operandi, and motives. Examining the range of modi operandi allows investigators to link unsolved rapes and sexual assaults and helps develop investigative leads on the offender's identity (Savino and Turvey 2005). Thus, modi operandi can offer a profile of the type of offender involved in a particular crime. Investigators can learn the involvement of the offender's choices, procedures, and techniques in the commission of the crime that could be characteristic of a particular profession, skill and/or trade, or realm of knowledge, including knowledge of the victim and knowledge particular to the crime scene, by studying modi operandi (Savino and Turvey 2005). Modi operandi behaviors can include the number of offenders, the amount of planning involved, the choice of location, the route selected, the use of weapon and/or restraints, surveillance of the victim, and items taken from the scene of the crime (Savino and Turvey 2005). A number of factors can influence the modus operandi of an offender, including educational or technical materials, trade or professional experience, criminal experience, prior contact with the criminal justice system, the media, and the offender's emotional state (Savino and Turvey 2005).

Savino and Turvey (2005) distinguish between motive and intent in analyzing an offender's motivation. Motive is defined as a general need, whereas intent is a specific plan or aim. By focusing on an offender's motive, investigators can limit the suspect pool to individuals with a particular motive, link unsolved rapes and sexual assaults on the basis of similar motives, and offer circumstantial information on an offender's identity and/or emotional state (Savino and Turvey 2005). Like modi operandi, motive can provide a profile of a particular offender involved in a crime.

A number of researchers have identified a range of rape offender motivational typologies that include power-reassurance (compensatory), power-assertive (impulsive, exploitative, entitlement), anger-retaliatory (displaced aggression), and anger-excitation (sadistic) (Savino and Turvey 2005). Power-reassurance stems from an offender's doubts about prowess and desirability and involves nonaggressive behavior that serves to normalize the assault for the offender (Savino and Turvey 2005). Savino and Turvey (2005) note that the power-assertive typology involves nonlethal but aggressive behavior that stems from an offender's doubts about machismo, confidence, and masculinity, and the attack is typically an overt display of those characteristics. The anger-retaliatory motive satisfies an offender's rage through violent physical and sexual force (Savino and Turvey 2005). Finally, an offender can exhibit the anger-excitation typology, in which the victim's pain triggers the offender's sexual arousal (Savino and Turvey 2005).

According to U.S. Department of Justice statistics in a 1995 study (Greenfield 1997), 56 percent of offenders arrested for rape were white, 42 percent were African-American, and 2 percent were of other racial origin. The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) indicates that over 40 percent of rape offenders were thirty years old and older and that approximately one in eight was under eighteen years of age (Greenfield 1997). These statistics provide a broad picture of the types of individuals who tend to commit rape, but the study of modi operandi and motive offers better insight into rape offenders.

INVESTIGATION OF RAPE CRIMES

After the victim has decided to report a rape, law enforcement officials respond. There has been extensive revision to the response procedures for rape and sexual assault because of inconsistencies and errors in the past. Upon arrival, the first responders should assist the victim and provide aid if necessary, notify the appropriate agencies, secure the crime scene, protect the evidence, and establish the basic facts of the incident (Savino and Turvey 2005). These simple procedures begin the complex process of investigating the crime. Along with revisions of investigative procedures, sexual assault protocols have been established in all states to identify the specific needs and nuances of the rape victim and of the crime scene and evidence. Included in this protocol are procedures to be followed by first responders that include instructing the victim not to wash her or his hands, discard clothing, shower, or bathe in order to protect potential evidence (Savino and Turvey 2005). Also, the first responders should conduct an initial interview with the victim that not only gathers information but also takes into account the emotional state of the victim and is conducted with respect and courtesy.

The crime scene is not simply the place where the crime of rape occurred; it can include primary, secondary, and intermediate crime scenes, a disposal site, and the victim. A crime scene is the place where a criminal act has taken place and where evidence of the crime can be collected (Savino and Turvey 2005). In the case of sex crimes the victim's body and clothing constitute a crime scene. Investigators must establish all the scenes involved in the crime, and they often do this by retracing the interaction between the victim and the offender. Once the crime scenes have been identified, investigators, including crime laboratory technicians and police officers, must identify and collect evidence.

Physical evidence in sex crimes is integral to the prosecution of a suspect. In 1994 as noted by Savino and Turvey, Henry Lee identified four types of physical evidence: transient, transfer, pattern, and conditional. All four categories can be part of a rape or sexual assault. Transient evidence is temporary and can be changed or lost with time; it can include odor; temporary imprints and/or indentations in surfaces such as sand, snow, and ice; and burning candles or incense (Savino and Turvey 2005). Transfer evidence is produced by physical contact between persons and/or objects and can be traced back to the source by examining its physical, chemical, or biological properties (Savino and Turvey 2005). Transfer evidence may include or be found on finger or palm prints, tool marks, tracks or impressions, cigarettes, glass, plastic, rubber, paint, hair, fibers, weapons, and bodily fluids (Savino and Turvey 2005). Pattern evidence also is produced by contact between persons and/or objects but has distinctive characteristics; it may include finger or palm patterns, glass fracture patterns, footwear or footprint patterns, tire and/or skid marks, powder residue, fire burn patterns, and modus operandi patterns (Savino and Turvey 2005). Conditional evidence is generated by an action or event, and its presence provides direct evidence that an event has or has not occurred. Conditional evidence may include smoke from a fire, fire color or temperature, the location of an item, and locks and windows that have or have not been engaged (Savino and Turvey 2005). Biological evidence, which may be transfer or pattern evidence, is significant in investigating and prosecuting sex crimes. In these cases the most common biological evidence collected is blood, sweat, semen, sperm, hair, saliva, urine, and excrement (Savino and Turvey 2005). These pieces of evidence may be found on a number of surfaces, including the victim and the offender, and every object and surface at crime scenes can contain biological transfer evidence.

Because the victim herself or himself is a crime scene, processing evidence from the victim requires deliberate procedural attention, and until recently these standards varied greatly across jurisdictions. In the past rape and sexual assault victims were transported to the emergency room, where they had to wait four to twelve hours for an examination. Once they were seen by a medical professional, they often had to wait an additional three hours. Evidence could be lost during that period, and the nurses and doctors were not trained in collecting evidence.

It is recommended that victims be examined within seventy-two hours of an assault, and if a victim does not report the attack immediately, the time needed to collect evidence becomes even more critical. As a result, the Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) program was implemented and dictates the standards by which hospitals and medical facilities should attend to rape and sexual assault victims. A SANE professional is a specially trained nurse who is available around the clock to conduct rape and/or sexual assault examinations, and she or he will complete the medical legal examination within a specified time frame (Savino and Turvey 2005).

The SANE program represents a significant step in the standardization of rape and sexual assault examination and investigation protocols that has been established nationwide. The Joint Commission on Accreditation of Health Care Organizations requires emergency and ambulatory services to have standard procedures on rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence examinations and also requires those facilities to train staff in recognizing potential victims of those crimes (Savino and Turvey 2005). Those standards, specifically the implementation of the SANE program, have proved effective. SANE professionals can facilitate reporting and assist the victim in cooperating with the legal process, and they greatly reduce the time a victim must spend in the emergency room. Moreover, they generate better evidence collection because they are trained in this process and they assure that the examination is both medical and legal in nature (Savino and Turvey 2005).

SANE professionals administer the sexual assault medical evidentiary examination, and this aspect of the investigative procedure also has experienced standardization, beginning in California in 1987. The examination begins with the determination by the emergency room triage nurse whether there are any injuries that require immediate attention, and the emergency room physician room waits until the SANE professional or forensic examiner documents the injuries via photography and collects evidence to treat any non-life-threatening injuries (Savino and Turvey 2005). After triage is done and the victim's signed consent for the examination is obtained, the SANE professional conducts the complete examination, including the medical forensic interview; collects any evidence that may confirm recent sexual contact and show whether force or coercion was employed; and corroborates the victim's assault history provided at the initial interview (Savino and Turvey 2005). More specifically, clothing and biological evidence may be collected, further examination and documentation of injuries may occur, preventive care for sexually transmitted diseases and evaluation of pregnancy risk may be administered, and crisis intervention will be offered. The SANE professional is also responsible for providing referrals for follow-up medical and psychological care (Savino and Turvey 2005).

The sexual assault examination can include testing for drug-facilitated rape and sexual assault. Part of the difficulty in prosecuting not only rape and sexual assault cases involving drugs but also the use of drugs in the perpetration of rape and sexual assault is the fact that the victim often has no recollection of the crime because of the effects of the drug. Attention has been paid to the use of Rohypnol and gamma hydroxybutyrate (GHB) in the perpetration of rapes and sexual assaults. However, many other substances have been detected in victims, such as ecstasy, cocaine, marijuana, opiates, muscle relaxers, and alcohol. In fact, the substances detected most commonly are alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, benzodiazepines (e.g., Rohypnol), amphetamines, and GHB. Most of these drugs have sedative effects that cause the user-victim to lose inhibitions, be more submissive, and ultimately lose consciousness (Savino and Turvey 2005). Many of these substances also can cause dizziness, nausea, impaired judgment, and confusion, and drugs such as Rohypnol and GHB can cause the victim to have partial or complete amnesia. In contrast to other types of rape or sexual assault cases, the victim may or may not have been a willing participant in previous acts of consensual sex with the offender or may have consented to or not consented to the use of drugs (Savino and Turvey 2005).

In addition to physical evidence, other types of evidence can include circumstantial evidence, which consists of facts or events that can implicate an individual in a crime, and eyewitness evidence, which consists of one or more persons who claim to have witnessed the crime or saw the suspect in the vicinity of the crime (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a).

RESOURCES AND VICTIM SERVICES

In the late twentieth century crisis centers offered little in the way of resources and services to victims of rape, but grassroots groups whose formation resulted from the activity of the women's movement ensured that victims had access to counseling and other modes of assistance (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Contemporary hospitals and medical care facilities offer victim care services (VCS) and work in conjunction with the SANE and similar programs. Rape crisis services typically include a twenty-four-hour telephone hotline and Web resources, advocacy to assist with the medical and legal systems, accompaniment to medical or legal appointments or court appearances, and post-rape/assault counseling (Burgess and Hazelwood 2001a). Counseling can be individual or done in a group setting. In the past counseling services were provided by trained volunteers, but more recently mental health professionals have been providing counseling services.

SEE ALSO *Prison, Detention and Correctional Institutions.*

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Michelle Parke

RAP MUSIC

Rap music, an element of hip-hop culture, is an oppositional form of expression that emerged in the United States in the late 1970s from postindustrial poverty, gangs, and violence. It has been criticized as a hypermasculine space filled with braggadocio, sexism, and strict gender roles, and some of its content illustrates limiting roles for women. In rap lyrics and video imagery women often are framed as either sexually loose or virginal (the Madonna-whore dichotomy) and are accused of being lesbians (often considered bad and taboo in mainstream rap) or characterized as "Dear Mommas" (good mothers), baby mamas (money-hungry bad mothers), gold diggers, welfare queens, or "queens" (worthy of respect). However, negative views of womanhood do not prohibit women's participation; instead, many U.S. and international female artists work within hip-hop culture to counter those stereotypes.

MISOGYNY IN EARLY RAP

Once accessed only on homemade mix tapes in the inner city, rap spread quickly through media outlets such as *Yo MTV Raps!* (aired from 1988 to 1995), presenting audiences with repetitive images of bikini-clad women. Early videos such as Sir Mix-A-Lot's "Baby Got Back" (1992), which shows him standing atop mountainous brown derrieres, prompted many to question the intentions of rap toward women. Mix-A-Lot claimed his song as a celebration of full-figured brown women, but some drew connections to historical stereotypes of black women as hypersexual. A multitude of songs, such as NWA's "A Bitch Iz a Bitch" (1989), Dr. Dre's "Bitches Ain't Shit" (1992), and Lil' Wayne's "Alphabet Bitches" (2006), call out "bad" women (as "bitches," "tricks," "hoes," and "freaks").

In response, politicians, including C. Delores Tucker and Tipper Gore, rallied unsuccessfully to get record companies to censor sexually explicit content that they claimed threatened the moral fabric of the nation. When the rap group 2 Live Crew faced obscenity charges in the 1990s, debates raged among scholars. Some argued that the music was a misogynistic assault on black women, and some, such as Henry Louis Gates Jr., defended rap as "a form of 'sexual carnivalesque' with the potential to resist the pathologies of racism" (Crenshaw 1991).

SEXUALLY EXPLICIT RAP BY WOMEN ARTISTS AND IN COMMERCIAL MEDIA

Women rappers also release sexually explicit controversial rap. In November 1996 Lil' Kim's "Hardcore," with a cover showing her with legs cocked open, and Foxy Brown's "Ill Nana," whose title track details her sexual prowess, both went multiplatinum. Kim's single "How Many Licks" (2000), promoted by a provocative video of her likeness in the form of an anatomically correct sex doll, vividly details her sexual encounters with many men.

Commercial radio outlets continue to play songs commanding women's complicity in heavy rotation. Tracks with imperative hooks such as "Back That Ass Up" (1998), "Shake Ya Ass/Shake It Fast" (2000), and "Move Bitch" (2001) have fostered booming record sales with little more than parental advisory stickers on the album covers. Black Entertainment Television (BET) launched the late-night program *Uncut* to show "dirty" versions of videos for those types of songs. It also aired *Tip Drill* (2003), which became famous for an ending in which Nelly swipes a credit card through a black woman's buttocks, and that program sparked an intense reaction. After the airing, Nelly attempted to do a bone marrow drive for his ill sister at Spellman College, but students there demanded a forum to discuss his treatment of women. He refused and quietly canceled the event. Subsequently, *Essence* magazine launched a yearlong "Take Back the Music Campaign" featuring articles and nationwide town hall meetings to tackle stereotypes of black womanhood perpetuated by rap. *UnCut* was canceled in 2006.

RESISTANCE FROM FEMALE ARTISTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Mainstream women rappers such as Queen Latifah (her 1993 song "Unity" asks, "Who you calling a bitch?"), Lauryn Hill (her 1998 "Doo Wop (That Thing)" warns girls that some men want only sex), and Eve (her 1999 "Love Is Blind" is about domestic violence) produce music from women's perspectives, countering some misogynist rap. Independent artists such as Bahamadia (her 2005 "Commonwealth [Cheap Chicks]" for "stricken by poverty chicks, dollar store shoppers") speaks to women who do not have or want all the material things portrayed on MTV and BET. The feminist performer Sarah Jones responded directly to sexist lyrics in "Your Revolution" (2001) by inverting popular lyrics into a feminist anthem. The song was played on community radio stations until a caller to Portland's KBOO claimed to be offended. Subsequently, Jones faced Federal Communications Commission indecency charges that the Supreme Court later overturned.

Resistance extends beyond rap with hip-hop activist organizations such as R.E.A.C.Hip-Hop, whose mission is said to be to "represent[s] education, activism, and community" (R.E.A.C.Hip-Hop 2006). In the 2000s that organization successfully led campaigns (one demanded that radio stations "cease and desist use of the N word and all racial and gender-based slurs") that caused millions of dollars in lost revenue for corporate holders.

Nevertheless, commercial markets saturated with sexually explicit and racially charged content, such as pimp, stripper and pornographic culture, continued to air with little recourse. Snoop Dogg's 2003 strut down the red carpet at the *MTV Awards* showed him escorting two leashed black women wearing leather collars and later was animated for an MTV2 show. Three Six Mafia's "It's Hard Out Here for a Pimp" (2005), which chronicles the struggles of a black pimp trying to "make change off these women," was awarded the 2006 Oscar for best song; that was the first time rap was performed at the Academy Awards. In the same year Kim Osorio, former editor of the self-proclaimed "Hip-hop Bible," *The Source Magazine*, won a sexual harassment lawsuit and a $14.5 million settlement, a landmark for women in the rap industry.

In the early years debates over sexism in rap centered on discussions of how many times a song used the word *bitch*, but they soon grew in complexity to examine the misogynistic images of rap videos, the lyrics of female rappers, the effects of rap on young women, video programming and access to content, parental responsibility, and artistic freedom of expression. Much rap continues to perpetuate stereotypes of womanhood in corporate and independent outlets. Videos, magazines, films, fashion, liquor, advertisements, and corporate branding distribute sexually charged and racialized images, feeding popular discourse and imaginations about the lives of people in the black and brown community. With increasing activism, education, hip-hop feminism, and alternative methods of distribution, many people have organized politically, socially, and economically in the academy, online, and on the streets.

SEE ALSO *Censorship.*

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Rachel Raimist

REICH, WILHELM
1897–1957

Wilhelm Reich's ideas developed from an emphasis within Freudian circles on the central role of genital sexuality in mental health to an apotheosis of the orgasm (more precisely, the energy manifested in the orgasm) as the vital energy of the universe. His career began with a leading position in the early psychoanalytic community. When it ended he considered himself and was considered by his followers to be a misunderstood genius. But by then both the scientific and psychoanalytic communities considered him a crackpot.

As with his mentor Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Reich came from a German-speaking Jewish family in the Austrian Empire, in Reich's case from Galicia. After service in World War I, Reich studied medicine in Vienna where he was rapidly drawn into the young psychoanalytic movement. A rising star, Reich was named technical director at Freud's Vienna polyclinic in 1924 and in 1927 to the executive committee of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society.

Reich extended the master's teachings in two areas. The first, character analysis, gave priority to the patient's resistances and the ways in which they constituted a character type. The second concerned the centrality of what Reich called *orgastic potency*. More than climax the Reichian orgasm had to be infused with mutual tenderness and sensuality. It should be produced by slow continuous friction between penis and vagina, and the simultaneous mutual climax should result in a momentary loss of consciousness and be accompanied by involuntary muscular contractions throughout the body. Such orgasms were essential to mental health, were the goal of therapy, and marked the difference between *genital* and *neurotic* personalities.

In the early twenty-first century, Reich's embrace seems narrowly heteronormative (Sharaf is probably right to impute latent homophobia to Reich) (1994, pp. 390–391; cf *Fascism*, pp. 92–93, 138). Reich's positions shocked both psychoanalytic sensibilities and theories. Freud did trace neurosis to unresolved childhood sexual conflicts, but he also saw the sublimation of the sexual drive as the source of all culture and civilization. In Reich's system the sole primary instinct was life affirming whereas the master had recently added an independent, and contrary, death instinct. Theoretical and personal clashes effectively expelled Reich from the international psychoanalytic movement in 1934.

By then Reich had also been distinguishing himself from his fellow therapists by his *sex-political work*. This was information and propaganda in favor of birth control, abortion, and sexual freedom directed to working-class youth, in conjunction with the left wing of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party in Vienna, until his expulsion in 1930, and with the Communist Party in Berlin until Reich was expelled from that party in the moment of Hitler's rise to power in 1933.

Reich broke with Communists and other Marxists by concluding, as early as 1934, that the explanation of fascist success resided in personality dynamics, prefiguring the idea of the authoritarian personality. For Reich, Fascism, and especially Nazism, exploited and redirected the energy blocked by sexual repression. By the end of World War II Reich (citing German political philosopher and writer Friedrich Engels [1820–1895]) extended his argument backward to the origins of patriarchal society, whose inequalities were based on confiscated sexual energy.

Leaving Germany Reich found his way to Norway in 1934 and the United States in 1939. He also migrated toward natural science, first by studying what he considered the bionic energy of orgasm and then claiming to have discovered bions, inorganic particles that spontaneously changed into organic forms (scientists have never accepted his claims). Reich's most important innovation came with his discovery of the orgone (accepted only by his followers) in 1940. He first spotted orgone energy as a bluish light emitted by his bions, then in a darkened room without the bions. Eventually, seeing orgones between the stars at night, he concluded not that they were an illusion, but that they were a universal cosmic energy linking inanimate matter, organisms, and the world of sexuality (through the orgasm).

Between 1942 and 1949 Reich built a residential and scientific center in Maine, which he named Organon, and where he worked and taught as a kind of cult leader. Reich became convinced that orgone energy could be concentrated in specially designed boxes called orgone accumulators and that exposure to this energy had medical benefits, especially against cancer, which Reich described as "living putrefaction of the tissues due to the pleasure starvation of the organism" (Sharaf 1994, p. 306). A disastrous experimental combination of radium with orgone energy in 1950 convinced Reich of the existence of a negative orgone energy (or DOR for Deadly ORgone), which was now the cosmic evil to orgone's good biological energy, and which was associated with the dangers of nuclear war.

In 1954, after several years of investigation, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) won a court injunction against the sale or promotion of orgone accumulators, considered bogus medical treatment. Reich's defenders insisted that the FDA's scientists had not tested the accumulators correctly. In 1956 Reich was convicted of violating the injunction by continuing to promote accumulators and was imprisoned in 1957. He died within the year, convinced that President Dwight Eisenhower (whom he supported in the Cold War) would come to his aid.

A few short years after Reich's death in disgrace, his name—and even more, his ideas—were revived in the hippie and sexual liberation movements in their association (*make love not war*) of authoritarianism, inequality, and militarism with sexual repression, as well as in the utopian dream that open sexuality could redeem humanity.

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Allen Douglas

RELIGION, STUDY OF

It is commonplace to view gender as a social construction, created and perpetuated by social institutions and structures where male and female roles and behaviors are assigned and performed according to a set of assumptions about a "natural" order, biological exigencies, or divine ordination. Religion, in its broadest sense understood as systematized and communal belief and practice, has been one of the main means historically through which gender construction has been both undertaken and maintained. In many ways, religion constitutes a discursive practice, which, in Foucauldian terms, is a rule-governed set of statements in which a community creates and articulates what it agrees to be knowledge or truth and which are regulated through a variety of procedures such as prohibitions and taboos, forms of authorization, specialization, exclusory classification, and so on (see Foucault 1981). To view religion as a discursive practice, therefore, and to examine the ways in which it participates in the construction of gender, is to investigate those religious procedures and practices that determine, regulate, and sanction the meanings and values of gender categories.

There are a variety of means that religious traditions use to construct gender, and these are discussed briefly here with regard to the broad categories of religious authority, religion and corporeality, and religious identity, before an examination of how the academic field of religion and gender has sought to investigate the ways in which religious traditions as well as the field of religious studies have understood gender.

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

Religious authority is established and wielded through a variety of means—sacred texts deemed to be the direct revelation of a deity in theistic traditions, the teachings of a tradition's founder, or the ancient writings of ancestors, a priestly hierarchy or charismatic leader, communal tradition, and personal experience. Each form of authority has implications for gender roles and identities both with regard to the ways in which various gender constructions are sanctioned and the extent to which the different sexes have access to that authority. Very generally speaking, women are usually excluded from holding positions of authority within most religious traditions that fall under the category of "established religion," for example Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, and so on. "New" religious movements (NRMs), however, often place fewer restrictions on women's access to religious authority and indeed regularly encourage women to take a central role—for example Wicca, which explicitly resists conventional forms of religious authority and promotes women's full participation and leadership. Pagan traditions such as Wicca often either play down the importance of gender for the spiritual path or suggest that the sexes are complementary and reflective of the balance of the cosmos (see Palmer 1994).

Sacred texts and religious leadership have tended to be the paradigmatic means of gender construction in established religions. Within the monotheistic traditions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, a number of gender idealizations are offered through their central texts and reinforced through their leadership structures. However, their orthodox forms each sanction basic scriptural accounts of gender differences on either a sex-complementarity or gender-polarized model. As such, the basis of the difference between males and females is viewed to be a form of divinely ordained (and indeed created) biological essentialism that is then extended to mandate gendered roles, abilities, and forms of religious participation. Moreover, although the presence of women in religious texts is often marginal, they are often portrayed in negative ways—as a source of temptation, sexually loose, cunning, weak-willed. Nontheistic traditions such as Buddhism (in its various forms) present gender in a variety of ways—ranging from the irrelevancy of gender to the idea that biological sex is crucially important—all of which, however, are concerned with the extent to which the adherent's gender enables or hinders the achievement of enlightenment.

RELIGION AND CORPOREALITY

Gender and biological sex are often conflated in many religious traditions, an aspect that becomes especially clear when considering different religious attitudes toward corporeality. Men are often exempted from an association with the body; they are usually deemed more spiritual than women, and consequently their religious identities are rarely categorized—as women's are—in terms of their sexual function. Women's bodies, in contrast, are with striking regularity in many traditions viewed as problematic—either dangerous, a source of pollution, or indicative of a lower order of being—and this seems to be because of the association made between femininity, fertility, and sexuality. The sexually controlled (married or chaste) or asexual woman is often portrayed as a spiritual ideal—the Virgin Mary, for example—and is contrasted with the sexually active woman—Mary Magdalene. Within Brahmanical (orthodox) Hinduism, women are considered inherently wicked and polluting, and their spiritual practice must be directed toward the redemptive path of submissive wifehood. They must treat their husbands as akin to gods and undertake religious rituals solely for their benefit and that of their male kin.

The fear of female bodies is expressed and managed in numerous ways. In Confucianism, orthodox Judaism, Shinto, and Brahmanical Hinduism, taboos are placed on sexual activity during menstruation and seclusion is advocated in the period shortly after childbirth. Women's sexuality is viewed as especially dangerous (or in the context of Tantric Buddhism and Hinduism, as singularly powerful) by most established religious traditions and is often used as an excuse for preventing women from participating in religious leadership and for insisting on their modest dress and even confinement in the home. Moreover, women's sexuality is frequently equated with an inherent immorality and evil. As Sara Maitland argues with regard to some forms of Christianity, "female sexuality is always dangerous and usually wicked. It is not just self-destructive; it is dangerous to men" (1987, p. 132). Women's sexuality and their bodies are not only considered to be potentially polluting or dangerous, but also to be a source of shame and wickedness. In the Digambara sect of the Jain tradition, whose practice includes wandering nude in public for spiritual merit, women are considered to be unable to overcome their sense of shame and are by implication unable to embark on the ascetic life that is the prerequisite for spiritual liberation.

Finally, women are sometimes encouraged to abuse their own bodies, submitting themselves to often extreme forms of mortification. This was a particular feature of medieval Christianity in Europe, serving to enforce the conflation of femininity with sinful corporeality and the particular need of women to overcome their inherent natures in order to pursue a spiritual path.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCE

Despite the negative aspects of religious attitudes toward the female body, many women find much fulfillment and opportunity within all religious traditions. Moreover, despite the overwhelming tendency of religions to be dominated by men, many women have contributed much to their development and vibrancy, and indeed cooperate with and support many of the gender idealizations they promote. There are a variety of religious roles and functions open to women within the world's religions—as lay women (by far the most common form of religious participation in most religions), as adepts or religious professionals, as wives or daughters of religious leaders, or as religious leaders in their own right. Female religious adepts are a feature of most religious traditions, whether as Jewish rabbis, Anglican priests, shamans, Buddhist nuns, Zen masters, or Hindu renunciates, but these possibilities have usually been achieved only after a long period of struggle and at considerable cost to those who pursue this path. Because of the tendency of most religious traditions to promote fairly conservative and restrictive models of gender, many women who have been influenced by the women's liberation movement have chosen to leave their religious traditions and to develop female-centered forms of religiosity, which has resulted in the Goddess Spirituality Movement. This movement celebrates the Great Goddess, who is manifest in her myriad forms, as the source of a positive and holistic female identity and seeks to ameliorate the effects of patriarchy in the world. Other women have chosen to remain within their traditions and to seek to reform them by searching for models of gender within their sacred texts that promote a more equitable balance between the sexes.

RELIGION AND GENDER AS A FIELD OF STUDY

The invisibility of religious studies within women's and gender studies curricula and anthologies has been long remarked upon (see King 1995, p. 219–220), and this marginalization can be attributed to the prevalent assumption among feminists and gender-critical theorists that religion has little to offer women and indeed is one of the paradigmatic sources of women's oppression. As the scholarly literature that has emerged from the areas of gender studies and religion and feminist theology attests, however, women can be, probably should be, and certainly have been involved in an intense and creative dialogue with a variety of religious traditions in order to challenge and transform them in such a way that their life-affirming potential is made available for women and men equally.

Four main preoccupations characterized early work in the field: First, scholars exposed the androcentrism and misogyny of many religious traditions historically; second, women as active agents of religious practice and study, and gendered identities more broadly, were identified as a legitimate category of analysis, with women's experiences being promoted as a credible and corrective hermeneutical tool; third, new forms of female-centered religiosity were explored; and finally, epistemological and methodological tools derived from feminist theory were developed in order to challenge the androcentric bias of mainstream scholarship in the areas of theology and religious studies.

The field of religion and gender has shifted from a women-centered approach to one that considers gender to be a central category for critical reflection. Studies exploring the connections between gender and religion have multiplied since the 1990s, the most influential being Ursula King's volume *Religion and Gender* (1995), which critiqued the gender-blindness of the field of religious studies, offered gender-critical perspectives on the empirical study of women in a variety of religious traditions, and assessed new directions in feminist spirituality.

Studies of masculinity and religion have begun to appear, offering a comprehensive and provocative insight into male experiences within specific and varying religious formations. Issues regarding sexuality and religion have also received increasing attention, building on the earlier work of gay and lesbian theologians, with explorations extended to issues of embodiment and corporeality, theoretical reflections drawing on the insights of gay/lesbian and queer theory, discussions of the place of GLBT identity within religious traditions, queer perspectives on the academic study of religions, and studies plotting the intersections of race, sexuality, and gender. Gender-theoretical reflections aiming to transform the conceptual foundations of Religious Studies have also been a predominant theme, and have demonstrated a refined and impressive grasp of a broad range of epistemological theories brought to bear on the analysis of the discursive ideologies operating in field.

However, the most important contributions have been initiated by postcolonialist scholars who are critical of the ethnocentrism of scholarship in the field of gender and religion. Their interventions have paralleled broader debates regarding the colonialist legacy of religious studies (see McCutcheon 1997, King 1999, and Fitzgerald 2000) and have charged gender-critical scholars with complicity in the social, political, and epistemic violence that has been exercised by the West toward non-Western cultures. Research challenging Western gender-critical scholars to investigate fully and reflect upon the relationship between scholarship and the ethics of representation from the perspective of non-Western "others" proliferated around the turn of the twenty-first century, and Western scholars are beginning to respond to these critiques. Ursula King and Tina Beattie's volume *Gender, Religion, and Diversity* (2004) is testament to a new willingness to engage in dialogue and to learn from the perspectives of non-Western gender-critical scholars. It is clear, however, that much work remains to be done, and it is likely that this area will see a considerable expansion in the years to come.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Confucianism; Hinduism; Islam; Shamanism; Zoroastrianism.*

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Sîan Hawthorne

RENAISSANCE

In the medieval period, few women described women's lives; mostly, the record was written by men, expressing men's perception. In *The Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer's Wife of Bath in looks at a picture of a lion defeated and asks a rhetorical question, "Who painted the lion?" If the lion—or the woman—were to tell the story, it would look very different. The pattern of misogyny this question registers, which characterized the Renaissance as well as the Middle Ages, was backed by ecclesiastical authority and founded in attitudes towards women in texts by biblical and patristic authors. St. Paul affirmed women are inferior beings, to be endured for procreative reasons; the theologian Tertullian argued that a woman was "a temple built over a sewer" and "the gateway to the devil." In effect, women are either the occasion of temptation and pollution, like Eve, or the embodiment of virtue and purity, like the Virgin Mary. Such symbolic figures supported a great many of the disciplinary practices that regulated women's moral lives and their relationships with men.

Women were characterized and largely controlled not in relation to their natural capacities (although medical tradition conceived of women as imperfect men, by nature incapable of higher-level thought and rationality), but according to a set of views that denied they were capable of entering fully into human culture, other than the culture of the household or family. By 1400 core beliefs about women's roles, centered on their common experience as wife, mother, or daughter, had been elaborated in pastoral texts and pedagogical literature, constructing a gender typology defining women in relation to marital status: unmarried, wife, widow. This three-fold division was extraordinarily tenacious, dominating the medieval and Renaissance centuries, classifying women on the basis of sexuality (chastity being taken as the supreme spiritual virtue) and largely ignoring social categories that were crucial to the representation of male experience.

Despite the general cultural silence to which women were consigned, the turn of the fifteenth century saw the emergence of an author, in whom women found the voice Chaucer's Wife missed: Christine de Pisan (1363–1431), sometimes called Europe's first feminist. Widowed, she supported herself and children as, in effect, the first female professional writer. Her most notable work, *La cité des dames*, promoted women and their virtues and resisted male assault. Pisan here participated in the contemporary *querelle des femmes*, offering a visionary society of "women worthies" in demonstration of women's excellence. Nevertheless, her city of ladies affirmed virtues that were accredited by tradition as well as Church-sponsored belief: chastity, humility, and feminine decorum. Furthermore, in line with a typical history, for all her contemporary impact her work was soon out of circulation, only reemerging in the twentieth century.

At law, women were generally subordinated to male authority and their property taken into men's hands. Law, then, was both gendered theory and its practical instrument. Insistence upon the importance of marriage contributed to women's exclusion from public life, since, subject to her husband, she could not be trusted to act independently; in many areas of Europe, indeed, she could not be personally sued or charged with a crime, and, correlatively, needed her husband's approval to go to law. Dower and the limited property freedoms of the widow served to protect women's independence to some degree; city law codes could even allow married women to define themselves for commercial purposes as *femme sole*, entitling them to enter into contracts; but such independence was constantly under attack through the course of the Renaissance. If women were always accorded secondary status at law, the larger European movement toward assimilation of local codes to Roman Law confirmed a woman's lack of legal responsibility. This pattern of restriction extended into women's commercial life. Women had dominated many areas of commercial activity (city markets in Poland, for instance), and productive labor early in the period, but progressively lost their few rights in organizations like craft guilds that normally consolidated and defended the rights of the productive classes.

Despite legal limitations, many women, like Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) and Margaret of Navarre (1492–1549), won renown as great political leaders. In general, however, women occupied positions of power that accrued to the household, as the heads of great secular or religious estates, or informally through their proximity to great men in royal and aristocratic courts. Although high-born women were not taught in the language of the church and higher education—Latin—a surprising number received an education in the classics, like their brothers. The training that marked the upbringing of women like Elizabeth I was a positive consequence of humanist ideas (promoted by scholars like Erasmus [1469–1536] and Juan Luis Vives [1492–1540]) which insisted that sexes were "equally suited for knowledge of learning by which reason is cultivated," as Sir Thomas More (1478–1535) maintained.

If many women were educated to a degree, their education was of a practical nature to assist in managing household business, including, in pious households, the reading of devotions written with women in mind. On the whole, women's capacity to read far exceeded their capacity to write; vigorous family politicians like the Paston wives—especially the matriarchs, Agnes (1405–1479), Margaret (1420–1484), and Margery Brews (d.1495)—read and composed the letters that passed through their households, but seldom even signed letters written in their names. In this area, as in others, a woman's success tended to distinguish her from her sex, making her more like a man. Jean de Gerson (1363–1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris, called Christine de Pisan *insignis femina*, *virilis femina*; the same could be said of a great political figure like Elizabeth I, who fused to her man-like capacity for learning a public virility in the face of national enemies, paradoxically conjoined with a triumphant virginity that suggested she was the bride of her people.

Many aristocratic women were significant patrons of learning and the learned, writers, painters, and the arts. On the whole, however, women were urged to be submissive and modest in their relations to men. When women wrote, their writing tended to be modestly minor, confined to specific, gender-determined modes and topics: spiritual autobiography, epitaphs, panegyrics, moral and family life. In general, then, silence was the rule and a woman wrote freely only where, because of the character and scale of her household (whether religious or secular), she was guaranteed an audience. One should not forget, however, Louise Labé's (c. 1525–1566) firm resolve: "And if any woman becomes so proficient as to be able to write down her thoughts, let her do so, and not despise the honour, but rather flaunt it instead of fine clothes, necklaces and rings."

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Claudia Marquis

RENAULT, MARY
1905–1983

Mary Renault, born Eileen Mary Challans on September 4 in London, is best known as a writer of historical fiction. Educated at Clifton High School in Bristol and at Oxford University, she trained as a nurse in Oxford at the Radcliffe Infirmary, where, in 1933, she met fellow nursing student Julie Mullard, who became her lifelong companion.

From 1936 through 1945, Renault combined nursing with writing, publishing her first novel, *Purposes of Love*, in 1939. At the end of World War II, Renault gave up nursing to write full-time, and in 1948 she and Mullard immigrated to South Africa, where they lived for the rest of their lives. Renault died in Cape Town on December 13, 1983.

Renault's early fiction, set in 1930s and 1940s England, borrowed from her nursing experience in its depiction of doctors, nurses, and writers struggling to find sexual fulfillment despite damaging childhoods and cultural constraints. A lesbian who disliked defining herself in terms of such categories, Renault became known for her sympathetic depictions of characters with unconventional, often ambiguous gender identities and sexual orientations. A number of her women characters feel themselves to be misplaced in their female bodies; a lesbian relationship is at the center of *The Friendly Young Ladies* (1944); and *The Charioteer* (1953), set in a World War II hospital, focuses on the efforts of a young soldier to lead a fulfilling homosexual life.

The Charioteer was a turning point for Renault. Her last nonhistorical novel, it draws its title from Plato's *Phaedrus*, a dialogue about love in which the soul is compared to a charioteer who must control his two horses, one tending toward self-control, the other toward

Mary Renault. AP IMAGES.

self-abandon. Plato's homoerotic idealism appealed to Renault, whose next book—and first historical novel—*The Last of the Wine* (1956), is set in fifth-century Athens and is narrated by Alexis, an admirer of Socrates, whose passionate and finally consummated love for his friend Lysis draws him toward excellence.

Throughout the remainder of her career Renault set her novels in environments in which, because homoeroticism was the norm, men's love for each other could flourish. For Alexis, for Nikeratos in *The Mask of Apollo* (1966), and for Alexander in *Fire from Heaven* (1969), such love allows them to realize their best selves. Only Theseus (in *The King Must Die* [1958] and *The Bull from the Sea* [1962]), living in a much earlier, legendary Greece, is primarily heterosexual.

Renault's work has stirred controversy. During her lifetime there were rumors she was herself a man; since her death, critics have worried that her admiring depictions of the male body, her self-hating women, and her triumphant, insistently patriarchal Theseus reinforce essentialist, heterosexist, and phallocentric views of the body. Ultimately, however, Renault's treatment of the body disrupts such dichotomized notions of gender and sexuality and destabilizes the phallus as a marker of sexual difference. Renault's first-person male narrators work as a kind of mask that signals masculinity even as it hides the body in which gender is supposedly grounded. Her many dually gendered and/or bisexual characters suggest that both gender and desire are far more various than any set of categories can suggest. Finally, Renault's attention to bodily mutilation and to male genitalia, which are the focus of fascinated attention from onlookers, yet ultimately elided from textual depiction, creates doubt as to who, in fact, has a phallus and who does not.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Literature: I. Overview; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Ruth Hoberman

RENT BOY

Rent boy, or rentboy, is a term that is used to describe a particular type of male prostitute. It refers primarily to young men (although its use extends to male prostitutes of all ages) who have sex with men. The term originated in Great Britain, Ireland, and New Zealand and originally was applied to a male prostitute who was both young and working-class. Middle-class and upper-class male prostitutes more commonly would have been called escorts, and older male prostitutes would have been referred to as hustlers. The rent boy was almost exclusively a street worker who charged low rates for his service. Although the term retains its original meaning, it has gained a certain cachet within the sex-worker community and sometimes is appropriated by higher-end male prostitutes who wish to provide a rough trade fantasy to their clients.

The most famous use of the word was by Thomas Swinscow, who admitted in 1895 to having worked as a rent boy in a London male brothel. The subsequent investigation, called the Cleveland Street Scandal, implicated high-ranking officials. Rumors circulated for decades that the prince of Wales was involved in the scandal, and records released in 1975 confirmed that, although they did not conclude that he was a patron of the brothel. The public outcry over the scandal was partly responsible for the prosecution of Oscar Wilde that year on charges of gross indecency. Victorian morality could not accommodate the existence of rentboys, and rejection of the practice led to a general increase in homophobia.

SEE ALSO *Homophobia.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

REPRODUCTION (PROCREATION)

Reproduction is the creation of a living being from the material of previously living beings. It is a process common to all living entities—to plants, animals, microorganisms, and fungi. One central definition of life itself is the ability to make more life—to reproduce.

There are several processes by which living organisms reproduce themselves. Many organisms, especially simpler organisms, can reproduce in many different ways. More complex organisms, such as mammals, can only reproduce sexually.

Reproductive processes are divided into two main categories distinguished by whether or not an organism can reproduce itself by itself. Asexual reproduction occurs when organisms reproduce themselves without any genetic contribution from another organism. The offspring produced through asexual reproduction are genetically identical to the parent. Sexual reproduction occurs when the genetic material of two different organisms fuses to form offspring. These new organisms are genetically different from their parents.

ASEXUAL REPRODUCTION

Modes of asexual reproduction include fission, budding, the production of gemmules, regeneration, fragmentation, the formation of rhizomes and stolons, and parthenogenesis. New organisms produced asexually are clones, formed from existing cells that have a full complement of chromosomes. The cells involved in most modes of asexual reproduction have divided by mitosis, a mode of cell division in which the original cell's complement of two sets of chromosomes appears in the new cell.

Bacteria and yeasts often reproduce by fission, or by cell mitosis where one cell copies its chromosomes and divides in half. Yeasts and hydras reproduce by sprouting "buds" or protrusions, which break off and form new organisms. Sponges produce small internal buds called gemmules, which, when released into the environment, produce new individuals. Planarians can produce new individuals when broken into fragments in a process called fragmentation. Each fragment grows into a new adult. Starfish can produce new starfish from pieces broken away from a single individual in a process called regeneration. Some plant species such as lilies and grasses can reproduce asexually through the production of rhizomes, corms, tubers, and bulbs (extensions or budding of root material). Strawberries can produce new plants by means of stolons or stems that branch away from the main plant and take root in the ground.

Some fishes, some insects, and some frogs and lizards can reproduce via unfertilized eggs in a process called parthenogenesis. Eggs, which are produced through a process called meiosis, contain only half the number of chromosomes as a normal cell. These eggs develop into adults, though sometimes, as in honeybees, the unfertilized eggs can develop only into males or drones. Some insects, such as aphids, reproduce through parthenogenesis when conditions are good, permitting a rapid increase in population.

The advantages of asexual forms of reproduction are that an individual's entire genetic code is reproduced without change through a fairly simple process of cell division that uses less energy, requires less time, and does not require a partner. Asexual reproduction is rapid and can produce many offspring in a short time, enabling organisms to colonize a new environment or increase populations when conditions are good. Its disadvantages are that the genetic pool of species reproducing asexually stays the same. If a bad mutation appears or conditions change, the organisms are unable to produce genetic variety that might enable better survival through the natural selection of advantageous genes.

SEXUAL REPRODUCTION

Many organisms that can reproduce asexually can also reproduce sexually. Bacteria and other single-celled organisms can also reproduce via a process called conjugation in which the genetic material of two individual cells is reshuffled to produce a third, new individual with a different set of genes than either of its parents. Plants, insects (such as aphids), and other animals (such as starfish), also reproduce sexually by producing sex cells, or gametes, which have only the same number of chromosomes as a normal cell. Gametes are produced in a process called meiosis, in which the pairs of chromosomes that typically inhabit each cell are split in half with each half being distributed to a new cell. Cells with half the normal number of chromosomes are called haploid cells. Sperm and eggs are the human versions of gametes. When two haploid cells merge, as they do in sexual reproduction, the result is a cell with two sets of chromosomes, just like most other cells.

Sexual reproduction is defined as including those processes that result in offspring whose genetic makeup differs from either parent. Sexual reproduction is often slower and more difficult than asexual reproduction and thus does not benefit small populations under difficult circumstances. Sexual reproduction does, however, have the advantage of producing genetic variety and renewal in populations, permitting bad genes to be eliminated and useful genes to be propagated by natural selection.

Sexual reproduction involves the fusing of two gametes. How those gametes get together occurs through a large variety of mechanisms and depends upon a number of factors, including hormones to help individuals produce gametes, the timing of fertilization, and how rich the environment is in which individuals try to survive. Many organisms, especially those living in aquatic environments such as fish, accomplish the fusion of gametes (eggs from females, sperm from males) outside of their bodies in the water. Females deposit eggs and males swim past the eggs releasing sperm into the water. Plants distribute sperm or pollen by means of a number of different vectors including insects, the wind, and birds, depositing it on the stamens of other plants of the same species. In many species, including reptiles and mammals, the male deposits sperm directly into the reproductive organs of the female during a process called sexual intercourse. The gametes fuse inside the female's body and then in some species emerge as eggs (as with birds) in a process called oviparity, or develop inside the mother's body with no connection to the mother as with guppies or snakes (called ovoviviparity), or in others as fetuses to a gestation site on the mother's body (as with marsupials), or are connected to the mother via a placenta in an organ called the uterus as with mammals.

When sperm and egg merge in sexual reproduction, they form a single cell called a zygote with genetic information from both parents. This zygote begins to split and multiply through mitosis into more cells through a process called cleavage. Cell cleavage forms a hollow ball of cells called a blastula, which begins the process of cell differentiation into three layers of cells, which will ultimately form the various organs, tissues, and structures of the fetus. These layers continue to differentiate through a process called organogenesis. One layer, the ectoderm, will form the skin, nervous system, and pituitary gland. The second, the mesoderm, will form the skeleton, muscles, circulatory system, bowels and bladder, and the reproductive organs. The third, the endoderm, forms the liver and the linings of most of the body's internal systems.

After a period of gestation inside the mother's body during which the single-celled zygote grows into a fully formed organism with gametes of its own, the fetus is born. Some infant species are almost completely able to care for themselves. Others, such as most birds and mammals, require an additional period of development and care. Most of these species require additional growth and development before they are able to reproduce in turn.

HUMAN INTERVENTION IN REPRODUCTION

Humans currently have the ability to help the reproductive process and systematically participate in the reproduction of various species. Many animals are bred selectively, including dogs, cats, birds, and fish. Many farm animals such as cows and horses are artificially inseminated with the sperm of the best examples of their breeds. Individuals experiencing difficulty reproducing can be helped by augmenting their hormones, artificially inseminating mothers, or even harvesting a mother's eggs and fertilizing them outside of her body in a process called in vitro fertilization, then implanting the fertilized blastulas into the mother's uterus to develop. Surrogate mothers are also employed to gestate fetuses formed from the gametes of two other individuals.

The human imagination has also created modes of asexual reproduction in humans such as cloning, in which another identical organism is grown from a few cells of a single individual. Also envisioned has been the self-reproduction of mechanical beings, such as robots, who would have the ability to manufacture more of themselves in an automated process. Science fiction is full of examples of reproductive technologies that have been mechanized from Aldous Huxley's bottled babies in *Brave New World* to the reproduction machines of *The Matrix* to the creation of Frankenstein or the use of humans as environments for the development of fetal aliens, as in *Alien.*

The ability to choose and control reproduction has been a political issue for many years. Ethical issues about how much and in what ways humans should intervene in reproduction join questions about who has the right to terminate a pregnancy and who has parental rights in children who were reproduced with the help of sperm donors or surrogate mothers. Some observers have also raised the concern that humankind's rate of reproduction is reproducing too many humans, which will cause future difficulties as the earth reaches its limits.

SEE ALSO *Fertility.*

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Judith Roof

REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

Reproductive technologies include methods to increase fertility, facilitate conception, provide alternatives for women who cannot carry a pregnancy to term, and allow early genetic diagnosis of a fetus (including sex determination). They also provide a means to preserve sperm and embryos and make cloning (the reproduction of an exact genetic copy of a person or animal) possible. Most often these technologies are directed toward helping infertile couples have a child.

Infertility (the inability to conceive after one year of unprotected sexual intercourse or six months if the woman is thirty years old or more) is a significant issue for many couples. Low estimates suggest that 2.4 million couples worldwide are infertile, and the number appears to be growing. In the United States roughly 15 percent of couples have trouble conceiving a child. The two leading causes of infertility are hormonal conditions and anatomic abnormalities, including blockages in the reproductive organs caused by disease. Reproductive technologies allow infertile couples roughly the same chance (if not better) for pregnancy as that of normally fertile couples (25 percent per cycle).

Although the best known of these technologies in recent years is in vitro fertilization, which first was performed successfully in 1978, reproductive technologies have been used for centuries. Artificial insemination, in which the sperm is collected, usually through masturbation, and injected into the womb to facilitate conception, first was performed by Lazzaro Spallanzani on a dog in 1784. Within six years the technique was applied successfully to humans, although King Henry IV of Castile allegedly attempted the procedure on his wife, Juanita, in the fifteenth century. The first use of donor sperm in artificial insemination (in which another man's sperm is substituted for that of the infertile man) occurred in 1884.

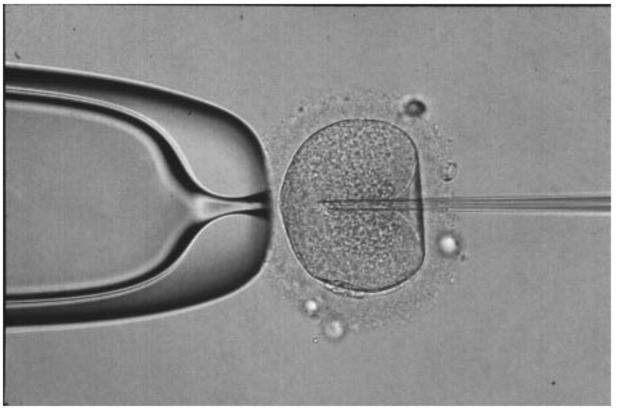
Other early reproductive techniques focused on trying to influence the sex of a baby. Women were advised to make love under a full moon after doing a "baby dance" or have sex in the missionary position (with the woman on the bottom) for a girl. If one wanted a boy, it was better to wait until the quarter moon and have sex from a rear entry position or standing up. Eating meat and salty foods was thought to improve one's chances of conceiving a boy, and eating sweets would tip the scales toward having a girl. More modern wisdom suggested that because a sperm with Y chromosomes would move more rapidly than would one with a heavier X chromosome, if one wanted a boy, one should have sexual intercourse just before ovulation. If one wanted a girl, it was better to have sex a day or two before ovulation. On the basis of that theory early researchers tried separating the sperm in a centrifuge and using the sperm on the top (the lighter sperm) in conjunction with artificial insemination to produce a male child and the sediment to produce a female.

Other early techniques used to improve fertility included measuring a woman's basal metabolic temperature to pinpoint when she ovulated and was therefore most likely to conceive. This has been made much easier with over-the-counter ovulation kits that help women determine when ovulation occurs by measuring the amount of hormones excreted in the urine.

AVAILABLE REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

Advances in science, research, and technology have contributed to a variety of reproductive technologies to help infertile couples conceive. In addition, modern technology allows early embryonic cells to be manipulated and examined to help diagnose and sometimes treat diseases well before birth. New techniques also can determine and influence the sex of a baby before birth. Modern research is directed toward cloning, or producing a genetic copy of a living being. Many of these methods are related to assisted reproductive technology (ART), which consists of techniques that involve the direct retrieval of oocytes from the ovary. In vitro fertilization (IVF), the first of these methods perfected in the clinical setting, opened the way for many improvements and variations of the original techniques.

Artificial Insemination Artificial insemination (AI) is one of the oldest and most commonly used technologies for treating infertility, though modern versions of AI involve more manipulation of the sperm and better insemination methods. Essentially, the technique consists of placing washed sperm in the vagina, cervix, or uterus. Washing removes proteins that may interfere with conception and allows for the concentration of sperm. Artificial insemination is indicated when vaginal ejaculation is impossible (e.g., owing to impotence or vaginal dysfunction), sperm count is low (or spermatozoa are sluggish or malformed), there is a cervical mucous incompatibility with the sperm (the cervical mucous produces antibodies directed against and damaging the sperm), and disease or treatment (such as chemotherapy) makes normal insemination impossible or inadvisable. Sperm can be frozen by using cryopreservation techniques (the use of liquid nitrogen to store tissue at a temperature of –196 degrees Celsius) for later use. Donor artificial insemination (DAI), in which donor sperm is used, is an option when a man cannot produce sperm. The procedure is simple and easy to perform in a doctor's office and is inexpensive compared with more invasive techniques.



In Vitro Fertilization. *In vitro fertilization: needle injecting DNA of sperm into a human egg (center of image); at left of image, a flat-nosed pipette is holding the egg steady.* © CC STUDIO/SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY, PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

In Vitro Fertilization IVF (resulting in "test-tube babies") involves fertilizing an egg with sperm outside the body. This usually is done in a laboratory dish. The process is very complicated, and success depends on the control of a great many factors. Timing is paramount. The oocyte (egg) must be harvested from the woman when the follicle (the tissue where the individual eggs develop in the ovary) is mature but not before it bursts and releases the egg. The man's sperm must be collected and mixed with the eggs in an environment that is conducive to the support and growth of the fertilized gamete (an early embryonic stage), and the uterus must be hormonally ready to accept the implantation of the resulting embryo.

Although ovulation may be determined by testing blood hormone levels, more frequently women undergo hormonal treatment to control the maturity of the follicle and the time of ovulation to optimize the chances for successful egg retrieval. In addition, hormonal therapy (usually with Pergonal) usually stimulates multiple follicles to develop instead of only the one that normally would mature per menstrual cycle. Those eggs are retrieved through laparoscopy, a procedure in which a long, thin fiber-optic tube is inserted through a small incision in the abdomen and through which the physician can identify the oocytes. A second incision allows an aspirating needle to puncture the follicle and remove the fluid and the egg. The procedure is performed under general anesthesia. Alternatively, eggs may be retrieved under local anesthesia by using transvaginal ultrasound, in which a transducer is inserted into the vagina, to guide the needle. The fluid collected is examined immediately to see whether it contains eggs, and the eggs are evaluated to determine whether they are mature and neither damaged nor malformed. The healthy eggs are washed and placed in a laboratory dish that contains a nutrient solution. The egg is kept at body temperature for four to eight hours, long enough for the oocyte to begin dividing.

In the meantime sperm is collected, separated from the seminal fluid, washed (to simulate passage through the woman's reproductive tract), and centrifuged to concentrate the number of sperm. The resulting sperm are put in a culture medium that is maintained at body temperature for one hour. The most active sperm will rise, and so the topmost layer is used for fertilization. Each egg is placed in a separate laboratory dish along with a small drop of the culture medium. The concentrated sperm is added to each egg and incubated to allow fertilization to occur, usually within twenty-four hours if successful. The resulting embryos continue to incubate for an additional two days.

During the incubation period the woman is given an injection of progesterone, a female sex hormone, to prepare her uterus for implantation. When the zygotes (fertilized eggs) reach the two- to eight-cell stage, they are inserted into the uterus through a catheter. The woman lies facedown with her knees drawn up to her chest during the procedure and then sits up and remains very still for four hours to improve the chance of implantation. Because implantation is most successful when multiple embryos are inserted, many (four being ideal) are introduced to the uterus, though usually only one will implant (the rest will be discharged from the body). Because multiple embryos are used, twins and other multiple births occur about 35 percent of the time. Unused embryos may be frozen and saved for subsequent attempts or donated to help other infertile couples through surrogate IVF procedures. Although the success rate of IVF varies with the clinic performing the procedure, it is generally about 30 to 40 percent per cycle. The cost is about $10,000 per attempt, an expense that insurance companies usually do not cover. Nevertheless, within twenty-five years of the birth of the first test-tube baby, over 115,000 children have been born using IVF technology in the United State alone. By the beginning of the twenty-first century children conceived through some form of IVF accounted for slightly more than 1 percent of live births in the United States and up to 4 percent in Denmark.

Gamete Intrafallopian Transfer Gamete intrafallopian transfer (GIFT) is a procedure similar to IVF, but the retrieved oocytes and sperm are placed into the fallopian tubes rather than a Petri dish for fertilization to occur. After the eggs are removed from the ovaries, the equipment used to perform the retrieval is left in the woman. The eggs are mixed with the concentrated sperm, and the mixture is put into the woman's fallopian tubes, the site where fertilization normally takes place. This offers the advantage of allowing the sperm and the egg to develop in their natural environment. Because the surgical procedure takes only one day, it is less expensive than traditional IVF methods.

Zygote Intrafallopian Transfer Zygote intrafallopian transfer (ZIFT) is a variation on the previously discussed methods in which the fertilized eggs are placed in the fallopian tubes. As in ZIFT and other ART methods, it allows women with blocked tubes to become pregnant by introducing the developing embryo (or sperm and eggs) into an area past the blockage or occlusion. The advantages of this method are that it allows preimplantation genetic diagnosis (PGD)—the ability to diagnose genetic abnormalities and defects in the embryo—before returning it to the woman for implantation. It was performed successfully in humans in 1989 when it was used to determine the sex of the embryo to avoid giving birth to a child with a severe X-linked disease. Advances in technology have made it possible to detect diseases such as cystic fibrosis, sickle-cell disease, Tay-Sachs disease, and hemophilia A.

OTHER ASSISTED REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

Tubal embryo transfer (TET) is similar to zygote intrafallopian transfer except that it involves placing cleaving embryos instead of the newly fertilized egg into the fallopian tubes. Peritoneal oocyte and sperm transfer (POST) is the placement of the eggs and sperm into the pelvic cavity in the hope that the fallopian tube will pick them up. This procedure is not indicated when there is a blockage in the tubes that will prevent implantation from occurring in the uterus.

Sperm intrafallopian transfer (SIFT) is a method in which prepared semen is placed by laparoscopy or a vaginal catheter into the fallopian tubes. The procedure helps men with very low sperm counts to fertilize the ova. In a similar technique, synchronized hysterocopic intrafallopian transfer (SHIFT), the sperm is transferred to the fallopian tube by way of the uterus.

In cases in which the sperm is unable to penetrate the outer covering of the egg (the zona pellucida) and thus fertilization does not occur, the sperm is microinjected into the subzonal space (SUZI) surrounding the egg. In cases of extreme low sperm counts intracytoplasmic sperm injection of a single spermatozoon (ICSI) is available. Sperm may be fresh or frozen and may be taken from the epididymis in the man or from a shredded testicular biopsy.

SURROGACY

When IVF fails, surrogacy offers options, including the transfer of a donated egg. Because the technology to store eggs through cryopreservation has not been perfected, donor eggs must be fresh. This complicates matters because both the donor and the recipient must be hormonally regulated to make sure that the retrieval of donor's eggs coordinates with the readiness for implantation of the recipient's uterus. Although the process is expensive and involves many variables, it allows a woman whose ovaries do not produce eggs the opportunity to carry the pregnancy. Alternatively, the surrogate's eggs may be fertilized by the man's sperm and then frozen to be implanted in the infertile woman at a later date. Donor sperm also may be used to fertilize the surrogate's egg when the man is infertile.

Women who can produce eggs but lack a functioning uterus may commission a surrogate to carry the pregnancy to term, at which time the surrogate turns the newborn over to the infertile couple. The host mother (who is genetically unrelated to the child she is carrying) usually has her medical expenses paid and is given a stipend. When the woman is unable to produce her own eggs or carry a pregnancy in her own uterus, a full surrogate may be artificially inseminated with the man's sperm and then relinquish parental rights to the infertile couple after the birth of the baby.

CLONING

Cloning used to be relegated to the realm of science fiction, but in 1997 Scottish researchers successfully cloned a mammal, a sheep named Dolly. Subsequently, carp, mice, cats, and horses are among the many animals that have been cloned. It is only a matter of time before human cloning becomes a reality. This opens up many ethical questions, including the right of people to "play God."

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGIES

Modern reproductive technologies have given many infertile couples the ability to conceive and give birth to children. They also have opened up debate about the ethics of those techniques. Even techniques that have been available as long as donor artificial insemination are not without ethical considerations. Children conceived by this method do not know the identity of their biological fathers because donors are guaranteed anonymity and are legally exempt from parental responsibility for any offspring produced from their sperm. Although sperm banks include some information about the ethnicity, religion, and physical appearance of the donor, they do not follow up to determine whether a genetic or hereditary condition arises later in the donor's life that may be passed on to the child.

Assisted reproductive technologies such as IVF, ZIFT, and TET that deal with the creation of multiple embryos outside the uterus create even more legal and ethical dilemmas. One question involves the disposition of the unimplanted embryos. Cryopreservation techniques have improved to the point where unused embryos can be frozen for use in subsequent pregnancy attempts or donated to other infertile couples, but up to 35 percent of the embryos are damaged during the thawing process. Legal issues arise when couples with frozen embryos divorce and try to determine their ownership. Further, questions remain about the parental rights and responsibilities when the embryos subsequently are implanted and carried to term even when the couple are no longer together.

Another major ethical consideration with IVF technologies is the increased rate of multiple births. Whereas the more fertilized eggs implanted, the greater the probability of pregnancy, there is also a greater likelihood of multiple births. Thirty-five percent of IVF-assisted pregnancies result in multiple fetuses. The health risks to the growing fetuses and the mother increase with each additional implanted embryo. Further, questions arise about the financial and emotional burdens imposed on a family confronted with the reality of multiple births. Selective termination of one or more of the fetuses may improve the chance of survival of the remaining ones, but the procedure presents a difficult moral choice for parents already struggling with infertility.

Preimplantation genetic diagnosis provides an opportunity for embryos to be screened for medical and hereditary conditions before being inserted into the woman, thus offering couples an alternative to a possibly painful decision to terminate an established uterine pregnancy because of genetic birth defects or disease. It also conjures up images of eugenics in which only embryos that meet a certain social and cultural ideal will be allowed to grow. The ability to determine gender also conveys the risk that this technology will be used for nontherapeutic reasons. In countries such as China with its "one child policy" the preference for boy children (often attained through the abortion of females or infanticide) suggests that sex selection (which involves risks to both mother and fetuses) could be used frivolously. New technologies focusing on the possibility splitting and separating the blastomeres (a very early stage of embryonic development) have sparked debate over the ethics of assisted reproductive techniques. Because even early embryonic cells are capable of producing a complete living being, a blastomere could be divided into two and possibly three genetically identical embryos (similar to identical twins). On the one hand, the procedure would increase the number of embryos available for IVF implantation, improving the chances that pregnancy will occur. It also lessens the financial and emotional burden of going through another oocyte retrieval process. On the other hand, there is concern that couples would keep one of a pair of split embryos in reserve in case its already-born twin should need a source of organs or tissues someday. In addition, the splitting and separating process necessarily results in the destruction of many embryos. For people who believe that life starts at the moment of conception, this represents the death of a human being.

Surrogacy, one of the last options for infertile couples desiring a child, presents serious legal issues and challenges. The courts still are trying to sort through the legalities of contracts signed between the surrogate mother and the prospective parents who have commissioned the woman to carry the child to term. Laws vary: In the United Kingdom the woman who carries the child is considered the legal mother, and if she changes her mind, she may keep the child. In the United States laws differ from state to state, with some granting parental rights to the birth mother and others honoring surrogacy contracts.

SEE ALSO *Pregnancy.*

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RHYTHM METHOD

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

RIMMING

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

ROCK AND ROLL

Rock and roll, used both specifically to refer to a 1950s musical style and as a generic term for popular music since the 1950s, is an influential musical genre that first developed in the southern United States. Beginning as a fusion of African-American rhythm and blues music with Southern white country music, rock and roll quickly left the South to become a multiethnic, international musical movement with hundreds of subgenres, spin-offs, and fusions. By the end of the twentieth century, rock and roll had become one of the most recognizable and influential musical idioms ever created.

From its earliest incarnations to the present day, rock and roll music has functioned as a space for experimentation with portrayals of gender and sexuality. Performers habitually play with cultural norms of gender presentation, often exaggerating or transgressing conventional expectations of male and female behavior. In many forms of rock and roll, sexual displays are a major part of rock musicians' performances, used to place them within traditions and to make commentary on various social issues. Space does not permit an extensive discussion of the all manifestations of gender and sexuality in rock and roll subcultures. Instead, this entry highlights some important moments in the evolution of gender expectations, masculinity, women's participation, and sexuality in rock and roll music.

EARLY ROCK AND ROLL

Early rock and roll was remarkable for its biracial makeup, especially given the racial segregation of pre–Civil Rights southern society. Through rock and roll African-American performers gained unprecedented access to mainstream radio waves, and white audiences saw musical traditions that had been previously less visible. African Americans performed songs traditionally associated with rural white culture, whereas white musicians used black musical forms (and songs by black artists) in their own careers. This racial mixing, combined with rock and roll's status as a youth culture, meant that growing numbers of white youth had musical heroes who were black or, at the very least, were greatly influenced by black culture. These cross-cultural influences extended to style and mannerisms as well. Many white artists came from a Southern working-class culture that had always been closely linked with its African-American neighbors, so adopting black speech, clothing, or gestures was unsurprising. However, in the context of white, middle-class expectations of masculinity, such borrowings were often read as flamboyant, obscene, or downright criminal.

The complex layering of race, class, and sexuality in early rock and roll can be seen in the reception of Elvis Presley (1935–1977). Presley was dubbed *the Hillbilly Cat* for his mixture of lower-class white (hillbilly) and African-American (cat) music and sensibility. Besides singing songs first made popular by black musicians, Presley's persona reflected a new, hybrid masculinity. His pompadour hair and sideburns—common among working-class Southern men—looked simultaneously effeminate and threatening in mainstream contexts, whereas his hip-rolling dance movements (borrowed largely from African Americans) seemed obscene to television censors and older audiences. Despite this opposition Presley's performances were wildly popular, especially among teenage girls, for whom an Elvis concert represented a rare chance to express sexual desire.

Other performers used the flamboyance of rock and roll to enact sexual difference. African-American artist Little Richard (b. 1932) wore copious amounts of makeup and feminine clothing in performance. Although much of his audience was unaware of it, his songs and stage performances contained thinly veiled references to his homosexuality.

Women, too, were active in this genre, although their work was rarely classified as rock and roll. Female African-American rhythm and blues artists, taking their cues from the *blues queens* of the 1920s, sang songs in a style nearly indistinguishable from rock and roll. Notable female performers included Ruth Brown (1928–2006), "Big Mama" Thornton (1926–1984), and LaVern Baker (1929–1977). Among white female artists Wanda Jackson (b. 1937) achieved great success as the *Queen of Rockabilly*.

BRITISH INVASION AND GIRL GROUPS

As rock and roll spread throughout the United States, it also gained popularity in Europe, particularly in

England, where it formed a key part of English youth cultures. British groups performed in styles copied from imported records, and many became popular in the United States in the mid-1960s. This *British invasion* of the U.S. record charts was exemplified and spurred on by the success of the Beatles.

The Beatles came to the United States in February 1964 amid massive public excitement. Besides concert tickets and records, Beatles memorabilia such as posters, dolls, and board games helped fans form a subculture around the band. As had occurred with Presley, Beatles concerts gave female fans a venue for expressing their developing sexuality and rebelling against norms of propriety. Additionally, the material culture surrounding the Beatles opened up a space for adolescent girls to connect with each other through shared enjoyment of Beatles concert experiences and merchandise. This protosexual fandom became an important part of adolescence for many girls, and *teen idol groups* or *boy bands* recurred throughout rock and roll's history.

Another significant presence on the U.S. pop charts was the mostly African-American *girl group*. Usually associated with Berry Gordy's (b. 1929) Motown Records (although the formula proved successful for other record labels as well), a girl group consisted of three or four members with one lead singer. Although their songs were heavily orchestrated, girl group members did not usually play their own instruments. Their songs, written by professional songwriting teams, either addressed a love interest directly or instructed their (mostly female) audience on how to handle various romantic situations. These models of feminine behavior are astonishingly diverse, especially for an era usually remembered for its restrictive gender roles.

CULTURAL SHIFTS

By 1968 the biracial era of rock and roll was largely over. Black artists returned to race-specific genres such as rhythm and blues and soul, whereas white musicians moved away from African-American influences. White artists of this era generally referred to the music they made as *rock* rather than by the earlier, interracial term *rock and roll*. The black heritage of rock music was never fully expunged, but it was transformed as artists combined earlier rock and roll with the sensibilities of the hippie counterculture.

The hippies became a major force behind the sweeping cultural changes of the 1960s. A hallmark of hippie style was androgyny—men wore their hair long and dressed far more flamboyantly than their mainstream counterparts, whereas women tended to eschew makeup and difficult hairstyles in favor of a more *natural* appearance. Combined with their pacifism, drug use, and leftist politics, this fluidity of gender presentation set the hippies apart from mainstream culture.

The second wave of the feminist movement gained momentum throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, spurring vast changes in almost every cultural sphere. In rock music male artists continued to dominate the charts, although a new space for strong, autonomous female voices emerged. Most notable among these voices was Janis Joplin (1943–1970), the lead singer for Big Brother and the Holding Company. Joplin's raspy voice, blues-queen persona, and personal charisma earned her legendary status among rock performers. Joplin's success, however, did not necessarily translate into success for other women in rock music, who often reacted to sexist bias in the music industry by forming their own record companies and distribution networks.

THE RISE OF DISCO

In many ways disco music was the soundtrack of emerging gay consciousness. Disco was a variety of soul music made expressly for dancing, and it gained particular popularity in gay dance clubs that played records in lieu of live music. Its characteristic combination of four-on-the-floor bass and heavily orchestrated accompaniment became a musical trope by the late 1970s, available for use by virtually any musician. Despite this ubiquity disco never lost its gay associations, as the success of the Village People's double-entendre songs eventually made clear.

One of disco's most recognizable features was the *disco diva*, the (usually) African-American woman singing the vocal track. Disco divas sang in a gospel style, with the buildup and ecstatic vocalization common to gospel music. Some disco divas, such as Gloria Gaynor (b. 1949) and Donna Summer (b. 1948), took on similar importance to the gay male community as film divas such as Judy Garland (1922–1969) and Bette Davis (1908–1989).

Disco's high production values led to charges of commercialization and artificiality from its detractors. That these charges were tinged with racism and homophobia became clear when a Chicago radio station's *Disco Sucks!* campaign at Komiskey Park turned into a riot. This violent backlash marked the end of disco's mainstream acceptance.

MADONNA AND GLAM METAL

After the Komiskey Park riot, disco once again became an underground genre. Dance music did not disappear from the pop charts, however. The dystopic, mechanical aesthetic of New Wave influenced a generation worried about AIDS and technological advances, and the severe, androgynous sensibility of New Wave culture appeared in synth-pop and other dance music.

Madonna (b. 1958) was easily the most successful artist of 1980s dance music and one of the most successful musicians of all time. Her unique and powerful use of her own sexuality was the key to her success and to her extraordinary staying power as a cultural force for more than two decades. Madonna was also one of the most influential music video artists of the 1980s, and her MTV videos such as "Open Your Heart" (1986) and "Like A Prayer" (1989) became exemplars of the genre.

The mid- to late 1980s saw the rise of *glam metal*, a subset of heavy metal music. Glam metal bands wore heavy makeup, nail polish, and teased women's hairstyles in their performances. Unlike drag performers, however, the incongruity of these feminine signifiers on quite unfeminine men worked to highlight glam metal masculinity. This strategy was largely successful—unlike other forms of heavy metal, glam metal appealed to many heterosexual women, and few, if any, glam metal musicians had their gender or sexuality called into question.

HIP-HOP AND RAP

The appearance of hip-hop/rap music marked one of the most important musical developments of the 1980s. The hip-hop youth culture that sprung up in early 1980s New York City was often highly competitive, with dancers, DJs, or rappers engaging in highly improvisatory *battles* with one another. Although hip-hop was characterized as male dominated, women such as Queen Latifah (b. 1970) and MC Lyte (b. 1971) were integral to hip-hop culture from its beginnings and in fact became some of the most outspoken proponents of women's issues since the 1920s blues queens.

As hip-hop culture developed, depictions of women varied wildly in different rap genres. Some continued to have prominent female voices, whereas others, such as 1990s *gangsta rap*, were often shockingly misogynist. By the end of the twentieth century, hip-hop had become a huge, diverse field with successful male and female participants, although male artists continued to dominate spoken-word rap.

GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDERED ARTISTS

In 1969 the Stonewall Riots touched off the modern gay rights movement in the United States. Although gay/lesbian artists had always been prominent in popular music, changing attitudes about homosexuality allowed some performers (Dusty Springfield [1939–1999], Little Richard) to live more or less openly. For others (David Bowie [b. 1947], Mick Jagger [1943]) same-sex sexuality became available as an experiment or for shock value.

Although the AIDS crisis of the 1980s devastated the gay male community, acceptance for lesbians and gays increased throughout the decade. Few musicians came out openly, however—even flamboyant artists never discussed their sexuality in public. This code of silence weakened in the early 1990s when k.d. lang (b. 1961) and Melissa Etheridge (b. 1961) came out of the closet with no significant damage to their careers, and George Michael (b. 1963) turned a bathroom-solicitation arrest into a career revival. Soon, Boy George (b. 1961), the Indigo Girls, the Pet Shop Boys, and other gay-coded artists affirmed their homosexuality, whereas other artists such as Rufus Wainwright (b. 1973) and Stephen Merritt (b. 1966) saw no reason to hide their sexuality. Although openly gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered mainstream musicians were still relatively uncommon, artists of all sexual orientations in the early twenty-first century often seemed more willing to play with gender transgression and sexual fluidity than had their predecessors.

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Marcus Desmond Harmon
Robert Walser

ROMANCE NOVELS

SEE *Literature: III. Popular.*

ROMANCE OF THE ROSE

Begun by Guillaume de Lorris between 1225 and 1230, the Old French *Romance of the Rose*, an allegory in rhymed octosyllabic couplets, was continued as an often satiric encyclopedic gloss by Jean de Meun (or Meung) around 1275. The hybrid text is an important and influential vernacular work of the European Middle Ages.

THE STORY

Guillaume's first-person narrative begins by citing Macrobius, author of the early fifth-century *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*. Guillaime then announces that he will recount the dream vision he had at the age of twenty and later reveal its meaning (a promise usually considered unfulfilled). Guillaume next names the romance—generally understood as a quest for the rose that symbolizes the female beloved—*li Romans de la Rose* and specifies that the art of love is enclosed within the remaining four thousand lines of the poem.

In his almost eighteen-thousand-line continuation, Jean, at the midpoint of the combined work, has *li diex d'Amors* (the god of love) recite the last three couplets of Guillaume's poem, explaining that Guillaume had died forty years before and that Jean Chopinel from Meung-sur-Loire will finish the tale, calling it *Le Miroër as amoreus* (The mirror for lovers).

Little is known about Guillaume except that he probably was from Lorris, a village near Orléans. Jean, who was from another village near Orléans, moved to Paris, where he lived until his death in 1305. Jean undoubtedly was associated with the University of Paris and translated into Old French a number of works, including Boethius's early sixth-century *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (*The Consolation of Philosophy*) as well as the letters of Abélard and Héloïse.

Although Guillaume essentially invented the medieval dream vision of love, the literary vision prototype *Consolatione* and the twelfth-century *planctu Naturae* of Alanus de Insulis (Alan of Lille) influenced the two sections of the *Rose*, which in turn served as models for later poetic dreams by Chaucer, Gower, and others.

The allegorical tradition of which the *Rose* is a part includes Prudentius's early fifth-century *Psychomachia* and the *De Planctu*. The conflicts in both parts of the *Rose* among the various allegorized and personified vices and virtues, mythological figures, and characteristics of the Lover (*Amant*) and of the beloved "rose" reflect the moral battles in the earlier works, especially as pertains to "irregular" sexuality, and place the romance within the tradition of the psychomachia (battle for the soul) as well as establishing it as a vernacular prototype that illustrates moral and spiritual struggles.

As a vernacular poem on the art of love the *Rose* reveals the influences of Ovid's first-century *Ars amatoria* (Art of love), *Remedia amoris* (Cures for love), and *Metamorphoses*, as well as Andreas Capellanus's late twelfth-century *De Amore*. Along with the *De Amore* and earlier works such as the poems of the troubadours and trouvères (poets of northern France) and the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, the first part of the *Rose* epitomizes what later became known as courtly love.

In Guillaume's text a youth dreams that he awakens, arises, and goes out to enjoy the May morning. He crosses a river, arriving at an enclosure to which he is admitted through a small opening in the wall by Lady *Oiseuse* (ease, or idleness). The young man meets the courtly company within the *verger* (orchard) and then comes upon the fountain of Narcissus, where he sees reflected rosebushes and a particular rosebud of which he becomes enamored. In his attempts to gain the rosebud the Lover receives instruction in the ways of love from the God of Love but encounters resistance from others, especially from *Bel Acueil* (Fair Welcome), who guards the rose. The Lover's struggle to attain the rose/bud obliges him to seek aid from Reason and Friend. With the eventual help of Venus and the acquiescence of *Bel Acueil*, the Lover enjoys a "kiss" from the "rose." Bad Mouth tells Jealousy, who then builds a tower where she imprisons *Bel Acueil*. In the closing lines of the poem the Lover laments the absence of his "sweet friend," *Bel Acueil*, promising to remain true to him.

Jean retells and rewrites the story, introducing new characters such as the Jealous Husband and elaborating others such as *La Vieille* (Old Woman). Jean also intersperses a number of discursive digressions. First, Reason

Romance of the Rose. *An illustration from* Romance of the Rose *depicting a dance in the Garden of Pleasure.* HULTON ARCHVIE/GETTY IMAGES.

dissuades the Lover from his quest; then Friend alternately advises and distracts him. Finally, the Lover is aided by the God of Love, who gathers his forces to attack the fortress where Jealousy holds *Bel Acueil*. Upon the initial defeat of his army, Love calls on his mother, Venus, for help, and Nature and Genius confess and sermonize, respectively. Venus leads the new, successful assault, allowing the young man to seize the rose, after which he awakens from his dream.

CRITICAL REACTION

The success of the *Rose* was unparalleled in the medieval world, and until the mid-sixteenth century the two disproportionate parts of the poem were copied, translated, rewritten, reworked, reedited, and reprinted, almost always as a unitary work, perhaps because Jean claimed to have finished Guillaume's poem.

In the first years of the fourteenth century Christine de Pizan led the literary *Querelle (Débat) de* (quarrel [debate] on) *la Rose*, accusing Jean of vicious attacks on women and their character. Those attacks, including the violent assault of the Lover on the rose at the end of Jean's poem, again received critical attention, especially from feminists, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

After a relative lack of interest in the *Rose* from the mid-sixteenth until the mid-nineteenth century, a resurgence of editions and critical studies indicated new areas for research, including Jean's life and career; the historical, social, and theological meanings of his satires and parodies in his poem; manuscript studies; sources for the

Rose; whether Guillaume's poem was finished; episodes and characters that may reveal Guillaume's hidden meaning or Jean's intentionality; and the nature of allegory and poetics as they appear in the *Rose*.

Since at least the mid-1980s some scholars have focused on the narcissistic, autoerotic and masturbatory (Frese 1991), homosocial, and homoerotic tensions in the *Rose*. Marta Harley (1986) concludes that through the use of certain classical myths Guillaume is "consciously flirting with sexual ambiguity and homosexuality" (Harley 1986, p. 333). Others have remarked on the gender ambiguity of *Bel Acueil* (Gaunt 1998). Although he is grammatically masculine, manuscript illustrations sometimes portray him as feminine in recognition of his traditional function as the receptive aspect of the beloved, supposedly feminine, rose. Ellen Friedrich (1998) understands the rosebud as phallic-appearing but interprets the rose as the anal object of desire sought by the Lover in his beloved *Bel Acueil*, who eventually is imprisoned for their transgression. Jean's obsession with condemning corrupt love and, through Genius, promoting procreation and cautioning against the catastrophe caused by castration confirms the gravity of ignoring nature and practicing "unnatural love."

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Literature: I. Overview; Pizan, Christine de; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Ellen Lorraine Friedrich

ROME

SEE *Ancient Rome.*

ROMEO AND JULIET

Dante (1265–1321) first mentions the Montecchi and the Cappelletti as feuding families in *Purgatory* VI, 106. Masuccio Salernitano (1410–1475), in his *Novellino*, narrates the fateful story, set in Siena, of Gannozza, who dies of grief after her lover Mariotto is executed when, upon hearing of her (apparent) death, he returns to Siena, where he had been sentenced to capital punishment. This novella was the major source for Luigi Da Porto (1485–1529), who set the story in Verona during the times of Bartolomeo della Scala (r. 1301–1304), giving the lovers their traditional names. Da Porto's single novella, though, was much less successful than Matteo Bandello's (1485–1561) expanded version, which was part of a large collection of tales. Gherardo Boldieri (1497–1571), who used the female pseudonym Clitia, and Luigi Groto (1541–1585) also wrote their versions of the tale (the latter as a play). In 1559 Pierre Boaistuau (c. 1517–1556) translated Bandello's novella into French, and this was the primary source for both the prose version (1567) by William Painter (c. 1540–1594) and the poem (1562) by Arthur Brooke (d. 1563); the latter is the main source of Shakespeare's play, written, presumably, around 1596.

Among the Italian sources, Da Porto's novella is particularly noteworthy because Romeo goes to the Capuleti's dance travestied as a nymph, and Giulietta praises him for being more beautiful than any of the other women present. In Brooke (1349–1480) and in Shakespeare (III, iii), the only trace of Romeo's effeminacy is Friar Lawrence's reproach when the young man is desperate for having been banished from Verona. It is Shakespeare's much longer and articulated version, which, of course, has established the story of the *star-crossed* lovers as archetypical. Shakespeare made some simple but significant changes to the plot he inherited from Brooke. Juliet's age (eighteen in Da Porto, Bandello, and Painter; sixteen in Brooke) is reduced to fourteen, and the time frame of the action, which spanned several months in the earlier versions, is shortened to five days in the middle of July. Shakespeare developed Mercutio's character (and added his death), expanded the role of Paris (also inventing his death in the tomb), and gave the name of Rosaline to Romeo's first love. The transformation of Juliet's death from a typically *feminine* death of grief into suicide is already present in Brooke.

Critics have always pointed out the abundance of time references and expressions in Shakespeare's play, and feminist scholar Philippa Jane Berry demonstrated how central these elements are in the construction of the plot, whose temporality presents complex calendrical references that might belie allusions to a Catholic (or recusant) faith. This temporality and the underlying cyclical, nonlinear notion of time might be interpreted, according to Berry, in terms of Julia Kristeva's category of *monumental* and *eternal* time (a form of temporality typically associated with feminine subjectivity). Critics have also noted that Shakespeare's moral judgment stands in stark contrast with Brooke's severe Protestantism (the latter presents the story as an exemplum that demonstrates what happens to those who succumb to their desires and scorn good advice). Furthermore, the setting of the action during the canicular days, or dog days, is a possible allusion to the fact that sexual intercourse during those days was traditionally deemed dangerous, when women were considered to be more prone to sexual appetite.

In Shakespeare's play the consummation of sexual acts between the protagonists is referred to less abundantly than in the sources, and it seems to imply that the protagonists' erotic relationship can only find its conclusion in a sort of mutual necrophilia. Eventually, eroticism is excised from life and immobilized in lifeless artifacts (such as the golden statues), or in the literary page through the very language that initially eluded Romeo (because of his penchant for Petrarchist stereotyped and empty imagery), whereas Juliet appears to be able to more concretely and effectively master the use of words. The *names* theme thus becomes central in the play, as in II ii, or in II vi, with Juliet opposing *matter* to *words*. According to Edward Snow (1985, p. 70), the language of the play "is most intricately concerned not with the opposition between passion and the social order but with the difference between the sexes [...]. Its subtler affirmations have to do not with romantic love but female ontology."

The story of Romeo and Juliet, as reshaped by Shakespeare, inspired artists working in many different genres and media. The most significant musical renditions are Vincenzo Bellini's and Charles François Gounod's operas (1830 and 1867), and Sergey Prokofiev's ballet (1936). Among movies of note are versions by George Cukor (1936), Franco Zeffirelli (1968), and Baz Luhrmann (1996). Leonard Bernstein's musical *West Side Story* (1957) was parodied by Italian movie maker Roberta Torre in her *Sud Side Stori* (2000), in which the characters' genders are reversed (Toni Giulietto, a street festival singer, and Romea, an immigrant African prostitute, are the protagonists of this story set in modern-day Palermo, Sicily).

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Shakespeare, William; Star-Crossed Lovers.*

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Romeo and Juliet. *This painting depicts Act V, Scene III of Shakespeare's play, in which Juliet awakens in her tomb to find Romeo dead.* COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

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ROSIE THE RIVETER

Rosie the Riveter was created as a tool of U.S. propaganda to recruit women into the workplace during World War II (1941–1945) as men were mobilized for the war. Although riveting is used in aircraft production, the name was used to label all female factory workers in defense industries during the war. Though Rosie was a

Rosie the Riveter Poster. *A World War II poster featuring Rosie the Riveter.*
NATIONAL ARCHIVES/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

fictional character, she became associated with several real women. The popular 1942 song of that name written by John Jacob Loeb and Redd Evans and recorded by Kay Kyser supposedly was based on Rosalind P. Walter. Norman Rockwell's rendition of Rosie on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* on May 29, 1943, was modeled after the postal worker Mary Doyle. Most famously, Rose Munroe, a widow and the mother of two, was recruited from her riveting job at the Willow Run Aircraft Factory in Michigan to encourage the purchase of war bonds in filmed ads.

The poster image now associated with Rosie the Riveter, featuring a woman in factory uniform flexing her bicep and asserting, "We Can Do It!" was created by J. Howard Miller in 1942 for the Westinghouse War Production Coordinating Committee and was based on a photograph taken of the Michigan factory worker Geraldine Doyle. The woman in the poster came to be known as Rosie the Riveter and remains emblematic of the women who worked in the defense industry during the war. Rosie wears mascara, lipstick, and nail polish and remains a "woman" even as she performs masculine work. The continued power and appeal of the poster lie in its combined depiction of traditional understandings of feminine beauty with strength and competency rather than weakness and assertiveness rather than submissiveness.

Despite Rosie's radically progressive appearance, the poster adheres to tradition. The assertion "We Can Do It!" is reminiscent of the cheer "You Can Do It!" and the traditional cheerleading role of women during wartime, encouraging men to fight and be "men." The "We" refers not just to women who can do men's work but to men and women who can win the war together. The propaganda work of Rosie the Riveter was directed toward society as a whole, and in the context of war women's work in nontraditional spheres was encouraged and applauded.

Around eighteen million Rosies, six million of whom were first-time workers, filled positions left vacant by men mobilized for war and positions newly created in the defense industry after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The U.S. economy and military depended on the labor Rosies provided. Women worked in factories for a variety of reasons, but patriotism was the most frequently highlighted motivation in popular depictions of working women. In fact, the positions generally paid better, required training, and were more interesting and challenging than the work previously and subsequently available to women. The wartime economy offered unprecedented opportunities to African-American women in particular.

The wartime positions and wages Rosies enjoyed ended when men returned from war. Birth rates rose dramatically immediately after the war, and many middle-class women willingly became full-time homemakers. However, many working-class women lost their positions and were forced to search for less lucrative work. Many historians claim that in this sense the progress made by Rosies during the war was an anomaly. However, scholars who have recorded the oral histories of Rosies have discovered that even though the progress was temporary, many women left their wartime jobs with greater self-confidence, pride, and self-worth. For the first time in such large numbers, women proved to themselves and to American society that they were capable of doing "men's" work. In addition, Rosie the Riveter's period of success supplied inspiration to the later women's movement. As a strong, self-sufficient working woman appreciated and celebrated as a national heroine for her contributions to society, Rosie the Riveter's image and claim that "We Can Do It!" persevered as a useful and inspiring image for the women's movement.

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ROUGH MUSIC

Rough music, also *shivaree*, from the French *charivari* (Abrahams 2002, Flanagan 1940, Johnson 1990), is a form of collective punishment related to sexual or marital behaviors, not always including sound. It also is known in the United States and England as skimmington, a word derived from the skimming ladle (Steward 2002).

Variations of the custom have been recorded in England, France, Italy, Sardinia, Spain, and Geneva during the medieval and early modern periods as well as in colonial North America. It was recorded in Kansas and Kentucky as late as the 1930s and in France well into the 1970s (Alford 1959, Desplat 1982, Johnson 1990, Le Goff and Schmitt 1981).

Typically, it was a procession or gathering by local youth or neighbors performing an unwelcome concert of discordant instruments, kitchen implements, or tools, aimed at newlyweds who had elicited social disapproval, in front of their home. It targeted perceived sexual misconduct, most often when widowers of both sexes remarried (Flanagan 1940, Johnson 1990).

Ridicule could be deflected by the face-saving device of gifts to the performers, usually in the form of drinks or sometimes food and more rarely by the extorsion of large sums of money (Johnson 1990). When the target of the shivaree refused to cooperate, the performance of condemnation would become more aggressive and durable. A testimony by a woman shivaree-target in the 1950s in France stresses the social obligation of the ritual and the impossibiity of ignoring it lest the harassment increase (Le Goff and Schmitt 1981).

In eighteenth-century England and colonial New England rough treatment, without music, could be ritually practiced by women against wife-beating husbands (London in 1734 and Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1734) or against young men for adultery (Boston in 1730) with the tacit approval of the community or under its eyes (Steward 2002). Women were sometimes part of the mob or even led it (Steward 2002). In colonial New Jersey it was a sect of young men who, disguised as women, stripped and flogged adulterous or violent husbands (McConville 2002). In Western states the serenade often marked integration in the community rather than punishment (Johnson 1990) but also gave license to annoy and censure a couple until a gift put an end to the disturbance (Hancock 1995) as in bride-bed rituals.

Even benign forms rested on a unilateral community authority over sexuality that could be very intrusive, if not violent (Johnson 1990, Steward 2002).

Divergent gendered assumptions affected male and female targets. The level of violent conflict was related primarily to how insulted the male recipient felt. The expectation that women would endure the ritual without protest is linked to disparaging perceptions of the honor or women or of women having no honor other than the sexual.

Thus, while shivaree sometimes punished violent spouses, it mostly enacted normative and conservative sexual mores regarding remarriage, particularly in Catholic countries. In effect, medieval and early modern societies accepted and even enforced remarriage at the highest rungs of society, and the Church has never condemned remarrying per se. Yet its teachings on chastity and celibacy greatly influenced views of widowhood as removing the surviving partner from the marriage and the permitted system of sexual exchange (Desplat 1982, Johnson 1990), and in more patriarchal societies such as ancien regime Gascony the advocacy of enforced chastity in widowhood was disproportionately directed at women (Desplat 1982). However, in interfering with patrician and bourgeois control of marriage as an economic and social tool, these practices could be socially disruptive, expressing the prejudices or prohibitions of groups with less power within the community against the choices of worthy and important citizens (Desplat 1982, Steward 2002). Thus, the courts of ancien regime France as well as colonial authorities in America took an increasingly dim view of these disputes, adjudicating them more frequently in favor of the plaintiffs.

SEE ALSO *Folklore; Marriage.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

ROYALTY

Fascination with royalty is a commonplace in many societies, both democratic and monarchic. This was particularly true during the early modern period (c. 1500–1800) when the cult of royalty was inextricably bound with Christianity.

KINGSHIP AND THE DIVINE

The divine right of kings was most fully elaborated in France where tradition held that at the baptism of Clovis (465–511) in 496, a dove descended from heaven bearing an ampoule of chrism, signaling God's selection of an earthly representative. Beginning with the anointing of Louis XII in 1131, the balm from the Sainte Ampoule was used in every French coronation except one until the sacred vial was destroyed by order of the Revolutionary Convention in 1793. God's direct intervention in the consecration of the House of France imbued its kings with a sacred authority and status placing them not only above other humans, but above other kings, who, although they also ruled by God's grace, could claim no such divine sanction.

If direct heavenly approbation performatively reenacted at the coronation were not enough to render the sacred King of France uniquely extraordinary, the royal funerary rites demonstrated his supernatural qualities through engaging the king's two bodies. One body was mortal and died, whereas the other, the body politic of France, was immortal and passed, through an effigy where it rested for a time, from the physical body of the defunct king into that of his successor, literally illustrating the puissant invocation *Le roi est mort, vive le roi!* [The king is dead, long live the king!] In order to function, this transfer of authority by primogeniture required the submission of the people to their father the king and to God, but questioning the law of the father is also implicit in the nature of this confirmation, revealing its dangerous instability and the vulnerability of the king's sacred infallibility. In this context, and perhaps because they touch most directly on the human, matters of sex and sexuality pertaining to royalty were often subjects for gossip, rumor, innuendo, and slander. All of these might be perceived as means of accessing or even attacking the sacred royal person through the mortal, fallible human, particularly through accusations of queerness, which draws individuals away from the protected realm of Christian approbation, aligning them with sinners and the damned. In this context royal bodies might become loci for undermining the very patriarchal order that they are obliged to promulgate.

SODOMY AND THE KING

Phallic patriarchy is grounded in heteronormative structures that require acceptance in exchange for sanctioning royal authority. This exchange is exemplified by Richard I, Cœur de Lion [Lionheart], King of England (1157–1199) about whom contemporaries, including his father, Henry II (1133–1189), remarked an unusual enthusiasm for male companions, particularly Philippe I of France and Geoffroy de Bretagne. Richard's behavior exceeded the accepted bounds of chivalric homosociality and branded the king a sodomite. Aside from the biblical condemnation of Sodomites (inhabitants of Sodom, whose sins the Bible never definitively enumerates), sodomy rejects the demands of heteronormative patriarchy, a violation that, in a Christian social context, is unnatural, particularly in a king who, through the refutation of divine prescription, undermines his own authority and jeopardizes his kingdom's safety. The chronicler Benoît de Peterborough (d. 1193) recognized this, and by referring to Richard's activities with Philippe I in the same terms as Juvenal's description of the Roman empress Messalina's night at a brothel, strategically marked those activities as perverse violations of the patriarchic order. To realign his reign with the heteronormative imperative, Richard twice performed public acts of penance for the sin of Sodom, surrendering the temporal to the spiritual, submitting to the Father, and thus legitimizing his rule through religious mediation.

Edward II, King of England (1284–1327) was unable to engage similar mediation to stabilize a reign marked by the negative signifiers associated with sodomite kings, including political disorder and the reversal of gender roles. The vox populi associated Piers Gaverston, Richard's favorite, with the king's unsuccessful politics and military defeats. These were attributed to divine disapproval, as was Gaverston's assassination in 1312.

Edward's inability to legitimize his rule through heteronormative signifiers was fatal. Hugh Spencer (1296–1326), Edward's next favorite, humiliated the queen, Isabelle of France (c. 1295–1358), proving the contempt in which sodomites allegedly held patriarchal law. In retaliation, the queen brought military forces from her homeland and incited revolt against the reign of sodomites, which, because it rejected heteronormative patriarchal prescriptions, had no political validity and was in turn rejected by the people. Spencer was executed, and Edward's now entirely mortal body was no longer inviolable, allowing his assassination by a red-hot iron inserted in his anus.

By seizing power, Isabelle operated a gender inversion through phallic appropriation. Inflicting heaven's retribution and punishing her husband as a sodomite, Isabelle reestablished divinely sanctioned rule by placing her son on the throne.

Edward II's violation of patriarchal prescriptions and Isabelle's gendered vengeance had implications for all kings, highlighting their vulnerability to attacks on personal flaws and indiscretions, which assumed overwhelming political significance. In 1588 three works recounting the Gaverston affair were printed in Paris, engaging a discourse that Pierre de L'Estoile interpreted as a warning to Henri III, King of France (1551–1589). As with Edward, Henri's choice of favorites (*mignons*) upset traditional court structures. This destabilization was reinforced by Henri's association with the foreign, the notion of which was often linked to sodomy in the early modern period. Henri had reigned as King of Poland (1573–1574), and on his journey back to France, he passed through Italy, where he was rumored to have been introduced to sodomy (known in France as *le vice italien*) in Venice. Henri's alleged *Italian* inclinations were attributed not only to his supposed sexual experience in Italy but to the malefic influence of the Italian queen mother, Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589). This marked Henri as fatally flawed, as he ostensibly violated the fundamental patriarchal principal of rejecting and conquering the foreign, which he chose to embrace instead. Satires such as the "Sonnet contre les Italiens"[Sonnet against the Italians] reported by L'Estoile in 1575, claimed that:

> Today Italy tyrannizes France
> Overpowered in her yoke that she easily suffers
> . . .
> Dividing her subjects to easily destroy them,
> Using one part to destroy the other . . .
>
> *(L'Estoile 1575, I: 73)*

Along with foreign sexual practices Henri imported social customs, including the use of the feminine *majesté* as a form of royal address, which required referring to the king, or at least to his sacred body, in the third person as *She*, a usage to designate men later typical of the developing homosexual subculture of eighteenth-century Paris. This accorded with the king's love of excessive fashions (construed as a feminine trait) and cross-dressing, but presumptively perverted the royal office. If the king were guilty of passive buggery, which was perceived as effeminate and sinful, he allowed the sacred body of the kingdom to be violated through the penetration of his own mortal body, thus jeopardizing the legitimacy of his role as king:

> Our fathers honored the name of King
>   above all.
> This fine name! But since then, our foolishness,
> Particularly that of the courtier, has left it to
>   rust.
> At court one speaks only of "Sa Majesté:
> She goes, She comes, She is, She has been."
> Does this not make the kingdom fall to the
>   distaff? [i.e., turn the king into a queen].
>
> *(L'Estoile 1575, I: 193)*

Henri's alleged lack of masculine qualities was purportedly reflected in his inability to father an heir. The king's perceived weakness and failure to assert phallic order in a kingdom violently divided by religious conflict was concretized when he was forced by the duc de Guise (1550–1588), leader of the ultra-Catholic faction, to flee Paris in 1588. Efforts to establish an image of magnificent royalty were unsuccessful and deteriorated into one of demonic effeminacy as witnessed by the at least forty-five published attacks on the king dating from 1576 to 1589. The king's assassination by the Dominican friar Jacques Clément (1567–1589) was a symbolic reassertion of patriarchal order and the rule of the Father.

SEXUAL IMPROPRIETY OF ROYALTY: ATTACKS ON THE SOVEREIGN

Such was the cult of the king, especially in France, that although his infallible majesty could not be conferred to others, those closest to him, particularly the queen, received an exceptional degree of grace. As the *Institution au droict des François* of Guy Coquille explains: "The King is Monarch, & has no companion in his Royal Majesty. Exterior honors may be communicated by Kings to their wives, but that which is of his Majesty, representing his power & dignity, resides inseparably in his person alone" (Coquille 1607, p. 3). The early modern public fascination with the king's quasi-supernatural status subjected him and all those near him to intense scrutiny, particularly in relation to the patriarchal phallic order that they embodied and were obliged to confirm in order to justify the legitimacy of royal rule and the favor in which God held their house and the kingdom.

Christina of Sweden had Herself Crowned king. TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

Among the most violent political and personal attacks on the sexuality and gender of a royal personage was the discursive construction of a sexually deviant Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France (1755–1793), who was bent on destroying the kingdom in favor of her native Austria. Marie-Antoinette was denigrated in pornographic discourse that not only accused her of having sexual relations with untold numbers of men, including her brother-in-law, comte d'Artois (1757–1836), but with women as well. Depicting the queen in outrageously obscene situations became a national pastime, particularly after the Affair of the Diamond Necklace in 1785. Pamphlets frequently depicted Marie-Antoinette engaged in lesbian sex with her close friends, including the princesse de Lamballe (1749–1792) and the duchesse de Polignac (1749–1793). Pornographic publications such as *Le Godmiché royal* (The royal dildo) (1789), which depicts the queen as a lascivious Juno perverting Hebe, often cast Marie-Antoinette in a stereotypically masculine, sexually active, role. Appropriating phallic authority the queen reputedly dominated the king (and through him the kingdom), forsaking her marriage and violating all prescriptions of primogeniture and Salic Law, which demanded that queens remain submissive vessels for the procreation of French monarchs. By allegedly providing hordes of men access to the royal womb, the queen ostensibly threatened the legitimacy of the Bourbon succession and of the royal institution itself. Perverse accusations that the queen committed incest with her youngest son, heir to the throne, were viciously calculated to illustrate her alleged violation of the very foundations of patriarchal order, as incest between mother and son, as French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) explains in "Le Stade du miroir" (The mirror stage) (1949), is the ultimate revolt against the rule of the Father.

As with any group grounded in the patriarchic heteronormative, royalty may be attacked and its authority undermined when it is perceived as violating imperatives of the social structures that legitimize its exceptional position above ordinary humans. Such strategic repositioning of God's chosen ministers theoretically exposes individual personages such as Edward II, Henri III, and Marie-Antoinette to divine retribution operated through popular action. In turn, this retribution, which leaves kingdoms without God-sanctioned rule by shattering the foundations of primogeniture, proves the vulnerability and instability of the very social structures that impose their imperatives of gender and sexuality as prerequisites for legitimate royal government by divine right.

SEE ALSO *Bugger, Buggery; Queens; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Desmond Hosford

RUBENS, PETER PAUL
1577–1640

Peter Paul Rubens, who was born in Siegen, Westphalia, on June 28, 1577, is considered the greatest Flemish painter of the seventeenth century. After attending Latin school and during service in a noble household, the young Rubens was enrolled in the Antwerp painter's guild at fourteen and obtained his mastership in 1598. In 1600 he traveled to Italy, where he became court painter in Mantua. He remained there for eight years, returning to Antwerp in late 1608. During his Italian sojourn he studied classical, Renaissance, and contemporary art, rising from a promising talent to a leading representative of the new baroque manner. He obtained major commissions for altarpieces promoting the doctrines of the Catholic Reformation, but his religious imagery did not preclude mythology, allegory, history, and portraiture.

When he settled permanently in Antwerp, Rubens continued to paint these themes, adding hunts and landscapes. He also designed extensive decorative projects—the Antwerp Jesuit church, tapestry sets, and royal commissions for France, Spain, and England—completing at least sixty altarpieces between 1610 and 1620. This

Self-portrait of Peter Paul Rubens. IGAGNO/GETTY IMAGES.

output was facilitated by a workshop of unprecedented size; talented assistants, renowned independent artists, and Rubens's own managerial skills and business acumen ensured its success. Taking advantage of the print medium, he engaged gifted graphic artists to make reproductions to promote his fame and disseminate his imagery.

Rubens was a renowned scholar. He owned an extensive library, possessed antiquities (including an Egyptian mummy), and corresponded with a cosmopolitan network of intellectuals and political leaders. More than 250 letters survive. He was proficient in seven languages and cultivated the classics. To create a stage worthy of his social ambitions and to transcend the "mechanical art" he practiced, his residence combined regional Brabantine architecture, robust baroque, and even a "Pantheon" to exhibit choice classical sculpture. His collection comprised more than 1,000 items at his death. A commoner by birth, Rubens was elevated to the nobility and knighted by the kings of Spain and England. His manifold talents were valued by the ruling Habsburgs who appointed him court painter, councillor, and trusted diplomat. In keeping with his rise in social rank he acquired lordships, Steen being the most prestigious. He retired there in the mid-1630s to enjoy his seignorial prerogatives with his second wife, the blond beauty Hélèna Fourment, whom he married in 1630, she sixteen, he fifty-three. Isabella Brant, his wife of seventeen years had died in 1626. Rubens himself died in Antwerp on May 30, 1640, at the age of sixty-three.

Ruben's depiction of the female nude was extraordinarily influential. The voluptuous ideal he fashioned was an amalgam of classical Venus types; Venetian nudes, Titian's especially; live models; proportional systems of Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer; physiognomy; and esoterica, including Cabala, alchemy, and Pythagorean numerology. He was also versed in medicine. This eclectic mix is recorded in notes and drawings mainly compiled in Italy. Although the product of his early years, Rubens continued to follow them later, but as his manner changed so too did their pictorial realization. Two distinct phases can be identified. In the first, the body is robust, firm, and has distinct contours; later, softer roseate dimpled flesh and rippling diaphanous contours are depicted in a more painterly manner with a lighter palette. In both phases adipose tissue is prominent. This fatty matter is a defining characteristic of women, an Aristotelian notion Rubens subscribed to. It is premised on the belief that women are inferior to men because their hearts are smaller; therefore, they do not metabolize ("concoct") efficiently. Consequently women have greater fatty tissue, lactate when nutrient blood becomes milk during pregnancy, and menstruate to expel poisonous impurities. Rubens refers in his writings to the Aristotelian topos (rhetorical topic) that women are blood and milk, and in painting, white and red are the most prominent pigments on a painter's palette depicting women, for instance, in Rubens's *Education of Marie de' Medici* (Louvre, Paris). Though physiologically inferior, motherhood fulfills female biological destiny. The beautiful, fecund female arouses the male, whose surge of desire initiates copulation. Women are eroticized to emphasize nature's necessity: Sexuality is the imperative vitality that generates progeny.

The same thinking applies to contemporary female rulers Rubens portrayed; their foremost role was to birth a viable heir. When that did not occur, witness, the Archduchess Isabella, then the ruler's dignity was indicated with suitable court attire or the habit of a nun. With respect to gender, Rubens did not transgress male–female boundaries, even in the monumental Marie de Médicis pictures. When Marie is entrusted with the regency and assumes the throne of state, she does not adopt a manly pose; rather, she is a benevolent female figure, the dowager who acts wisely on behalf of the nation she governs. When called upon to perform martial deeds, though armed and equestrian, she rides sidesaddle and her dress is more fanciful than protective. Personifications, however, may have a manly mien, for example, France and Spain, in the Médicis cycle, but a certain courtly ambiguity gives latitude to identifying their sex; the beholder's eye is the ultimate judge.

SEE ALSO *Art; Erotic Art; Nude in Visual Arts.*

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SACHER-MASOCH, LEOPOLD VON
1836–1895

The name Leopold von Sacher-Masoch is irrevocably associated with a sexual need to be dominated or punished. At the time of their publication, his writings illustrated a broadly articulated nineteenth century trend in western culture's reimaging of the beautiful woman as a *femme fatale* who sexually victimizes the man. Yet Sacher-Masoch's popular literary realizations of a common nineteenth century model of male sexual fascination were not the direct source of his fame. Instead, his enormous influence on modern understandings of sexuality must be traced to early psychoanalytic interest in his writings as documents that were believed to be unusually transparent in revealing their author's erotic motivation. A model of a satisfied "victim" could be reconciled with established notions of femininity, but sexual submission and the enjoyment of pain by men was often regarded in twentieth-century psychiatry as being strangely at odds with the essential role played by male aggression and dominance in society.

The author Leopold von Sacher-Masoch was born in Lemberg, Galicia (now Poland), on January 27, the first of five children in a respectable bourgeois family of Slavic and Bohemian ancestry. His father, Leopold von Sacher, served as the chief of police in Lemberg. His mother, Caroline von Sacher (née Masoch), was descended from minor nobility described as Ukrainian or Polish. In 1838 the family name was changed officially to Sacher-Masoch.

In 1848 the family moved to Prague in time for Leopold to witness firsthand the Prague revolt. Revolutionary movements and the complexities of social and political life for Slavic peoples and other ethnic minorities under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire would become a lifelong interest for Sacher-Masoch, one that was reflected in his novels, journalistic writing, and editorship of various literary tracts as well as his promulgation of pan-Slavic ideas and active support of organizations opposed to anti-Semitism.

EDUCATION AND EARLY PUBLICATIONS

In 1852 Sacher-Masoch entered the University of Prague. Contrary to his father's hope that his oldest son would become a lawyer, Leopold began studying for a doctor of philosophy degree in history at Karl-Franzens University in the city of Graz, where his father had been transferred in 1854. Upon completion of his doctorate in 1856, Sacher-Masoch began lecturing in history at the university. His colleagues criticized his historical writing, including his 1857 book *Der Aufstand in Gent unter Kaiser Carl V* [The revolt in Ghent under Emperor Charles V] as being too much in the style of fiction. In 1858 Sacher-Masoch's first novel, *Eine Galiziche Geschichte: 1846* [A Galician tale: 1846] was published anonymously and received critical acclaim. Sacher-Masoch reconsidered a career in law but because of his political leanings was forbidden entry into law school by the Hapsburg government in 1859, the same year he was passed over for a professorship.

THE NOVELS

With his academic career faltering, Sacher-Masoch invested even more energy in publishing the nonfiction *Ungarns*

Leopold von Sacher-Masoch. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

Untergang und Maria von Oesterreich [Hungary's downfall and Maria of Austria], which appeared in 1863, as well as fiction, including the novels *Der Emissar* [The emissary] in 1863 and *Don Juan von Kolomea* [Don Juan of Kolomea] in 1864. Again rejected for promotion to a professorship in 1865, Sacher-Masoch began devoting himself almost exclusively to writing plays, novels, and historical nonfiction. He also took up publication of a magazine, *Die Gartenlaube für Oesterreich* [The arbor for Austria] in 1866. In spite of his prolific literary output, he was plagued by financial insecurity, and this may explain why he did not resign from the university until 1868.

In 1869 Sacher-Masoch published a highly autobiographical novel, *Die geschiedene Frau* [The Divorced Woman], that was based on his love affair with a married woman, Anna Franziska von Kottowitz. The book received a mixed critical reaction, with some reviewers condemning it for immorality. In the same year Sacher-Masoch solidified his plans for a cycle of multiple novels to be called collectively *Das Vermächtniss Kains* [The heritage of Cain]. In the cycle he hoped to address systematically what he regarded as the important themes of humankind: love, property, the state, war, work, and death.

As part of the cycle *Venus im Pelz* [Venus in furs] was published in 1870. This short novel would become Sacher-Masoch's most enduring work, appearing in many different translations and editions long after his death. It also served as the basis for theatrical films in 1967, 1969, and 1994. The male narrator of the novel, Severin von Kuziemski, meets Wanda von Dunayev, a beautiful woman whom he likens to a goddess and to a statue of cold marble wrapped in furs. Because she seems to embody the ideal woman of his fantasies, he asks to worship her. Seeking a woman who will dominate him completely, he demands: "Trample on me!" (Sacher-Masoch 1991, p. 182). Severin asks this "Venus in furs" to sign a contract that will make him her slave but that has two stipulations: She may never leave him completely or turn him over for punishment to another lover. The hero willingly confers power on the female, and Wanda plays her assigned role by abusing Severin physically with a whip and other accoutrements of domination but also emotionally by taking other lovers.

As the novel progresses, Severin tries to persuade the reader through his narration of the story that he is victimized by the woman if not by circumstances. At one point, Wanda attempts to get Severin to admit that everything she has done to abuse and humiliate him has been at his behest. His reply is coy: "You take my fantasies too seriously" (Sacher-Masoch 1991, p. 167). When Wanda enlists her handsome lover, "The Greek," to help her abuse Severin, the latter finally rebels. He declares his reformation: "The moral is that woman… is man's enemy; she can be his slave or his mistress but never his companion. This she can only be when she has the same rights as he and is his equal in education and work. For the time being there is only one alternative: to be the hammer or the anvil" (Sacher-Masoch 1991, p. 288).

The veiled representation of sex and violence in Sacher-Masoch's work appears in archetypal form in *Venus in Furs*. Early in the novel Severin describes Wanda: "At the sight of her lying on red velvet cushions, her precious body peeping out between the folds of sable, I realized how powerfully sensuality and lust are aroused by flesh that is only partly revealed.… [S]he seemed as saintly and chaste in her unveiled beauty as the statue of the goddess …" (Sacher-Masoch 1991, p. 201).

Sacher-Masoch's rhetorical reliance on idealized eroticism rather than overt obscenity resulted in the general acceptance of his novels as literature rather than pornography in spite of their frequent inclusion of flagellation, complex sexual masquerades, and the fetishistic overvaluation of female clothing, especially furs. As Gilles Deleuze observes in his highly influential rereading of Sacher-Masoch: "Of Masoch it can be said, as it cannot be of Sade, that no one has ever been so far with so little offence to decency" (1967, p. 31).

In this regard Deleuze suggests that fantasy is at the core of Sacher-Masoch's literature. It might be assumed that like *The Divorced Wife*, *Venus in Furs* was based on Sacher-Masoch's intimate relationship with a woman, in this case Fanny Pistor. Although in 1869 Sacher-Masoch signed a "contract of submission" with her in which he agreed to submit to Pistor's every whim, there was not a one-way trajectory between real life and his novels. In her autobiography Angelika Aurora Rumelin, the first of Sacher-Masoch's two wives, hints that *Venus in Furs* inspired Sacher-Masoch's sexual relations with Fanny Pistor rather than the other way around. Indeed, Angelika became Sacher-Masoch's wife in 1873 only after she presented herself to him anonymously (and deceptively) as a noblewoman in furs, signed a sexual contract with him, tortured him for months, and changed her name to that of the cruel heroine of *Venus in Furs*.

CONTEMPORARY AND MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

Indeed, the line between Sacher-Masoch's fantasies, his twenty-five-year career of novel writing, and his private life dissolved completely in 1886 with the publication of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's authoritative compendium of case histories of perversions of the normal sexual instinct. Krafft-Ebing noted the existence of a specific mode of sexual practices in which men acted on their wish to be subjugated. He observed that those practices, including "pagism" (pretending to be a woman's servant), played a foundational role in the novels of Sacher-Masoch, and so he would call this sexual anomaly *masochism*. As a result, Krafft-Ebing irrevocably linked Sacher-Masoch's name to sexual pathology, and in later editions of his book he justified that decision by suggesting that the "revered author" (who by then was deceased) "himself was afflicted with this anomaly" (Krafft-Ebing 1965, pp. 132–133).

Krafft-Ebing's association of Sacher-Masoch with the sexual practices of masochism would outlive the acclaim and popularity that greeted the work of both men during their lifetimes. Long after Sacher-Masoch's novels were by and large forgotten and Krafft-Ebing's moralistic approach to sexology had been superseded by more subtle psychological theory, the commonly used term *masochism* and the sexual acts it was presumed to represent continued to play an important role in psychoanalytic thought and attempts to understand the development of sexuality.

Sigmund Freud addressed the issue of masochism in numerous articles, including "A Child Is Being Beaten" (1919) and "The Economic Problem in Masochism" (1924), and Theodor Reik produced an exhaustive tome on the subject, *Masochism in Modern Man* (1941). Although both associated masochism with a rejection of conventionally conceived norms of masculine sexuality, neither drew on Sacher-Masoch's writings for his analysis of the perplexing pain-pleasure dynamic or any other element of masochism. It was not until the publication of the philosopher Gilles Deleuze's *Coldness and Cruelty* in 1967 that this would be done.

Deleuze's revisionary exegesis sparked a revival of interest in the literature of Sacher-Masoch and inspired a scholarly reconsideration of the complexities of masochism, particularly in its reversal of traditional patriarchal expectations of power aligned according to gender. As a consequence, masochism has emerged as an important theme in wide-ranging cultural discourses about both historical and contemporary convergences of sexuality and violence.

SEE ALSO *Sade, Marquis de; Sadism.*

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Gaylyn Studlar

SADE, MARQUIS DE
1740–1814

Donatien Alphonse François de Sade, commonly known as the Marquis de Sade, was born on June 2 in Paris to an aristocratic family from Provence. He was sent to the Jesuit school Louis-le-Grand in Paris. After his participation in the Seven Years' War (1764–1763), Sade lived in the family-owned castle of La Coste in southern France. In May 1763 he married Renée-Pélagie de Montreuil, the daughter of a rich noble family. He died on December 2 in the Charentron insane asylum in Paris.

THE LIFE

Sade was arrested in October 1763 for *outrageous debauchery in a brothel* and incarcerated in the Vincennes dungeon for two weeks. From that point on he consorted with actresses, dancers, and prostitutes and was under close surveillance by the police inspector Marais. Marais was in charge of vice affairs for General Lieutenant Sartines, who attentively read his detailed reports to Louis XV (1710–1774). In April 1768 the cotton spinner and beggar Rose Keller was held captive and tortured by the marquis in his Arcueil residence near Paris. Sade was imprisoned for six months and then put under house arrest in La Coste.

In June 1772 the Marseilles affair came to public attention. Four prostitutes recruited by Sade and his valet Latour for a libertine party accused both men of having poisoned them with aphrodisiac sweets. Although the apothecary's report did not mention poison, Sade and his valet were sentenced to death on September 3, 1772, for the crimes of poisoning and sodomy. The marquis escaped to Italy.

In December he was arrested and imprisoned, but he escaped in the spring of 1773. In 1777 during a stay in Paris, Sade was arrested by an order under the king's private seal, which permitted detention without trial, and imprisoned at Vincennes for the Marseilles affair. In 1778 his death sentence was commuted to a fine, but he had to remain in prison because the order submitted him to the king's *restrained justice*.

It was from his cell that Sade wrote *Dialogue between a Priest and a Dying Man* in 1782, followed by *The One Hundred and Twenty Days of Sodom*. Sade was transferred to the Bastille and then in July 1789 to the insane asylum at Charenton. In 1790 he was set free because orders under the king's private seal were abolished. The next year he anonymously published different versions of *Justine or the Misfortunes of Virtue*, followed by *Aline and Valcour or the Philosophical Novel* and *Philosophy in the Boudoir or the Libertine Teachers, Dialogues for the Education of Young Ladies* in 1795.

The Marquis de Sade in Prision. **THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.**

After being sentenced to death under the Reign of Terror for *moderantism*, Sade was freed in 1794. While living in misery, he published *Juliette, or Vice Amply Rewarded* in 1797, followed by *Pauline and Belval or the Victims of a Criminal Love* in 1798. In 1801 he again was confined to the Charenton asylum because of the publication of a collection of short stories, *Crimes of Love*, that was considered immoral. Clear-headed until the end of his life, he organized parties and staged plays in Charenton. The *divine marquis* died in Charenton, having spent twenty-five years of his life in confinement.

THE WRITINGS

Sade's writings reflect a life not so much of sexual hedonism as of nearly surgical experimentation with sexuality to the point of horror. Those writings are characterized by militant atheism: Sade delighted in blaspheming, as in *Justine or the Misfortunes of Virtue*, where it is monks who practice penetration, flagellation, and coprophagia.

Sade considered sexual pleasure to be intrinsically transgressive. A sexual climax entails violation of the forbidden, and sexuality thus leads to the supreme crime of murder. Sade seduces his readers by promising an almost innocent sexual pleasure, but his characters end up weary of increasingly unbridled and elaborate pleasures. The numerous scenes of humiliation, torture, and massacre make it appear as if Sade were unable to carry through with his utopia of horror.

All conceivable sexual anomalies are enacted and reenacted in secluded places, such as castles and convents, where the limits of nature are tested. However, nature has no moral limits. For Sade everything is possible, and thus everything is permitted. *Moral crimes* are boundaries invented by human laws to subjugate the true nature of people.

Sade's cruel naturalism is informed by the French Enlightenment. He protests against the misery and injustice of women's condition, against a form of marriage and education that sentences women to a permanent feeling of religiously inspired guilt, and against a morality that enjoins women to be modest despite their ignorance of their bodies and the world. Addressing women in *Philosophy in the Boudoir*, Sade wrote: "I would have them accorded the enjoyment of all sexes and, as in the case of men, the enjoyment of all parts of the body; and under the special clause prescribing their surrender to all who desire them, there must be subjoined another guaranteeing them a similar freedom to enjoy all they deem worthy to satisfy them."

In most of Sade's novels the female characters are victims of male fantasies, passive sexual objects who are manipulated and abused, but male characters are also among the victims. The virtuous Justine, who incarnates the image of the innocent woman, has as her double her older sister, the vicious Juliette, who is as evil as any of Sade's male characters.

Sade's novels are initiations into cruelty but also provide a philosophical education in sexuality. The sexuality of Sade's women is politically subversive by virtue of its polymorphous nature. Liberating women totally from reproduction, Sade establishes a woman's right to sexual pleasure without obligation.

THE FEMINIST REACTION

Sade's writings have caused debate among feminists. In 1954 French philosopher and author Simone de Beauvoir showed that Sade's philosophy enables the modern reader to understand how sexuality captures the essence of the human condition. The precariousness of the experience of otherness is put forward and held in check in Sade's writings: Sadian libertines never lose control or become confused; for them sexual pleasure is entirely cerebral. They climax in the solitude of their own identity and remain indifferent to the other. Beauvoir illustrates Sade's *isolism* with the well-known image of the man satisfied with *making* his partner *come*. In such conditions the libertine Sade never experiences his own subjectivity, never becomes conscious of himself and his condition. Beauvoir demonstrates through this figure the true structure of human intersubjectivity in sexuality (Butler 2003). In 1977 French psychoanalytic and cultural theorist Luce Irigaray parodied Sade in a text titled "Frenchwomen, Stop Trying" in which she invited women to follow their nature—not the one prescribed by pornographers but the one they themselves shape: "Don't force yourselves to repeat, don't congeal your dreams or desires in unique and definitive representations. You have so many continents to explore that if you set up borders for yourselves you won't be able to 'enjoy' all your own 'nature'" (Irigaray 1985, p. 204).

SEE ALSO *Bondage and Discipline; Domination; Enlightenment; Literature: I. Overview; Sadism.*

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Elsa Dorlin

SADISM

Sexual sadism entails sexual behavior in which the mental and physical suffering of a victim is experienced as erotically pleasurable, according to the American Psychological Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV* (1994). Often understood as a gendered masculine, the controlling active *S* of *S/M* (sadomasochism) has a long and controversial history surrounding its peculiar melding of pleasure and pain. In its many facets and expressions, sadism can be understood as pathological, normative, playful, theatrical, abusive, and/or patriarchal. Many theorists and schools of thought have shaped ideas and practices of sadism and its relation to its passive pole, masochism, by questioning and labeling the role of sadomasochistic practices in everyday life. Research on sadism includes lauding such practices as sexually healthy as well as cautioning against their pathological or criminal threat.

WORD ORIGINS

The word sadism comes from the name of a historical figure, the infamous Marquis de Sade (Louis Donatien Francois Alphonse de Sade [1740–1814]), a French count, writer, and philosopher. The term was first used by the psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902). Known for a lifestyle of excess, de Sade took part in violent sexual play with prostitutes, engaged in orgies with men and women, and was eventually and repeatedly charged with sexual crimes for which he was forced to serve prison sentences. While in and out of prisons and asylums, he wrote racy yet philosophical novels and plays. De Sade shone a bright light on sexual practices that many people of the age wished to keep in the dark.

In *Psychopathia sexualis* (1886), Krafft-Ebing defined the four classes of sexual variation as sadism, masochism, fetishism, and homosexuality. He noted that sadism is a fairly common perversion resulting in sensual pleasure and orgasm by cruel acts of mastery. He proposed that sadism shares a relation of opposition and cooperation with masochism, the passive desire to be subjected to pain, force, punishment, and/or humiliation. Krafft-Ebing also coined the term *masochism*, once again by referring to a real world figure, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, an Austrian writer known for writing erotic novels based on his life experiences. Sacher-Masoch's most famous work is *Venus in Furs* (1870), a story about a man who becomes enslaved to a beautiful widow.

Concerning sadism, Krafft-Ebing draws a distinction between the physiologically normal sexualized horseplay, marked by biting or pinching in the heat of passion, and more dominating and abusive sexual acts. He claims that there is a space of transition that separates the former and latter sadistic poles and that the range of sadistic acts is traceable. His text thus suggests a continuum of sadistic practices and offers a plethora of varying cases for study. Though labeling and moralizing against certain pathologies rather than structuring a cohesive sexual theory, *Psychopathia sexualis* was a landmark work for its time—one that opened a path to the work of the pioneering psychiatrist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) on sadomasochism and his theory of psychoanalysis.

FREUD AND THE PSYCHOANALYTIC VIEW

In his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Freud referred to Krafft-Ebing's writings and formed his own psychoanalytic theories around the general characteristics of sadism and masochism. Freud's discussion of sadism and masochism, like that of Krafft-Ebing, concludes that the two are "the most common and the most significant of all the perversions" (Freud 1963, p. 23). Sadism is instinctual and tied to a life-preserving aggression. Freud writes of this aggressive quality specifically in males as a natural, biologically determined, desire to subjugate, to quash the resistance of the sexual object and thus ensure coitus. Sadism is the exaggeration of such aggression to the point that the push for violence becomes a dominant, or *the* dominant, sexual necessity.

In his early view, Freud considered masochism to be a secondary process born out of sadism, though he changed his opinion and saw masochism as primary in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1924). In this second configuring of sadism and masochism, sadism is no longer a foundational reparative outpouring of violence meant to enforce mastery. Instead it is a tool enforcing an always masochistic death instinct. In either case, Freud points to the striking relationship between sadism and masochism—all sadists harbor masochistic tendencies within themselves and vice versa. Though the characteristics of one of these perversions are heightened in an individual, the capacity for the other is always within reach.

By routing our understanding of sadism and masochism through Freud's views of the pleasure principle, theorists like Judith Butler find that a more thorough investigation of sadism and masochism is precluded and subsumed within Freud's generalized and highly speculative theorizing of instincts. Whether one agrees with Butler or not, Freud's writing on sadism and its relation to masochism helped publicize the universality of S/M tendencies and further detailed the complexity and interrelatedness of the two poles. Though Freud's work is still used to delineate and construct normativity, his studies also stressed the universality of neurotic abnormality and helped create a forum for discussing such topics as sadism and masochism.

SADISM IN PSYCHOLOGY

Labeled as a paraphilia, or aberrant sexual pattern, by contemporary psychologists, sadism is difficult to define because of the wide range of practices attributed to it. To have a psychological diagnosis of sexual sadism, an individual must be recurrently aroused by or participating in sadistic sexual acts for at least six months, and his or her life must be hindered socially or occupationally by such behavior.

Sexual sadism involves the dramatizing of power relationships by utilizing the roles of dominant and submissive characters. The roles reenact power scenarios such as master/slave or teacher/student in bouts of sexualized play. In modern S/M subculture the drama is governed by strict rules for safety. Role-playing itself, of course, is not sexually deviant behavior, but if, in playing that role, the sadist begins to overstep boundaries, a once playful scenario easily becomes dangerous.

Researchers increasingly debate the pathological quality of sadism as the discussion and practice of sadism and masochism become more publicly acceptable. S/M has become a subculture replete with its own garb, toys, stores, and even theme restaurants. Sadomasochistic situations and sexual displays are commonly seen on television and in cinema, and are available through the Internet. Practiced by many generally well-adjusted individuals, sadomasochism may actually be less about pain and humiliation than the creation and re-creation of power scenarios. Though rapists, murderers, and serial killers often have sadistic tendencies, those behaviors represent a very small part of the types of acts seen in the subculture. Criminal sadists desire humiliation of the victim, whereas most noncriminal sadistic behavior is safe, consensual play that is pleasing to all parties involved.

SOCIOLOGICAL FINDINGS

Many sociological studies, especially in the 1970s and early 1980s, worked against the generalized definitions of sadomasochism as pathology by focusing research on the views and practices of actual S/M participants. One study investigated S/M in New York and San Francisco over the seven-year period between 1976 and 1983. Weinberg, Falk, Lee, and Kamel found that S/M adherents mostly kept to themselves and rarely strayed from their clubs, meetings, and stores. The study also noted that the role of pain in S/M fantasy play and procedures was hardly centralized or monstrously abusive; rather, strict rules and safe words were enforced to promote safety and limits. Other studies and surveys demonstrated that instead of a subculture built around pain, S/M centered on dramatic plays of domination and submission and consensual sex, along with creative exploration of fantasy and the usage of toys. These toys included paddles, whips, elaborate costumes, restraints, corsets, and chains, but often were utilized by the sadist with such expertise that they created more overall dramatic pleasure than horrible physical pain.

CAUSES

As in most paraphilias, a number of theories concerning the aetiology of sadism suggest that a childhood event or conflict may have developed into psychologically aberrant behavior. In sadistic adult sexual play or pathology the individual may feel as though he or she is overcoming past victimization by taking on the role of authority and then experiencing erotic pleasure. Childhood punishments, such as spanking or slapping, may also be internalized and reconstructed as highly sexualized acts. Another view highlights the escapist possibilities afforded by S/M behavior. Role-playing allows individuals to lead double lives of sorts—one could be a community leader, worker, or parent by day and master or slave by night. In addition one might not feel responsible for actions performed when one is playing the role because the character is separate from the individual. Danger arises only when a person abrogates responsibility in an S/M situation.

SEE ALSO *Sade, Marquis de; Sadomasochism.*

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Ana Holguin

SADOMASOCHISM

Sadomasochism is a controversial subject. The psychological humiliation or physical punishment of a sexual partner through practices such as bondage and flagellation are commonly identified as characteristic of sadomasochism. As a concept that links sexual arousal to violence, the origins of sadomasochism as a term in modern Western culture are rooted in discussions of sadism and masochism that date back to late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century medical discourse in its exploration of "perversion" as a deviation from normal sexual instinct.

KRAFFT-EBING AND FREUD

Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) were among the most important early commentators on "sadomasochism." Krafft-Ebing and

Freud, along with the many psychoanalysts, scholars, and sexologists interested in the phenomenon who followed them, often looked to the past for evidence of sadomasochism in the erotic coding of pain in art, literature, and religious ceremonies in which ecstatic feeling, whether openly acknowledged as sexual or not, was emphasized. From this viewpoint, sadomasochistic themes of pleasurable suffering predate the term *sadomasochism* by centuries and can be seen as existing in numerous historical periods and cultural forms, from ancient Dionysian rites to eighteenth-century British flagellation brothels, from South Asian sex manuals to nineteenth-century European academic painting. Similarly, the use of emotional or physical punishment to attain sexual pleasure can be found across a number of artistic, legal, sociopolitical, and technological arenas in contemporary life. While inarguably ubiquitous, many of these contemporary articulations of sexual pleasure aligned with acts of violence do not necessarily reference the term sadomasochism, even if they can be recognized as drawing upon established iconic codes and conventions of representation associated with the phenomenon.

Focusing on case histories of common sexual pathologies, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's very popular study, first published in 1886, identified sadism and masochism as two quite prevalent sexual anomalies existing in perfect complementary status to each other. Krafft-Ebing identified sadism, named after Comte Donatien-Alphonse-François, Marquis de Sade (1740–1814), as evident in those individuals who found sexual pleasure in the active role of dominating and hurting others. Its complementary opposite he called "masochism," which he named after the Slavic author Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836–1895). This newly created term described a subject who achieved sexual arousal through taking the passive role and submitting to abuse and humiliation at the hands of a punishing partner.

Freud is often credited with identifying the term sadomasochism in 1905, in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, in which he argued for the possible presence of both sadism and masochism in the same person. He noted: "a person who feels pleasure in producing pain in someone else in a sexual relationship is also capable of enjoying as pleasure any pain which he may himself derived from sexual relation." In later editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis* appearing around the same time as Freud's work, Krafft-Ebing observed a similar convergence of the two perversions in the "sadomasochistic" who might experiment with taking one role and then assume the reverse or opposite one in a dialectical dynamic of giving and receiving pain, but he concluded that such experimentation was "usually soon abandoned as inadequate for the original inclination."

As was the case with Krafft-Ebing, Freud's early views on sadomasochism insisted on the structural similarities of sadism and masochism as the active and passive forms of pursuing sexual pleasure through the common matrix of pain. Nevertheless, Freud felt compelled to return again and again to the complexities of each perversion as distinctive and quite complex anomalies linking sexual arousal to domination and submission. He in fact pursued the questions centered on the perplexing internal logic of masochistic and sadistic fantasies through a number of essays such as "Instincts and Their Vicissitudes" (1915), "A Child Is Being Beaten" (1919), and "The Economic Problem in Masochism" (1924). In the first of these essays he asserted that the person's enjoyment depended upon a double identification with torturer and victim, with the masochist first experiencing a sadistic fantasy and the sadist recognizing pain as sexually pleasurable and then "masochistically" enjoying the pain of his or her victim. In "A Child is Being Beaten," Freud established the emergence of sadomasochism in the adult's acting out of fantasies associated with an infantile sexual fixation. Freud's later work complicated sadomasochism through his recognition of the importance of a primary or original masochism (and a primary sadism) that trumped identification with the complementary perversion's preferred subject position as the recipient or administrator of punishment. His ongoing interest is understandable because masochism's manifestation in men, in particular, seemed to defy commonsense cultural norms and that attributed a desire to mastery or even sexual aggression to men as a universal impulse or biological given. He was also fascinated by the fact that these perversions suggested that sexual satisfaction might depend on a search for pain and discomfort.

POSTWAR VIEWS

Sadomasochism became a term of common use in the twentieth century. However, its origins in the complementary association of sadism with masochism were not greatly illuminated by later psychological theory. After World War II, with the defeat and exposure of Nazi Germany, there was recognition of how power could be sexualized and, indeed, how sadomasochism was institutionalized within the Third Reich's mass cruelties. Although sexual liberalization was embraced in the 1950s and 1960s in many European and North American nations, discussions and depictions of sadomasochism as a source of sexual pleasure remained marginalized as pornography, which often identified sadomasochism with the costumes and paraphernalia of the police state, and of the Third Reich in particular.

Within postwar French intellectual circles, the writing of Sade began to be discussed seriously, and Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and Gilles Deleuze, among others, addressed various dimensions of the history of sexuality in relation to social controls and norms. Deleuze, a philosopher, created a major milestone in the consideration of sadomasochism with the 1967 publication of *Le froid et le cruel*, translated as *Masochism: An Interpretation of Coldness and Cruelty* (1971). Returning to the literature of Sade and Sacher-Masoch that formed the source for the original definitions of sadism and masochism, Deleuze argued for the semiological and clinical impossibility of sadomasochism. In his view, the sexual sadist never really relinquished power over his or her involuntary victim no matter who seemed to be cruel and who was degraded. In this respect, the sadist represents the monstrous exaggeration of paternal power and would never desire a truly masochistic partner who enjoyed the subversive defiance of paternal law that suffering allowed him or her. Likewise, the masochist sought to be the director of scenes that played out his or her sexual fantasies and so needed a partner who could be educated to dominate within the confines of a contractual relationship.

While Deleuze's views inspired many new scholarly considerations of masochism, his dismissal of sadomasochism as a confusion of masochism's and sadism's qualitative differences, foundational fantasies, and psychological origins did not influence the focus on sadomasochism within the circles of identity politics in the 1970s. Sadomasochism became politicized as an important meeting point between danger and sexual pleasure. Within the Anglo-American cultural context, the implications of sadomasochism were much debated among feminists as well as those interested in the formation of gay and lesbian sexual identities. In this debate, Angela Carter's analysis of Sade's writing, *The Sadian Woman*, articulated the importance of gender difference in sadism's literary model of sexual freedom. Antipornography activists such as Andrea Dworkin and Susan Griffin emphasized the role of sadomasochism in pornography's institutionalized expressions of male rage and the phenomenon's inevitable degradation of women (Griffin 1981). In contrast, Pat Califia (2000) contended that sadomasochistic behavior and the sexual subculture that it created were tools for transgressive and liberating pleasures centered on the performative unveiling of the inequities of patriarchal sexuality. Even removed from the question of how sadomasochism might oppress women, the phenomenon continued to be a highly contested issue in the 1980s and 1990s in gay male communities (Padva 2005). The acting out of exaggerated power inequalities in "leathersex" using costumes and paraphernalia, often associated with the police state, raised questions about why gay men needed to reproduce acts and iconography associated with brutality in order to achieve sexual gratification (Joshi 2003).

CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES AND TRENDS

Although sadomasochism remains classified as a psychiatric disorder, gay, lesbian, and heterosexual sadomasochistic practitioners in contemporary society resist the longstanding medical view of sadomasochism as a pathology fueled by unresolved infantile conflict or rage. New approaches to sadomasochism in scholarly research frequently incorporate accounts of participants in sadomasochistic organizations and venues who argue for the consensual nature of their interactions, as well as for the self-imposed limits placed on cruelty in interactions using exaggerated dominance-submission to create exciting sexual dissonance. Thus, many contemporary accounts of sadomasochism exhibit more interest in the social construction of the phenomenon than in understanding the psychological origins or consequences of the behaviors (Langdridge and Butt 2004). At the same time that sadomasochistic iconography and themes have come to be represented much more openly in mainstream film, video, television, and print advertising, consensual sadomasochistic sexual acts remain officially suppressed in many countries, both through efforts to control the proliferation of pornography, as well as through laws against bodily harm such as those in the United Kingdom (which concern "offences against the person") and anti-domestic abuse statutes in the United States.

SEE ALSO *Freud, Sigmund; Krafft-Ebing, Richard; Pornography; Sacher-Masoch, Leopold von; Sade, Marquis de.*

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SAINTS, MALE AND FEMALE

Saints (from *sanctus*, Latin for holy) fascinate many people because they embody a superior and transcendental ideal of life based on self-sacrifice and even loss of life through martyrdom (witness to the faith). Saints provide an example, a guide, an emulation for those who seek to live and die according to universal values and high ethical standards—far beyond any temporal or earthly satisfaction or meaning. Saints are believed to have direct intercession with God on behalf of the living. Many saints, male and female, sacrificed their lives for an ideal or fidelity to a cause, such as celibacy or religious belief. True saints are universally admired—even by those who may not be religious or venerate saints and may repute their miracles as nothing but superstitions—simply because of their exemplum or sacrifice for others.

CROSS-RELIGION OVERVIEW

In the early Christian tradition the faithful declared saints those who died of martyrdom. Subsequently, sainthood was not governed by a strict ecclesiastic process; instead, saints were declared through popular decree in a process controlled by the clergy or bishops. Indeed, storytellers such as Giovanni Boccaccio (see the tale of Ser Ciappelletto in the *Decameron* 1921 [1348–1353]) mocked the superficial and simplistic way in which saints were created by popular acclamation. In the modern era, or after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the Counter-Reformation, the process of sainthood has been strictly bound by rules, and control of the official process of beatification and canonization has been given to the Sacred Congregation of Rites (founded in 1588); as a result, the church has rescinded many saints from its official calendar and from the Litany of the Saints at Mass. The various Protestant denominations do not venerate saints as the Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox churches do; they consider a saint anyone who is part of *the body of Christ*, as taught by St. Paul the Apostle (c. 10–c. 67 CE). The Anglican Communion considers itself both Catholic and Reformed and commemorates most of the saints of the Catholic Church; it considers as a saint someone who is regarded as pious and holy. It singles out the English prelate John Fisher (1469–1535) and the English statesman and author Thomas More (1478–1535), both of whom were executed by King Henry VIII (1491–1547) and canonized 400 years later by Pope Pius XI (1857–1939).

The other great religions, including Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism, all have a sort of belief in saints but not an official process of canonization as does the Catholic Church. In Judaism there is a tradition of *tzadic*, or the righteous one. The Talmud states that if there are thirty-six such *tzadics* living among the people, God will not destroy the world.

In Islam a saint is a *wali*, a friend of Allah. There is a belief that many great saints still inhabit the valley of Mohra Sharif in Pakistan where an annual great festival is held. There is no formal canonization of saints in Islam, but they are very popular with the faithful and are endowed with *karamat*, the performance of marvels, similar to Christian miracles. Cults of saints, especially pilgrimages to saints' tombs, represent a current that many of the stricter tendencies of orthodoxy (such as Wahhabism) reject. In Islam the cults of saints tend to revolve around the mystical tradition of Sufism, and also arise in popular, even folkloric, religious practices, which are more or less tolerated by the orthodox. The famous Sufi philosopher Muhyi ad-Din Ibn al-Arabi (1165–1240) from Andalusia, himself considered a saint, wrote two compendia about Andalusian saints, four of them women. The tombs of female saints, and other holy females, become pilgrimage points for women, affording one of the few opportunities for mass female worship and community within Islam. In popular religion saints can slide into the category of hermits and even nonhuman spirits.

Buddhism, Hinduism, and the other Asian religions have permanently influenced the religious practices of Europe and North America through mystical techniques, so much so that there are, for example, Catholic Buddhists—catholic mystics who use Buddhist practices.

Besides the official religions in the Caribbean, there is also Santeria (the way of the saints) or *Regla de Ocha, La Regla Lucumi* (*lucumi* being a Yoruba word meaning friend), as well as the oral tradition practiced by the Hispanic populations of the Americas. The latter—which varies from country to country but is practiced especially in Cuba and is present even in France and the Netherlands—developed after the slave trade from Africa and integrated the beliefs of the Yoruba and Bantu people with the Christian ones. Thus equivalencies between saint figures were created, such as Babalz Ayi and St. Lazarus, patron of the sick and leprous; Shangs and St. Barbara, patron of lightning, thunder, and artillery; Eleggua and St. Anthony, patron of roads and gates; and Oggzn and St. Peter, patron of fishermen and war. In *Lucumi* beliefs Olorun is the supreme god and creator of the universe, and the *orishas* are the saints.

In the Catholic Church modern saints include people who gave their entire life for the cause of the poor or indigents, such as Mother Teresa of Calcutta (1910–1997). Born Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu in Skopje, Macedonia, she received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979 for her work with the poor of Calcutta and the entire world through the Missionaries of Charity, the order she founded in 1950, which eventually ran more than 500 missions in 100 countries. Known as the Saint of the Gutters because her mission was to aid the poorest of the poor, the sick, and the dying, Mother Teresa was beatified by Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) in 2003.

Another example of a modern saint is Edith Stein, or St. Teresa Benedicta of the Cross (1891–1942), a Jew who converted to Catholicism in 1921 and, inspired by the autobiography of St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), became a Carmelite nun in 1933. She was executed with her sister Rosa by the Nazis in Auschwitz in 1942. Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), though not Catholic or Christian, is considered by many to be a true saint because of his ideal of peace and nonviolence. The Anglican Church, meanwhile, commemorates such twentieth-century individuals and martyrs as Manche Masemola (d. 1928), Maximilian Kolbe (d. 1941), Lucian Tapiedi (d. 1942), Dietrich Bonhoeffer (d. 1945), Esther John (d. 1960), Martin Luther King, Jr. (d. 1968), Grand Duchess Elizabeth Fyodorovna (d. 1969), Wang Zhiming (d. 1972), Janani Luwum (d. 1977), and Archbishop Oscar Romero (d. 1980).

EVOLUTION OF SAINTHOOD WITHIN CHRISTIANITY

In Christianity the conception of saint and sainthood underwent a natural evolution. Saints in early Christianity included all the martyrs of persecution under the Romans, the high point of this period occurring around 250 CE (with the saints including Bartholomew, Cecilia [d. c. 230], Agatha [d. c. 250], Sebastian [d. 288], Lucy [d. 304], Catherine of Alexandria [d. c. 305], and Methodious of Olympus [d. 311]). This period continued until the rule of Constantine (c. 274–337) (whose own mother was St. Helena [d. c 330]), who permitted Christians to practice their faith freely with the Edict of Milan (313). Subsequently, the fourth through sixth centuries feature saints who were either founders of religious orders or church fathers, including Ambrose (339–397), a doctor of the church who was present at the Council of Nicea (325), where, among other things, the birth of Jesus was fixed as being December 25; Jerome (c. 347–419 or 420), patron of librarians, who wrote the Life of St. Paulus the Hermit (c. 230–342) and translated the Bible into the Latin Vulgate; Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–547), considered the father of European monasticism; Augustine of Hippo (354–430), founder of the European church; Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), patron of choir boys and educators, eminent pope, and creator of the Gregorian chant; and numerous *holy hermits* who chose a life of penitence and privations while living in grottos and extremely isolated places.

Next was the period of evangelization and crusades. Major figures during this period included St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), St. Francis of Assisi (1181 or 1182–1226), and St. Dominic (c. 1170–1221), founders, respectively, of the Cistercian, Franciscan, and Dominican Orders out of which would arise other luminaries and saints such as St. Bonaventura (c. 1217–1274) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). During this period a number of women mystics achieved prominence, such as St. Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179); Mechtilde of Magdeburg (1207–1282); St. Bridget of Sweden (c. 1303–1373); Julian of Norwich (1342–after 1416), an English mystic very popular in the twentieth century, who explored the female dimension of God and wrote *Revelations of Divine Love*; and St. Clare of Assisi (1194–1253), who was converted by St. Francis and founded the Poor Claires. A number of women mystics enriched the history of the church, such as St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), a brilliant theologian and doctor of the church, and patron of fire prevention; St. Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510), a visionary mystic and author, and patron of wives and widows; and St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), a Spanish mystic and doctor of the church who spoke of the obscure type of revelations and founded the Discalced Carmelites.

In the modern era saints have assumed a more human face—away from the heroic–mythic figures of the past—and have been more involved with the hordes of suffering humanity throughout the world, assisting and educating the poor, the sick, the handicapped, and the lepers. The aforementioned Mother Theresa is the best example, but there are many others. For example, St. Katharine Drexel (1858–1955), a woman born into a rich Philadelphia family, took an early interest in Native Americans and African Americans and founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament to work for this cause. She even donated her fortune for ministry of this cause, endowing schools for the poor, including Xavier University of Louisiana in New Orleans. Those under consideration for sainthood include people assassinated by political factions, such as Archbishop Oscar Romero (killed while saying a mass in 1980), the three Catholic nuns and a lay worker raped and murdered (1980), and the six Jesuit priests, their cook, and her daughter (killed in 1989), all in El Salvador. In September 2006 Leonella Sgorbati, a missionary sister born in Piacenza, Italy, who had worked in Africa for forty years, was shot in the back by unidentified gunmen near a hospital in Mogadishu, Somalia. As a martyr she fits the mold of those saints dying in the odor of sanctity.

CLASSIFICATION OF SAINTS

The Catholic Church (through the papal bull *Divino Afflatu* [1911] of Pius X [1835–1914]) classified the feasts of saints of the New Testament—all the great figures of the Old Testament are saints—hierarchically in the following order:

- Mary, the Blessed Virgin Mother of Jesus
- the angels and archangels
- St. John the Baptist, the precursor of the Messiah
- St. Joseph, Mary's husband and Jesus' putative father
- Sts. Peter and Paul and all the apostles, who witnessed the life of Christ and are above all the others
- the four evangelists (each with a different symbol: John, an eagle; Luke, an ox; Matthew, an angel; and Mark, a lion), who with their writings testify to Christ's earthly life and miracles
- martyrs, who gained eternal glory having given their life for the faith, not only during the ancient time of persecutions but in recent times as well
- confessors and doctors of the church and founders of orders
- virgins, penitent holy women, and widows.

Then there are all the rest, particularly the patron saints of countries, cities, towns, dioceses, and parishes and the moral saints, the protectors of categories of people either because of their activity or biography.

The church has a liturgical calendar of saints, contained in the Roman Missal, and a saint (or more than one saint) is associated with every day of the year; with every religious event concerning Mary, Jesus, Joseph, the Trinity, or the church itself; and with the liturgical seasons—Advent, Lent leading to Easter, Pentecost after the Resurrection, and the Ordinary Period. Saints are commemorated on the day of their death. The *Legenda aurea* (Golden legend) of Jacobus de Voragine (1228 or 1230–1298), a Dominican preacher beatified in 1816 by Pope Pius VII (1800–1823), has been a very popular source for narration on the official saints of the church and their legendary deeds. It begins with the Advent of the Lord, then covers St. Andrew the Apostle, St. Nicholas of Myra (d. c. 346), St. Lucy (d. 304), and so on, ending with Sts. Barlaam (d. 304; a type of Buddha) and Josaphat; St. Pelagius the Pope (d. 561); and the Dedication of the Church. The narrative emphasizes the church's teaching of the seven virtues; the ideals of chastity, poverty, and humility; and monastic life. The women saints represent a minority: Of the more than 200 saints mentioned, only forty-one are women and only five are married. Another text of the lives of the saints is the *Acta Sanctorum* (Acts of the saints), initiated by Jean de Bolland in 1643 and continued by the Jesuit Bollandists, which contains a general history of the saints from the beginning of Christianity to the sixteenth century. There are several martyrologies and, of course, the Bible and the apocryphal books of the New Testament provide stories about saints, Mary, Joseph, and the apostles.

PATRON SAINTS

One cannot underestimate the importance of the patron saints or protectors of countries, towns, cities, and orders and those moral saints who protect—because of their biography and hagiography—different categories of workers, professions, corporations, and general activities of every kind. Examples of the latter include Mary Magdalene, patron saint of repentant prostitutes (although she would be an apostle according to contemporary belief); St. Sebastian, patron of archers, athletes, and tapestry makers; St. Valentine, patron of lovers; St. Isidore of Seville, patron saint of computers, their users, computer technicians, and the Internet; St. Barbara, patron of lightning, artillery, bricklayers, and architects; St. Francis of Assisi, protector of animals and the environment, and patron saint of Italy; St. Thomas Becket, martyred in 1170 by King Henry II, patron of brush makers and coopers; St. Cecilia, patron of musicians; St. Luke, patron of painters, artists, and medical doctors; St. Matthew, patron of tax collectors and bankers; St. Januarius or San Gennaro, patron of volcanic eruptions and patron saint of Naples; St. Peter, patron of fishermen; St. Paul, patron of rope makers, basket makers , and writers; St. Lucy of Syracuse, patron of eyesight; St. Zita, patron of waitresses; St. Martha, patron of cooks; St. Brigid of Ireland, patron of dairy workers; St. Catherine of Alexandria, patron of philosophers; St. Apollonia, patron of dentists and dental diseases; the Italian-born American St. Mother Cabrini, patron of emigrants; St. Teresa of Ávila, patron of heart disease and headaches; St. Roch, patron of invalids and pestilence; St. Monica (mother of St. Augustine of Hippo), patron of married women; St. Honorius of Amiens, patron of bakers; St. Jude, patron of lost causes; St. Mary of Loreto, patron of aviators; and St. Thérèse de Lisieux, patron of missionary activities. Among other notable saints is St. Benedict the Moor (1526–1589), patron saint of African Americans, although he was born in Sicily to African slaves and freed at age eighteen and joined the Franciscans; he could not read or write but his wisdom and work was an exemplum to all. Mary the Blessed Virgin is, among other things, protector of pregnant women, moral confusion, sickness of soul, and every kind of ailment.

Many cities and countries in the Christian world have patron saints (and usually more than one) along with a corresponding feast day. In this category are included St. Patrick, patron saint of New York City; St. James the Great, Spain and Galicia; St. Elizabeth, Hungary and Portugal; St. Joseph, Croatia; St. Ambrose, Milan; St. John the Baptist, Florence (his image was coined on the gold florin); St. George, Great Britain; St. Thérèse, Lisieux; Louis IX, St. Louis, Missouri; St. Joan of Arc, France; St. Geneviève, Paris; St. Petronius, Bologna; St. Mark the Evangelist, Venice; St. John the Baptist, Canada; St. Andrew, Scotland, Russia, and Greece; St. Casimir, Poland and Lithuania; Sts. Cyril and Methodius (ninth-century martyrs), the Slavic countries; Our Lady of Guadalupe, Mexico; St. Rose, Lima, Peru; St. Anthony of Padua, Brazil; St. Francis Solano, Argentina; and St. Boniface, Germany. Mention must be made of the many cities and countries who bear the name of saints, such as Santa Barbara, San Diego, San Francisco, San Pedro, San Mateo, Santa Anita, San Antonio (and others in California and Texas because of the historical legacy of Mexico), St. Paul, and St. Petersburg in the United States; São Paulo in Brazil; Santiago in Chile and Cuba; San Juan in Puerto Rico; Santa Cruz in Bolivia; San Salvador in El Salvador; Santo Domingo in the Dominica Republic; and the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix. The list is enormous in the Christian countries because of the popularity of the religion and popular traditions. The saints of the early twenty-first century are more global, however, and they reflect a world in transition and all those people who dedicated themselves to help in a small but exemplary way to alleviate the problems of the world so that countries on every continent have special saints.

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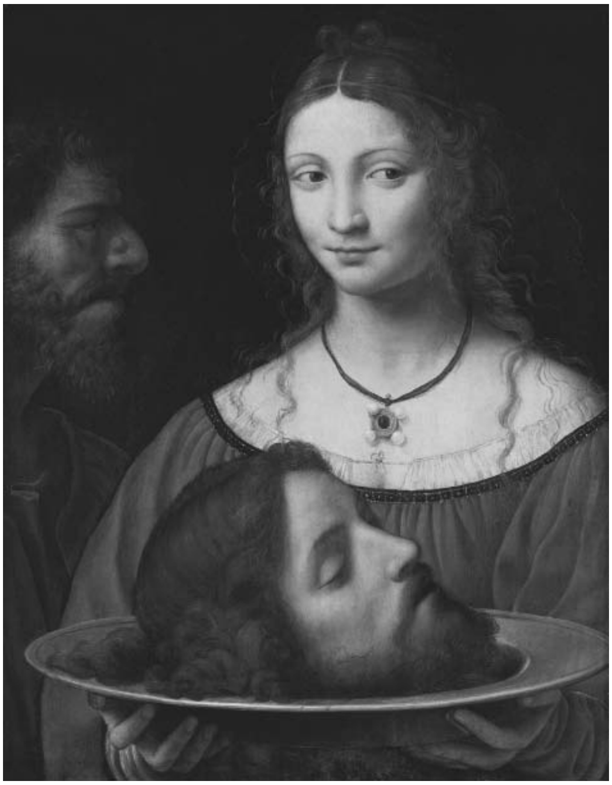
Giuseppe Di Scipio

SALEM

SEE *Witch Trials, Europe; Witchcraft.*

SALOME

In the New Testament, Herod Antipas's stepdaughter dances for him. The dance pleases him, and he offers her whatever reward she names. Prompted by Herodias, her mother, she asks for the head of John the Baptist on a platter (Matthew 14:1–12; Mark 6:14–19). The first-century Jewish historian Josephus refers to Herodias's daughter, unnamed in the Gospels, as Salome, the name by which she is known to later tradition. Herodias's dancing daughter should not be confused with the only Salome named in the Bible, a disciple of Jesus who followed him from Galilee to Jerusalem and who, with Mary Magdalene, discovered the empty tomb (Mark 15:40, 16:1). While Salome, as Herodias's daughter is referred to herein, plays a small but significant role in Gospel narrative, her importance for gender studies far exceeds her limited role in first-century history. Salome is



Salome With Head of John the Baptist. IMAGNO/GETTY IMAGES.

an exotic cipher on whom artists, writers, and scholars project their fantasies about femininity, especially Oriental femininity. She has also offered a veiled alter ego to creative men, most notably Oscar Wilde, who seek to act out alternative gender identities.

John the Baptist won the enmity of Herodias by condemning her marriage to Herod, her second husband. Her first husband, Philip, was Herod's brother. Levitical law forbade a man from marrying the wife of a living brother (Leviticus 18:16). Herod imprisoned John to appease Herodias, who would have preferred that Herod execute him. According to Mark, however, "Herod feared John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy man, and he protected him. When he heard him, he was greatly perplexed, and yet he liked to listen to him" (6:20). The Herodian family was infamous for its ruthless appetite for power; the Gospel according to Matthew, for example, claims that Herod the Great, unsettled by inquiries by wise men from the East about the birth of the king of the Jews, ordered the slaughter of all male babies in the vicinity of Bethlehem (2:16–18). Herodias perceived the prisoner, probably rightly, as a threat to her power. As a Herodian, she saw one option: eliminate her enemy. Biblical tradition implies that the enmity between John the Baptist and Herodias is political. In popular imagination, however, the demand of Herodias for John the Baptist's head, a demand mediated through Herodias's daughter, derives from the depraved femininity of mother and/or daughter.

Two details of the biblical account have riveted the imaginations of visual artists, writers, and musicians. The first detail is Salome's dance itself, and the second is the head of John the Baptist, usually depicted with the full beard and wild locks of desert dweller, bloodied, on a platter. The biblical accounts are laconic and thus allow the imagination free play. Mark refers to Herodias's daughter as a *korasion*, a girl on the cusp of adulthood, but those who flesh out the scene in painting, on stage, or in film often depict a fully fleshed woman performing an erotic striptease. Indeed, although Richard Strauss thought of his operatic Salome as a budding adolescent, the vocal demands of the role require a mature woman. On Salome, the Eastern princess, are projected Western male fantasies about Oriental femininity as tantalizing, mysterious, and dangerous. Wilde famously depicted Salome performing a dance of seven veils. The dance of the seven veils is crucial to cinematic adaptations of the Salome story. Unveiling can be a metaphor for self-revelation, as layers of artifice are stripped away. Unveiling is also seductive, intensifying the viewer's desire, teasing the viewer to want to see more. In literature, visual art, film, and music, Salome thus embodies a powerful, dangerous, and sexualized femininity.

In Wilde's play *Salomé*, Herodias is not behind Salome's demand for John's head. Rather, Wilde depicts Salome as consumed by desire for John. Sexually frustrated, Salome's desire is transformed into a castrating desire, a desire for John's beheading. Wilde anticipates Sigmund Freud's question, "What does woman want?" and proposes a response, "The head of John the Baptist," thus linking femininity and female desire to male destruction. In the play's final scene, Salome kisses the severed head of the man who refused to kiss her, a head grotesquely displayed on a platter. She says, "Ah! thou wouldst not suffer me to kiss thy mouth, Iokanaan. Well! I will kiss it now. I will bite it with my teeth as one bites a ripe fruit." In his writings, Wilde, once photographed in the garb of Salome, played with the desire both to veil and to unveil his homosexuality. With Wilde, as with many other creative interpreters of Salome, when the last veil is removed, the artist is finally revealed.

SEE ALSO *Camp; Folklore; Legends and Myths; Sex, Race, and Power: An Intersectional Study; Wilde, Oscar.*

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SALSA

Salsa is a hybrid genre of popular music and dance originating in urban Spanish-speaking communities of the Antilles and the United States, especially New York. Salsa, much like rock and hip hop, is also a meta-genre that involves particular ways of making music and moving the body that reflect specific cultural values, ranging from chivalrous machismo to an irrepressible celebration of life.

The music of Havana nightclubs and the New York jazz scene fused in the early twentieth century to create the foundations of salsa. Both Tito Puente (1923–2000), the New-York-born Puerto Rican known as the King of Salsa, and Celia Cruz (1925–2003), the Cuban-born Queen of Salsa (who thought of herself as a guaracha specialist), famously rejected the honorific labels and thought of salsa as fundamentally an Afro-Cuban-inspired musical confection born in New York in the 1960s. Cuban-born musicians such as Arsenio Rodriguez, Don Azpiazu, Frank "Machito" Grillo, Israel "Cachao" Lopez, and Mario Bauzá pioneered the fusion of Afro-Cuban music and Afro-American jazz between the 1930s and 1950s. Chano Pozo and Tito Puente revolutionized Latin pop before 1960 by using drums as lead instruments. The term salsa originated during the Cold War when the epicenter of Latin pop shifted from Havana to New York following the 1959 Cuban revolution and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Angel Quintero-Rivera (1998) argues that salsa became a popular response to the dissemination of rock music that arrived with Americanization in Puerto Rico and the expansion of U.S. military power in the region.

Overlapping musical tastes of Spanish-Caribbean women and men in New York created a market for upstart record companies, such as Fania (1960), the first *salsa* label, founded by the Dominican musician Johnny Ventura and his Italian-American lawyer, Jerry Masucci. Salsa incorporates Cuban mambo, son, rumba, and cha cha cha, as well as Puerto Rican bomba, plena, seis, and aguinaldo. Other flavorings come from Colombian cumbia and vallenato, and Brazilian samba and bossa nova. The musical foundation of salsa builds on African diasporic features such as call-and-response singing, and *clave*, a way of keeping time with a pair of sticks that puts varied emphasis on downbeats and upbeats (in patterns of 2–3 or 3–2). Together, these features make a home for polyrhythmic syncopation in salsa music, singing, and dancing.

Whereas men have historically been the instrumentalists, women singers and dancers have always been expected to have a deep know-how of the basic musical principles in salsa. Technical command is often coded as masculine, but salsa culture involves a more full-bodied experience that women have actively participated in creating. Salsa dancing, performed in couples with occasional apart dancing, derived from the quick-quick-slow steps of Cuban son and international mambo. Dancers often divide into two camps (either *on-one* or *on-two*, within the *clave* beat). International mambo is akin to salsa but considered a separate dance form in Cuba.

Salsa music developed mainly in the hands of men under patriarchal norms in twentieth-century Spanish-Caribbean communities, but feminist scholarship on salsa, starting in the early 1990s, critiques exclusive attention to men's participation and analyzes gender dynamics in salsa lyrics and dance styles. Writers such as Frances Aparicio and Mayra Santos-Febres show how working-class Afro-Puerto Rican women subversively coauthor the meanings of salsa lyrics written by men rather than passively accepting objectification. Marisol Berrios-Miranda, Priscilla Renta, and Juliet McMains argue that the corporal delights and rigors of salsa dancing provide vibrant counterpoints to masculine instrumentality. Awilda Sterling-Duprey and Marta Moreno Vega show how the valorization of women's bodies in salsa dancing and lyrical imagery can be seen as a commercial facade that masks spiritual principles of feminine divinity (e.g., Oshún) derived from west-African belief systems.

Whereas it is still customary for men to lead women in salsa dancing, there are growing countercultural trends that permit women to bend the rules, allowing them to *lead while following*, participation of same-sex pairs, and so forth. There have also been a growing number of remarkable women artists in every generation of Latin pop, starting with the all-female Anacaona conjunto in Cuba that began in the 1930s. Cruz started singing in the 1940s and performed until her passing in 2003. Her compatriot Guadalupe "La Lupe" Raymond was a major star in the 1960s and 1970s. Contemporary salseras that have defied gender norms and countered the macho posturing of male lyricists include Deddie Romero, Olga Tañon, Brenda K. Starr, Linda "La India" Caballero, Albita Rodriguez, and the multitalented Choco Orta who excels as a vocalist, dancer, and drummer.

SEE ALSO *Blues; Jazz; Opera; Rap Music.*

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Halbert Barton

SAME-SEX LOVE AND SEX, TERMINOLOGY

The adjectival form *same-sex*, usually hyphenated, appears with some consistency in the early 1970s, not necessarily in relation to issues of homosexuality. The phrase is applied to homosexuality in a 1969 reader that argues for the normalcy of homosexuality (Weltge 1969). *Same-sex* is used in a 1973 review of literature hostile to homosexuality, seeing it as a sickness and a state, not an identity (Sagarin 1973, p. 10). In a 1978 article, Lillian Faderman applies the term freely to love, sex, and friendship. By the 1990s, however, with the debates between essentialists and constructionists, *same-sex* begins to lose its neutrality and to reflect anxieties around accusations of "essentialism."

"Same-sex" pertaining to love, sex, attraction, and so forth, between persons presumed of the same biological sex, is a linguistic and conceptual compromise. For scholars of the 1990s and beyond, the study of communities or individuals and same-sex sexuality in the past is closely entangled with issues of language. A precarious equilibrium is sought between those who, as Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., summarize (1996, pp. 5–6), prefer to use the actual terms circulated in the past, "... underscoring the dissimilarity between past and present sexual categories," and those who deem historical language confusing and favor the clarity of the "judicious use of modern language." The liberal use of historically circumscribed and identity-based terms such as *gay*, *lesbian*, *queer*, or even *homosexual* has presented at times unsurmountable problems for the articulation of discourse about sexuality in the past. *Same-sex* thus seeks neutral ground within the politically invested field of sexuality studies, and strives for an above-board scientific accuracy by remaining purely descriptive and not prescriptive, and devoid of a problematic identity content easy to impune as anachronistic. It has also "authorized" work on distant-past same-sex sexuality over the stark objections of strict constructionists that, before the end of the nineteenth century, only behaviors can be studied. Yet *same-sex* is not immune to critique and questioning.

It merely deflates the charge of the term *homosexual*, because it literally translates it and has comfortably moved into nonscholarly discourse such as search engines and works of vulgarization, and even in library-catalog subject classifications. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, most likely reflecting the far-reaching impact of John Boswell's work on "same-sex unions" (Boswell 1994), the term was conflated with discussions of "gay marriage." Thus, the online encyclopedia Wikipedia speaks at once of "Same-sex marriage" and of "gay marriage," "homosexual marriage," "same-gender marriage," "gender-neutral marriage," and "equal marriage." The New York Public Library's subject-classification list cross-references same-sex couples to "gay couples." Out of its fifty same-sex subject entries, all but four are on same-sex marriage, and two of the remaining entries refer to gay couples.

Further, how does *same-sex* fare if the very notion of *sex* as immutable or even stable is contested? Indeed, if sex itself is not a given—following Judith Butler's groundbreaking assertion—but the product of its own types of construction, of context, historical situations, and period-bound discourses, *same-sex* could no longer accurately identify relations between persons whose assumed biological sex might be in question, in transition, in the process of being changed, or simply uncertain (Butler 1990, pp. 6–7).

At the same time, in her discussion of the difficulty of ascertaining not only the language but the "historically situated nature of sexual desire," Martha Vicinus (2004) chooses to use both *lesbian* and *same-sex sexuality* as a "convenient linguistic reminder that sex matters" (p. xxii). *Same-sex* may thus remain the most cogent of conventions, but not much else, and it may shield scholars from linguistic interdictions that would thwart the task of retrieving the past outside of heterosexuality.

SEE ALSO *Essentialism; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview.*

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Francesca Sautman

SAND, GEORGE
1804–1876

Born on July 1 in Paris, Aurore Dupin, who later adopted the pen name George Sand, was educated mostly by her maternal grandmother in the family home of Nohant in central France. She is the best known nineteenth-century French woman writer, having published over seventy novels between 1829 and her death in 1876. She also wrote various autobiographical works, including the monumental *Histoire de ma vie* [Story of my life], which she claimed was written not for those in search of gold and glory but for dreamers, those who were concerned with the life of the soul. She wrote more than thirty plays, some of which were adapted from her novels. The quality of her writing for the theater is reflected in the fact that it was in her 1870 play *L'Autre* [The other] that the celebrated actress Sarah Bernhardt made her first appearance. In addition, she was a feisty and energetic contributor of critical and political articles to newspapers; a tireless letter writer, engaging most notably in a lengthy correspondence with the novelist Gustave Flaubert; and a painter. As a painter she invented a process known as *dendritage* in which patches of color are pressed under cardboard or glass, producing branching patterns reminiscent of those which appear on the surface of certain rocks. She died on June 9 in Nohant, her family home.

INFLUENCES AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Her early literary works bear testimony to an urgent desire to change women's lot, especially in regard to the constraints of marriage as it was conceived under contemporary French law, the patriarchal Napoleonic code. Under the influence of various nineteenth-century social reformers, particularly Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc, Félicité de Lamennais, and Pierre Leroux, Sand longed for a harmonious utopian society. When the 1848 revolution not only failed to produce such a society but descended rapidly into violence, she retreated to the family home at Nohant, where, while awaiting the arrival of what she called "a republican republic," she turned to a series of works that convey ideal social systems.

Sand's idealist novels have much to offer readers with an interest in gender roles, male and female, actual and possible. Sand argued that the writer's mission was one of sentiment and love, that the modern novel ought to replace the parables of the naïve past, and that "writers had a broader and more poetic task than that of proposing a few prudent and conciliatory suggestions in order to attenuate the horror inspired by their representations." Novels, she added, are not a study of reality but a search for ideal truth.

Sand rejected the calls of militant feminists for her to become a member of the National Assembly founded by the revolution of 1848. She claimed to prefer reform to revolt. Although she was not a feminist in the contemporary understanding of the term, throughout her life she rejected the trammels of conventional society, especially constrictions based on assumptions about gender. Although she did not indulge, as is sometimes believed,

George Sand. TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

in pornographic writing, she did abandon the unhappy marriage she had contracted at age eighteen and openly engaged in a variety of extramarital liaisons, most famously with the poet Alfred de Musset and the musician Frédéric Chopin. She wore men's clothing (an act punishable under the law) when she wanted to move in circles to which women were refused access. It is, however, in her fiction that she most powerfully revealed her thinking about the social constructs of gender.

THE NOVELS AND AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

The novel *Indiana* (1832), the first Sand published on her own, explores the physical and mental sufferings of a woman locked in an unhappy marriage, and although it remains somewhat conventional, even melodramatic, in its depiction of women as largely passive victims and men as actors it does foreshadow her later, more original writing. In *Mauprat* (1837) she began to examine the constraints placed on men by images of masculinity predicated on violence and brutality. In contrast to *Indiana*, *Consuelo* (1842) and its sequel, *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt* (1843), depict a far more independent woman and something like an egalitarian marriage in their analysis of a gifted singer who, together with her husband, attempts to found an ideal society.

In the year after the 1848 revolution, Sand's short novel *La Petite Fadette*, often dismissed as a "pastoral" work, offers a witty and insightful exploration of a young girl's path from tomboy to woman, at the same time examining what it means for a twin to carve out a personal identity. Among her most sustained analyses of individuals seeking their own identity in the face of society's images of femininity and masculinity is the 1853 novel *Les Maîtres-Sonneurs* [The master pipers]. This work also offers an image of an ideal society formed from the combination of the people of the Berry region—whose placidity provides stability but militates against necessary reforms—and the energetic Bourbonnais, whose energy can turn quickly to destructive violence. In this novel of individual education Sand brings together ideas on music (largely informed by her relationships with Chopin and Liszt); her thinking on maternal love, which she sees as something that is not necessarily instinctive but can be learned; and images of sexual love based on equality.

Just as vitally as her novels, Sand's autobiography and voluminous correspondence chart the progress of her thinking and offer the image of an intelligent and independent mind constantly questioning contemporary constructions of gender.

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Rosemary Lloyd

SANGER, MARGARET
1879–1966

Margaret Sanger, who was born on September 14 in Corning, New York, founded the Planned Parenthood Federation of America and was in the forefront of the fight for women's reproductive rights. Sanger believed that women should have access to the materials they needed to control their fertility safely and effectively. She spread the message that American women—and women around the world—should be able to choose when and whether they wish to have children. She died on September 9 in Tucson, Arizona.

BACKGROUND AND CAREER

Margaret Louisa Higgins was born into a large working-class family. She attended nursing school and later served as an obstetrical nurse in the Lower East Side of New York City. From her experiences as a child among eleven in her family of origin and as a nurse, she recognized the connection between the inability to regulate fertility and families' economic struggles. Later in life Sanger recalled stories of women who begged her for information on how to avoid having more children and women who fell ill and in some cases died as a result of a botched, illegal abortion.

In the early twentieth century abortion was illegal in all states in most circumstances, and the provision of contraception was banned under the "Act of the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use" (Comstock Law of 1873). Sanger's efforts to find information on safe, effective means to regulate women's fertility merged easily with her socialist perspective. It was in her socialist-feminist periodical *The Woman Rebel* that she coined the term *birth control* in 1914. In the same year Sanger wrote and published a pamphlet on methods of contraception, *Family Limitation*, that was based on her research on techniques and technologies available around the world.

Because the publication of information on contraception violated the Comstock Law, Sanger was indicted for distributing obscene materials through the U.S. Postal Service. She realized that her response to those charges could challenge and perhaps dismantle laws that restricted a woman's ability to determine her reproductive life. She fled from the United States under an assumed name, leaving her husband, William Sanger, and three children behind. In her travels throughout Holland and England, Sanger met with both medical and social advocates of birth control and conducted research on how the birth rate changed when contraception was available. In Holland, for example, contraception was both legal and widely available. Coincidentally, Sanger found declining infant and maternal mortality rates and smaller families with higher economic status in Holland.

By 1916, with the charges against her having been dropped, Sanger returned to the United States. Armed with her improved knowledge of contraceptive methods, she opened the first American birth control clinic in New York City. That led to her arrest and a brief prison term, but she managed to keep the birth control clinic open despite continued police harassment. In 1917 Sanger began to publish the periodical *Birth Control Review*. For more than a decade, the *Birth Control Review* provided readers with news and information on the fight for the legalization of contraception both in the United States and overseas.

Margaret Sanger. PICTURES INC./TIME & LIFE PICTURES/ GETTY IMAGES.

Sanger also traveled widely as an advocate of contraception. She embarked on speaking tours throughout the United States, Europe, and Asia, including India; lobbied Congress; and organized birth control conferences. Those conferences included regional and national meetings in the United States and international meetings in 1925, 1927, and 1930. At the conferences Sanger coordinated the effort for the legalization of contraception and gathered both social and medical advocates for birth control. She utilized her international and national celebrity to draw attention to the need for legalized contraception, with a focus on the economic benefits of fertility regulation for individual families and for nations that faced problems as a result of overpopulation and limited resources. In the international arena Sanger also connected the ability to contain population growth with prevention of the next war. The pressure of population growth could drive a nation to seek additional resources to sustain the population or could lead a nation to expand its borders to accommodate the increased population. In the interwar era, Sanger identified both Germany and Japan as the nations at greatest risk of beginning the next war, because these were the two nations with the highest population growth rates.

By the mid-1930s restrictions on access to and information about contraception in the United States for the most part had been struck down in the courts. Sanger merged her American Birth Control League (founded in 1921) with other organizations to create the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942. She became the president of International Planned Parenthood Federation when it was founded in 1953. In addition to her work as a birth control advocate in the United States and throughout the world, Sanger was a prolific writer: She published and edited the *Birth Control Review* (1917 through 1929) and wrote a number of books, including two autobiographies (Sanger 1938), in the 1920s and 1930s.

SANGER AS A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE

Sanger remains a controversial figure in American history. Because she founded the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, critics of abortion connect her work with the abortion services offered at Planned Parenthood clinics across the country. In vilifying its founder, they attempt to discredit her organization. However, Sanger repeatedly disconnected the provision of abortion from contraception; she believed that contraception was the best way to prevent abortion. Throughout her career she never advocated the termination of pregnancy. A second link that continues to surface is the assertion that Sanger was racist; this is the result of her reliance on eugenics discourse in her speeches and articles in the 1920s and 1930s. Her support for the provision of contraception in the African-American community and overseas (in China, for example) has added fuel to this argument. Eugenics, however, has a long history, and before World War II it was a term invoked by many in mainstream society, from politicians to physicians to professors. An examination of Sanger's discussions of eugenics reveals that her focus was on health and economic improvement for families and was not connected to race.

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Julie L. Thomas

SAPPHO
c. 625–570 BCE

Sappho, one of the world's greatest poets, lived in Mytilene on the island of Lesbos in Greece, around 600 BCE. Little is known of her life, but her work has been acclaimed from her own time to the present day. Her contemporary, Athenian statesman Solon, is said to have expressed a wish to memorize a song of hers and then die, and the fifth-century philosopher Plato termed her the tenth Muse. Sappho's poems were composed for singing to the lyre. In the third century BCE, the library at Alexandria contained nine volumes of her verse, but only a few fragments have survived, most of them on papyrus scraps discovered in ancient rubbish heaps in Egypt, or from potsherds and mummy wrappings. Such discoveries continue to be made; a third-century CE manuscript was found in June 2005. A couple of poems were preserved by literary critics, such as Longinus, who, in his first-century CE treatise *On the Sublime*, reproduced a Sappho lyric as an example of sublimity.

Sappho is among the first poets to represent emotional interiority. Her poems powerfully evoke sensations of erotic longing, with woman as not only the object but also the agent of desire. The first-person speaker in her poems, named "Sappho," celebrates friendship, love, song, motherhood, and the pleasures of sunlight, bathing, dancing, wine, beautiful clothes, flowers, and sexual intimacy. She has a close relationship with Aphrodite, goddess of love. She loves beauty in all things, from the caress of sunlight to a woman's face, and she famously declares that the most beautiful thing on earth is not what most people think is beautiful but rather "whatever one loves." The poems describe relationships between women, several of whom are named, including Gongyla, Atthis, and Anaktoria. Sappho also wrote marriage songs and songs in praise of the gods.

To what extent the first-person female speaker represents the poet's own experiences has been the subject of long and fruitless debate. What is indisputable is that Sappho's poems represent erotic love between women as productive of a gamut of emotions, ranging from ecstasy in togetherness to anguish in separation. There is a remarkable absence of embarrassment, guilt, or shame with regard to a woman's desire for many different women, and also no sense of social persecution of this desire. Sappho's contemporary, Lesbian poet Alkaios (or Alcaeus), writes of male-male desire with similar ease, as do several Greek male poets thereafter.

Because of her enormous reputation, there was much speculation about Sappho's life in the centuries immediately following her death. Around the third century BCE, legends began circulating that she had fallen hopelessly in love with a younger man, and had subsequently committed

Sappho, Holding a Lyre. **COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**

suicide by jumping off a cliff into the sea. There is no historical evidence for this legend, cemented into tradition by first-century Roman poet Ovid, or for speculations over the centuries that she was, variously, a courtesan, a schoolteacher, a priestess, a chaste widow, or a nymphomaniac.

More important is Sappho's abiding influence on European literature, especially on lyric poetry. First-century BCE Roman poets Gaius Valerius Catullus and Horace praised her work, and Catullus wrote an imitation of one of her most famous poems, turning female-female desire into male-female desire. Although her poems nearly disappeared during the Middle Ages, her reputation remained. In the fourteenth century, Giovanni Boccaccio included her in his catalog of famous women. In the late Renaissance, her work was rediscovered and translated into modern languages like French and English. Most translators expressed discomfort with the female-female desire her poems represent, and several heterosexualized the poems by changing the female beloved to a male. Others retained the female characters but explained away the desire as friendly affection.

Some poets, however, paid homage to her erotic muse. John Donne (1572–1631), in his poem "Sappho to Philaenis," offers a detailed account and a defense of sexual pleasure between women. Romantic poets, such as Lord Byron (1788–1824), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), and John Keats (1795–1821), whose work shapes the modern lyric tradition, read Sappho, and were inspired both by their ideas of her unconventional life and by the intensity of her songs. Several poets experimented with the stanza she invented, called the Sapphic stanza.

Sappho served as a model for women writers in particular. In the third century BCE, Nossis, an Italian woman poet, wrote an epigram in her honor; in the fourteenth century, proto-feminist writer Christine de Pizan eulogized her as an example of female wisdom and achievement. From the eighteenth century onwards, several women chose the pen name Sappho, and almost every woman writer was praised as a Sappho. Such were "the French Sappho," novelist Madeleine de Scudery (1607–1701), and "the English Sappho," poet Katherine Phillips (1631–1664), whose best poems are romantic effusions addressed to her female friends.

Sappho's name had always been associated with desire between women, and by the eighteenth century the word *Lesbian,* along with its original meaning of an inhabitant of Lesbos, came also to mean a woman lover of women. By the end of the twentieth century, this secondary meaning had almost entirely eclipsed the primary meaning. During the nineteenth century, words like *Sapphist* and *Sapphic* also came to connote lesbianism, and were so used by writers like Virginia Woolf in the early twentieth century. Sappho became a site for poets like Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909) and Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) to explore various sexual practices, and, in the twentieth century, for writers to excoriate lesbians as perverts or present them as titillating figures in pulp fiction.

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, women writers who wrote about female-female desire found in Sappho a model, a defense, and a malleable symbol. Thus, Aestheticist poets Katherine Bradley (c. 1846–1914) and Edith Cooper (1862–1913), who wrote under the joint pen name Michael Field, lived together as lovers, and considered themselves married, wrote a volume of poetic interpretations of Sappho's songs, entitled *Long Ago* (1889). Following them, almost every major lesbian writer has referred to, imitated, or recreated Sappho; the list includes Natalie Clifford Barney, Renée Vivien, Amy Lowell, Gertrude Stein, H. D. (Hilda Doolittle), Radclyffe Hall, Virginia Woolf, Vita Sackville-West, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Marguerite Yourcenar, May Sarton, Adrienne Rich, Rita Mae Brown, Judith L. Grahn, Audre Lorde, Monique Wittig, Olga Broumas, Marilyn Hacker, Suniti Namjoshi, and Jeannette Winterson. The modern lesbian movement threw up a plethora of cultural artifacts named for Sappho. And in the world of classical studies, her reputation has perhaps never been higher than it is in the early twenty-first century.

All in all, Sappho's prophecy, "Prosperity that / the golden Muses / gave me was no / delusion: dead, I / won't be forgotten" (Barnard 1958), has been amply fulfilled.

SEE ALSO *Lesbian, Contemporary: I. Overview; Lesbos; Love Poetry.*

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Ruth Vanita

SATIRE

SEE *Obscene; Political Satire.*

SATISFACTION

Satisfaction occurs when a sexual encounter meets one's expectations, provides physical and/or emotional pleasure, relieves desire and/or tensions, or bolsters one's self-esteem. It results both from the individual's experience of positive emotions such as contentment, happiness, and ecstasy and from the interaction with a sexual partner as both a single act and as part of a long-term relationship. Satisfying sexual relationships are marked by good communication, compatibility, and care for both the relationship and one's partner. Although orgasm often is considered the ultimate sign of satisfaction, it is not the only indication because the entire sex act can be satisfying with or without orgasm. Satisfaction also is measured commonly by the frequency of sexual activity because ideally one's sexual desire matches one's opportunity for sexual activity. Whereas sex that occurs too infrequently is a source of dissatisfaction, sex that occurs too frequently can limit satisfaction.

The Interpersonal Exchange Model of Sexual Satisfaction, developed by Kelli-An Lawrance and E. Sandra Byers in 1995 measures sexual satisfaction in relationships as a balance between costs (e.g., physical discomfort, having sex when one is not in the mood, and the risk of disease or pregnancy) and rewards (e.g., feeling comfortable with one's partner, amount of fun experienced, and frequency of orgasm). This model revealed that satisfaction is marked by experiences or relationships in which rewards outweigh costs and in which both partners experience a similar balance of rewards and costs. If the overall relationship has more rewards than costs, a single sexual encounter that is cost-heavy still can be satisfying.

In the four-stage human sexual response cycle identified by William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson (1966), satisfaction is linked to the final two stages: orgasm and resolution. The first two stages, excitement and plateau, set the stage for the physical and emotional release associated with satisfaction by heightening tensions and increasing blood flow in the body, especially in the genitals. When there is orgasm, the muscles around the sexual organs contract rhythmically and the accumulated blood suddenly leaves the genitals, an action that brings a great sense of relief and pleasure. In the following stage of resolution, which sometimes is experienced as afterglow, heart rate and blood pressure return to normal. For physical satisfaction to occur, the increased blood supply must leave the genital region. If it remains, muscle pain and irritability can result.

Other physical signs of satisfaction result from hormones that are released during orgasm, such as endorphins, which are tranquilizing and painkilling, and prolactin, which indicates sexual satiety because it suppresses further sexual desire. Orgasms from intercourse produce four hundred times more prolactin than do orgasms from masturbation, indicating that sex with a partner is not only physically but also emotionally more satisfying than masturbation.

Historically, women have experienced less sexual satisfaction than have men. This difference may be the result of cultural assumptions held before the twentieth century that women's pleasure is less important than men's. However, studies from the 1980s on show that women with a college education are more satisfied with their sexual experiences than are those who are less educated. That is less true for men. Highly educated women may be more informed about their bodies and ways to achieve physical satisfaction, acting confidently in their sexual experiences without feeling shame or guilt.

SEE ALSO *Orgasm.*

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Michelle Veenstra

SATYRIASIS

Satyriasis refers to a disease described in ancient times and now considered fictitious, as well as to a condition recognized by modern psychiatry. Both conditions deal with compulsive sexual activity in the male human. The ancient disease is considered fictitious because it is described as not only bringing about behavioral change (like the condition recognized in the early twenty-first century), but also physical transformation. The disease prompted its sufferer (called a satyr) to shun clothing and to become subject to a lust that was without limit or apparent discrimination in its object. Additionally, the satyr quickly grew excessive amounts of hair on all parts of the body, sprouted horns upon his head, and had his legs and feet transformed into those of a goat, including hooves. This condition is recorded in many texts, and was even a subject for painters over many centuries. The name of the disease, and the physical transformation supposedly accompanying it, are clearly indicative of a relationship to the satyr, a mythological creature.

Satyrs are followers of Dionysos, the Greek god of wine associated with what today might be recognized as carnival morality and licentiousness. Satyrs are known for their lusts for wine and sexual gratification and for their attraction to and pursuit of nymphs, female entities embodying various natural features. While satyrs' sexual tastes are wide-ranging, their preference for nymphs marks them as primarily heterosexual.

The modern condition of satyriasis is similar in many ways to the ancient one, excepting the physical transformation. It alternately has been called satyrism, satyromania, erotomania, and Don Juanism, although these terms are largely out of use. Satyriasis need not have an object other than the satyr himself; compulsive self-gratification is as possible a manifestation as is the desire for sexual gratification with a partner or partners. Don Juanism is specifically a desire for multiple partners who are seduced and abandoned in turn, with no prospect for lasting relationships.

Satyriasis is often considered the male counterpart to nymphomania, a condition in which women experience excessive sexual desire. Neither satyriasis nor nymphomania is recognized as a specific disorder in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (or DSM-IV) published by the American Psychiatric Association. Instead, the more general and gender-neutral term *hypersexuality* is used. It is an impairment associated with frequent genital stimulation. In patients where the stimulation does not lead to sexual gratification, desire for further stimulation can be created, resulting in a cycle that can be debilitating. In patients that do achieve sexual gratification, excessive promiscuity may result, as the desire for gratification is unlikely to be met with a single partner. Such promiscuity can be physically risky as it may lead to a higher incident of unsafe sexual practice and may also involve social risk in cultures that ascribe to normative monogamy.

Hypersexuality can be a debilitating condition, particularly when it is associated with another serious disorder. It is frequently codiagnosed with bipolar disorder and mania, as well as neural dysfunctions such as Kluver-Bucy Syndrome (produced by bilateral temporal lobe damage). There is no conclusive test for hypersexuality and therefore no accurate estimate of its occurrence. Some debate exists about the ability to define the difference between a high libido and hypersexuality. A primary concern is that sexual dysfunctions are classified with a binary system indicating only presence or absence rather than with a scale indicating the degree of dysfunction. Most authorities agree that when the condition becomes uncontrollable, often manifesting symptoms such as spontaneous inappropriate gestures, actions, verbalizations, compulsive masturbation, and debilitating preoccupation with thoughts of sex, hypersexuality requires treatment. Rarely is the sexual activity itself considered injurious, but its primacy in daily activity can lead to serious disruption in the life of the hypersexual. Most often the underlying condition is treated through psychotherapy, although psychopharmacology may be used to control symptoms. Additionally, there are several twelve-step-style programs that claim success in treating what they term sexual addiction, although there is little clinical evidence to support these claims.

Satyriasis differs from hypersexuality in one important way: Satyriasis is a condition based upon excessive sexual desire, regardless of how or if that desire is gratified. Hypersexuality is an excessive degree of sexual activity, whether it is based in actual desire or on some other factor. For instance, a hypersexual may engage in frequent sexual activity as a means of self-validation or in order to combat loneliness rather than as a means of achieving sexual gratification. Satyriasis remains largely a simplification, and to some degree a celebration, of a complex psychological condition.

SEE ALSO *Nymphomania.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

SCATOLOGY

Scatology, or scatalogia, refers to a variety of related topics focused on literal or metaphorical defecation; the study of the act of defecation or of feces; an obsession with defecation or feces (also known as *coprophilia*); literary or artistic discussions of defecation; the use of obscene language or *dirty talk*. In each of these practices or conditions, defecation figures as a primary factor in human existence. There are numerous terms for the products of defecation, both proper (*feces*, *scat*, *dung*, *manure*) and slang (*shit*, *poo*, *crap*). Most of the slang terms are considered vulgar to some degree. Variants of these terms take on different connotations: *Bullshit* is considered a strong statement and usually describes relative untruthfulness, wheras *chickenshit* (usually a term used to describe a person) is a derogatory.

ACADEMIC SCATOLOGY

A scatologist is one who undertakes the academic and scientific study of feces. This has application in many disciplines, chiefly anthropology, zoology, biology, and environmental sciences. In most cases, nonhuman feces are studied to learn about animals and their environments. Anthropologists study human feces if they survive (often in fossilized form or within a body that has been preserved in some fashion), primarily to glean information about the diet or disease history of earlier humans.

SCATOLOGICAL SEXUALITY

In sexual practice, defecation and feces are eroticized in some instances. One type of scatological activity that is considered fairly common is anilingus, or licking the anus of a sexual partner (commonly referred to as rimming). The anus and the rectum both contain a large number of nerve endings, making them particularly sensitive to stimulation. It is most prevalent among individuals (both homosexual and heterosexual) who regularly engage in anal intercourse as a part of their sexual activity, but is also common among those who do not. In most cases of anilingus, there is no desire to come into contact with fecal matter. The receptive partner is generally expected to have thoroughly cleaned the anus and rectum. People who engage in anilingus may have a heightened attraction to the anus, but not to feces or the act of defecation. Others may simply enjoy the physical stimulation without regard to the particular anatomy involved. In popular slang, a "Dirty Sanchez" refers to inserting a finger into the anus of a sexual partner and then wiping the fecal matter from the finger under the nose of the partner to simulate a moustache. Coprophagia (the consumption of feces) is highly uncommon and is a practice with great risk for spreading disease or infection.

Feces contain a large number of bacteria and other infectious agents, which means that any contact with them is considered medically unsafe. Feces are the primary means of elimination of dead blood cells and bile from the body (which are the primary factors leading to their dark coloration), thus making the risk particularly great for blood-borne or liver-based infections. Contact with one's own feces is generally safer than contact with a partner's, but both carry risk. Hepatitis is a particular danger, although many other infections are also possible.

Scatological images and films are a small but recognized subset of the overall pornography industry. These can include depictions of people in the act of defecation, or with feces smeared on their bodies. Some also feature animals in the act of defecation. There is a very limited production of pornography involving coprophagia. The health risks involved in coprophagia, as well as the overall cultural taboo associated with it, make it unlikely that any mainstream pornographic actors would engage in the practice. The majority of examples seem to be low-budget or amateur recordings of individuals who practice coprophagia as part of their own sexuality, rather than staged commercial productions. Films that depict the act of defecation, but not the handling of or contact with the feces, are more common in commercial pornography, but still are considered a specialty product. Few public records exist to show the popularity of scatalogical pornography, but it holds a kind of fascination to many, primarily because of its taboo status. Its primacy as a proscribed activity is evidenced by the degree of outrage it can generate, even though it is recognized as an activity practiced by a relatively small group of individuals. In 2005, the George W. Bush administration launched an FBI antipornography program that sought to "gather evidence against 'manufacturers and purveyors' of pornography." Specifically targeted was pornography that "includes bestiality, urination, defecation, as well as sadistic and masochistic behavior" (Gellman 2005, p. A21). Each of these types of pornography is legal for consenting adults in the United States, which makes them an unusual focus of law enforcement.

This campaign shows that the the mainstream psyche considers such acts perverse, obscene, and immoral if not criminal. This attitude stems from the general refusal to accept or understand nonmainstream sexual practices. The activities targeted are fringe practices and are often attractive to participants because of their location outside the mainstream. They are associated with a variety of taboos whose violation can provide sexual pleasure. In sadism-based sexual practice, the humiliation involved in forcing a partner to violate taboos can likewise be pleasurable. The cultural prohibition against taking pleasure in feces and defecation is particularly strong, which potentially magnifies the degree of pleasure that can be found when it is violated.

SCATALOGICAL TALK

Dirty talk or the use of obscene language in a sexual context (sometimes called *potty mouth* or *shit-talking*) is a common scatological activity. It can vary from mild swearing before or during sex (as a slightly vulgar form of pillow talk) to the use of highly graphic sexual language. The use of impolite language in a sexual setting is considered to be a fairly common practice. The more extreme forms of dirty talk are thought to be less common, although still firmly within mainstream practice. It can range from a prolific use of obscenities during sex to obscene comments or commands directed at the partner. This is both a way of eliciting desired acts from the partner and a means of humiliating him or her.

Using commands (as opposed to requests or suggestions) in a sexual setting is frequently a part of sadomasochistic sexual practice and often figures in bondage and discipline scenarios. The desire for dominance in sexual relations, which can often be accomplished verbally through the use of graphic or obscene commands, is also common even among people who do not consider themselves to be formally interested in BDSM practice. *Coprolalia* (literally, "talking filth") is a medical condition often associated with Tourette Syndrome, and involves the involuntary use of obscene or sexual language in inappropriate settings. It is popularly misunderstood as based in sexual desire, but is actually a neurological condition characterized by limits on occasional control over one's utterances and a variety of other symptoms. Although the language used may be sexual in nature, sexual gratification is not the aim of individuals with Tourette Syndrome. While apparently similar to the scatological, the two should not be confused.

ARTISTIC AND LITERARY SCATOLOGY

Scatological references are found throughout the visual and literary arts, drama, and other media. Mainstream films that notoriously depict scatological practice include Peter Greenaway's *The Cook, The Thief, His Wife and Her Lover* (1989) which opens with a scene of a man being beaten, urinated upon, and finally smeared with and forced to eat dog feces. Italian director Pier Paolo Pasolini's 1975 film *Salò* (adapted from the Marquis De Sade's *120 Days of Sodom*) depicts a group of young people taken as sexual captives and forced to eat and wear their own feces. The film also depicts graphic genital torture. In a more comic vein, American director John Waters's 1972 film *Pink Flamingos* ends with a scene of nonsimulated coprophagia. Divine, the star of the film, is shown eating the feces of a dog immediately after they emerge from the dog's anus. The film is considered definitive of Waters's celebration of bad taste. Literary scatology has a very long tradition, dating at least to Aristophanes' play *The Clouds* (423 BCE). Other famous examples include Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1314–1321), François Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532–1534), Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), and Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1928).

In visual arts, bodily waste has been used in a number of works, primarily in an effort to provoke reaction against the juxtaposition of profane material and sacred subject matter. The photographer Andres Serrano caused great controversy with his 1987 image *Piss Christ*, a photograph of a plastic crucifix submerged in the artist's own urine. The work was partially funded by the National Endowment for the Arts, a U.S. tax-funded arts program. When it was exhibited in 1989, the outrage over the perceived blasphemy of the piece caused a long-term dispute over public funding of the arts in the United States. While not strictly scatological, the work encompasses many of the same attitudes. A similar controversy erupted over the collage of the British artist Chris Ofili, *The Holy Virgin Mary* (1996), when it was shown in the Brooklyn Art Museum's 1999 exhibition *Sensation*. The canvas depicts Mary as an African mother figure, mostly composed of glitter and resin. It also incorporates photographs of buttocks taken from pornographic magazines, and most famously, a mound of elephant dung in the approximate location of one of the figure's breasts. New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani threatened to revoke city funding to the museum unless they removed the work from their show, leading to a lawsuit over the freedom of speech of artists. The work was part of the London Saatchi Gallery's permanent collection when it, along with many other works, was destroyed in an accidental fire in 2004.

SEE ALSO *Sadism.*

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SCOTTSBORO CASE

The events leading to what would infamously become known around the world as the Scottsboro case began on March 25, 1931, on a Southern Railroad train traveling through northern Alabama. The onset of the Depression caused thousands of laborers, both black and white, to "ride the rails" in search of jobs, food, or shelter. But although black and white passengers on the train shared the plight of poverty, this did not outweigh a sense of racial antagonism for some aboard.

Events began with a white youth stepping on Haywood Patterson's hand as he and a few other white males made their way across a car. Patterson's protests were met with racial epithets, and eventually there was an altercation on the train between a group of young white males and a group of young black males, including Patterson, who would become one of the "Scottsboro Nine." The fighting concluded with Patterson and some others throwing the white youths from the slow-moving train. However, in the South of the 1930s, it was dangerous for black men to challenge white male authority; in the first four decades of the twentieth century, thousands of black men had been lynched at the hands of white communities. When the train stopped in nearby Paint Rock, it was met by a group of white men armed with rifles and shotguns; they yanked nine black youths, including Patterson, from the train. The others were Charlie Weems, Eugene Williams, Willie Roberson, Olen Montgomery, Clarence Norris, Ozie Powell, Andy Wright, and his brother, Roy Wright. Some of the nine had neither witnessed nor participated in the scuffle on the train. All were between the ages of thirteen and nineteen. They were questioned briefly, tied together, and then forced onto a flatbed truck and taken to Scottsboro, where they were detained in a jail for hours.

While deep-seated attitudes about race informed the public perception of the "Scottsboro Boys," gender in this case exacerbated the situation intensely. Back in Paint Rock, two other laborers had gotten off the train. But these, unexpectedly, were white women. Victoria Price, 21, and Ruby Bates, 17, had worked for very low wages in textile mills and, like their male counterparts, rode the train in search of a better living. Although all who rode the rails risked arrest for vagrancy, for women there was potentially the added charge of prostitution. To avoid arrest, the women claimed that they had been gang raped by the nine black youths being detained. A physician examined them, and confirmed that there were traces of semen in the women. When brought to the Scottsboro jail to identify their rapists, Bates was unable to spot anyone specifically, but Price—the more brazen and tough-mannered of the two—picked out six of the nine. It was assumed that the remaining three raped Bates.

This false accusation touched a nerve with the southern public, and led to one of the most tragic and momentous cases in American civil rights history. The white male South attempted to defend the imaginary ideal of southern womanhood against myths of black male sexual aggression. But the irony is that neither Price nor Bates actually fit the ideal of the proper southern lady. Both lived in the black section of Huntsville, unable to afford housing elsewhere. Both cavorted with white and black men alike, at times exchanging sex for food or clothing. The semen found in them was a result of consensual sex both had had the night before. Unlike the Scottsboro Nine, who had no control over how cultural perceptions of their gender and racial identities would be used against them, Price and Bates used the presumed virtue of white femininity in their favor, at the expense of the accused.

In 1931, the youths were rushed through four trials in four days, with inadequate counsel. They were immediately found guilty, and all but one was sentenced to execution. The International Labor Defense (ILD), the legal arm of the Communist Party, intervened and stopped the sentencing, but new trials opening in 1933 and 1936 led to similar verdicts. By that time, however, the ILD had rallied support for the Scottsboro Boys around the world, making them an international symbol of racial and class-based struggles for justice, as well as of American civil rights reform. But even with broad support and virtually no evidence presented by the prosecution, the young men were not freed until the years spanning from 1943 to 1950. In a dramatic turnaround, Ruby Bates testified for the defense in 1933, confessing that the defendants never raped her. Victoria Price, however, never recanted her accusation.

SEE ALSO *Masculinity: I. Overview; Violence.*

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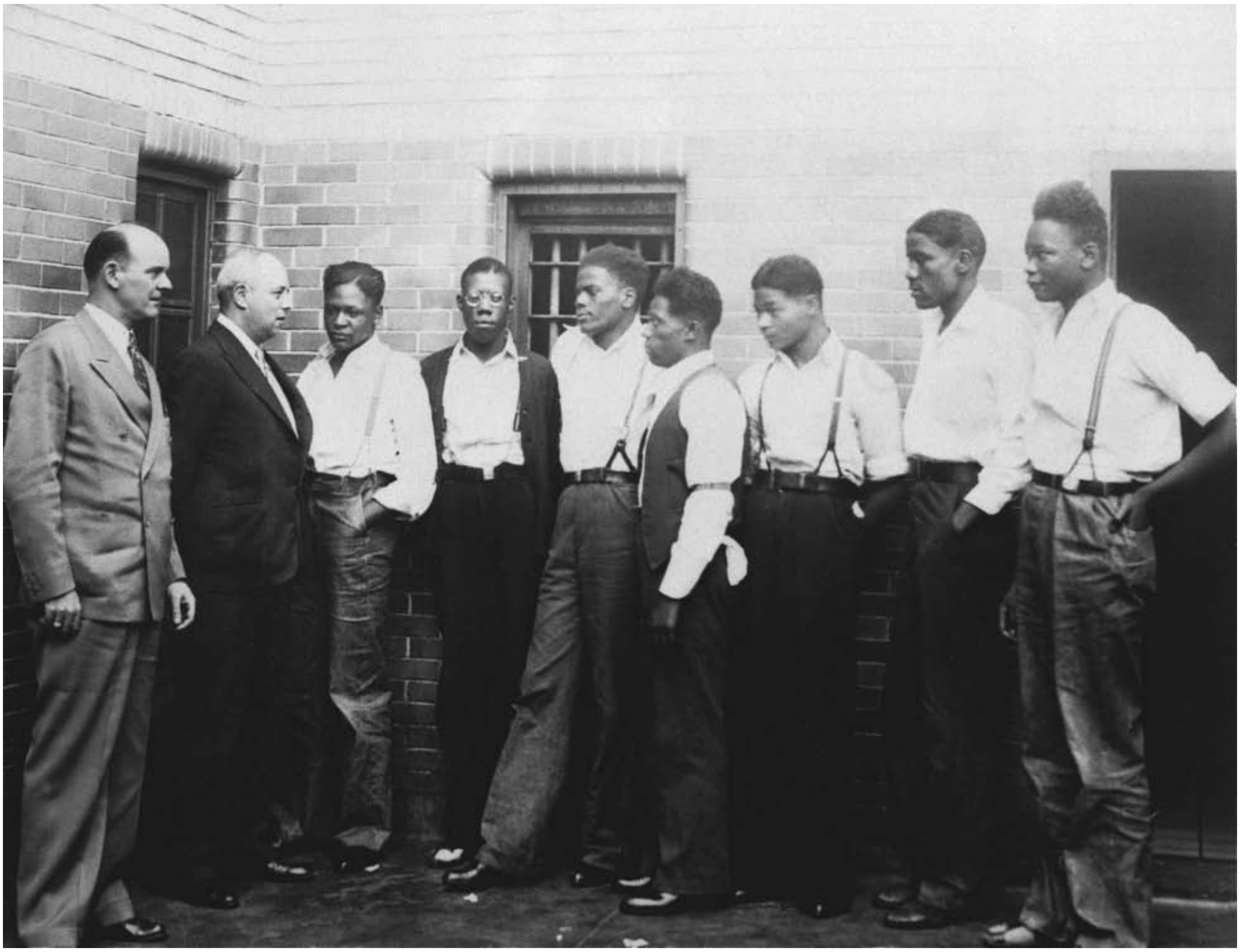

Scottboro Defendants. *Defense attorney Samuel Leibowitz (left), accompanied by Deputy Sheriff Charles MacComb, confers with seven of the defendants in the Scottsboro case.* AP IMAGES.

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Habiba Ibrahim

SCOUTS, BOY AND GIRL

The history of the American scouting movement provides a unique perspective on shifting gender roles and expectations in the United States. The creation and maintenance of two separate scouting organizations, one for boys and one for girls, is the first indication that the Scouts simultaneously construct and reflect cultural understandings of the two biological sexes as being inherently different. An overview of the origins and social functions of scouting provides insight into why the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations have overcome criticism and controversy to become two of the most prominent youth organizations in the world.

HISTORY AND ORIGIN

The American versions of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts trace their origins to the British scouting movement founded by Sir Robert Baden-Powell in 1904. Although there is some debate about the motivations behind the initial movement, the majority of historians consider the formation of scouting in the context of British imperialism: It was designed to train the next generation of British soldiers in the absence of mandatory military service. Baden-Powell consciously designed the organization for boys and was confounded when girls began to join by the thousands by 1909. To resolve that problem, Baden-Powell and his sister, Agnes, established the British Girl Guides in 1910 as a means to contain the "moral threat" of girls resisting femininity through unrestrained physical activities. Although that solution worked initially, World War I and the women's suffrage movement altered gender expectations in Britain, and the Guides' role shifted to accommodate the demand of women to support the war effort.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

The Boy Scouts of America (BSA) was established in 1910, and, according to most historians and scholars, the American version was developed as a means of reactionary social control. The increased professionalization, consumerism, and modernization of the Progressive era invoked fears of emasculation, and the Boy Scouts were viewed as an effort to redefine masculinity amid dramatic social change. The Scouts, along with other boy-centered organizations, such as the Boys Club and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), were designed to mold adolescent behavior and responsibility through civic participation and character-building activities. Nearly a century later, in 2006, the BSA was the largest youth organization in the United States and continued its early mission with its stated goal to "provide an educational program for boys and young adults to build character, to train in the responsibilities of participating citizenship, and to develop personal fitness" (Boy Scouts of America 2006).

The BSA offers a range of scouting opportunities, starting with the family- and home-centered Cub Scouts (ages seven to eleven), the Boy Scouts with an emphasis on outdoor activity (ages eleven to seventeen), and the high-adventure Varsity Scouts (ages fourteen to seventeen). The BSA also offers a Venturing program for both male and female young adults (ages fourteen to twenty). Operating on a charter system, the BSA is a network of more than three hundred autonomous councils that franchises program opportunities to youth-serving organizations. The Scout Oath and the Scout Law have remained unchanged since their inception in 1910 and have been the backdrop for contemporary controversy. The Scout Oath requires a Scout to promise to be "morally straight" and to "do my duty to God." This has been used as a warrant to ban homosexuals, atheists, and agnostics. The Boy Scouts argue that the oath is incompatible with homosexuality and that avowed homosexuals cannot participate as adult volunteers, charter hosts, employees, or youth leaders.

The BSA serves a variety of religious faiths through its charter system, although Christianity is the predominant religious model. However, Scouts can participate in units chartered to Jewish, Buddhist, and Islamic organizations in most major cities. Individual organizations can control the program content, membership, and religious requirements within the basic context of the Scout Oath and Scout Law.

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

If the early Boy Scouts were engineered to cultivate public citizens, the function of the Girl Scouts was to maintain the private and domestic sphere. For instance, the 1940 Girl Scout national convention adopted the theme "Half a Million Homemakers" and promoted the Girl Scout as a citizen of a miniature democracy: the family. Despite those foundations, the Girl Scouts of the United States of America (GSUSA) also has reflected broader impulses by periodically resisting traditional gender norms. In the 1970s, for example, the Girl Scouts embraced women's liberation and asked the feminist Betty Friedan to serve on the national board.

When Juliette Gordon Low founded the Girl Scouts in 1912, she envisioned an organization that would release girls from home life and provide an experience of nature combined with service to the community. The Girl Scout organization became invested in ideas of progressive social justice, with the following mission: "Girl Scouting builds girls of courage, confidence, and character, who make the world a better place" (Girl Scouts of the United States of America 2006). In 1952 the Girl Scouts established the Public Policy and Advocacy office, and the organization has continued to build relationships with members of Congress and federal advocacy departments. It continues to work to raise public awareness of the Girl Scouts beyond their annual cookie sale, promoting outreach programs to underserved areas, including public housing, homeless shelters, juvenile detention centers, women's prisons, and immigrant communities. The Girl Scout Research Institute (GSRI) was formed in 2000 as a research and public policy center for the healthy development of girls. Reflecting an awareness that girls increasingly are concerned about body image at younger ages, the Girl Scouts have worked to develop and implement wellness education in their schools and communities. Additionally, their Studio2B program (Studio 2B 2006) encourages teenage girls (ages age eleven to seventeen) to defy peer pressures through self-empowerment and community. Studio2B is an online community for girls that is intended to promote positive female role models and activities.

More than has been the case for the Boy Scouts, the form and function of the Girl Scouts have shifted over time to accommodate changing gender roles and expectations of women in society, and their progressive polices have been attacked by socially conservative groups. For instance, prolife advocates have criticized the Girl Scouts for their support of Planned Parenthood, an organization that advocates for women's reproductive rights, including abortion and contraception. Additionally, unlike the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts have striven for inclusion. Most notably, the Girl Scouts differ from their male counterparts in their inclusive nondiscrimination policy. The Girl Scouts maintain that issues of sexuality belong between a girl and her parents and do not take an official position on homosexuality. Although this has been criticized as a "don't ask, don't tell" policy, it remains a progressive example for youth organizations around the country.

In 2006 the Girl Scouts could claim the participation of more than 236,000 troops in more than ninety countries. Further, through membership in the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), the GSUSA is part of an international scouting community of 10 million females in 145 countries.

RECENT CONTROVERSIES

The Boy Scouts have endured much more public controversy than have the Girl Scouts. Undoubtedly, the most pressing controversy for the BSA has been its policy prohibiting homosexuals from participation. In *Boy Scouts of America* v. *Dale* (2000), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Boy Scouts' First Amendment right to free association as a private organization gave it the right to exclude a gay scoutmaster. The ruling gained national attention and prompted public debate about masculinity and homosexuality. Since the *Dale* decision, there has been increased publicity surrounding the BSA and its exclusionary practices and policies. Some scholars emphasize the significance of the *Dale* decision, arguing that the case allows the average citizen to confront the ways in which masculinity is constructed around the exclusion of "sissies" and/or nonnormative role models.

In the aftermath of the *Dale* case, the BSA has faced several instances of local backlash. For instance, in March 2006 the California Supreme Court ruled that groups receiving government subsidies are required to comply with local antibias policies, including those that provide protections on the basis of sexual orientation and religion. This decision is one of many that have proved costly to the Boy Scouts and other organizations that have not adopted inclusive admissions policies.

In light of the fact that the Boy Scouts originated in part as an effort to rehabilitate a certain form of masculinity, it is not surprising that the organization has resisted associations with male homosexuality. It is not clear whether the BSA will adopt a nondiscrimination policy in regard to homosexuality. However, the crisis of masculinity that characterized the early Boy Scout movement continues to affect the American organization. In 2001 several Scout packs announced that they would admit gays, and their charters were revoked. Scouting groups in Canada, Europe, and Australia do not have policies that ban homosexuals from participation.

SEE ALSO *YMCA/YWCA.*

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Jamie Skerski

SEDUCTION

From the Latin *seducere* meaning "to lead astray," the modern term *seduction* means to allure, entice, tempt, or even succeed at engaging someone in sexual relations or unsavory activities such as criminal acts, adultery, or other antisocial behaviors. Seduction implies a set of strategies and actions calculated to convince someone to do something he or she might not otherwise do. It operates through a canny psychological estimation of another person's needs and fears. Seduction's strategies often appeal to a person's ego, vanity, or her or his desire to belong and be loved. Seducers prey on these feelings, not only through compliments and actions designed to show the person he or she is special, but also by establishing commonality, shared interests, and enemies, and the desirability of the activities for which the person is being seduced. Although not all seductions are insincere, the idea of seduction connotes the falseness and masquerade of the seducer as well as the implication that the seducer has ulterior motives. Famous seducers have included Giacomo Casanova (1725–1798), the fictional Don Juan, and Mata Hari (Margaretha Geertruida Zelle, 1876–1917), the famous spy during World War I, as well as a legion of film characters from Crystal (Joan Crawford) in *The Women* (1939), Tony Powell (Adolph Menjou) in *Stage Door* (1937), and Phyllis Dietrichson (Barbara Stanwyck) in *Double Indemnity* (1944) to more recent examples such as Catherine Tramell (Sharon Stone) in *Basic Instinct* (1992), Cristal Connors (Gina Gershon) in *Showgirls* (1995), J.D. (Brad Pitt) in *Thelma and Louise* (1991), and the television character Samantha Jones (Kim Cattrell) from *Sex and the City* (1998–2004).

The deviousness ascribed to seduction comes from a sense of the falseness of the tactics employed by seducers such as compliments, insincere protestations of love and fidelity, and false promises as well as from the seducers' often ulterior motives. Seducers may use seduction as a means to other ends such as using the person seduced to gain information or aid in committing crimes. Seduction's bad reputation also comes from the implication that seducers are deliberately leading their prey astray, enticing them into losing their virginity, committing adultery, spying, or otherwise acting out of character. Because seduction plays with appearances—the appearance of sincerity and feeling, the appearance of attraction, the appearance of a rationale that justifies transgression—seduction also belongs to the fairly old-fashioned fear of deceptive appearances in which a range of evil figures, including the devil, are imagined to participate. Of course, lovers seduce one another all of the time inasmuch as dating and courting involve the same kinds of activities as seduction. In this context seduction becomes seduction only if the seducer is proven to have been insincere or if a committed relationship does not result.

Despite the sense that those who are seduced are somehow innocent of the acts they might commit as a result, seduction requires the cooperation of both parties. Seductive tactics are effective because they tap into the unconscious desires of the one being seduced. Seducers offer the appearance of a fulfillable wish to their target as an alternative to the mundanity of existence or the limits of the forbidden. As Jean Baudrillard suggests in his study of seduction, "In seduction, ... it is somehow the manifest discourse, the most 'superficial' aspect of discourse, which acts upon the underlying prohibition (conscious or unconscious) in order to nullify it and to substitute for it the charms and traps of appearances" (1988, p. 149). Seducers present the appearance of what they understand someone wants as if they are reading the seducee's mind, inviting the one they are seducing to trade virtue, inhibitions, and reservations for the possibility of the fulfilled wish. Those who are seduced displace one set of values for another on the basis of the appearances and promises made by the seducer.

The idea that the seducer embodies immoral and devious practices was long reflected in criminal laws against seduction, which was understood as akin to enchantment or a coercion that weaker parties, such as innocent and gullible women, could not easily withstand. For this reason, women and girls seduced into extramarital sexual relations were regarded as the victims of a fraudulent assault that they understandably could not resist. The logic underlying criminal laws that punished (mostly) male seducers included both a belief in women as members of the weaker sex who were unable to counter the forays of men and the model of romantic courtship and marriage as the desirable end result of any wooing. If a woman capitulated, engaged in extramarital intercourse, and the relationship did not end up at the altar, seduction laws permitted her to accuse her unfaithful suitor of a crime. She could claim she was coerced, that apart from her suitor's representations, she would not have been tempted into such behavior, and that her seducer's assurances materially forced her choices.

Thirty-five states in the United States had enacted seduction laws by the end of the nineteenth century, but states began to repeal the laws in the 1930s. Laws criminalizing seduction became an anachronism as changes in culture such as the introduction of the automobile, the increased independence of dating couples, and shifts in perceptions about women's will and choice altered notions of female helplessness.

Seduction as a mode of alluring the less powerful is still a matter of social concern, especially in relation to the predation of juveniles over the Internet. In chat-rooms and other Internet venues for discussion, adults posing as peers of the youths use computer conversation as a way to lure unwitting children and teens to a personal meeting, hoping to engage them in sexual activities or pornography.

Seduction has another side, however, as the set of practices, the gathered wisdom, and the thoughtful gestures of courtship. Several manuals for seduction have been published, some of which focus on the hoped-for result of *getting laid*, but others suggest ways to make oneself more attractive as a potential partner as well as strategies for conversation, dating, and social relations in general. Although one might refer to these tactics more as dating than seduction, all dating is a form of seduction, at least initially. In this sense, seduction is intrinsic to human mating and relationships.

SEE ALSO *Flirting; Foreplay.*

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Judith Roof

SEMIRAMIS

SEE *Queens.*

SEX

The term *sex* has five meanings. It refers to an organism's reproductive capabilities, as in male or female, as well as to which of these divisions an individual might belong, as in: What sex are you? It refers to the processes by which we discern what sex an organism might have. By extension to this reproductive meaning, the term sex also refers to an entire sexual division, as in *the fair sex*, or women. Sex, however, usually refers to the pleasurable physical activities that occur in conjunction with reproduction and sexual gratification, although such activities may not have reproduction as their goal.

The word sex comes from the Latin *secare*, meaning to cut or divide. In this sense it refers to the idea that most living organisms that are large enough to be seen may be divided into female organisms, or those whose gametes (germ cells) are eggs, and males, or those whose gametes are sperm. Although some species are neither male nor female but both (as in earthworms) or may not be the same sex throughout their lives (as happens with some fish), most organisms develop a single reproductive capability. Whether or not an organism produces eggs or sperm also involves other aspects of the body, such as the endocrine system that produces sex hormones such as estrogen and testosterone, or secondary sex characteristics, such as mammary glands, gestation pouches, or strong muscles that help the organism perform its reproductive roles.

Sometimes it is difficult to discern the sex of an organism, particularly babies, so processes have been developed by which their sex can be identified. These processes are called *sexing* and are used often to determine the sex of baby chicks, rabbits, kittens, and any species where the differences between males and females are slight or are important to their subsequent treatment, especially in animal industries that might house females to produce eggs and raise males for meat.

As a noun the term sex has traditionally referred to females as the fair sex, or simply the sex. This reference reflects the underlying ideas often held in patriarchal cultures, or societies organized around males, that females have sex and males are neutral or universal beings. In this sense, sex implies a weakness or incapacity in relation to male dominance and centrality.

Generally, however, the term sex refers to physical activities that occur between individuals, aimed toward sexual gratification and usually necessary to reproduction. In humans reproductive processes include foreplay (preparing the partners for copulation) and sexual intercourse. Sexual activities often include, in addition, other kinds of pleasurable touching and stimulation to orgasm. Although biologically sex enables the joinder of egg and sperm, it also occurs without any thought or hope of reproductive outcome. In this way sex serves as a form of bonding, pleasure, and satisfaction.

Sexual gratification is accomplished through a number of practices with a variety of aims and objects. Because the body has a number of erogenous zones—genitals, nipples, anus, mouth—sexual activity may be focused around one or all of them. Sexual intercourse is generally understood to occur when a male's penis penetrates the female's vagina. This sexual practice tends to be the central model for sex, as it is the activity linked most directly to reproduction. Sex, however, can involve penetrations of other orifices, partial penetrations, frictions, licking, kissing, and other activities. It can occur between males and females, males and males, and females and females. An individual may have sex alone or in groups of two or more. Sex may occur between adult individuals and children, a practice forbidden in most cultures, and between humans and animals, or objects such as blow-up dolls.

Sexual practices are categorized both according to which orifice the penis penetrates and the gender of the participants. Sexual practices not involving the penis are categorized according to the orifice involved, the kind of partner, or the kind of practice involved. The diversity of sexual activities has a long history. Although many books central to religious beliefs discourage sex for pleasure's sake, cultures have preserved a long tradition of sexual variety, being present in paintings, manuscripts, and traditions of pornography from almost every culture.

Genital sex involves contact of the genitals, most often penetration, but also partial penetrations, or rubbing, called *frottage*. Genital sex involving a male and a female is called sexual intercourse, coitus, or copulation. Males with females, males with males, and females with females may practice frottage. Penetration can occur between partners in a number of positions: male on top, or the *missionary position*; female on top; penetration from behind, or *doggy style*; and penetration side by side, sitting up, or even standing up.

Penetrations may also involve body parts such as fingers or objects. The insertion of fingers into the vagina is called *finger fucking*. Partners of all kinds might penetrate vaginas with dildos, vibrators, vegetables, or other objects.

Anal sex involves penetration of the anus by the penis, fingers, or other objects. Penetrating the anus with a penis is called *sodomy*. Both male and female partners may participate in anal sex. Other kinds of anal sex include oral stimulation of the area around the anus, called *rimming*.

Oral sex occurs when mouths stimulate genitals. This can occur when a penis is caressed by a male or female mouth—called fellatio, a *blow job*, or *giving head*. If a male or female caresses a female genital area with mouth and tongue, the practice is called cunnilingus, or *eating*. Partners may also stimulate one another to orgasm with their hands. Rubbing the penis is called manual stimulation, or a *hand job*. Stimulating the clitoris manually is a direct means to female orgasm.

Sex itself often consists of several of these practices combined. Other sexual practices enjoyed among partners may include cuddling, kissing, caressing nipples, bondage, spanking, urinating (golden showers) or defecating on or around one's partner, or participating in sexual activities with more than one person at a time. When three people enjoy sexual activities together, it is called a *ménage à trois*. More than three is called *group sex*. Having sex with successive partners within a group is called *swinging*. Some cities have sex clubs that accommodate swinging and group sex. Some individuals enjoy only looking at others who are engaged in sexual activity; this practice is called *voyeurism*. Others gain sexual pleasure from exhibiting their sexual organs to others. Called *exhibitionism*, when such an act is done without the permission of the other person, it is usually a criminal offense.

Some sexual practices involve a desire for partners whose participation in sex is illegal and seen as immoral. In many places sex with prostitutes is illegal, and both the prostitute and his or her customer can be arrested. Homosexual practices as well are still thought to be immoral in many locales, and they are also sometimes illegal. In some places any kind of sodomy, which may include anal sex, oral sex, and sex with objects, is illegal, and some governments have outlawed all sexual practices that do not involve heterosexual genital intercourse with the male on top. Most universally illegal is sexual activity with children. Called *pedophilia*, sexual activity with children is seen as highly immoral, although there are a number of people for whom children are the most desirable sexual object. *Incest*, or sexual activity with close relations, is also illegal, but as with pedophilia, occurs with some regularity.

Individuals may also involve animals in sexual activity. This practice, called *bestiality*, most often involves male copulation with farm animals, such as cows and sheep, though occasionally it may involve human female copulation with dogs or horses.

Finally, individuals enjoy masturbation, or sexual activity with themselves. Called *onanism* or *self-pleasuring*, masturbation involves stimulation of one's own erogenous zones either manually or with the aid of vibrators, dildos, pornography, artificial partners, or other sex toys and devices.

Historically, many religions have discouraged sex without a reproductive purpose, seeing sexual pleasure without this redeeming value as a fleshly indulgence that may lead believers away from their duty into a life of pleasure for its own sake. Christianity, Judaism, and Islam regulate sex as a strictly marital and reproductive duty, forging rules about the use of birth control methods, the frequency of intercourse, and the roles of the sexes. Such religions forbid adultery, bestiality, homosexuality, and sometimes even masturbation, as all of these are aimed toward pleasure rather than reproductive possibility. Eastern religions such as Hinduism encourage healthy sexuality between heterosexual partners in such texts as the *Kama Sutra*, whereas Buddhism's focus on enlightenment understands the quality of the relationship as more important than the kinds of sexual activities or partners involved.

Many cultures try to control the sexual activities of their members, limiting sexual activity to heterosexual, reproductive practices. Because these cultures see sexual activity as a reflection of morality and public health, they try to legislate sexual behavior consonant with the religious beliefs of the majority. In addition, many cultures produce laws to protect children from sexual activity and punish incest and almost any nonconsensual sexual activity such as sexual assault and rape. Although laws limiting what consenting adults do in private have diminished and some governments are less inclined to inquire about the private sexual practices of citizens, the idea of sexuality as a set of illicit practices may also be a part of what makes sex a fascinating topic for many.

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Judith Roof

SEX AIDS

Sex Aids are objects that are used in sexual activity to produce sexual titillation and stimulation, lend variety to sexual expression, make sex more fun, and help produce a diversity of sexual behaviors and sexual expression. Sex aids used to be called *marital aids* and included vibrators, penis extension sleeves, pillows, and aphrodisiacs. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, sex aids range from dildos and butt plugs to sex furniture, restraints, bondage and domination/sadism masochism (BDSM) paraphernalia, pornography, mood-enhancing drugs, vibrators, sex dolls, and genital jewelry. The name change says it all: Where once inanimate objects were supposed to assist married couples in achieving heterosexual sexual intercourse, were secret and slightly shameful, and had to be ordered from medical catalogs or purchased in sleazy sex shops, in the early twenty-first century sex aids are readily available, are commonly used for masturbation and casual sex, and are considered fun and playful sexual accessories. Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, sex-toy shops opened in the toniest urban neighborhoods and were considered respectable businesses by the end of the twentieth century. Most U.S., Canadian, European, and Australian women who are not strictly religious own at least a vibrator, and many own dildos as well. Many sexual subcultures define themselves by the sex aids they use, including leathermen; straight, gay, bisexual, and transgender BDSM people; and lesbians.

DILDOS

The most common sex toy, and the first to come to mind for most people, is the dildo. Dildos are phallic and can be made of silicone, latex, cyberskin (silicone and PVC), glass, leather, bone, stone, jade, horn, or pottery. Dildo-like objects have been around for at least 6,000 years and have been found in archaeological sites around the world. Whereas the origins of the word *dildo* are not precisely known, it may trace to the Italian *diletto* (delight).

Dildos are generally used to produce the pleasurable sensations associated with penetrating erogenous zones, such as the vagina. Dildos come in all shapes, sizes, lengths, and diameters. They are usually shaped like penises, but can look like animals, which allows them to subvert obscenity laws and be sold as toys in countries such as Japan and certain U.S. states, such as Texas and Alabama, where the sale of dildos for sexual use is restricted or illegal. Dildos can also vibrate, though many people consider vibrators to be a separate class of sex aids. Dildos can be used in the vagina or anus; double-ended dildos can be used by two people at the same time. Some dildos can be worn in harnesses and can be used by women on women or men, and men on men or women.

VIBRATORS

As with dildos vibrators come in all shapes and sizes. They are often sold as massagers, which can be used—depending on the shape—for clitoral, vaginal, and anal stimulation. Some vibrators fit on the hand or fingers; others rotate and flutter. They can plug in to an electrical outlet or be battery operated. When used on or around the genitals and other erogenous zones, vibrators are a source of constant stimulation.

PENIS SLEEVES

Penis sleeves can be used for masturbation or worn on the penis to stimulate the clitoris or anus of a partner. Some have ridges or nubs on the outside for this purpose.

BUTT PLUGS

Butt plugs are thicker and usually shorter than dildos and are designed to stimulate and stretch the anus. They can be used in a manner similar to a dildo or inserted and worn. They are similar to dildos in that they can be made of a variety of materials. There are vibrating butt plugs as well as simple rubber or silicone ones, and they can be long and smooth; short and ridged; thin, fat, and any combination of these. Butt plugs are generally used to produce the pleasurable sensations associated with penetrating the anal region.

BEN WA BALLS

Ben Wa balls are thought to have originated in Japan and consist of two balls, usually metal, that are hollow inside or sometimes filled with mercury or some other liquid. They are inserted into the vagina or anus and stimulate the wearer when that person rocks back and forth.

HARNESSES, LEATHER, AND LATEX

Harnesses can be worn as restraint devices, fetish wear, costume, or to facilitate being suspended in a sling or on a rack. They are also useful for grabbing onto and holding a person during sexual activity. Torso harnesses are usually made of leather and favored by leathermen and women who practice BDSM. Dildo harnesses fit around the waist and abdomen and can be worn by men or women to hold one or more dildos in place for penetrative sex with another or with one's self.

Leather and latex are the preferred materials of BDSM people, so leather harnesses, chaps, boots, vests, hoods, and jackets are often associated with the leather community for this reason. Leather is strong, which makes it good for sturdier uses such as restraint, suspension, and dildo harnesses. Latex is not strong for hanging, but it can be sturdy for restraint, for blindfolding and enclosing, and for general wear. Latex stretches, which makes it better suited than leather for garments that enclose a person very tightly.

Restraining devices such as masks, cuffs, harnesses, and gags are meant to control a partner, to render her or him helpless or make her or him feel as a safely held prisoner. Restraining devices range from elaborate harnesses, racks, and slings to simple handcuffs. Handcuffs, like vibrators and dildos, are fairly ubiquitous, and are often used by people who would never consider themselves BDSM. More elaborate devices such as fisting slings are used mostly by gay men and lesbians who practice some form of slight, moderate, or heavy BDSM, though heterosexual BDSM people also use them. Other restraining devices include cages in which submissive sexual partners may be held to furniture used for sex such as tables with cages in the middle or chairs with straps.

COCK RINGS, NIPPLE CLAMPS, WHIPS

Cock rings are worn around the base of the penis to impede blood flow and make erections last longer or make the penis look bigger and more erect in clothes. Some cock rings fit around the testicles as well and act as restraining devices.

Nipple clamps range from wooden or plastic clothespins to metal clamps that use a spring or screw to tighten pressure when worn on the nipples. These are use to pinch the nipples and stimulate them, and often they have chains on them. Sometimes they can also run an electrical current.

Whips of varying shapes and sizes can be used for stimulation and discipline during sexual activity. Contrary to popular belief, whips are often used more in BDSM for stimulation than to draw blood or beat someone up; working over a sensitive part of a person's body with a leather whip increases blood flow to the skin and results in heightened sensitivity to that area.

Piercings on the genitals, tongue, and nipples are for stimulation, restraint, and general ornamentation. Jewelry of various sizes can be worn on the genitals and used much as any sex toy would for self-stimulation and stimulation of a partner. Tongue piercings stimulate the clitoris and penis during oral sex. Nipple piercings can function much as nipple clamps do, and chains can be run through rings in the nipples or on the genitals for added stimulation. Genital piercings also create heightened stimulation and friction for both the person with the piercing and for his or her sexual partner.

SEX DOLLS

Some people enjoy engaging sexually with a replica or doll. These can be life-sized, realistic, and very expensive works of rubber, latex, and silicone; or the cheaper, *blow-up doll* version. These figures are made to resemble a person, usually a woman, and are given orifices for the insertion of the penis. One brand of high-end sex dolls offers dolls that are customized to fit the preferences of their owners. Many owners use these dolls for sex and companionship, though some owners buy them because they consider them to be art. Items such as these adult dolls truly illustrate a playful, pleasurable, and sometimes over-invested fascination with sex aids.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay; Performance Enhancers.*

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Jaime Hovey

SEX AND EMPIRE

Sex and empire have been linked in European thought from antiquity to the present in a direct line of inheritance that descends from ancient Athens via Rome and the Roman Empire to Portugal, Spain, France, Britain, and America.

In Greek myth, city foundation is frequently the result of divine rape: characteristically, an Olympian male deity violates a local nymph whose name is taken by the city founded on the location of the rape. This mythic paradigm figures city-foundation as the conquest of "culture, male, and Olympian" over "nature, female, and locality" (Dougherty 1993, p. 67) and assumes a landscape uninhabited except by the indigenous nymph. Throughout the history of classical Greece, beginning in the Archaic period (eighth–sixth centuries BCE) and continuing well into the Hellenistic age (323–31 BCE) in the wake of Alexander's conquests, the Greeks founded cities throughout the Mediterranean from Spain to the Black Sea. Colonization brought the Greeks into contact—and conflict—with indigenous peoples, whom they either expelled from the land they occupied or whose women they took in intermarriage. A wide-ranging propensity in Greco-Roman (and later European) literature to characterize the earth as a generative female body and, conversely, the generative female body as a fertile field to be ploughed enabled Greek authors to redescribe, through the rhetoric of marriage, the violent seizure of land a harmonious union of Greeks and indigenous peoples. The assimilation of (foreign) women and (foreign) landscape, in conjunction with the agricultural metaphor implicit in descriptions of Greek marriage as "a form of ploughing, with the woman as the furrow and the husband as the labourer" (Vernant 1977, p. ix), legitimizes Greek (male) colonists' mastery of foreign (female) ground.

If, in classical Greek thought, marriage and landscape are assimilated in the association of the marriageable woman with the fertile field, in ancient Roman thought women and landscape are linked still more closely by the association of marriageable foreign women with Roman territorial expansion. The metaphorical association of territorial expansion with marriage is particularly visible in the Roman republican myth of the rape of the Sabine women, rehearsed by Livy (59 BCE–17 CE) and Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE), among others. The marriage of Roman men with Sabine women that results

The Rape of the Sabine Women. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

from the women's rape underwrites, through the familiar association of foreign women with neighboring territory, the political transfer of Sabine country to Roman domination (Hemker 1985, Keith 2000).

The Roman association of sex and empire is most fully elaborated, however, in the late first century BCE when the Battle of Actium (31 BCE) brought to a close a century of Roman civil wars. In this period, the propaganda of Octavian (63 BCE–17 CE, Julius Caesar's grandnephew and heir, the future emperor Augustus) recast civil war between Roman strongmen as a conflict between a feminized East, represented by the Egyptian queen Cleopatra (69–30 BCE—who has sexually enslaved Marc Anthony (c. 82–30 BCE) and threatens to enslave all Roman men politically—and a masculine West, represented by Octavian, the "son" of Caesar who restores male liberty and Mediterranean hegemony to Rome by conquering Cleopatra and reducing Egypt to a province of the Roman empire (Keith 2000, Quint 1993).

Augustus's territorial assignments of gender are reflected in Virgil's *Aeneid*. With the loss not only of most Hellenistic epics (some commemorating Greek city-foundations, others Alexander's Greek empire) but also of the Roman poet Quintus Ennius's epic *Annales* (celebrating Rome's rise to Mediterranean dominion), Virgil's *Aeneid* stands as the inaugural European epic of empire, "tied to a specific national history, to the idea of world domination, to a monarchical system, even to a particular dynasty" (Quint 1993, p. 8). The opening lines of the *Aeneid* announce the goal of Aeneas's journey to Italy as Latium, particularized in the phrase "Lavinian shores" (1.1–2), where tradition located the original Trojan foundation of Lavinium. Virgil derives the name of Lavinium from Lavinia, the daughter of the indigenous Latin king Latinus, and he predicates the political foundation of Lavinium, which lies beyond the narrative scope of the *Aeneid*, on the dynastic marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia (Keith 2000). Sex and empire are further linked in the poem through Aeneas's dalliance in North Africa with the Carthaginian queen Dido, which constitutes a divergence from his imperial mission and an indulgence in the "wrong" dynastic marriage. In the disastrous coupling (and subsequent rupture) of Aeneas and Dido, Virgil locates the origin of the Punic wars, a century of conflict between the empires of Rome and Carthage for control of the western Mediterranean (264–146 BCE).

Both Aeneas and Augustus constituted significant prototypes for subsequent classical and medieval authors as models of sexual and imperial conquest. On December 25, 800, Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne "Emperor of the Romans." The Pope's act envisaged a renewed Roman Empire in the Latin west superseding the eastern remnants (which we call the Byzantine Empire) at that time ruled by a woman, the Empress Irene (c. 752–803), to whom Charlemagne sent envoys proposing marriage. Scholar Alcuin of York (735–804) saw in Charlemagne's coronation the possibility of realizing a Christian empire, but the Frankish king's renewed Roman Empire was short-lived. Nonetheless, the title "Emperor of the Romans" eventually passed (in 962) to a German king, Otto the Great (912–973), whose vision of a Holy Roman Empire—more in keeping with that of Charlemagne than Augustus—lasted for almost a millennium (to 1806).

The author of the *Roman d'Eneas* (twelfth century CE) rehearsed more insistently the precedent of Aeneas for contemporary Angevin imperialism. Henry II (r. 1154–1189), like Aeneas, claimed Trojan ancestry, moved westward to build his empire, and "gained his largest territory through a wife (Eleanor of Aquitaine) who had been attached to another ambitious prince (Louis VII)" (Baswell 1994, p. 151). The romance, however, displaces Aeneas's affairs with women (Dido and Lavinia) from the center of the work to focus instead on the military and homoerotic union of Nisus and Euryalus, Virgil's *fortunati ambi* whose celebrated love threatens to undo the Angevin Eneas's sexual and imperial designs (Baswell 1994, Boswell 1980, Williams 1999). Walter of Chatîllon, however, offers perhaps the most thoroughgoing medieval literary meditation on empire and its subversions in his epic *Alexandreis* (also twelfth century), which considers the place of Alexander's conquests—carnal and spiritual—in the succession of empires that prepares for the coming of Christ (Wiener 2001).

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A.M. Keith

SEX CHANGE

SEE *Transsexual F to M; Transsexual M to F.*

SEX CRIMES

The term *sex crimes* is a rubric attached to a number of different types of criminal offenses that are or may be construed as sexual. A criminal offense is an act that has been defined as illegal by a legislative body. Sex crimes consist of a range of illegal acts involving the commission of sexual acts on others without their permission, the use of violence to gain sexual ends, or the commission of sexual acts on those who cannot under the law give permission, such as children, family members, or employees. Sex crimes may also consist of acts that have been deemed immoral by legislatures but that involve others only with their consent, including prostitution, viewing or producing pornography, adultery or polygamy, or engaging in nonreproductive sexual acts such as sodomy or homosexuality.

Most state penal codes cover a number of sex crimes, but these crimes are rarely defined as such. Rather, they exist scattered through legislation, depending more on the context, character, or victim of the crime than that the crime is in some way linked to sexual ends. Specific crimes that may be considered sex crimes include adultery, assault, bestiality, compelling to marry, domestic violence, gross indecency, indecent exposure, incest, lewd behavior, sexual murder, necrophilia, pedophilia, pimping, polygamy, pornography and other forms of speech, prostitution, public lewdness, rape, sodomy, stalking, and sexual intercourse as a part of medical treatment.

SEX CRIMES INVOLVING NONCONSENSUAL BEHAVIOR

Such acts as indecent exposure or exhibitionism, voyeurism, sexual touching, stalking and Internet stalking, sexual assault and rape, domestic violence, and abuse by caregivers involve the attempted imposition of sexual behaviors and desires on others who are unaware of the attention, who are unwilling participants in an exchange involving sexual behaviors, or who have no power to refuse unwanted attentions. Most of these actions involve some degree of violence or the threat of violence and it may be argued are less sexual crimes than they are crimes of anger or power.

Indecent exposure and voyeurism are threatening but are perhaps the least violent of these crimes. Indecent exposure involves someone, most often a male, exhibiting his sexual parts to an unwilling bystander. Because European and North American cultures in particular do not comprehend males as the unwilling recipients of such exhibitions, the crime of indecent exposure is rarely committed by females. Voyeurism involves those, again usually males, commonly called *peeping toms*, who trespass in order to steal a look at unwitting female victims who are simply living in their own homes or who are using facilities, such as bathrooms, considered to be private. Voyeurism may be a way for the criminal to gain sexual pleasure or may sometimes be a part of a pattern of increasingly violent behaviors, including stalking, rape, and murder.

Stalking and Internet stalking involve someone paying unwanted attention to an individual. Stalking may involve everything from persistent mailing, telephoning, and harassing, to visits, home entries, and physical attacks and murders. Generally, stalking involves repeat victimization in which the same person is forced repeatedly to suffer the fear, anxiety, lack of freedom, and stress of someone else's predations. Although celebrities are the most notorious victims of stalking, stalking may happen to anyone. In 2006 one out of every twelve women and one out of every forty-five men is a stalking victim. The large majority of victims are thus women (78%), whereas the majority of perpetrators are men (87%). Stalkers are often irrational and have little understanding of boundaries and privacy. They may be former spouses or partners, have some other connection to the victim, or be total strangers.

Sexual assault and rape are usually classified as *criminal sexual conduct* and are codified in a set of decreasing degrees of severity—first degree being the most serious and carrying the highest penalty. First-degree criminal sexual conduct involves the forced sexual *penetration* of someone else that involves additional injury and harm. The victims are defined not only as any single person, but also as belonging to one of the categories on a list of specially defined victims that includes children, household members, friends (*date rape*), and incapacitated people. The perpetrators occupy specific relations of trust to the victims, such as parents, teachers, or relatives, and use weapons, help from others, drugs, or threats. Lesser degrees of sexual assault and rape are defined either by the lack of a special relation of trust between perpetrator and victim or by a lesser degree of violence, coercion, and injury. All rape is serious and is understood by many to be a crime of vengeance and rage rather than a crime of sex.

The crime of rape has mobilized communities and groups of women to recognize that rape is a violent crime and to remove the stigma of imagined cooperation that often lingers with victims. It has traditionally been difficult to prosecute rape cases because of the ways the criminal justice system permitted evidence of the victim's sexual history to be introduced at trial, humiliating the witness and suggesting that the crime was in fact a sexual one. Improved forensic technologies have made the prosecution of rape cases easier, as has an increased understanding of the crime.

Domestic violence and assaults committed on dates that do not include sexual penetrations are part of a more general crime called *assault*. Assault occurs when one person inflicts harm on someone else. Harm may be only verbal, such as name calling, or include physical damage, sometimes called *battery*. Many states provide specific provisions for assaults occurring between people in domestic or romantic relationships. Domestic violence is particularly dangerous because of the familiarity of the parties and the victim's loss of safety. The emotional involvement of the parties often confuses the victim, who may feel guilty or feel that she or he caused the other's behavior.

In general the law considers children to be unable to give consent to any kind of sexual conduct. There are, thus, special laws defining sexual crimes against children. In most states, for example, having sexual intercourse with any person under the age of sixteen is considered *statutory rape*. Under the law minors are deemed not to be capable of consenting to sex, so that even if a minor consents, the sexual intercourse is a rape because the victim could not legally consent. The same logic applies to other degrees of sexual assault.

The law is particularly harsh on those who sexually abuse, rape, kidnap, and/or murder children. Although a desire for sexual encounters with children is often a sexual preference, children's inability to give consent or even to defend themselves against predators makes such crimes particularly outrageous to the public. Convicted pedophiles, particularly those who employ violence, must undergo extensive therapy and are often abused by other inmates in prison; some have been chemically castrated. When released from prison these sex offenders must report their presence in a neighborhood in some jurisdictions. Others are forbidden from having contact with children.

Many states have laws protecting minors from exposure to any kind of obscenity. It may, for example, be illegal to sell pornography to minors or to exhibit any kind of obscene material where children may see it. In addition it is generally a crime to make or even look at pornography that features children as sexual objects or witnesses. This kind of material is considered to be *child sexual abusive* material, and anyone involved with the production, distribution, sale, or importation of such material is criminally liable.

Although incest, or sexual intercourse with a relative, is not limited to children, children are especially vulnerable. Also, laws are especially harsh on those who misuse positions of trust, such as adult family members, teachers, and medical professionals. Some states have special laws prohibiting sexual conduct between doctors and patients and most have special provisions in statutes defining sexual assault dealing with assault by teachers, family members, friends, and others in positions of trust.

SEX CRIMES REFLECTING IDEAS OF IMMORALITY

Many acts that are considered to be sex crimes involve parties who participate in such acts willingly. These crimes relate to issues of marriage and infidelity, nonreproductive sexual activities, prostitution and pandering, and pornography and obscenity.

Crimes surrounding marriage include adultery, defined as sexual intercourse between two persons, one of whom is married to a third person; polygamy, or being married to more than one person at a time; compelling a woman to marry by force; and, in some states, having sexual relations outside of marriage. This last crime is referred to as *gross lewdness* or *lewd and lascivious cohabitation*. Some of the statutes are rarely enforced as crimes because in many places, concepts of morality have changed or victims of such crimes have other remedies, such as divorce.

Nonreproductive sexual activities are often deemed immoral. They include all homosexual activities, some kinds of sexual activities between consenting heterosexual married couples, and sexual activity with the dead or the nonhuman. Sodomy, considered by some as a *crime against nature*, is defined as the penetration of an inappropriate (i.e., nonvaginal) orifice, including those of animals. Some states have repealed laws against sodomy between consenting adults, whereas others have extended the definition of sodomy to include oral sex between women. In addition there are also statutes prohibiting *gross indecency*, a catchall rubric that covers almost any kind of homosexual behavior between men or between women, and some kinds of sexual behavior between heterosexuals, including, presumably, sodomy and oral sex, but may include other kinds of nonreproductive sexual acts. Most states have laws prohibiting desecration of the dead, which includes any kind of sexual activity, or necrophilia. Some states also have laws against the abuse of animals, which may include bestiality, or having sex with them.

Prostitution, or offering sexual encounters for money, is generally illegal in the United States except in parts of Nevada, but it is legal in some parts of Europe. Laws against prostitution apply both to those offering the services and those purchasing them. They also apply to those who facilitate the sales—the pimps or madams who run the street business, provide protection, or manage houses where clients purchase the services of prostitutes. Although prostitution occurs between consenting adults, the sale of sexual favors by males or females to males or females is deemed immoral and is, hence, criminal.

Obscenity and pornography, apart from any involvement with or display to minors, may itself be a criminal activity. What constitutes pornography is often an issue for a locality to decide based on its own local standards of what may be obscene. Most locales permit the sale of pornography only within restricted premises. Some permit strip shows and other sexual entertainment at facilities that control entry. Some communities do not permit either the sale or display of obscene material at all. The Internet has become a popular means for distributing pornographic material, mostly because it can be purchased and consumed in private and in some anonymity.

Although masturbation is not a crime unless performed publicly, in some jurisdictions owning sex toys, sex aids, or other sexual material is illegal. It is also illegal in some states to advertise such materials, as well as contraceptives and cures for genital ills. Many states also have catchall statutes called *sexual delinquency* or something similar that focus on repeat sexual offenders or on actions that may not fit within other indecency statutes.

SEX CRIMES THROUGH HISTORY

Through history public concepts of the kinds of acts that might constitute sex crimes has broadened, and responsibility for defining and preventing some sex crimes has shifted from the church to the state. Some sex crimes were previously considered the natural domain of marriage (e.g., wife beating, involuntary sexual intercourse), whereas others—crimes involving technology, stalking, pornography—are more modern inventions. The age of consensual sex shifts from culture to culture and through history, becoming gradually older in Europe and North America. Greek culture did not necessarily understand sex between men as a crime, whereas religions deriving from the Bible condemned sodomy and bestiality as acts but did not acknowledge sex between women at all. Adultery was the province of the church, whereas understandings of what degrees of relation were incestuous have changed from culture to culture.

Public attention to crimes involving sexual behavior, domestic violence, and obscenity has only gradually come within the province of the state. The state's definition of such crimes is very much linked to contemporaneous notions of morality and proper gender relations. How cultures have understood rape, for example, has evolved significantly in the last 100 years. Before the twentieth century, rape was considered heinous but was not as often recognized in the law as it is under twenty-first-century legislation. Because rape was understood as a *sex* crime, the victim was often held as responsible as the perpetrator. If there was not physical damage beyond penetration, the rape was often not prosecuted. Date rape was inconceivable primarily because the victims were understood to have consented to the behavior. Male rape of other males was not acknowledged until into the twentieth century. Domestic violence and rape were seen as the province and sometimes even the marital duty of the husband.

Tolerance for prostitution and obscenity, too, has changed from culture to culture and through history. Whereas Greek and Roman culture permitted prostitution, and some countries, such as Japan, ceremonialized some aspects of it in the geisha, Christian countries tended to take a less open view. Some countries, such as the Netherlands, have come to understand that when controlled and monitored, prostitution is a safer business than when illegal. Nonetheless, greater tolerance for prostitution in some locations and greater demand for prostitutes in others has increased the international trafficking of women who are essentially enslaved as prostitutes. It has long been illegal in the United States to transport underage women across state lines for immoral purposes.

Laws concerning pornography also vary from locale to locale. Relatively modern techniques of printing and photography have made the distribution of pornography much easier and more profitable, making pornography a big business since the nineteenth century. The easing of moral restrictions on sexual content has made pornography more visible, as has ease of access on the Internet. Child pornography, however, has become increasingly taboo, whereas nudity, language that might previously have been understood as obscene, and explicit references to sex and sexual organs have become commonplace on television.

The criminality of other sex crimes continues to depend largely on the relation of religious belief to state action. For example, in countries such as Nigeria where religion strictly prohibits adultery, adulterers may be stoned to death. In certain places homosexual males may be executed. And in some locales polygamy is legal.

SEX CRIME STATISTICS

In the early twenty-first century a sexual assault occurs in the United States every two minutes. The contemporary frequency of sex crimes has as much to do with the increased number of sexual acts defined as crimes as with increased urbanization and crowding, less repressive environments, increased frustration and depersonalization, and the expected mobility and social exposure of women, who are the primary victims of assaults. It is also due to increased reporting of such crimes, particularly sexual assaults upon men. Despite increased reporting the rate of sexual assault and rape declined slightly between 1996 and 2002. In 1996 1 man out of every 2,500 was a victim of sexual assault, whereas in 2002 that figure had decreased to 1 in every 3,300. In 1996 5.75 women out of 2,500 were victims of sexual assault and rape, whereas in 2002 the figure had dropped to 4.5. Other sex crimes, such as stalking and crimes committed on children, have increased, partly because the Internet has provided criminals easier access to their targets.

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Judith Roof

SEX INDUSTRY

The term *sex industry* refers to the people and organizations that provide sexual products, services, or performances in exchange for monetary compensation. The term encompasses a variety of enterprises, including print, video, and Internet pornography, prostitution, sex shows, phone sex operations, sex shops, peep shows, massage parlors, sex tourism, and strip clubs. Those employed in the sex industry are typically known as sex workers and might include street prostitutes, call girls, escorts, strippers, exotic dancers, lap dancers, phone sex operators, brothel workers, actors and actresses in pornographic films, models for pornographic magazines, dominatrices, and bodyworkers or erotic masseuses. The sex industry also includes the managers, staff, owners, producers, directors, photographers, pimps, madams, businesses, organizations, and enterprises that provide the infrastructure and support necessary to this multi-billion-dollar industry.

INDUSTRY DATA

Because of the nature of the sex industry, in which many enterprises are illegal or only semilegitimate and in which much earnings and activity goes unreported, estimates of the scope of the industry are necessarily flawed. Nonetheless, all available data suggest that the sex industry plays a very significant role in the U.S. economy, as in other countries. Since the rise of video recording technology and home videocassette players in the early 1980s, the consumption of hard-core pornographic videos in the United States has increased dramatically. A federal study in the 1970s estimated that the total value of hard-core porn in the United States was under $10 million; by 1996 estimates indicated Americans were spending more than $8 billion per year on pornographic videos and magazines, sex shows, peep shows, and sex toys (Schlosser 1997). This figure included 665 million hard-core video rentals, $150 million spent on pay-per-view adult movies, and $175 million on pornographic movies viewed in hotel rooms. Additionally, the United States exports a high volume of pornographic videos overseas, where it dominates the European market (Schlosser 1997). Americans in the mid-1990s spent close to $1 billion annually on phone sex; many of these calls were routed through overseas companies to foreign operators in order to evade U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) restrictions on obscene communication. As with hard-core video production, the number of strip clubs in the United States rose astronomically throughout the 1980s. As of 1996 there were 2,500 major strip clubs in the United States, each of which earned between $500,000 and $5 million annually. Much of the revenue generated by these clubs comes from booking well-known porn stars as dancers. A very small percentage of these actresses can earn as much as $20,000 per week dancing at a club (Schlosser 1997). And though it generates less income than the adult film industry, pornography on the Internet is almost ubiquitous and often quite lucrative.

Although data on prostitution are much harder to come by, national surveys have suggested that between 15 percent and 20 percent of the American population has paid for sex at one time or another; the figures are somewhat lower for British and Canadian men. In most countries prostitution is illegal, and because prostitutes are susceptible to harassment and prosecution, they tend to be cautious and secretive, rendering it difficult to assemble accurate data. Estimates of the prevalence of prostitution are thus highly variable and incorporate a substantial margin of error. Even in countries where prostitution is legal, such as Germany and the Netherlands, estimates of the number of prostitutes vary widely because prostitutes may not be registered or they may be in the country illegally. Estimates from the mid-1990s suggest that in Germany, 50,000 to 400,000 prostitutes transacted with some 1.2 million clients daily. Some studies have suggested that in the 1980s, there were between 250,000 and 350,000 prostitutes in the United States. Other studies have suggested that there were more than 200,000 prostitutes in Poland and between 140,000 and 300,000 in South Korea in the mid-1990s. In many European countries a substantial percentage of prostitutes are foreigners, often from developing countries (Oppermann 1998). In Spain, where the legal status of prostitution is somewhat ambiguous, many prostitutes work for *mega brothels*. A 1998 report from the International Labour Organization (ILO) found that in some Southeast Asian countries revenue from prostitution comprised 2 percent to 14 percent of the gross domestic product. In Thailand prostitution generated around $25 billion between 1993 and 1995.

SEX TOURISM AND TRAFFICKING AND MARRIAGE BROKING

Migration and tourism has raised awareness of the global nature of the sex industry. Both Germany and the Netherlands have large red-light districts in major cities; studies suggest that many of the prostitutes are immigrants, and a substantial percentage of the districts' clients are tourists. Though sex tourism occurs in most areas of the world, some countries, such as Thailand and the Philippines, are particularly known for it. Although the Europe and North America tends to conceive of the sex tourist as a white heterosexual male visiting an exotic Asian or tropical locale, the evidence provides a more varied picture. In Thailand, for example, the vast majority of sex tourists are from nearby countries rather than from the United States. There is additionally a $10 billion industry surrounding homosexual sex tourism, and in locations such as Kenya, female sex tourists are more common than male sex tourists. Though in many cases the sex tourist is from an economically richer country than the local sex worker, evidence suggests that there is often a high local demand for sexual services as well.

Sex traffickers and marriage brokers also comprise part of the global sex economy. Just as tourists travel to other nations to visit sex workers, so, too, do many sex workers. This may be voluntary on the workers' parts, but very often they are forced into sexual labor or—because of economic exploitation and their often-illegal immigrant status—are unable to leave the service of pimps, brothel owners, or managers. In addition many companies offer matchmaking services that pair men from industrialized nations with women from poorer countries. Although women often enter such contracts willingly in hopes for greater opportunity in another country, they are at the mercy of their fiancés and frequently have little financial or legal recourse.

LEGAL ISSUES

Despite the importance of the sex industry to both the international economy and the economies of individual nations, the legal status of the industry and its workers is often ambiguous. Even those industries that operate legally are often somewhat unregulated or subject to ambiguous or conflicting legislation. Strip clubs in the United States and Canada, for example, are subject to various local ordinances aimed at defining the acceptable limits of exotic dancing and delineating the difference between legal client–dancer physical contact and illegal paid sexual activity. Such regulations are necessarily somewhat arbitrary, difficult to enforce, and may criminalize those actions—such as lap dances or manual stimulation—that are most lucrative for the dancers.

Additionally, the extralegal or semilegal operation of much of the sex industry tends to increase the workplace exploitation of sex workers. Prostitutes, for example, report extremely high rates of rape and assault by both pimps and clients, but—because their injuries are sustained in the context of illegal sexual activity—are less likely to report crimes to the police for fear of themselves being arrested. Even in cases in which prostitutes do report assaults to the police, they often find that police are unwilling to file charges or a judge unwilling to hear the case. Sex workers in legal industries are similarly more subject to exploitation by managers or owners. Strippers in the United States, for example, are sometimes required to pay house fees to a club in order to work. At times these fees are so high that the majority, if not all, of the dancer's tip money is owed to the club manager or owner. As with other sex workers, the stripper has little or no legal recourse in such a situation.

SEX WORKERS' RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Widespread exploitation of sex workers has led to a sex workers' rights movement in the United States and other countries. Although some argue that legalization and regulation of all facets of the sex industry is the best means of ensuring worker rights and safety, such measures are often not the goals of these sex workers' rights organizations. Many prostitutes, for example, worry that legalization and regulation of prostitution might adversely affect their profits or—as in the case of Nevada's brothel system—unfairly concentrate power in the hands of owners and managers rather than the workers themselves. There are, however, a number of organizations in the United States that advocate for workers' rights, improved disease prevention, and educational programs for both sex workers and the general public. Although in the United States such organizations—including Prostitutes of New York (PONY) and Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE)—wield relatively minimal political power, sex workers unions in other countries are a part of the larger labor movement and—as in the case of De Rode Draad (The Red Thread) in Amsterdam or the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee in Kolkata (Calcutta)—may have a more substantial political voice in their respective governments.

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Maureen Lauder

SEX MANUALS, ANCIENT WORLD

Evidence of the existence of this literary genre (as distinct from other forms of licentious literature) relies almost entirely on quotes found in repertories or encyclopedias (Athenaeus, second to third century CE; the Byzantine *Suda*, tenth century CE) or in parodies (most notably in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*). The only surviving textual fragment was found in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (early second century CE) and published by Edgar Lobel in 1972 (see Cataudella 1973). This fragment, highly damaged, contains the introduction to a work (*Peri Aphrodision*, i.e., "On the Things of Aphrodite") attributed to Philaenis (fourth century BCE). According to the *Suda* the originator of the genre was a woman, Astyanassa, a maid of Helen of Troy who wrote a treatise on sexual positions. As in the case of this mythical inventor, sources attribute almost all of the ancient manuals on sexual schemata to female writers, usually slaves or hetaerae who wrote drawing on personal experience. This feminine authorship is almost certainly a (slanderous) fictional cliché. In the case of the scholar and philosopher Pamphile of Epidaurus (first century CE), the hypothesis, quoted in the *Suda*, that her treatise (titled, traditionally, *Peri Aphrodision*) might have been authored by her father or her husband shows how problematic (either for the scandalous nature of the work or for the erudition that writing per se required) was the notion of a woman author who was not even a prostitute.

Scholars have suggested a close relationship between sex manuals and other "technical" books such as cookbooks, medical treatises, and other scientific works. Their appearance coincides with an era (between the end of classical Greece and the beginning of the Hellenistic age) when the episteme becomes dominated by a compulsory taxonomic attitude, stemming from the canonization of Aristotelian philosophy, and by the proliferation of systematic treatises on rhetoric. As Holt N. Parker (1992) points out, "the scientific classification extended not only to the parts of speech but also the figures of speech, the *Skhêmata* (Latin *figurae*), a word ambiguous between the positioning of words in a sentence and the positioning of bodies in a bed" (p. 101). In general, sex manuals were regarded as obscene not because of their sexual content but rather because they were perceived as advocating immoderate indulgence in luxury and pleasure (thus incurring the same condemnation levied against gourmet cookbooks). Uncontrollable appetites were considered inherently feminine, hence the feminine "authorship" ascribed to these works.

Ovid's reuse of sex-manual literature occurs in Book III (lines 769–788) of the *Ars Amatoria*, the one addressed to women (specifically, haeterae). Given the lack of more direct ones, this parody is a particularly valuable source. The author gives advice on eight different positions, all pertaining to the female body, clearly implying that the woman, not the man, is the raw material of the *Ars* (see Myerowitz 1985). According to modern feminist theorists, it is this objectification of the female body that makes these manuals intrinsically "pornographic" (a notion that in post-Foucauldian scholarship has become acceptable, though with varying terminology, also in reference to the ancient world. See Richlin 1992, pp. xi–xxii). Particularly noteworthy is that these manuals dealt only with heterosexual intercourse (and, possibly, the preliminaries of seduction), clearly aiming at enforcing a strictly hetereorotic normativity. In Parker's (1992) words, they "make their appearance at the time of a fundamental shift in Greek society from a predominantly aristocratic and homoerotic code to a bourgeois and heteroerotic code" (p. 104).

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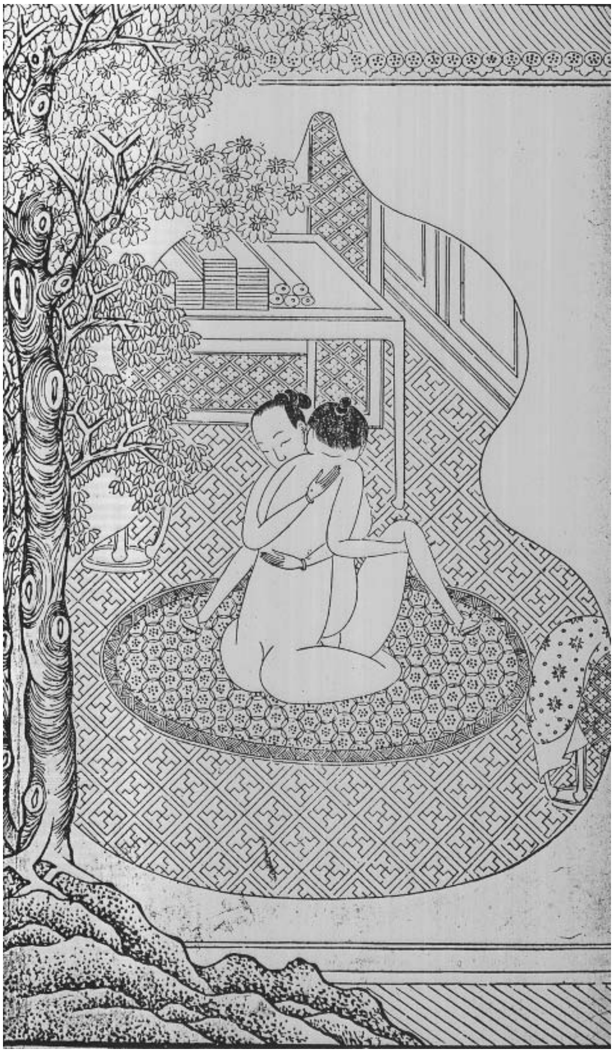
Paolo Fasoli

SEX MANUALS, CHINA

Throughout ancient Chinese history, sex was considered a natural and essential aspect of life; in fact, the Chinese words for sex and nature are the same, *xing*. Sex manuals reflect this general concept, as well as different religious beliefs, particularly Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism; sex manuals convey sex customs, philosophies, and sex techniques. The best-known manual is *Su Nu Jin* (The manual of lady purity)—of around the third century CE—in which the characters the Emperor and the Plain Girl discuss sexual benefits. Chinese sex manuals are unique in that they are often interwoven with teachings about philosophies, medicines, and the natural world and focus on health and longevity concerns. This category traditionally includes texts with or without explicit illustrations, and works of fiction or nonfiction that function as manuals. For example, a novel with explicit sexual narratives is often considered a sex manual.

Two famous works of Chinese erotic literature are *Su E Pian* (The lady of the moon), and *Jing Ping Mei* (The golden lotus), both of the seventeenth century. The former recounts forty-three lovemaking styles practiced by an imperial official and his consort in gardens and in the woods, with each tree or flower suggesting a new way for pleasuring each other. *Jing Ping Mei* offers a vivid account of the numerous sexual affairs of the fictitious Xi Men Qin, of his pleasures and of his perils.

Almost all Chinese sex manuals focus on the balance of yin and yang, two essential and opposing forces in the



An illustration From a Chinese Sex Manual. THE KINSEY INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SEX, GENDER, AND REPRODUCTION.

universe—embodied by female and male bodies, according to Taoism. The ultimate balance of yin and yang, through the sexual acts between the male and female, results in better health and longevity for both parties, though the benefits the male receives are often the primary concern.

Other Chinese sex manuals include *Yu Fang Mi Jue* (The secrets of the jade room), and *Yu Fang Zhi Yao* (Important guidelines of the jade room), covering topics such as foreplay, conception (usually of male offspring), sexual positions, and sexual energies; they incorporate sex into a general framework of the universe, presenting sex as a way to reach the harmonic balance of yin and yang. Sexual pleasures are derived from the physical unions of individuals, sometimes through multiple partners. Men are instructed to satisfy a woman to orgasm but to refrain from ejaculating. Marriage or social relationships are not necessary for a sexual union to occur.

After the socialist movement in 1949, traditional sex manuals were destroyed or denounced and disappeared until the 1980s, when they reappeared as part of the new national policy on family planning. One of the first published Chinese sex manuals was written by Ruan Fang Fu, titled *Xing De Shou Che* (Handbook of sex knowledge) (1985), introducing sex terms and opening discussions on sexual conduct; it sold more than 1 million copies. From the 1990s sex manuals have been popular on the streets and the bookstores. These are translations of sex manuals published in Europe and North America, as well as instructions for specific age or gender groups—adolescents, newlyweds, and seniors—on sexual development, marriage, sexual disease prevention, marital harmony, and most important, contraception. When the act of sexual intercourse itself is covered, the manuals specify that it occurs between married, heterosexual couples.

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Liana Hong Zhou

SEX MANUALS, INDIA

Sexual references, symbolism, and discussions of the erotic are common in Indian literature, where the erotic is often expressed in divine consort figures and in human couples in ritual embrace (*maithuna*). In this context intercourse for ritual purposes, sexual activity for pleasure *(rati)* within the institution of marriage, and a specialization of Āyurvedic study on sexology are key. In the Atharvaveda, for example, there are spells to win a woman's (or man's) love, to recover a man's virility or to make a man impotent, and to rally Kāma, the god of love, in some cause. In the *Gṛhyasūtras* (domestic practices) there are detailed prescriptions for what is to happen sexually on the wedding night, as well as ritual mantras for successful coupling; in the *Dharmasūtras* (law), there are rules covering when, how, and under what circumstances sexual intercourse can take place between husband and wife; and in the Yogasūtras, there are techniques for controlling the energy of male and female sexual organs.

The *Kāmasūtra* (known in Europe and North America as the *Kama Sutra*) is the most important Indian sexual manual, being an educational book on *kāma* or *sensuality*, to be studied by men and women as part of the development of the other three aims of life, that is, *dharma* (personal duties), *artha* (worldly affairs), and *mokṣa* (liberation). Kāma covers aspects of courtship such as choosing a bride, gaining her confidence, useful games and tricks, and various types of adverse marriage—for example, *gandharva vivāha* (by theft—a love marriage opposed by the parents of bride and groom), Ā*āsura vivāha* (by purchase), *paiśāca vivāha* (by drug or alcohol intoxication), and *rākṣasa vivāha* (the violent seizure or rape of the woman after the defeat of her relatives). Giving advice primarily for the well-off, the *Kāmasūtra* details a wife's running of the household and the politics of harem women—including wives, mistresses, servants, and slaves, all of whom are involved in hierarchies of status, economics, and sexual favor. There is counsel for the wife who is neglected, and for illicit love—adulterous relations between men and married women, courtesans, or loose women, most of which are handled with the help of a go-between.

What the *Kāmasūtra* is most known for, however, is a chapter on lovemaking that details issues of compatibility, various types of embraces, kisses, nail marks and love bites, positions for lovemaking, love blows and love cries, and oral sex. The manual ends with a section on aphrodisiacs and spells and the admonition that, even though the text details various sexual practices, it must always be used with wisdom and with mindfulness of the appropriateness of the context.

While not exactly sex manuals, Hindu Tantras describe and illuminate the use of sexual union *(maithuna)* for spiritual progress. *Maithuna*, or a couple in close embrace, is one of the five *m*'s used in the ritual indulgence of Tantra, the other four being *madya* (alcoholic drink), *māṁsa* (meat), *matsya* (fish), and *mudrā* (symbolic hand gesture). Hindu Tantra cultivates activity that arouses the libido, awakening dormant energies for expression in sexual intercourse. This energy is then yoked to rituals, yoga, and meditation in order to propel human consciousness toward blissful enlightenment. In some Hindu Tantra orgasm is an analogue to the fire sacrifice: the rubbing of sexual organs is the friction of the fire sticks, male ejaculation is the poured oil, and the female vagina is the altar on which the oil is poured. Moreover, each of the four Hindu ages of time has corresponding religious literature for orthodox Hindus, and Tantra belongs to the last age, the *Kaliyuga*.

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Ellison Banks Findly

SEX MANUALS, ISLAM

Despite the image that many contemporaries wish to cultivate, premodern Islam was open and frank on questions of sexuality. This included discussions in anecdotal collections and, of course *The Arabian Nights*. But the most important sources of material on sexual practices were the ubiquitous sex manuals. Far from being marginal (or being considered pornographic), such manuals were frequently written by educated individuals, such as North-African jurist Ahmad al-Tîfâshî (d. 1253).

The situation at the turn of the twenty-first century is in many ways different. The neopuritanical strain that is so prominent in the late-twentieth, early twenty-first-century Islamic revival (and especially in its political wing, the Islamists) has combined with the remains of a Victorian prudery that developed under European colonial influence. The result has been to largely drive these sex manuals underground. As the majority of these sex manuals are censored in the Arab lands of the Middle East and North Africa, it has been left up to Arab exiles in European capitals with large Arab populations, such as London, to make them available. This is presently the case for the famous works by Tîfâshî, al-Tijânî (d. after 1309), and Umar Ibn Muhammad Nafzâwî (d. after 1324).

A diligent search will, however, turn up local editions of classical sex manuals. In Morocco in the 1990s, manuals were on sale in a market in Taroudant, and an edition of the famous sex manual (old, worn, and in Arabic), *Ruju' al-Shaykh ilâ Sibah* [The return of the old man to his youth] by Ibn Kâmâl Bâshâ was available at the well-known and colorful market in the Djemaa el-Fna in Marrakesh. Probably not coincidentally, the edition listed no place or date of publication. Despite its title, *The Return of the Old Man to His Youth* is actually a comprehensive sex manual. The range of clandestine availability and the integration into social practices is indicated by the fact that a Christian Palestinian told this author that in the Mediterranean village that was his hometown, the men possessed one copy of the book that was handed from one young man to the next when it was time for their marriage.

The sex manuals combined practical information with anecdotes or stories that were both illustrative of the variety of sexual behaviors (including between women) and entertaining. The practical material included sexual positions (for oral as well as vaginal sex) and advice on foods or medicines that could promote or support sexual activity. Advice was also available on practices or products to induce or reduce the chances of conception.

Many of these works were translated into European languages and diffused in those countries in the nineteenth century. As Jamâl Jum'a makes clear in his introduction to his edition of Nafzâwî's *The Perfumed Garden*, this sexual manual (as was others) was published secretly in the Islamic world with no indication of the date of publication or the publisher, even though its translation into European languages ran the gamut from English through German and Danish to French.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

SEX MANUALS, JAPAN

As with sex manuals of other languages and cultures, Japanese sex manuals are illustrated sexual instructions or stories to inform, educate, and entertain the young, newlyweds, or other audiences. Japanese sex manuals are often known as *shunga*, meaning spring pictures—spring signifies the beginning of a life cycle and is often used interchangeable with the word *sex*. *Shunga* is a term used for erotic paintings, prints, and illustrations. Another common name for the Japanese sex manual is *pillow book*, which refers to the book format or scrolls of stories or poetry with illustrations of artistic expressions of pleasure and joy.

Because of their essential artistic component, Japanese sex manuals are often considered synonymous with erotic art. Most of the books are illustrated with colorful, wood-block prints known as *ukiyo-e*, meaning the floating world, an art form that flourished from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The wood-block prints are issued as singles or in book form, with eight or twelve pictures of sexual positions, accompanied by narrative text.

Shunga with *ukiyo-e* prints are perhaps the best-known sex manuals since the seventeenth century; however, sex manuals existed in Japan long before then. *The Tale of Genji*, a classic of Japanese literature written circa 1000 by Murasaki Shikibu, was rich with the sexual relations and love affairs of Prince Genji. Scrolls or rolls based on this and other erotic stories were made and copied and became widely available among the rich as well as the general public. Inspiration for these sex manuals derived from folklore, the Kabuki theater, pleasure houses and their famous courtesans, as well as Chinese sex manuals.

Whereas most of the authors of the sex manuals were unknown, the contributing artists were identifiable. Hishikawa Moronobu (1618–c. 1694), one of the first *shunga* artists intensely interested in book illustrations, is known for his adaptation of Chinese erotic prints of the Ming period. Kitagawa Utamaro (1753–1806) illustrated *Ehon Warai-jigo* (Book of pictures outside all traditions [Mandel 1983]). Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), perhaps the best-known *ukiyo-e* artist, created the three-volume erotic book of *Manpuku wagojin* (The fat-bellied god of profit [Mandel 1983]), detailing in pictures and narration the lives and sexual journeys of two women, Osane and Otsubi.

Japanese sex manuals cover a wide range of topics, including body parts, courtship, sexual intercourse, oral sex, masturbation, sadomasochism, masochism, and prostitution. It is also not uncommon to see coverage of incest, bestiality, voyeurism, and rape as part of the sexual plots revolving around the characters. Sexual expressions were often associated with the character development contained within the narrations.

A few aspects of the Japanese sex manuals are culturally specific: The characters are seldom completely nude, and genital organs are often exaggeratedly enlarged. Children are present in most of these books, which may suggest the openness of sexual attitudes in Japan.

Contemporary sex manuals are produced following the artistic tradition and traditional sexual expressions, but the best known are produced as *manga*, the popular comic books that are widely available for all ages. Sexual messages or sexual instructions are delivered to targeted audiences often specified by gender and age group.

SEE ALSO *Sex Manuals, Ancient World; Sex Manuals, China; Sex Manuals, India; Sex Manuals, Islam; Sex Manuals, Old and Modern West.*

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Liana Zhou

SEX MANUALS, OLD AND MODERN WEST

Sex manuals are books that contain pictures and/or texts that instruct how to perform sexual intercourse and other sexual practices. Some sex manuals may also include therapeutic sex and intimacy exercises, advice on various methods of birth control, and/or advice on relationship and marital matters (which may or may not include sexual intercourse). Sexual literature in the form of sex manuals and erotic art has existed in European and North American cultures throughout history. Shifts in political climate and obscenity laws have at times influenced the proliferation of sex manuals; however, black markets and underground sources have enabled the literature to endure such restrictions.

Contemporary sex manuals include not only typical sex behaviors and practices but also various other forms of sex, such as oral sex (fellatio and cunnilingus), anal sex for both heterosexual and homosexual audiences, as well as an array of various sexual positions and behaviors that challenge the traditional discourse of sex. In contemporary sex guides masturbation techniques may also be included as a new self-help method for achieving sexual gratification and orgasm. Despite historical and contemporary differences, sex manuals have existed to facilitate what is socially and culturally believed to be healthy sexual behavior.

THE ANCIENT AND EARLY WEST

Some of the oldest documented sex manuals and sexual literature derives from the ancient Greek and Roman cultures. Sexual imagery lined the walls of baths and brothels in ancient times, serving the same purpose of images found in contemporary manuals. Some of the most famous images of ancient Roman times were found in the excavation of the Stabian Bath of Pompeii. At Stabian, the walls were covered in frescos depicting various sexual acts, positions, techniques, and sex behaviors that are believed to be representative of ancient Roman sex practices.

Between about 1 BCE and 1 CE, Ovid, an ancient Roman poet, wrote one of the oldest sex manuals of the West to include text. The manual was titled *Ars Amatoria* [The art of love] and contained three separate books in a series, each written in verse. The first two books were directed at a male audience, one advising how to win a woman's heart and another on how to maintain her as a lover and partner. The third book in the series addressed women, advising ways for them to lure men to their hearts. Though the practicality of the books may be limited in regard to sexual practice, it does give a historic view of gender roles and relations in ancient European culture.

In the seventeenth century an anonymous author using the pen name Aristotle composed his *Master-Piece*, a popular guide to sex and procreation. Essentially, the book presented the traditional Christian view of intercourse, which included that sexual intercourse should only be conducted in the sanction of legal marriage and for the exclusive purpose of procreation. Underlining this point *Aristotle's Experienced Midwife* was often attached to *Aristotle's Master-Piece*, which maintained mainstream popularity well into the nineteenth century.

In spite of modern attitudes toward sexuality and sex in Europe and North America, sex manuals were completely banned in the United States and some parts of Europe at various times, particularly in what is known as the Victorian period. During this time most sexual materials consisted of either illicit pornography obtained from other countries or from underground markets. Sexual information was only available to doctors and other medical professionals, focusing primarily on sexual disorders or dysfunctions (e.g., female hysteria, vaginismus, and erectile dysfunction). Often these texts were written in Latin, limiting their accessibility to the general population. Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), a German sexologist, was one of the few professionals of the late nineteenth century to write and publish sexual information for the medical field with his book *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study*.

SEX MANUALS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The twentieth century was one the most evolutionary centuries for sex manuals. During this time sex manuals transitioned from medical literature for professionals to sex and marital information for the general public. The earliest sexual literature in the twentieth century focused specifically on marriage and birth control. Marie Carmichael Stopes (1880–1958) was one of the first Scottish women in Europe to complete a doctorate in science. Her scientific knowledge allotted her the authority to write *Married Love* (1920), one of the most influential sex manuals in Europe. *Married Love* was the first sex manual to raise radical notions of egalitarian marriage and equality in sexual pleasure. Stopes's book emphasized the importance of female orgasm, as well as shared emotional intimacy between partners, both before and after *union* (the metaphor Stopes used for sex). Another female author to write about sex and marriage was Margaret Sanger (1879–1966), an American birth control activist who also founded Planned Parenthood. Sanger was one of the first women to gain public and political support for a woman's choice to determine how and when she will bear children. Her book *Happiness in Marriage* (1926) not only discussed sex and marital issues but included information about pregnancy and birth control. This was the first time mainstream North American and European culture had access to nonmedicalized birth control information.

In the 1960s there was a significant shift in the content of sex manuals. The tone and style advanced from discussion of marital practice and procreation to sexual practice for pleasure and orgasm. During this time sex manuals first began to gain mainstream popularity in Europe and North America. Physician David Reuben published one of the first sex manuals, *Everything You always Wanted to Know about Sex, But Were Afraid to Ask* in 1969. Reuben's book was filled with descriptions of sex acts, but to avoid being considered obscene, the book did not include any sexual pictures or diagrams. In the 1970s, however, a plethora of sex manuals were introduced to mainstream European and North American culture. Alex Comfort, a psychologist, was one of the first authors to publish a fully illustrated sex manual that included various sexual positions and sexual practices (including fellatio, cunnilingus, bisexuality, threesomes) in his seminal book *The Joy of Sex*. Comfort's book was free of medical jargon and terminology, making it one of the first books intended for a popular audience. In response to the women's liberation movement and the development of women's reproductive rights, research psychologists Julia Heiman, Leslie LoPiccolo, and Joseph LoPiccolo wrote *Becoming Orgasmic* in 1976. This sex manual focused completely on the achievement of orgasm, marking the first time a sex manual had solely focused on female pleasure and enjoyment. As sex manuals began to focus more explicitly on pleasure, greater variation in sexual behavior was represented in the texts. *The Joy of Sex* only touched on the topic of bisexuality, but in the late 1970s, Charles Silverstein and Edmund White broadened their scope of behaviors in *The Joy of Gay Sex*, which targeted a gay male audience.

In the 1980s a flurry of sex manuals was published, giving rise to terms like *sex therapist* and *sexpert*, two professions that described individuals who were considered professionals of sexual knowledge. During this time Ruth Westheimer became one of the most publicized sex therapists in North America and Europe. Her earliest books, *First Love: A Young People's Guide to Sexual Information* (1985) and *Dr. Ruth's Guide for Married Lovers* (1986), were filled with information about relationships, marriage, sex, sexual positions, and sexual exploration. However, some critics have perceived her work to be a conservative approach to the milieu of sex and too exclusively directed at married heterosexuals. Conversely, Paul Joannides, a research psychoanalyst, took a more liberal approach to sex in his book *The Guide to Getting It On!: For Adults of All Ages* (1996). Joannides's book explores a wide range of sexual practices and behaviors that he describes as varying from traditional to kink, and is written like a sexual encyclopedia for an average reader.

In contemporary context *sexperts* (individuals who have self-educated on sex and sexuality through both experience and/or independent research) began to write sex manuals and guides from a new perspective. Authors Cathy Winks and Anne Semans penned *The Good Vibrations Guide to Sex: The Most Complete Manual* (1994), which is considered one of the most extensive layperson's guide to sex. Their expertise developed from working at Good Vibrations, the sexuality product retailer based in San Francisco, California. The sexpert approach allows authors to use their experience from working in the sex-toy industry to reach a wide audience of readers who may be looking to try new sexual practices. The context is explicit and straightforward and contains less medical or academic language, making these books more accessible to a wider audience.

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Brandon J. Hill

SEX MUSEUMS

Beginning in 1985 with Amsterdam's Venus Temple, sex museums have become a special genre of museum display. Their subject matter is sexuality in all of its manifestations, from masturbation to group sex, erotic art, erotic objects, books and manuscripts, furniture, sex toys, and sexual subcultures. The collections of such museums span histories and cultures from ancient China, Africa, and Central America to modern Europe and North America. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, there were sex museums on four continents: the Ancient Chinese Sex Culture Museum in Tongli, China, and in Seoul, New York, Paris, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Berlin, Hamburg, Copenhagen, and Canberra, Australia. Most sex museums are privately owned and operated, as many governments do not envision collections about sexuality as central to history or civic memory.

The functions of a museum are to organize and display significant historical artifacts, especially those items that might otherwise be lost or forgotten. The purpose of such display is to preserve the past, provide a sense of the foundations and precursors to current practices, and show the variety of beliefs and folkways humanity has embraced. Sex museums may also arrange their materials thematically to enable museum-goers to explore various aspects of human sexuality. To accomplish these ends, museums think carefully about the design of their displays, often making sure that the mode of display reproduces the feeling or environment of the display's topic. The designers of New York's Museum of Sex, for example, tried to produce an architectural space that would enable the museum to "re-evaluate ideas and concepts" about sex.

Sexual artifacts are not, however, the typical material for museologists. Most museums of fine art define such art as not specifically erotic. This does not mean that fine art museums do not display work that has sexual content, but rather that the work's value lies more in its accomplishment as art than in its ability to communicate erotic content. Natural history museums and historical societies do not understand specifically sexual material as their province either, which means that most collection and display of erotica is left to private individuals and foundations.

Most sex museums are legitimate, even scholarly displays of carefully collected artifacts whose cultural uses have been scrupulously documented and analyzed. Understanding the ways various cultures have treated issues of sexuality is one of the main purposes of displaying sexual artifacts. Because sexual issues are central but often regarded as private, the history of sexual practices is often much harder to trace and display than those events typically regarded as either culturally or politically important. For this reason, some sex museums often carefully consider the relations between artifacts and the way they display them, making

Museum of Sex Director Discuses Artwork. *The director of New York's Museum of Sex, discusses several pieces of artwork on display.* AP IMAGES.

them less objects of titillation or embarrassment than integral parts of domestic existence. The age, beauty, and value of many of the objects provide a sense of sexuality as a central and revered part of most cultures.

Many of the artifacts displayed in sex museums are considered works of fine art. Erotic paintings and etchings from ancient China and Japan mix with manuscripts of the *Kama Sutra*, African and Maori wood carvings, and Aztec images. Many museums house works by such masters as Pablo Picasso, Joan Miro, Aubrey Beardsley, Otto Dix, and Jean Cocteau as well as celebrities like John Lennon. Such paintings and etchings depict a variety of subjects either exhibiting sexual behaviors and acts or rendering scenes associated with sexual behavior. Paintings of sexual positions and practices, sexual parts, fetish objects, and subjects in the act of enjoying sexual activity constitute the body of erotic art. These works are often more explicit than the more subtle eroticism of typical art museum displays.

Sculptures range from global folk art renditions of sexual symbols and Indian temple art to work by contemporary sculptors. Some carved items, such as Maori wood carvings or Indian temple sculptures, depict sexual activity, while others once served as fertility symbols or objects in sexual or religious rituals. Yet other sculptures, such as carved dildos, served as sex toys.

The museum collections include books, manuscripts, and scrolls that are sex manuals, collections of instructions and advice, and erotic stories. Along with books, museums also often display other printed material in the form of erotic postcards, photographs, magazines, advertisements, games, and comic books.

The more unusual items sex museums display, however, include sex toys, sex aids, and sex furniture. Most museums have large collections of dildos and erotic items such as clamps and restraints, erotic clothing, leather outfits, and shoes. Several museums feature erotic furniture, such as male masturbation chairs or chairs that raise women's hips for intercourse. One museum, The Shanghai Museum of Sex Culture, even displays a mask used to cover the genitals after death.

Museums also collect and screen erotic films, provide sexual biographies of celebrities, and document sexual subcultures such as 1970s disco culture or leather cultures in various cities or the history of burlesque. To do this, many museums also try to produce "experiences," displays that organize as a coordinated production multiple aspects of a single phenomenon, such as the clothing, fetishes, music, and famous figures of leather culture, or the costumes, music, and tools of strippers, or artifacts from gay male cruising culture. Many exhibits documenting such multifaceted phenomena are multimedia, merging the museum's archival qualities with entertainment as well as a serious reconsideration of the part such subcultures have played in history as well as in the development of sexual communities.

Many sex museums are tourist attractions, located in urban areas known for their nightclubs. Amsterdam's two sex museums are both located near the city's red light district, while Hamburg's Erotic Art Museum resides in the Reeperbahn (an area known for its sexually oriented businesses) and Paris's Musée de l'Erotisme is situated in Pigalle close to the Moulin Rouge. For tourists who frequent these more sexually charged areas, sex museums are also a site for titillation, and the value of a museum lies in its ability to provide a varied and sexually stimulating experience here this is also modified by the idea of those museums located in explicit areas.

SEE ALSO *Sex Manuals, Ancient World; Sex Manuals, China; Sex Manuals, India; Sex Manuals, Islam; Sex Manuals, Old and Modern West.*

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Judith Roof

SEX MUSEUMS, CHINESE

There are two major publicly known collections of sex-related art objects in China, one in Tongli (Jiangsu Province) and one in Beijing. The former is the China Sex Museum, founded by Liu Dalin, a retired sociology professor. It has six branch museums throughout the country. The Tongli museum displays 1,500 objects covering 9,000 years of Chinese sexual culture and is organized into four categories: prehistoric times, women and marriage, sex in everyday life, and unconventional sexual behavior. Some of the items presented include brothel coins, clay vessels, porcelain figurines, and erotic paintings. The museum first opened in Shanghai in 1999, moved to a second location in the city in 2001, and opened at its current location in December 2003. Shanghai officials had prevented Liu from using the word *sex* in advertising the museum, tour books from designating the museum as a *scenic location*, and a state-run tourism company from lending its support.

Another showing of sexual objects also ran into trouble. In October 2003 Ma Xiaonian, deputy head of Beijing Sexual Health Research Association, organized the "Exhibition of Sex Culture" in Beijing with 700 artifacts, but it closed after one day when the display room became overcrowded. As of October 2004 the exhibition, retitled "Sex and Reproductive Health Sciences Exhibition," had nine rooms displaying 1,400 items. They include objects of stone, jade, ceramic, and porcelain, as well as marriage certificates and mail-order-bride forms. The museum has a few to a few hundred visitors per day.

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Donna J. Drucker

SEX, RACE, AND POWER: AN INTERSECTIONAL STUDY

In 1983 Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press republished *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. This uncompromisingly political and brutally honest anthology of "prose, poetry, personal narrative and analysis by Afro-American, Asian American, Latina, and Native American women" (the reader may check the back cover of that book), which had gone out of print even before its original publisher ceased operation, soon became a staple in many women's studies classes, and by 1986 it had sold more than 65,000 copies and won the Before Columbus Foundation American Book Award. *Bridge* raised the consciousness of a generation of U. S.

feminists about the intersections of gender, race, and class, as well as the interlocking nature of the multiple oppressions that women of color have had to endure and overcome. It is therefore fitting to preface this interrogation of the complex relationships between *sex* and *power* with this tribute to *Bridge*, to acknowledge an intellectual and political debt. The approach taken in this essay is also informed by critical race feminist theory.

Critical race feminist theory emerged in the early 1990s out of two schools of radical legal thought: critical legal theory and critical race theory. Adrien Katherine Wing explains in her introduction to *Critical Race Feminism: A Reader* (1997) that a group of feminist legal theorists, most of whom were women of color, became impatient with the fact that its antecedents and mainstream feminism continued to marginalize women of color. They envisioned critical race feminism to be a corrective to these omissions and a commitment to deconstruct and dismantle structures of power that oppress women of color.

Long before the term *critical race feminism* entered the academic lexicon, Barbara Smith and members of the Combahee River Collective (founded in Boston in 1974) were already practicing this form of politics, which Smith details in "A Black Feminist Statement": "We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women's lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously" (1983, p. 213).

Smith does not see her work as that of staking out a separate feminist movement; rather, she struggles to make it more inclusive and responsive to the realities of all women's lives. She writes, "A political contribution which we feel we have already made is the expansion of the feminist principle that the personal is political. In our consciousness-raising sessions, for example, we have in many ways gone beyond white women's revelations because we are dealing with the implications of race and class as well as sex" (p. 213).

Critical race feminism also requires taking an intersectional approach, defined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in her groundbreaking article "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color" as "a methodology that will ultimately disrupt the tendencies to see race and gender as exclusive or separable" (1985, p. 378). Understanding and practicing the intersectional approach is more than an academic exercise. For example, in policy deliberations about domestic violence, before pushing through mandatory arrest legislation, one would have to ask what might be the consequences for women of color who are victims of domestic violence, if such a law was enacted. One would have to ask, given their experience with police brutality in communities of color, whether mandatory arrest laws might actually prevent women of color from seeking law enforcement intervention, for fear of jeopardizing the life of their abusive partners? As Crenshaw puts it, "The effort to politicize violence against women will do little to address the experience of black and other nonwhite women until the ramifications of racial stratification among women are acknowledged. At the same time the antiracist agenda will not be furthered by suppressing the reality of intraracial violence against women of color" (p. 374).

How, then, would such a theoretical perspective illuminate a vexed question such as the relations between sex and power for instance? "Sexuality as a term of power belongs to the empowered," argues literary critic Hortense Spillers in "Interstices: A Small Drama of Words" (1985, p. 73). Perhaps a good place to begin is to identify who are the *empowered*.

ANATOMY OF OPPRESSION

The work of Iris Marion Young is a good entry point for this section. Tapping into her experience as a political theorist and advocate for social justice, Young devised a framework of analysis that does not limit oppression to mean only "the exercise of tyranny by a ruling group" or "conquest and colonial domination." Instead, oppression is "structural, rather than the result of a few people's choices or policies. Its causes are embedded in unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols, in the assumptions underlying institutional rules and the collective consequences of following those rules." Young agrees with French political theorist Michel Foucault that to fully understand how oppression operates it is necessary to "analyze the exercise of power as the effect of often liberal and 'humane' practices of education, bureaucratic administration, production and distribution of consumer goods, medicine, and so on" (1990, pp. 40–41). Furthermore, Young identifies "five faces of oppression": exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence (pp. 48–63).

If Young's framework is applied to an analysis of women's oppression, the analysis cannot be limited to scrutinizing only patriarch, and even as attention is focused on patriarch, it should be kept in mind that patriarch affects women (and men) differently, based on race, class, sexual orientation, and other factors. Cynthia Enloe, author of numerous articles and books on the impact of globalization and militarization on women's daily lives, believes that it is impossible to discuss the constructions and systems of power without talking about patriarchy. She points out that patriarchy is "rarely self-perpetuating" but requires "daily tending" (Cohn and Enloe 2003, pp. 1191–1192).

In most societies gender roles, definitions of femininity and masculinity, myths, laws, customs and/or religious practices, are some of the instruments used to perpetuate patriarchy. An overt example of the daily tending that Enloe refers to is the ideology of sexuality that underpinned rape laws in China during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). In 1646 the Qing government enacted a law that made it very difficult for women to prove that they were rape victims. For the crime of rape to be irrefutably established, the victim was required to provide evidence that she had struggled against her assailant *throughout* the entire ordeal. Such evidence had to include: (1) witnesses, either eyewitnesses or people who had heard the victim's cry for help; (2) bruises and lacerations on her body; and (3) torn clothing. Moreover, when violence had been used initially, but subsequently the woman had submitted "voluntarily" to the act, the case was not considered rape, but one of "illicit intercourse by mutual consent," in which case the women would be subject to punishment. Additionally, the law stipulated that when a man, having witnessed an illicit affair, proceeded to force himself on the woman, the incident could not be regarded as rape, because the woman was already a fornicator. In such a case the incident would be considered one of "illicit sexual intercourse in which both parties intrigued to meet away from the woman's house" and the punishment for both parties would be 100 blows with a heavy bamboo stick (Ng 1987, p. 58).

It is plausible that the main thrust of the rape law was to ensure that women in Qing China would forcefully defend their chastity, even if it meant giving up their lives. Such an interpretation would make the Qing rape law both misogynic and sadistic, but so too was the cult of chastity. "It is a small matter to starve to death, but a serious matter to lose one's virtue" was only one of many aphorisms used to indoctrinate young women in Qing China. Women were expected to be chaste even after being widowed, and widow remarriage was fiercely opposed by Neo-Confucian moralists. The Qing state celebrated chaste widowhood by erecting memorial arches in honor of widows who had lived up to what society demanded of them. The prestige accorded widows after decades of self-denial extracted a heavy price, and many widows found that they could not bear it. Suicide committed by widows was not uncommon (Ng 1987, p. 60).

Glorification of chastity is not unique to the Chinese, of course, and history is full of similar examples from different cultures and across different epochs. Cross-cultural studies of rape and rape laws uncover commonalities in ideologies of female sexuality and further the understanding of the power of patriarchy. At the same time *whitewashing* women's experience of violence against their persons must be avoided. As mentioned in the previous section, critical race feminists fault liberal feminist legal theorists for their failure to *race* patriarchy. It is also important to avoid the simplistic characterization of Third World women as victims of *traditional practices* that have not changed over time; otherwise, there is the always and present danger of becoming complicit with performing acts of cultural imperialism.

SOCIAL SCRIPTS

Shortly after 1 A.M. on January 10, 1993, Truong Loc Minh, a Vietnamese immigrant, was viciously beaten by a gang of young white men in Laguna Beach, California, in an area of town where three gay bars were located. Police who were called to the scene suggested that it was a hate crime. But what kind of hate crime was it? The *Los Angeles Times* covered it as a gay-bashing incident and Truong's ethnicity was mentioned only once in the story. The Chinese-language *International Daily*, on the other hand, reported it as a case of Asian-bashing and went out of its way to assure its readers that Truong was not gay.

In *Williamson* v. *A. G. Edwards* & *Son Inc.*, Williamson, an African-American man, accused his employer of discriminating against him because of his race and sued for reinstatement. A. G. Edwards, however, insisted that Williamson was dismissed solely because of his homosexuality—specifically, that he wore makeup at work and talked openly about his *lifestyle*. The judge ruled against Williamson because his claim of racial discrimination could not be substantiated.

In *Watkins* v. *US Army*, Sgt. Perry Watkins, an African American, appealed successfully to the Ninth Circuit after his discharge from the army in 1981 because of his homosexuality. This case has been widely touted as a victory for lesbian and gay rights because the Ninth Circuit found the army's policy unconstitutional because it singled out homosexuals on the basis of who they were—that is, their sexual identity. Watkins's race has been practically ignored; indeed, except for the occasional reference to his race in the original discharge papers, that he is black would not have surfaced at all (Ng 1997, pp. 222–224).

The invisibility of lesbians and gay men of color is a reality that has been socially scripted. This script is a product of cultural imperialism that Iris Marion Young explains in the following manner:

> The culturally dominated groups undergo a paradoxical oppression, in that they are both marked out by stereotypes and at the same time rendered invisible. As remarkable, deviant beings, the culturally imperialized are stamped with an essence. The stereotypes confine them to a nature which is often attached in some way to their bodies, and which thus cannot easily be denied. These stereotypes so permeate the society that they are not noticed as contestable.
>
> *(1990, p. 59)*

Thus, in dominant discourse, Asian and black men cannot be gay and gay men cannot be Asian or black.

Academic disciplines or fields of study themselves can operate as dominant groups in enforcing monolithic discourses of sex and power. In her article "The Power of Patriarchy," Jennifer P. Ting calls on her colleagues in Asian-American studies to extend their inquiry to include overt discussions of sexuality. The fear of the construct "sexuality," which in Asian-American studies has been used to mean "orgasm, vaginal-penile intercourse, homosexual existence, sexual identities," has obscured an already existing component of their work. "For example, the assertion that Asian Americans don't write or talk about sexuality implies that discussions of immigration and marriage, anti-miscegenation laws, dating and socialization, prostitutes, political eunuchs, and the standards of beauty are not also, to some degree, discussions of sexuality." (1998, p. 65) Even in instances where Asian-American scholars broach the subject of sexuality, their discussion normalizes heterosexuality and avoids homosexuality altogether. David Eng, in his book *Racial Castration* (2001) explains the consequences of this narrow scripting of Asian-American experiences: It entails the failure to link the *feminized* nature of work that early Asian-American men were allowed to do, for example, in laundries and restaurants, to the stereotype of Asian-American men as asexual; in other words, failure to explain how they have been *racially castrated* in America. Being able to define instead of being defined is central to affirming sexual agency.

In the early 1980s Spillers surveyed the terrain of public discourse and discovered that African-American female sexuality has been rendered invisible or distorted. In 1991 Anita Hill's testimony against Clarence Thomas, who had been nominated to a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court by President George H. W. Bush, at the U.S. Senate confirmation hearings divided the African-American community. The essayist bell hooks (1998) writes about how her sisters were scandalized whenever she stood naked in front of the mirror. A common thread runs through these three examples: the history of slavery and colonialism. Frantz Fanon, writing about the legacy of European and North American colonialism in *Black Skin, White Masks*, states bluntly that "the Negro is eclipsed. He is turned into a penis. He *is* a penis" (1970, p. 120). Paula Giddings explains that the Thomas hearings were especially traumatic for the African-American community because both men and women had to face the "last taboo," sexual violence committed against African-American women by African-American men. This is a taboo subject because racism has scripted black men to be rapists of white women and, so as to explain away the endemic rape of slave women by their masters, black women have been scripted as "morally obtuse," "openly licentious," and having no sense of morality whatsoever (1992, p. 444). Confronting this taboo would mean opening old wounds and risking distortions (again) by an uninformed public.

THE EROTIC AS POWER

The prudery of her sisters, explains hooks, is rooted in slavery: "Naked with shame on auction blocks. Black female slaves watched the world that was our body change. Nakedness that cannot be covered must be forgotten, shrouded in the cloaks of modesty" (1998, p. 65). For black women to reclaim their lives, they must first rehabilitate their bodies. To achieve this goal they must dismantle white supremacy *and* sexism, including internalized sexism: "Every day of our lives black females are assaulted by images of ourselves constructed by the white racist/sexist imagination.... The 'shame' that such images evoke in individual black women has yet to be fully named.... We must ... decolonize our minds and imaginations in ways that empower us to create subversive and alternative images" (p. 73).

There is no better way to conclude this exegesis on critical race feminist theory's reading of power than to invoke Audre Lorde's 1984 essay "Uses of the Erotic: the Erotic as Power," because she shows women how to decolonize their minds. This essay is an affirmation and celebration of the possibility of genuine connections that can be made between and among women. Some women are afraid to do so because the erotic has been misnamed and distorted into the pornographic, but by giving in to this fear, they have deprived themselves of a powerful, transformative force:

> Recognizing the power of the erotic within our lives can give us the energy to pursue genuine change within our world, rather than merely settling for a shift of characters in the same weary drama. For not only do we touch our most profoundly creative source, but we do that which is female and self-affirming in the face of a racist, patriarchal, and anti-erotic society.
>
> *(p. 59)*

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Courtesans; Domination; Family; Hierarchy; Prostitution; Queens.*

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Vivien Ng

SEX RESEARCH

Sex research addresses sex, gender, and human sexuality as a legitimate field of scientific inquiry. Within its status as sexual science, sex research has manifested itself in a variety of ways. From its romantic origins with psychologist Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), to the rigorous empiricism of biologist and sex researcher Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956), to the politicized feminism of sex researcher Shere Hite (b. 1942), sex research has attempted to provide an encompassing picture of sexual practice and behavior. By its very nature the science of sexuality is multidisciplinary and has been conducted across medical, legal, psychological, sociological, anthropological, biological, endocrinological, and epidemiological fields. Across these disciplines sex research may employ quantitative or qualitative methodologies and thus does not produce one coherent view on sex or its study. Qualitative studies focus more on discussion and the discursive contours and construction of sexuality. Quantitative research is more interested in discovering truths about sexuality and as a result is more prone to measuring, counting, and diagnosing sexual behavior and abnormality. Even with these methodological differences, most sex researchers have been motivated in some way by the urge to combat sexual ignorance and repression, whereas more contemporary sex researchers contend with shifts in the sexual climate such as the global pandemic of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), the commercialization of sex in high capitalism, and meeting the needs of clients in the wide-ranging sex-therapy industry. Despite the urgency of many of these concerns, much resistance and opposition has been mounted against sex research and sexual science, making the development of sex research in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries illustrative of the shifts in cultural attitudes toward sex and sexuality.

SEXUAL MODERNISM AND SEX RESEARCH

Sex research as a systematic science was born in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century under the name of *sexualwissenschaft*, or *sexology*. For the most part early sexologists did not focus their writing on sex research per se. Physician Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), Ellis, and psychiatrist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) are all sexual modernists whose work contested what they perceived to be Victorian prudery and repression. The work of all three attempted to broaden the range of legitimate sexual behavior and, in doing so, managed to revolutionize views on sexual energy, sexual desire, and female sexuality. The work of early sexology relied heavily on stories, whether literature, myth, case studies, or sexual case histories, as is evidenced by the thirty-three biographies at the heart of Ellis's treatise on homosexuality, *Sexual Inversion* (1897), or Freud's tracts on such renowned cases as the Wolf-Man and Dora or the Oedipus complex. These early sexologists were also trained in psychology and medicine, which provided them legitimate means to gather these stories and ultimately helped to establish modern sexual science as the new sexual orthodoxy. Writer Paul Robinson claims, in *The Modernization of Sex* (1976), that Ellis laid the groundwork for modern sexual theory with his tolerant and enthusiastic approach: "In effect, [Ellis] established the atmosphere, though not the explicit theoretical context, in which later sexual thinkers were to pursue their tasks" (Robinson 1976, p. 41). In its categorization of *paraphilias*, or sexual deviances, modern sexology identified and profiled many new sexual types, including the transvestite, the homosexual, and the fetishist.

SEX RESEARCH AND THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Decades after the Nazis obliterated sexology and its sexual progressiveness in the 1930s, Ellis's defining tolerance and optimism reemerged and fused with conventional scientific methods of the 1950s in the work of Kinsey. As the center of sex research moved from Germany to America, sexual science became more empirical and less theoretical. With funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, in the years between 1938 and 1956, Kinsey and his interdisciplinary team interviewed 18,000 Americans about their sexual practices and attitudes. Determined to collect a representative data set, Kinsey interviewed people of different classes and races instead of focusing on individuals who professed to be sexually abnormal or who suffered from sexual dysfunction. As with the sexual modernists Kinsey wanted to broaden the range of acceptable sexual behavior by identifying sex as an ordinary and natural experience and openly discussing such sexual practices as masturbation, oral sex, homosexuality, and prostitution.

Many scholars have posited the *Kinsey reports* as a watershed turning point for the sexual revolution of the 1960s. His data belied the repressive sexual morality of the United States in the 1940s and 1950s, revealing much premarital, extramarital, and homosexual sexual behavior. His findings were published in the best-selling volumes *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). Although his method was the personal interview, Kinsey interpreted his data with regard to numbers and behavior, not in terms of the self-identification (gay/straight) or claims of his subjects. This approach, which in one domain counted the number of orgasms experienced with same-sex partners, produced the *Kinsey scale*, a continuum that ranged from zero to six, with zero indicating *zero homosexual orgasms*. The pioneering nature of Kinsey's work lies in the breadth and diligence of his enterprise and in the radical implications of his findings. His work demystified much that was taken for granted about sexuality and sexual behavior, and featured, among his most controversial results, claims that women and men experienced a similar physical sexual response, that masturbation was very widespread, and that one-third of American males and 13 percent of females had at least one homosexual orgasm before age forty-five. Kinsey also founded one of the most important institutes for sex research, now called the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, in Bloomington, Indiana, at Indiana University, where he was a professor from 1920 until his death in 1946.

In 1957 physician William H. Masters and Virginia Johnson, a registered nurse, joined forces to take a more clinical approach to sex research. Through direct observation of sex in a laboratory and their collection of data centered on human sexual response and physiological sexual mechanics, the Masters and Johnson research team studied masturbation and heterosexual intercourse. Masters and Johnson synthesized sex research and sex therapy with the ultimate goal of improving marriages by enhancing their clients' sex lives. Although their subjects in no way constituted a representative sampling of the population, many of their findings were groundbreaking, especially with regard to female sexuality and the understanding of masturbation as a sex act in itself. Their most influential research was published as *Human Sexual Response* (1966) and *Human Sexual Inadequacy* (1970). They documented women's ability to have multiple orgasms, discarded Freud's notion of the vaginal orgasm, asserted the sexuality of older people, and did not differentiate male and female sexual response. Masters and Johnson devised the four-stage model of sexual response: excitement phase, plateau phase, orgasm, and resolution phase.

Although Masters and Johnson were feminist in their approach and much of their content, in the 1970s, Hite built on the work of earlier sex researchers and launched a counterargument to the claims of Masters and Johnson about the female orgasm. Hite's initial research was conducted through the widespread dispersal of questionnaires that were anonymously answered by women across the United States. Her goal was to allow women (and later men) to define their sexuality and sexual experience for themselves, and the results, published in five *Hite reports* from 1976 to 1994, with the first being *The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study on Female Sexuality* (1976), presented a multifaceted array of personal narratives that Hite contextualized with data analysis, feminist criticism, and historical background. Hite claimed that women orgasm from direct clitoral stimulation, not from intercourse, rejecting the accepted belief from Masters and Johnson that women who did not orgasm through intercourse have a sexual dysfunction. Hite argued for male and female sexuality to be redefined, and her work linked the production of sexuality to the production of culture, highlighting the many disconnects between cultural assumptions about sex and sexuality and the realities of these experiences.

More contemporary sex researchers include Edward O. Laumann, a sociologist who was an advisor for the 2001 Pfizer Global Study of Sexual Attitudes and Behaviors, and Anne Fausto-Sterling, a biologist whose work has challenged many scientific assumptions about sex, gender, and sexuality.

SEX RESEARCH AND SEXUAL MORALITY

Kinsey's research and publications provoked immense backlash, and the controversy (including the revocation of his funding) surrounding his work contributed to his ill health and death. Christian organizations continue to condemn his work, using his personal life and questioning his scientific methods to discredit his work. Since Kinsey, funding for sex research has for the most part been successfully blocked by conservative groups. Many sex researchers are critical of the cultural and scientific turn from the psychological to the mechanical aspects of sex, as seen in the growing focus on sexual-enhancement drugs.

Nonetheless, Kinsey's work and the work that followed succeeded in changing the sexual landscape. The effects of the sexual revolution have persisted in the face of challenges from political conservatives, and the liberating political and sociological ideas generated from sex research have extended to developing countries. Yet the global AIDS pandemic, the enduring inattention to sexual abuse and trauma, the question of reproductive rights, the vast lack of knowledge around childhood sexuality, and many other urgent dilemmas speak to the pressing need for well-funded sex research.

SEE ALSO *Hite Report; Kinsey, Alfred.*

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Emma Crandall

SEX ROLES

Sex roles refer to socially coded behaviors and practices often related to a person's reproductive capacities, such as women with the roles of motherhood and men with fatherhood. The term *sex role* is often used interchangeably with the term *gender role*; however, the modifier *gender* implies roles may be socially or culturally produced whereas *sex* implies roles may be naturally or biologically determined. Notions of sex roles tend to privilege biological factors such as internal or external sex organs, chromosomes and hormones as determining a person's social placement as either male or female, man or woman. Such determinations rely on a dualistic or binary understanding of sexual difference emphasized in most patriarchal cultures, but how the differences between the two sexes are expressed varies greatly between cultures and historical periods. Stereotypes about sexual difference—such as men are rational and strong, therefore, women are emotional and weak—often affect a person's notions of sex roles but fail to indicate any natural or essential truth about sexual differences. Some scientists and scholars argue that external and internal sex markers are overwhelmingly ambiguous, which suggests that sex is not binary but multiple and that even notions of biological sex are culturally, not naturally, produced. Among scholars of sex and gender, however, there is considerable debate about how and to what degree biological sex may be linked to social roles and gender identity.

The dichotomization of male and female roles based on sexual reproduction is common across cultures. Whereas not all women menstruate, become pregnant, or breastfeed, a female's social roles are in part informed by the possibility that she will give birth and take up the duties of childrearing. Likewise, not all males will impregnate a woman or become fathers, but their social roles may be in part understood according to their potential to do so. The earliest work in women's history examined this frequent social division according to *public and private spheres*, wherein men were associated with a public sphere of work and politics and women with a private sphere of household and family. More recent gender histories, however, explore the range of roles men and women have had, noting greater cross-cultural differences and the ways a neat division between public and private break down. For example, Merry Wiesner-Hanks observes that in classical India and in matrilineal Judaism, "for much of its history, the ideal for men was one of renunciation of worldly things for a life that concentrated on study and piety. In Judaism this ideal often meant that women were quite active in the 'public' realm of work and trade to support the family" (2001, p. 96). The influx of women into professional or work positions in industrialized countries during the twentieth century further suggests that whereas a capacity for sexual reproduction may influence a woman's roles in regard to family structures, a woman's genitalia or reproductive organs do not naturally predispose her to motherhood and household management. The degree to which men and women are understood in relation to sexual reproduction changes over time and is interpreted according to particular cultural and social systems.

In European and North American cultures, the fixing of social roles to anatomical sex began as part of modern (mid-eighteenth-century) scientific and sociopolitical projects. According to sociologist Gail Hawkes, prior to the eighteenth century, "there had always been character distinctions between manly and womanly behaviour, but in premodern times these were not causally linked to either direction of desire or anatomy of the body" (2004, p. 178). Premodern views of the body often described a body in flux, with alterable or changeable sexual markers. Women and men were understood to share the same physicality, the same body; only the introversion or extroversion of genitalia provisionally classified a person as male or female. Perceptions of the body in ancient Greece indicated, for example, that wombs could move around the body, women could suddenly produce penises, and penises could shrink or become inverted. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the human body was resexed through the scientific *discovery* of different male and female anatomies. Notably, these scientific findings coincided with political imperatives for social stability—to stabilize the body was to renovate society. Scientific findings on sexual difference supported sociopolitical moves to restrict the discourses of revolution and democracy to nation-states. In other words just as women such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) argued for greater educational and social freedoms for women based on democratic principles, modern science restricted ideas of woman to anatomy and nature. Increasingly through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, a woman's reproductive capacities became the first and primary marker of who she was. According to this modern biological model of human sexuality, "men were the dynamic actors in biological and social evolution, women, in both senses, the caretakers of the species" (Hawkes 2004, p. 129).

Because the external body can be ambiguous (for genitalia are not always clearly male or female), twentieth-century science turned to internal markers such as chromosomes, hormones, and genes to understand and secure biological sex differences. However, these internal markers are also highly ambiguous; for instance, a person with certain chromosomal abnormalities could be judged male even if that person had breasts and a vagina. "The intensity of the search for an infallible marker of sex difference, and the uncertainties in most 'biological' markers, have indicated to many scholars that cultural notions are certainly influencing science in this area, and that 'gender' may actually determine 'sex' rather than the other way around" (Wiesner-Hanks 2001, p. 3). The division of sex roles in a society may then be more a product of cultural mechanisms such as language, religion, and the like than a product of biological sex and natural reproductive imperatives.

In the early twentieth century social scientists such as anthropologist Margaret Mead (1901–1978) took up the study of sex roles as a complex interaction between nature and culture, yet by the 1970s many scholars shifted terminologies to speak of gender roles as key to understanding social differences and inequalities between men and women. Feminist scholars began taking up Simone de Beauvoir's assertion in *The Second Sex* (1949) that "one is not born, but becomes a woman" to understand how sociocultural apparatuses such as language, literature, performance, and clothing create *woman*. "No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society" argued Beauvoir, "it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between, male and eunuch, which is described as feminine" (1993, p. 281). By the late-twentieth century scholars of gender and sexuality began articulating the ways cultural beliefs and practices constructed gendered behaviors, discourses, and even the very notion of sexual difference itself. Despite the greater elasticity of the term *gender roles*, which allows for studying how multiple genders operate within a given society, much of the discourse used to explore gender roles and differences continues to rely on notions of sexual difference—male and female, man and woman.

SEE ALSO *Gender Roles: I. Overview.*

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Kristina Banister Quynn

SEX SHOP

The sex shop—or, as it is often called, the adult bookstore or novelty store—is a store that sells products, occasionally referred to as *marital aides*, designed for the promotion and enhancement of sexual activity. Sex shops typically sell personal vibrators and dildos, anal plugs, masturbation aides, herbal aphrodisiacs, condoms, lubricants, nipple rings and clamps, various bondage and discipline and sadism and masochism (BDSM) accessories, instructional and sexual self-help books, and pornography.

The world's first sex shop, opened by the German sex industry group Beate Uhse AG, opened in Flensburg in 1962. Founded in 1946 by Germany's first female stunt pilot, Beate Uhse-Rotermund, Beate Uhse AG began as an organization that created and circulated family planning pamphlets. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Beate Uhse AG was the sex industry's most lucrative chain.

While the sex industry continues to be a lucrative business, sex shops meet with reactions from open acceptance to violent hostility. Laws regulating the sex shop industry have tried to simultaneously acknowledge factions that accept the public sex shop while catering to groups that do not. For this reason zoning laws are typically used to regulate and close sex shops, usually stating that sex shops may only be open in areas located a considerable distance from schools and churches. Zoning ordinances are occasionally manipulated in order to force sex shops out of commercial areas and into *off-ramp* zones and rural areas.

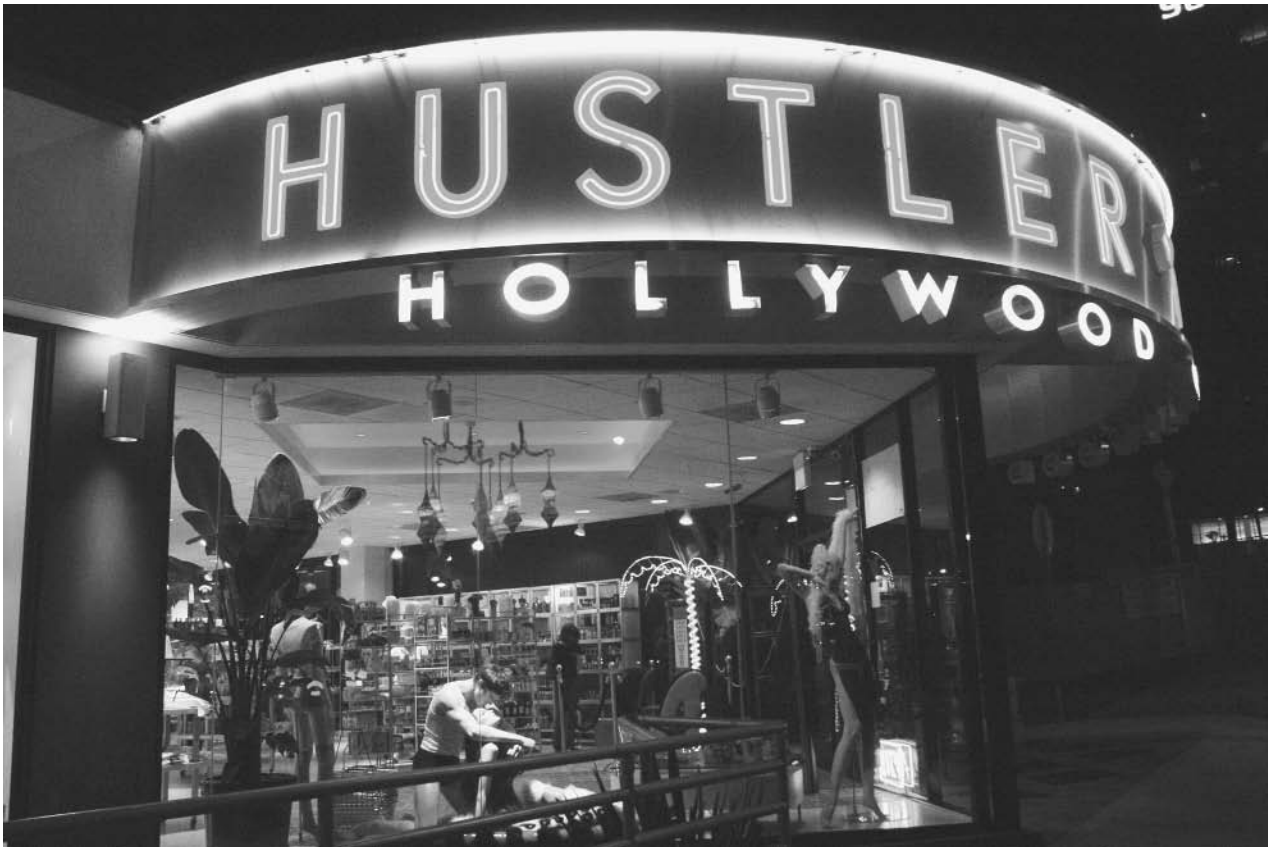
Many *traditional* and typically geographically marginalized sex shops provide viewing rooms, or video booths, for pornographic material. Users purchases coins, good for one to three minutes of viewing time each, which are used to access pornographic films. Most of these viewing rooms are private, enclosed spaces, and these spaces may be used by individual users; however, it is not uncommon for couples or groups to use these viewing rooms as semi-public spaces for group viewings or sexual encounters.

In one wall of some video booths, glass partitions (partitioned booths are called *buddy booths*) or *glory holes* (small apertures) connect two rooms. In a buddy booth users in separate rooms may simply opt to watch each other masturbate or engage in other autoerotic behavior. In the case of glory holes, users may simply watch one another through these fist-sized holes, but, as is typically the case, users may also engage in various types of sexual activity through these holes. Glory-hole etiquette dictates that if a male user wishes to perform sexual activity on another man's penis through the glory hole, the man making the offer should stick his finger through the hole long enough for the other man to see it. At this point either man might put a condom in the hole, indicating that they desire or are willing to offer oral or anal sex.

In the 2000s women-focused sex shops are becoming more prevalent and are being met with higher levels of social acceptance. Sex shops for women are typically viewed as a more tasteful and aesthetically pleasing response to the male-centered, masturbation aide shops that are typically housed in seedier districts. Women-owned shops have functioned to promote a shift in social views of sexual enhancement products, bringing sex toys closer to the forefront of mainstream social awareness. Joani Blank founded Good Vibrations, the oldest women-owned, women-run sex shop, in 1977 in San Francisco. In 1993 Claire Cavanah and Rachel Venning followed suit by creating Toys in Babeland, opening their first store in Seattle and their second five years later in New York. The store was renamed Babeland in 2005. In 2001 Searah Deysach opened Chicago's Early to Bed, also known for its dedication to female clientele. In the United Kingdom David Gold's Ann Summers chain, purchased in 1972, likewise focuses on female clientele and on presenting a more tasteful approach to the sex toy industry. Such shops are often credited for promoting a healthy and socially responsible approach toward sex education and sexual tolerance. The Good Vibrations web site, for example, states that "[w]e look forward to the day when talking about sex, shopping for sex toys and teaching our kids about sex is so easy, so comfortable and so common that we take it for granted".

The Internet has broadened the range of clientele and bolstered the availability of sex products while pushing them into the mainstream conscience. Babeland's owners, for example, opened the store's virtual online incarnation in 1996; the virtual version, as with many of its kind, offers discrete service and women-centered information (such as how to choose the right vibrator) while protecting the buyer's anonymity.

Although the Internet has certainly augmented the privacy of purchasing sexual-enhancement products, it has not replaced the traditional sex shop. Some Internet sex shops might offer the opportunity to view segments of pornographic material, but they certainly cannot offer an equivalent to the video booth described above. The



Hustler Store in West Hollywood. *The store sells sex toys, sex videos and dvds, sex magazines, clothing and other sexual oriented merchandise and devices.* © ANDREW HOLBROOKE/CORBIS.

online sex shop's greatest asset may be that it provides discretion and anonymity for buyers of sexual-enhancement products. Moreover, by facilitating access to sexual aides and by fostering availability and demand of such products and services, online sex shops have helped make such products easily accessible and affordable for the general public.

Although many online sex shops exist as virtual manifestations of physical spaces, including Babeland.com and goodvibrations.com, there is an ever-increasing number of web-exclusive shops offering to satisfy the full range of sexual desires, offering products that appeal to more than just the *vanilla* appetites of mainstream buyers. Such shops, in addition to offering an array of vibrators, dildos, clitoral stimulators, anal plugs, and other products referred to as *penetralia*, sell BDSM products such as sex harnesses, bondage beds, wrist cuffs, nipple clips, spanking devices, and so on.

The sex industry represents the Internet's oldest and most lucrative sales industry. Porn sites and Internet sex shops have set the standards for online sales, usually developing software and platforms that inform more traditional online stores, such as Amazon and eBay. In 2001 *Forbes* magazine estimated that the online sex industries generated billions of dollars per year in revenue. Although it is next to impossible to pinpoint an exact figure and to allocate these funds to various types of services—such as porn sites, dating services, and novelty stores—it is safe to say that the online sex shop has been and continues to be a lucrative venture for online sellers.

Although the online sex industry has certainly helped foster an increasing acceptance of healthy, consensual, and autoerotic sexuality, it is most often criticized for enabling minors to access sexually graphic materials. Many online sex shops offer advertisements and links to online sex chatrooms as well as to sites that offer pornographic material. Additionally, the online sex industry has come under fire for exposing minors and adults alike to sexually *deviant* tastes, such as bestiality and coprophilia, and thereby promoting sexual views that objectify women or encourage the viewer to develop more "unusual" tastes and desires (Fisher and Barak 2000, p. 578–579). In response, a host of Internet *nannies*, or web-based mediation services, have developed in order to regulate the accessibility of such materials.

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Jeremy Justus

SEX SYMBOL

A sex symbol is someone whom large numbers of people consider to be attractive and appealing. Although beautiful women and handsome men have always existed, the sex symbol is a product of modern celebrity, made possible largely by the public circulation of personalities in the film industry. This circulation began in the early twentieth century and is best known as a Hollywood phenomenon, though similar features of celebrity personality marketing can be seen around the world in cinema, sports, the arts, fashion, and politics.

By 1910 Hollywood was beginning to realize that moviegoers wanted to know more about its film stars. Initially the studios resisted, fearing that fame would encourage actors to leverage higher salaries, but eventually the marketing potential of celebrity proved impossible to ignore. Magazines such as *Photoplay* (founded in 1911) quickly developed large circulations, and studios began manufacturing publicity around various stars in order to fan public interest and public consumption.

Viewers felt closer to film stars than they did to stage actors and vaudeville performers, an intimacy that increased with the development of film techniques such as the close-up and the compartmentalized fetishization of various body parts. Audiences were encouraged to identify stars with the characters they played in their films, furthering this illusion of familiarity. Film stars were referred to by their first names, and seemed close enough to touch. Studios controlled information about stars and controlled their romantic lives as well, in an effort to produce perfect idols.

Sex symbols developed out of this star system of circulating movie idols. Film star Theda Bara (1890–1955), known as *The Vamp*, is considered the first female sex symbol of the silent era, making her debut in 1915. Although *nice* girls such as Mary Pickford (1893–1979) and Clara Bow (1904–1965) would later become sex symbols of a different cast, Hollywood's first sex symbol was produced as a dangerous femme fatale, typecast in roles that accentuated her predatory and seductive qualities, such as Cleopatra, Salome, and Carmen. Her dark beauty and hungry eyes heavily accented with kohl enhanced her image as a woman full of brooding and insatiable desire, and that personality drew moviegoers to her films in hordes.

Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926) is generally regarded as the first male cinematic sex symbol, making his film debut in 1914. As with Bara, he smoldered onscreen, a Latin seducer with dark eyes that bored into women's souls and discerned their latent desires. His passionate acting style, athleticism, and olive skin helped typecast him as a hot-blooded Arab lover. When he died prematurely at thirty-one, women were said to have killed themselves from grief, and thousands of women and men mourned him in the streets.

As the example of Valentino illustrates, sex symbols often appeal to both women and men as extraordinary examples of masculine or feminine beauty. All sex symbols are stars, although not all stars are sex symbols. Objectification is a crucial aspect of becoming a sex symbol, and most often stars become sex symbols because they are beautiful and fans can identify with them as well as desire them. For women beauty remains paramount for sex-symbol status; however, as too much beauty is considered by many to be less than ideally masculine, other sexually attractive qualities, such as eloquence, athleticism, vocal ability, money, or power, can make a man a sex symbol as well. Ex-U.S. president Bill Clinton may not be physically beautiful in the same way actor Brad Pitt is physically beautiful, but Clinton's eloquence, political power, and extraordinary personal charisma have made him a sexually appealing ideal for many people. Forcefulness and a dominant version of masculinity can keep a man in the running as a sex symbol long after a woman would be considered too old; actor Sean Connery, born in 1930, was still considered one of the sexiest men alive well into the 2000s.

Some of the most famous male Hollywood sex symbols include Clark Gable, Cary Grant, Marlon Brando, James Dean, Burt Reynolds, Paul Newman, Robert Redford, Denzel Washington, Tom Selleck, Mel Gibson, and Brad Pitt. Most of these men were known for their dashing masculinity, handsome faces, and vulnerability tempered by a touch of brutality, though as the times have changed, male sex symbols have gotten prettier and less overtly aggressive.

The most famous female Hollywood sex symbols include Greta Garbo, Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, Jean Harlow, Dorothy Dandridge, Lana Turner, Jayne

Mansfield, Elizabeth Taylor, Marilyn Monroe—the most famous of them all—Halle Berry, and Angelina Jolie. Two of the twentieth century's greatest sex symbols, Brigitte Bardot and Catherine Deneuve, were stars of the French cinema, and another smoldering sex symbol, Sophia Loren, began her film career in Italy before coming to Hollywood. Female sex symbols are generally known for their facial beauty, voluptuousness, grace, and vulnerability tempered by strength. Contemporary sex symbols are thinner and more athletic than their predecessors, with surgical breast augmentation to compensate their gym-toned bodies for the loss of curves.

Other film industries such as India's Bollywood have produced sex symbols, such as Jaya Bhaduri, known for her emotional intensity; Vyjayantimala, the south-Indian actress famous for her accomplished dancing; Madhuri Dixit, also an accomplished dancer; and Mallika Sherawat, Bollywood's reigning bombshell in the early twenty-first century. Chinese actresses such as Zhang Ziyi are developing an international following, as is Mike Ho, a young actor from Taiwan. Spain's Antonio Banderas is one of the most famous male sex symbols in film in the 2000s, and Mexico's Salma Hayek has achieved international fame. Conservative countries that frown on sexual objectification in the Middle East and Africa tend not to circulate sex symbols as prolifically as countries in Europe and the Western Hemisphere, but globalization and the growth of domestic film industries will no doubt change this in the future.

Sex symbols do not have to be actresses; several, such as Tyra Banks and Naomi Campbell, are famous primarily as models. Many international sex symbols are athletes or musicians, such as Russia's Maria Sharapova and Anna Kournikova, both beautiful blonde tennis stars. The flowing blond locks of Swedish tennis star Bjorn Borg also made him one of the 1970s biggest male sex symbols, as did the long curls of American tennis champion Andre Agassi in the 1980s. Olympic track star and fastest woman ever, Florence Griffith Joyner, became an international sex symbol in the 1980s for her combination of athletic prowess and dramatic feminine style. Britain's David Beckham, the soccer player, is also an international sex symbol because he combines athletic prowess with handsome good looks and a bad-boy attitude. Rock stars such as Britain's Sting, handsome as well as talented and famous, remain sex symbols as they age, as does Britain's Mick Jagger, born in 1943. Until a penchant for extreme plastic surgery and allegations of pedophilia began to decimate his career, Michael Jackson was an international sex symbol because of his combination of shy good looks and extraordinary dancing, singing, and choreography.

Despite the international proliferation of sex symbols, most of them still tend to be white. Sex symbols in classic Hollywood cinema were overwhelmingly white, their *dangerous* ethnicities downplayed and erased by name changes and fabricated pasts. Vamp Theda Bara, the first Hollywood sex symbol, was born Theodosia Burr Goodman in Cincinnati, Ohio; a Hollywood name change allowed her to seem less Jewish and more exotic. Dorothy Dandridge was one of the first African-American women to come close to consideration as a sex symbol; she was nominated for a best actress Academy Award in 1954, the same year she appeared on the cover of *Life* magazine. Her premature death at the age of forty-two from an overdose of antidepressants spoke volumes about the hardship endured by actresses of color in the civil rights era. Only recently have African-American actors and actresses, such as Denzel Washington and Halle Berry, gained crossover appeal as sex symbols, and as interracial relationships become more tolerated in the United States, the number of sex symbols of color serving as romantic icons will continue to grow.

Halle Berry. *Halle Berry makes an impressive entrance as Jinx in MGM Pictures and Eon Productions'* Die Another Day. MGM/EON/THE KOBAL COLLECTION/HAMSHERE, KEITH.

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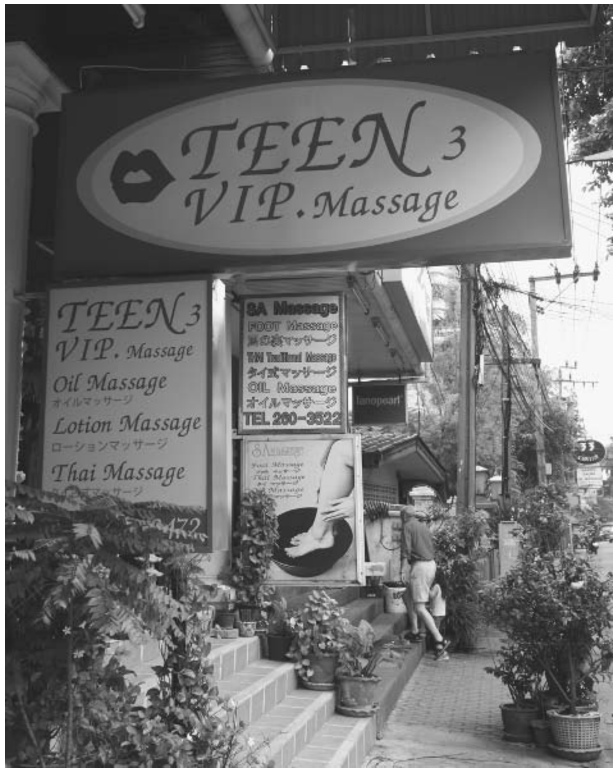
James Hovey

SEX TOURISM

For many in the immediate post-Vietnam War era, the words *sex tourism* were associated with organized trips to the massage parlors and brothels of Thailand or to the red-light districts of cities such as Amsterdam and Hamburg. The phenomenon seemed apparently simple and was explained in terms of men exercising the dominion of the wallet over women, who were generally perceived as unwilling victims. Where women were categorized as other than victims, the conceptualization often owed much to Victorian concepts of the diseased woman, an outcast from mainstream society, to be banished from respectable society. However, the nature of the debate as to what constitutes sex tourism, and the impacts it has, had widened considerably by the turn of the twenty-first century. Factors that contributed to the expanded debate include the growth of feminism and a concept of sisterhood that embraced and gave voice to prostitutes, and the adoption of the terminology of *sex worker* to emphasize a point about the nature of female work in the sex industry; the realization that females could also be *predatory*, as evidenced by trips to the Caribbean to find sex with the *rent-a-dread* (dreadlocked Caribbean male); and the context of freer sexual expression illustrated by advertising, television soaps, and dramas. Alternative terminologies are also used, such as *romance tourism*—yet even this remains essentially a commercial transaction, albeit softened by *gift giving* as distinct from the payment for the thirty-minute or hourly transaction in the brothel.

Whereas the rent-a-dread may occupy an honorable mention in the academic literature, Kamala Kempadoo (2004) notes that this style has gone, to be replaced by the Michael Jordan look, and by males locally named as the *rentals* in their stylish dark glasses and baggy shorts. She continues to also note that the former rent-a-dreads have progressed to being tourist guides, ganja dealers, souvenir salesmen, and property caretakers. Just as the rent-a-dread terminology is symptomatic of a given time period, so, too, are other concerns.



Teenage Sex Tourism. *A row of massage parlors that specialize in sex with teenage masseuses in Bangkok, the sex capital of the world.* © ANDREW HOLBROOKE/CORBIS.

Historically, it was argued that Thai sex tourism arose from the history of the Vietnam War and the presence of U.S. military on leave. Equally, massage parlors are still found to be located near military bases in countries such as South Korea and the Philippines. Although connections exist with sex tourism, the relationship is not consistent, and sex tourism flourishes in different locations that do not possess such histories—for example, Kenya. Arguably more pervasive is the role of the Internet as a means of communication and access to sex workers, and in that sense, the purposeful sex tourist is able to access sex workers more easily, and the Internet has made the organized sex—tour as it was understood in the 1970s—less needed.

One factor that has led to the involvement of government agencies with sex workers is the incidence of HIV/AIDS. With the advent of this disease in the 1980s and before the wide dissemination of antiretroviral medication, one major means of halting the spread of the disease was to ensure that sex workers practiced safe sex. This required a recognition and validation of consortia that represented sex workers and at the same time empowered groups of sex workers by legitimizing their concerns about the need for safety, protection from corrupt practices by local police, and a need for degrees of freedom from prosecution.

For females who work in the industry, examples can be found of those who view sex work as a continuation of an older tradition of the vestal virgin, as protector of a knowledge of the female derived from an older age when various incarnations of the fertility goddess ruled supreme. Such workers, however, form a minority, albeit vocal group. Most sex workers in European and North American societies perceive sex work as a means of securing a good income, with hours of work that are temporally and spatially flexible, and as being consistent with other female roles such as motherhood. In many countries it is possible for such women to work within a framework of mutual female support through brothels or massage parlors. Escort agencies are also able to ensure the safety of female sex workers by using trusted taxi drivers who maintain notes of clients and addresses. A few females use the opportunities provided by the industry to meet their own needs for sexual adventure, for diversity of experiences, and to satisfy basic sexual hunger. Such workers tend to reject the notion of the sex worker as victim, arguing it is, to a degree, an occupation of choice—or at least, a choice within the constraints that many women face without access to higher education, limited work opportunities, and the challenges of single parenthood.

It is also necessary to recognize that several areas of prostitution are arenas for the victimization of females and exploitation of the worst possible kind. Louise Brown (2000) in her work *Sex Slaves: The Trafficking of Women in Asia*, makes clear that female children as young as ten years of age are deliberately traded for purposes of prostitution. She additionally writes persuasively of the political and social amnesias to such circumstances that mark many countries—particularly, she feels, in some countries characterized by strong Islamic movements.

Generally, however, sex tourism as practiced in many holiday locations exists spatially apart from such exploitation by a local red-light and porn industry. Because local consumers are unable to pay the *high* prices that tourists to third-world countries can afford, those who meet the needs of tourists tend to have higher degrees of control over their own modes of business. To meet the needs of tourists requires many social skills, including a command of a foreign language and the wherewithal to blend, at least in part, into the surroundings of hotels and resorts. In various works, Kempadoo (1999, 2004) has argued that, at least in the Caribbean, sex work generates positive economic multiplier effects for otherwise low-income communities, and through the earning of relatively significant sums of money, women are empowered and potentially able to break from lower-income backgrounds. The monies from servicing the sexual desires of tourists become the sources of capital for small business start-ups in other areas of economic activity.

There is, nonetheless, little doubt that there is trafficking in women, even in some areas associated with the sex tourism industry. Again, to cite Kempadoo (2004), female sex workers from the Dominican Republic can be found in many other parts of the Caribbean. Those (generally men) who organize such spatial movements of female workers commonly employ tactics such as withholding passports and requiring repayments much higher than the costs of transport and accommodation involved. However, from her studies Kempadoo observes that many women know what they are doing—that they see through the vague outlines of promised work in bars and strip clubs—and as professionals in their line of work, accept the risks for the rewards offered. Indeed, the role of *victim* can be useful to secure deportation in preference to imprisonment. The existence of sex work is a reflection of dominant economic and social structures in society—the same structures that permit tourists from higher income countries to visit the resorts and complexes built in less developed countries. Tourism and the sex industry are thus bound by social realities of relative deprivation and affluence, by those who have and those who desire to have—and the medium of exchange in this unequal bartering is sex.

Although the lines of demarcation are sometimes blurred, child prostitution represents a separate specific aspect of sex tourism, with places such as Bali, Cambodia, Fiji, and Thailand being mentioned by bodies such as ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes). This organization has special consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) and has done much over the last few decades to raise awareness of the problems. Organized sex tours are comparatively unimportant, unlike in the early 1970s, but individuals continue to seek sex with underage children. With bodies such as ECPAT acting as effective pressure groups, many countries have introduced legislation whereby a national of that country can be tried for sex against an underage person regardless of where the offense was committed. Thus, in this arena of law, the need for extradition orders may be averted.

Sex tourism occupies a subversive, liminal ground in contemporary European and North American societies: *subversive* because it is a recognition of needs and desires not met by the socially approved monogamous relationships of the Judeo-Christian belief system. In its emphasis on the body and the role of lust, sex tourism represents modes of behavior outside the approved confines of mainstream behavior. *Liminal* because sex workers occupy roles outside the mainstream of activity, and tourists, too, are temporary liminal people occupying spaces of escape from responsibility—escape that can extend to extramarital affairs with sex workers and others. Such an observation is obviously culturally constrained and cannot be held to be easily transferred to other cultures. Equally. the role of sex worker is different from, in degree at least, to that of mistress. In short, the phenomenon is both complex and fuzzy in its relationships with other social boundaries.

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Chris Ryan

SEX TOYS

SEE *Sex Aids.*

SEXOLOGY

Sexology, the multidisciplinary scientific study of sex, is a professional field whose goal is to construct a comprehensive classification of human sexual behavior. Sexology presents sexual activity as a natural biological phenomenon and thus has done much to detach sex from moral and religious authority. It has been influential in legitimizing sexual practices as a result of its mapping of normal and abnormal sexualities. Sexologists approach questions of sexuality and gender in a context of scientific objectivity to pursue systematized sexual knowledge. They construct interpretive systems and vocabularies to chart sexual and gender development and variation.

Early sexology was primarily the realm of scientific scholars, but it has developed into a diverse and increasingly commercial field populated by academics, sex therapists, researchers, epidemiologists, and clinicians. Despite, or perhaps because of, its ever-evolving methodologies and overlapping disciplines, the status of sexology as a true science has been questioned frequently, making its quest for legitimacy fraught with controversy.

THE ORIGINS OF SEXOLOGY

Despite extensive observations of sexual behavior by the ancient Greeks, significant treatment of sexual issues by Islamic scholars, and philosophical discussions of sexual ethics and morality during the Enlightenment, the onset of the modern age laid the groundwork for the rise of sexology as a separate science. With roots in late-nineteenth-century psychoanalysis, sex reform, and anthropological research, the history of sexology corresponds with the major cultural movements and anxieties of modernity, especially in its relationship to the rise of a *sexual liberalism* that infiltrated medical, literary, and artistic discourses with its opposition to Victorian morality, assertion of heterosexual female desire, and challenge to traditional gender norms and roles.

Sexology emerged in Europe around the turn of the twentieth century as an indirect response to the criminalization of prostitution and the transmission of venereal diseases in urban areas. The rise of sexology also corresponded with the eugenics movement and its taxonomies of racial and sexual *weaknesses*. Despite earlier writing on sexual behavior by Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), Havelock Ellis, and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), sexology (*sexualwissenschaft*) as a formal composite science first was conceived in 1907 by the dermatologist Iwan Bloch in *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Its Relations to Modern Civilization* (1928).

Sexology erupted onto the scene in Germany, where eighty sex-reform organizations had been founded by the 1930s that together had a membership of 350,000 people. In Berlin Bloch founded the first professional sexology association in 1913, and six years later Magnus Hirschfeld founded the first sexological institute, the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*, which had a huge archive and library and a full-time staff and was housed in a former royal residence. The institute hosted international visitors and researchers who included Margaret Sanger (1879–1966), Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), and André Gide (1869–1951). A thriving culture emerged around the study of sex and sexuality, and films, congresses, and journals disseminated those new ideas. Expansive projects were proposed, as in Bloch's comprehensive monograph series, which ultimately included coverage of only two major sites of sexological inquiry: his own two-volume *Die Prostitution* (1912, 1925) and Hirschfeld's *Homosexuality of Men and Women* (2000 [1914]). The explosive success of early sexology and the related prominence of gay life in Weimar, Berlin, were put to an end with the rise of Nazism. Film footage of Nazi book burnings depicts the contents of Hirschfeld's institute being destroyed.

PROMINENT SEXOLOGISTS

Bloch, Freud, Albert Moll (1862–1939), and Max Marcuse (1877–1963) were important early sexologists, but the work of Ellis and Hirschfeld is the most important and representative of early sexology. Ellis's seven-volume *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897–1928), which included *Sexual Inversion*, addressed a wide range of sexual behaviors and represented a departure from the tradition of sex pathology. Hirschfeld was a talented organizer and archivist of early sexology, and his work, which included films and many multivolume works, was similarly prolific. His best-known texts are *Transvesitten* (1941 [1910], in which he coined the term *transvestism*), *Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instincts* (1940 [1916–1920]), and the massive *Geschlechtskunde* [Sexual knowledge] (1926–1930).

The return of sexual science as a popular and potent cultural force was instigated in the late 1940s by Alfred C. Kinsey, who conducted detailed interviews with over 18,000 subjects about their sexual practices and experiences. Kinsey's findings, which he published in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), upset American conceptions about actual sexual practice, including the rate of premarital, extramarital, and homosexual activity. Other well-known sexologists of the second half of the twentieth century include William H. Masters and Virginia Johnson, John Gagnon and William Simon, Helen Singer Kaplan, and Anne Fausto-Sterling.

PROBLEMS IN SEXOLOGY

Among early sexologists Hirschfeld and Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957) (a student of Freud's) regarded sexology as an opportunity for promoting social change, whereas others stressed the status of the field as a pure, rational science. That early discrepancy signifies the conflict between *natural* and *cultural* scientists that has had a great impact on the larger scientific community but also speaks to the persistently fragmented nature of sexology. Sexological study has suffered greatly from the European and North American silence surrounding sex, and sexologists have lamented the fact that their work often is considered laughable or perverted. Kinsey's loss of funding for his research during the McCarthy era of the 1950s indicates how political shifts and the changing tides of cultural attitudes toward sex can have immediate and sometimes drastic effects on sex research.

In its struggle for legitimacy sexology at times has relied too much on its ties to the medical community and overestimated the importance of scientific objectivity. One critique of sexology involves its inability to account for the social and cultural forces at work in the construction of sex, gender, and sexuality. In the search for a viable market and professional credibility, sexology has generated contradictory messages, producing work that supports sexual liberation and in other venues safeguarding oppressive sexual and gender mores. Feminist and gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (GLBTQ) groups and scholars have argued against the biological determinism advocated by some sexologists, instead urging an understanding of sexual and gender variation as social formation rather than as individual defects. The incorporation of race- and class-based analysis in sexological study has resulted in some cross-cultural and global work.

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Emma Crandall

SEXUAL ABUSE

Sexual abuse includes many different forms of unwanted sexual attention or actions toward an individual. Psychologist Jon Shaw summarized it as "any sexual behavior which occurs: (1) without consent, (2) without equality, or (3) as a result of coercion" (1999 p. 4). Victims can be female or male, adults or children. Sexually abusive acts include forced entry of the vagina or anus with penis or object, forced manipulation of the perpetrator's genitals, forced masturbation, frottage, exhibitionism on the part of the perpetrator (exposing genitals), exposure to pornography or explicit sexual language, forced sexual contact with another person while perpetrator watches, and forced prostitution or forced posing for pornography.

Sexual abuse can be accompanied by other forms of physical or psychological violence and may be committed by one or multiple assailants. It can occur once or reoccur over a shorter or longer period of time. These variables affect how severely the victim is traumatized or otherwise mentally and physically affected by the abuse. The identity of the perpetrator also affects the degree to which the victim is traumatized, with a parent creating the most psychological problems and other negative effects. The duration of the abuse is often longer and more frequent when abuse takes place within the family (intrafamilial). In the majority of sexual abuse cases the assailant was known to the victim.

Sexual abuse appears to show less variation when adult victims are involved: rape, assault, and harassment are the forms most often mentioned. In the case of child sexual abuse, various kinds of touching and attention can be considered inappropriately sexual, even if the victim may find them pleasurable, because the actions take place without the child's ability to fully understand and thus consent to what is happening. Such behavior may include the sucking of breasts not associated with breastfeeding or being washed by or washing an adult, or cuddling and fondling. Much of the literature about sexual abuse concentrates on the sexual abuse of children. This may be because the sexual abuse of adults is often discussed under more specific categories such as rape or sexual harassment.

Citing a survey from 1998, the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN) states that 17.6 percent of women become victims of rape or attempted rape in their lifetime. Psychologist Diana Russell's numbers from the 1980s are much higher. She found through survey that 46 percent of women will become victims of rape or attempted rape in their lifetime and 38 percent are sexually abused by age eighteen (Russell 1984). The numbers for men are significantly lower. RAINN shows findings of 3 percent of men who become victims of rape or assault during their lifetime. However, another survey found that 16 percent of males are sexually abused by age eighteen (Spiegel 2003). Most sexual abuse—but certainly not all—is committed by men. Psychotherapist Val Young states that 90 percent of perpetrators of child sexual abuse are male (1994).

PREVENTION OF SEXUAL ABUSE

Young argues that one way of preventing sexual abuse (by men or women) is to create attention for it in public media. Though she addresses child sexual abuse, her points apply to sexual abuse in general as well. She speaks of the need to state explicitly that sexual abuse is wrong, harmful to its victims, and punishable by law. An added benefit of publicity is that children (and other victims) learn that what is being done to them is unacceptable and not their fault, so they are more likely to seek help. Reactions of victims after any kind of sexual abuse often include feelings of shame or isolation, and a sense that they invited it upon themselves, that they are to blame. Public attention to the problem of sexual abuse may help avoid such feelings.

Along with raising awareness through community, church or health-related agencies, counseling must also be made available: as awareness rises, victims are more likely to come forward. Support for them needs to be in place. This will also work to break the possible circle of abuse in which victims turn into perpetrators as a dysfunctional coping mechanism. Lillian Comas-Díaz, executive director of the Transcultural Mental Health Institute, argues that treatment and prevention of sexual abuse need to be culturally sensitive. She emphasizes the need for psychoeducation, which involves "providing information regarding the physical, emotional, legal, and systemic components of sexual abuse. It also involves addressing the differential effects of sexual abuse according to clients' sex, age, sexual status, sexual orientation, language preference, transculturation status, religion/spirituality, and support system" (Fontes 1995, p. 49). She discusses Puerto Rican culture in particular, mentioning the need for family involvement in that culture. It is important to employ different strategies for different groups or cultures in the prevention of sexual abuse. This is because different cultures may have different attitudes toward issues related to abuse (such as family shame due to loss of a daughter's virginity); in some cases cultures have a strong sense that sexual abuse does not occur within their society, which needs to be overcome before discussion and prevention are possible.

The measures above mainly address dealing with abuse after the fact, though more awareness will help people protect themselves. In order to prevent sexual abuse from occurring at all, it is necessary to address the reasons why people would act sexually aggressively in the first place. Generally, individuals who belong to groups that are relatively less powerful are more at risk of sexual abuse. This includes children, minorities, people with mental or physical disabilities, and women. Shaw explains reasons why individuals may turn to sexual aggression: It is the "aim of imposing one's sexual will on a nonconsenting person for the purpose of personal gratification that may or may not be predominantly sexual in nature. This gratification is often an admixture of satisfactions associated with sexual, narcissistic, and aggressive motivations" (1999, p. 4). Often, sexual abuse is about power over others. Russell points out that in sexual harassment and rape, "power rather than sex is the key issue" (1984, p. 274). She argues that the patriarchal structure of American society, and in particular its definition of masculinity and male sexuality, is the underlying source of violence of men against women. Society teaches men to take an assertive sexual role and socializes them to find sexual partners who are smaller, weaker, and often younger than they are. This, and the dominant position men have in society generally, predisposes them to act in ways that are sexually abusive. According to Russell it will take a reformation of society as a whole, making men and women completely equal in all aspects of life, including gender roles, to erase sexual abuse. Critics such as Young question this position, mainly because it does not adequately explain why women also commit sexual abuse.

SEE ALSO *Sex Crimes.*

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Barbara Postema

SEXUAL EDUCATION

In the United States schools have played an increasingly important role in educating adolescents about and preparing them for the responsibilities that come with sexual maturation, whereas instruction about human sexuality and the inculcation of sexual values formerly were delegated principally to families and churches. Historically, deciding whether and what schools should teach about human sexuality has been a difficult and contentious debate. Unlike most curricular decisions, choices about sexual education attract the interest of political, social, and religious factions. Control of the content of sexual education is regarded as a political battle over who defines larger American social values. Therefore, curricular choices are not necessarily dictated by sound pedagogy, the health needs of students, or the recommendations of health educators but instead reflect a broader social agenda on the part of policymakers.

The larger role in sex education granted to schools coincided with societal changes in the status of teens that occurred at the turn of the twentieth century. The "social invention" of adolescence as its own developmental stage of life is a recent phenomenon in industrialized societies, including the United States. According to the historian Jeffrey Moran, the recognition of adolescence as a unique stage of life "rested on three important material changes" that occurred as the nineteenth century ended: (1) increased age segregation in the educational system, allowing adolescents to develop a stronger age-group identity; (2) an earlier age for the onset of puberty; and (3) the delay of marriage and the prolonging of education and training into the young adult years (Moran 2000, p. 15). Those factors set the stage for modern youth to experience a period when they identify closely with their own age cohort, are sexually capable, and are not recognized as adult members of society with full sexual rights. A substantial proportion of those years are spent in school, making teenage sexuality an issue that American schools cannot ignore.

TEEN SEXUAL PRACTICES AND THE NEED FOR EDUCATION

The case for providing sexual education in the schools is compelling in light of the sexual practices of minors and the resulting social, health, and economic consequences. Many American teens are sexually active, especially if one recognizes that sexual activity includes a wide range of activities beyond vaginal intercourse. Minors often engage in noncoital sexual behavior such as oral and anal sex instead of or in addition to intercourse, sometimes as a way to postpone intercourse or because those activities are regarded as less risky and more socially acceptable (Mosher and associates 2005). About 64 percent of males and females between ages fifteen and nineteen have engaged in sexual contact, including vaginal intercourse or oral or anal sex (Mosher and associates 2005). For many decades the age of first sexual intercourse had grown younger; however, the age of first sexual intercourse among teens later showed some upward trends. Nevertheless, about half of seventeen-year-olds had had sexual intercourse in the early years of the twenty-first century (Mosher and associates 2005). According the

United States Census, the average age of marriage increased over the last century; females are generally sexually active for eight and males for ten years before marriage (Alan Guttmacher Institute 2002).

Some youth are engaging in particularly risky sexual behaviors. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 7 percent of minors under the age of thirteen have had sexual intercourse and 14 percent of students have had four or more partners (Mosher and associates 2005). Only 63 percent of sexually active high school students used a condom at last intercourse (Klein 2005).

The health and socioeconomic consequences of risky sexual activity during adolescence can be severe. Approximately four in ten women will become pregnant at least once before the age of twenty years, one in four sexually active teens contract sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) each year, and half of new HIV infections occur in individuals under age twenty-five (Klein 2005).

The health and socioeconomic burdens of pregnancy and STDs are borne disproportionately by young women. Early pregnancy carries increased health risks for young women and often negatively affects their education, earning power, and social status. Although the teen pregnancy rate in the United States declined in the early years of the twenty-first century, American teens continue to have the highest rate of pregnancy in the industrialized world. The health burden associated with STDs is generally greater for females as well. Females contract STDs more easily than do males because of anatomical differences between the sexes. STDs in females often go unrecognized longer because STDs may be asymptomatic in internal female organs. Therefore, females often have greater long-term chronic consequences of STDs.

The health and socioeconomic burdens of teen pregnancy and STDs are passed on to children. The infants of mothers with STDs and HIV may be infected, and the problem is compounded because pregnant teens often do not receive sufficient prenatal care. Teen pregnancy also is associated with premature birth, low birth weight, and higher infant and maternal mortality. Children born of adolescent mothers also bear social and economic burdens, including developmental delays, school and learning problems, increased risks of substance abuse and depression, and a higher likelihood of becoming teenage parents (Klein 2005).

APPROACHES TO SEXUAL EDUCATION

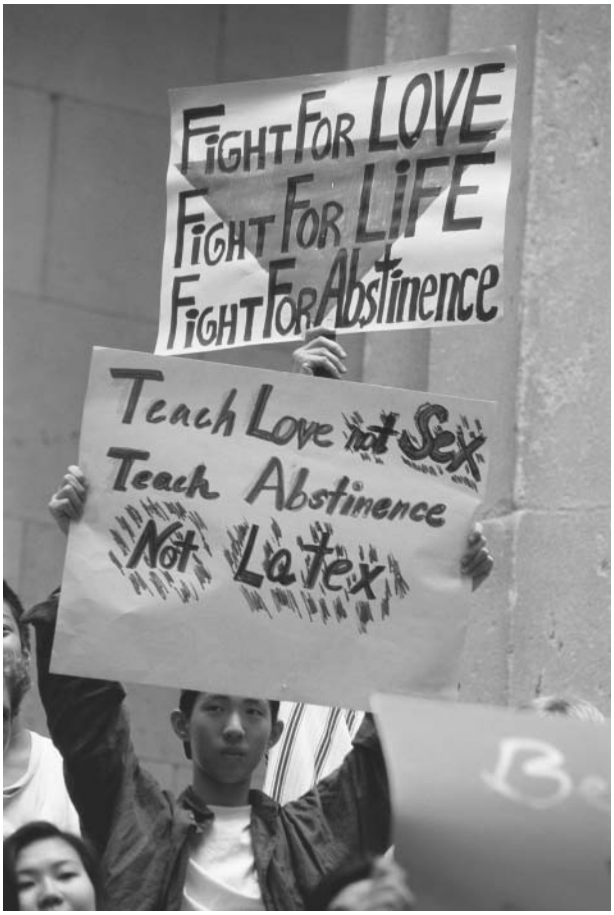
Because many teens are sexually active and because unprotected sex can have serious consequences, addressing teenage sexuality is an important societal responsibility. Many factors, including family structure, values and attitudes toward sex, religiosity, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, peer influences, and school performance, influence adolescent sexual activity. Therefore, many different community initiatives and strategies are needed to make meaningful strides in reducing teen pregnancy and STD rates. Sexual education programs can help minors make better-informed choices about sexuality but are only a small part of a meaningful public health campaign to improve teens' sexual health and reduce their risks of pregnancy and STDs.

Curricular approaches to sexual education generally fall into two categories: comprehensive sex education and abstinence-only sex education. "However, in practice, curricula-based programs don't really divide neatly into these two groups; they actually exist along a continuum" (Kirby 2001, p. 7). Some researchers also identify a middle ground approach in "abstinence-plus" sexual education, which emphasizes the values espoused in abstinence-only sexual education curricula but also presents preventive health information in comprehensive sexual education curricula.

Comprehensive sex education treats human sexuality broadly and inclusively. A comprehensive curriculum attempts to prepare students to manage their sexuality by providing a broad range of accurate health information and promoting core values of mutual respect and self-responsibility. Although comprehensive curricula typically encourage adolescents to remain abstinent, they also provide students with information about methods to avoid pregnancy and disease if they become sexually active. Comprehensive sexual education tries to impart the value of respect and provide skill building to enable students to resist negative peer pressure (SIECUS 2006).

In general abstinence-only curricula are designed to encourage individuals to abstain from sexual activity until marriage and attempt to give students skills and reasons to avoid sexual activity. Even though some teenagers may be sexually active when they take these courses or become so before they marry, the curricula teach that abstinence is the only acceptable and healthy choice for people outside a heterosexual marriage. These curricula concentrate on teaching minors ways to resist the temptation and peer pressure to engage in sexual acts. One of the most controversial aspects of abstinence-only courses is that they do not teach students how to avoid STDs or pregnancy except by remaining abstinent. Therefore, those courses do not provide instruction that could reduce the risks to sexually active youth.

School curricula are determined largely at the local level. Therefore, there is considerable diversity in the policies and curricular approaches to sexual education across the nation. It is estimated that about two-thirds of school districts in the United States have a districtwide or statewide policy about sexual education, whereas about



Teenage Pro-Abstinence Rally. *A teen "No Sex" rally at Manhattan's Federal Hall National Memorial.* © JACQUES M. CHENET/CORBIS.

one-third leave the decisions about whether and what to teach to the individual schools or the teachers. Among the districts with a policy mandating sexual education, approximately one-third require that abstinence be taught as the only option outside of marriage and either forbid instruction about condoms and contraception or teach only about the failure rates of those preventive measures (Landry, Kaeser, and Richards 1999).

The prominence of "abstinence-only-until-marriage" sexual education is unique to the United States; most other Western countries endorse comprehensive sexual education. European countries also have lower teen pregnancy and STD rates. "Countries with low levels of adolescent pregnancy, childbearing and STDs … generally exhibit 'societal acceptance of sexual activity among young people' and provide 'comprehensive and balanced information about sexuality and clear expectations about commitment and prevention of childbearing and STDs'" (Friedman 2005, p. 769).

CRITICISMS OF FEDERAL POLICY

Federal resources for sex education are directed exclusively at abstinence-only-until-marriage sex education. The federal government provides grants for abstinence-only programs to states and directly to community groups and schools. The direct grants frequently are provided to religious and community groups that regard sex outside heterosexual marriage as immoral or sinful (Beh and Diamond 2006).

One justification offered for teaching abstinence-only but not other preventive strategies is the concern that providing adolescents with specific preventive information may dilute the abstinence message and give them the impression that their instructors are giving them permission to have sex. Another argument is that teens already learn about sex from other sources but do not learn about abstinence (Pardue, Rector, and Martin 2004). However, according to critics, these are unfounded premises. No studies have shown that providing adolescents with accurate health information increases the likelihood that they will become sexually active. Also, there is evidence that teens are an underserved population in regard to health education and preventive services (Klein 2005).

Many health and education professional organizations, including the American Medical Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and the National Education Association, do not approve of the federal policy in place in the first years of the twenty-first century (Beh and Diamond 2006). The American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Adolescence has observed that comprehensive education that encourages abstinence but also provides accurate information about other preventive strategies sexually active teens should practice is preferable to abstinence-only education (Klein 2005). There is concern that the federal government has endorsed abstinence programs even though there is no evidence that they produce positive results and some evidence that they produce negative results. Most studies have shown that these curricula have little or no impact on reducing teen sexual activity or sexual risk-taking behavior (Kirby 2001).

There are many other criticisms of abstinence-only sexual education. One problem is that the instruction does not define abstinence precisely, and so minors may engage in risky behaviors other than intercourse, believing that they are remaining abstinent and not taking precautions. In addition, since abstinence-only curricula do not teach or endorse any preventive measures other than abstinence, those programs fail to provide useful instruction to teens who are or soon will become sexually active. Typically, if an abstinence-only course discusses condoms or contraception, it is in the context of the failure rates of those prevention methods.

Researchers who have examined abstinence-only curricula have noted that some do not provide accurate information about the failure rates of condoms and contraception. They sometimes combine user and method failure rates. The fallacy of combining user failure and method failure is obvious: User failure is the result of the user's inconsistent or improper use of the contraceptive or condom, and that rate can be improved through better instruction, not less. When failure rates are combined and emphasized, adolescents who engage in sexually activity are not prepared or do not have appropriate confidence in preventive practices that can reduce their risk of contracting HIV or STD infection or getting pregnant (Beh and Diamond 2006). Studies conducted by the public health researchers Peter Bearman and Hannah Brückner in 2005 found that some teens who took "virginity pledges" to demonstrate their commitment to abstinence until marriage did delay having sexual intercourse for a short period but were less likely to use contraceptives at their sexual debut, had STD rates consistent with those of other teens, and were less aware of their STD status and less likely to be tested.

Two relatively comprehensive reviews of some of these curricula revealed troublesome issues. In 2004 the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform Minority Staff prepared an evaluation of thirteen of the most popular federally funded abstinence-only education programs (Minority Staff Investigations Division 2004). In addition, the state of Ohio, a large recipient of federal funds for abstinence-only education, commissioned an evaluation of Ohio programs in 2005 (Frank 2005). Both evaluations observed that the curricula often tended to be overtly religious, perpetuated negative gender stereotypes, ignored the health needs of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual youth, and instilled unhealthy fear about human sexuality.

Legal commentators have criticized abstinence-only sexual education on several grounds. Some argue that by ignoring sexual minority youth these curricula are discriminatory and may violate state antidiscrimination laws or constitutional equal protection rights (McGrath 2004). Some scholars argue that the federal government violates the First Amendment by funding programs with overtly religious messages (Simson and Sussman 2000). Others assert that teenagers have constitutionally protected privacy rights related to sexuality and procreation that are impinged on by curricula that impair their ability to make informed decisions about their sexual health (Beh and Diamond 2006).

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Hazel Glenn Beh

SEXUAL FANTASY

A sexual fantasy is an imagined sexual scene that intensifies emotional and physical excitement by helping people play out their most intense sexual desires, fears, or memories. Fantasies may remain as hidden impulses in the unconscious or be desires that are fully conscious and recognized. Some fantasies exist solely in the imagination, whereas others are incorporated into a person's actual sex life. Fantasies may determine one's preference for sexual partners or positions. They may play in the mind during sex to enhance an experience that is less stimulating than a fantasy. Fantasies often are assumed to be extraordinary scenes of socially prohibited behavior; however, their content ranges from the relatively tame desire for a romantic evening of wine and seduction to more adventurous scenarios such as gender reversal and group sex. Although fantasies can determine a person's preferred sexual acts, many people never physically enact those scenarios.

FORMATION AND FUNCTIONS OF FANTASY

There is no definitive explanation for how and why certain sexual fantasies are formed, but it is known that two primary factors are childhood experiences and social norms relating to gender and sexuality. Sexual fantasies linked to a person's childhood experiences typically reenact or reverse formative events or relationships. The importance of parents and siblings to a person's sexual fantasies is linked to the way in which that individual identified with family members' emotions and desires. For example, both heterosexual and homosexual men who had physically abusive or alcoholic parents are likely to have sexual fantasies involving acts of domination and/or submission. Fantasies also can be a reconfiguration of traumatic experiences from one's earlier life, allowing a person to turn a troubling memory into an experience of pleasure and triumph over negative forces.

Fantasies often reflect social forces such as gender role expectations and taboo sexual activities. In a largely heterosexual and patriarchal culture, sexual fantasies that imagine relations outside those norms can prepare people psychologically to pursue their potentially conflicting desires without fear of social repercussions. Whether such fantasies are imagined or experienced, they can help a person overcome sexual inhibitions brought on by cultural or religious taboos and corresponding feelings of guilt or shame. As imagined scenarios fantasies can be healthy sublimations of repressed sexual desires. Some fantasies begin as imagined acts, but they may prepare an individual psychologically to act out new sexual experiences.

COMMON FANTASIES

Although most people have diverse fantasies that are not defined by gender or sexuality, there are general differences between women's and men's fantasies. In general, women's fantasies are more likely to include a narrative that tells a story and men's fantasies are more likely to focus on a particular object, appearance, or act. Common trends in fantasies reveal the pleasure of reversing socialized gender norms so that women who often feel guilty if they put their own pleasure first fantasize about doing exactly that. Similarly, men who often feel responsible for taking charge of situations may fantasize about ceding their cultural authority in the bedroom.

Fantasies common to all people include group sex, incest, adultery, domination, submission, sadomasochism, homosexuality, gender reversal, rape, exhibitionism, voyeurism, golden or brown showers (urinating or defecating on one's sexual partner), age play (acting significantly older or younger), and particular body types. Men and women share the fantasy of being passive to a dominant partner. Heterosexual men and women both fantasize about homosexual experiences, and homosexual men and women fantasize about taking part in heterosexual activities. For gay men and lesbians such fantasies can involve acting out a different gender to create the illusion of a heterosexual couple.

Although lesbians have many of the common sexual fantasies, some scenarios specific to those women are rape, in which the woman acts as a rapist with her partner; and gender shifts, or imagining being a man and having the physical characteristics of one, including a penis. Some lesbian fantasies are naturally more prone to experimenting with and transgressing roles and desires specifically linked to women in society, and so issues such as taking or losing one's virginity can be acted out with a set of players different from what typically is expected.

In addition to the common fantasies shared by all people, gay men's fantasies include scenarios in which a man assumes hypermasculine or hyperfeminine qualities and actions. Some gay men fantasize about being women and may enact that desire by dressing in drag. Fantasies of domination and submission may be accompanied by leather outfits and uniforms that accentuate macho identities and behavior.

FANTASY IN LITERATURE AND FILM

As entertainment, literature and film offer opportunities for escape from daily life. Both genres offer potential objects of desire and encourage identification with characters and narrators, and narratives often use generic characters and plots that are linked to common cultural fantasies, sexual and otherwise. The nature of film projection and viewing offers an opportunity to experience sexual acts from a voyeuristic perspective, thus realizing one common sexual fantasy. Because men historically have directed films, many feminist theorists argue that viewers identify with a male gaze that often presents female bodies as objects of sexual desire. This model of spectatorship naturalizes generic male sexual fantasies while raising obvious difficulties for the realization of female sexual fantasies. However, the fantastic nature of cinema also can create ambiguous scenarios in which the viewer can identify with many different and potentially overlapping perspectives.

Literary depictions of sexuality and sexual behaviors can reveal the diverse desires of a population despite repressive normalizing social institutions, such as religion, that depict those fantasies as perverse. The descriptive nature of novels also allows for an examination of social forces and attitudes toward sexual fantasies, representing them as natural and erotic or condoning them as abnormal. Some fictional literature that has represented socially prohibited sexual behaviors has at one time been banned, including D. H. Lawrence's description of adultery in the novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928). The impulse to censor literary representations of sexual fantasies reveals a common misconception that fails to distinguish not only between art and reality but also between fantasy and reality.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay.*

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Michelle Veenstra

SEXUAL IDENTITY

Sexual identity can refer to either sexual orientation or gender identity. Sexual orientation, the first and more common meaning of the term, assumes that a person's sexual practices define that person in a crucial way. The definition of sexual identity as gender identity is used predominantly by medical practitioners to describe a person's gender, regardless of that person's sexual practices. Under the first definition if a woman who desires other women interprets her sexual activities as lesbian and identifies herself with that label, she has a sexual identity as a lesbian. Under the second definition she may prefer sex with other women, but if she identifies herself as a woman, her sexual identity is female.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION AS IDENTITY

Sexual identity as sexual orientation assumes that something crucial is known about an individual if one knows his or her sexual practices. The historian Michel Foucault argued that this conflation of sexual activity and social character began taking shape in the nineteenth century. In that era sexual identity was an effect of the "persecution of the peripheral sexualities" (Foucault 1990, p. 42) that occurred when both medical and legal institutions began to attempt to understand and control individual sexual behavior. Before that time sodomy was a category of forbidden sexual acts that did not confer an identity on a particular person, though individuals could be punished severely for engaging in them. However, with the rise of sexual science in medicine and psychoanalysis, the homosexual, as with the heterosexual, became a species of person with a history, a body, and a psychology particular to his or her type.

Initially, sexual orientation as identity was a product of certain kinds of labeling practices. It was a result of categorizing people into groups and subgroups for the purpose of creating knowledge, discipline, and control. However, the same labels that the medical, religious, or legal authorities could use to characterize and control individuals by means of their sexual practices also proved useful to the people they attempted to label. The category of homosexual, for example, helped those with same-sex desires understand themselves as a group of people who shared particular sexual tastes. When Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) wrote about sexual inversion and Edward Carpenter (1844–1929) wrote about intermediate sexes—both terms were used to label homosexuality and cross-gender behaviors—many people recognized themselves for the first time and wrote letters thanking those men for providing the public with these sexual categories.

Foucault argued that this phenomenon in which sexual classification is both regulatory and limiting on the one hand and generative and empowering on the other illustrates how modern attempts to exercise control over people by producing knowledge categories about their sexual behavior end up producing and proliferating those categories. A man who reads about homosexuality and recognizes his desires as homosexual comes to view himself as a homosexual and is free to find other homosexuals.

Those homosexuals can embrace the category of the homosexual as one descriptive of their identities and are free to publicize that knowledge and use it as a tool for social and political organizing. Because this category makes people intelligible to themselves and others, more and more people may come to believe that they share many characteristics with other homosexuals in their group. Thus, what begins as an attempt to monitor subversive behaviors can end up reproducing and spreading them, and the regulatory category of homosexuality can proliferate homosexuality rather than contain it.

HOMOSEXUALITY AND HETEROSEXUALITY

Heterosexuality is a case in point. Heterosexuality initially was defined as a category of perversion in which someone desired persons of the opposite sex to an abnormal degree. However, as sexual desire between men and women became more acceptable in the 1920s, heterosexuality began to appear as the opposite sexual category to homosexuality. By the 1930s heterosexuality was synonymous with normal sexuality and heterosexuality was a positive category mentioned in popular songs and plays. In contemporary times free heterosexual expression no longer is seen as subversive, in large part because attitudes about sexual passion and sex outside marriage changed dramatically after the 1920s and 1930s. However, it is important to remember that identifying as a heterosexual once would have been considered daring and risqué, especially for women, but that this identification eventually helped popularize heterosexuality as an intelligible sexual identity.

Sexual identity and gender identity have been confused with each other since the birth of sexology in the nineteenth century. Sexual practices appropriate to masculinity or femininity helped doctors gauge whether a person was conventional and normal according to the standards of the day. Little girls were and still are encouraged to identify with and emulate the normative gender category girl, which emphasizes, among other things, femininity and the adoption of female behavioral norms such as playing with dolls. Girls and women are encouraged to cultivate the sexual identity that is appropriate to that gender category, which is heterosexual attraction to males. Similarly, boys are encouraged to identify with or emulate the normative gender category boy, which emphasizes masculinity and the adoption of male behavioral norms such as playing with toy cars. Boys and men are encouraged to cultivate the sexual identity that is appropriate to this gender category, which is heterosexual attraction to females.

When gender and sexuality do not accord with these norms, subjects traditionally have been viewed as deviant or abnormal. Popular stereotypes have equated gender deviance with sexual deviance. Male effeminacy is thought to indicate homosexuality, and female masculinity indicates lesbianism, with the assumption that feminine women and masculine men are heterosexual. However, gender does not necessarily indicate sexuality, nor does sexuality indicate gender; quite often gender and sexuality have little to do with each other. A feminine woman may desire other women, and a masculine woman may desire men. Similarly, a masculine man may desire other men, and an effeminate man may desire women.

THE ROLE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

Psychoanalysis has participated in the conflation of sexual and gender identities by insisting that gender and sexual identities are related and that those identities are achieved through a process of identification. Identification can involve emulation or imagining one's self in ideal terms, but the relationship between identity and identification is murky. Does identification produce identity, or does identity produce identification? One must identify with a gender to have it, but what determines that gesture? What about subjects who identify with a quirky or nonnormative gender?

Psychologists Sigmund Freud (1989 [1933]) and Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) viewed identification and disidentification with certain gender and sexual norms as being central to subject formation. Freud saw little boys learning to disidentify with their mothers and identify with their fathers through a complex interplay of gender and sexuality norms that he termed the castration complex. According to this theory boys see that girls, including their mothers, are castrated and read this as a form of punishment meted out by fathers. According to Freud boys then will obey their fathers, identify with their fathers in their masculine gender expression, and be sexually attracted to women as their fathers are. Girls also realize that they are castrated, blame their mothers for letting it happen, and decide to desire their fathers instead of their mothers. They may disidentify with the mother as the boy does, but eventually they will have to be something like her to win the father's love or get a man like the father to love them.

Lacan viewed identification in the mirror stage as the mechanism that gives a child the illusion of mastery and control of the body, an illusion that projects the child into the future by giving it an ideal toward which to strive. The child may experience itself as dependent and incoherent, but it sees itself in the mirror and imagines itself as a whole, coherent, masterful being. It identifies with its mirror image and strives to become the powerful being it imagines is reflected in that image. Likewise, it imagines someone watching it and strives to be a kind of ideal for that imagined person to see.

Queer theorists such as Judith Butler (1990) have argued that a type of identification known as melancholic incorporation may be a process in gender and sexual identity formation. Butler's notion of melancholic incorporation is taken from Freud's observation in the essay "Mourning and Melancholia" (1963 [1917]), that jilted lovers may incorporate aspects of the person they have lost into their own personalities, thus retaining them. Butler extends Freud's account of incorporation to explain same-sex identification and desire, arguing that gender is itself a melancholic identification in which the same-sex parent, whom one is not allowed to desire and who thus is lost as a love object, is internalized. In this case the gender of the same-sex parent is internalized but not that parent's supposedly heterosexual sexuality.

Both Freud and Lacan imagined sexuality and gender identification lining up together, with heterosexuality indicating normative gender identification and identity and homosexuality indicating abnormal or cross-gender identification and identity. However, identification and disidentification can produce subjects who are masculine, feminine, heterosexual, or homosexual. It can produce subjects who emulate norms and subjects who reject them in order to emulate something else. Identification plays a crucial role in the politics of sexual identity because subjects may rally around certain identity categories that they then assume constitute them as a group, reject categories they feel are inadequate, or combine those actions.

IDENTITY POLITICS

The assumption that a common sexual or gender identity leads to political similarities in a group is called identity politics. Identity politics is an alliance politics that insists that membership in oppressed groups leads to common political interests and goals. Thus, lesbians might imagine that other lesbians share their political agenda because they all have a marginalized sexual desire for women and can be discriminated against for demonstrating that desire. Gay men might assume that lesbians share their politics because they are all homosexual. Identity politics is not limited to sexuality and gender but also can apply to race, class, ethnicity, religion, and other categories. Black men might assume that black women share their political views because all of them are oppressed by racism; poor people might assume that common politics arise out of shared economic oppression; feminists might assume commonality with all sorts of women because of shared gender discrimination.

In addition, individual identity groups might forge solidarity in cross-identity alliances: Lesbians and gay men who oppose mainstream politics might form alliances with Latinas, who in turn might forge alliances with black men, who might organize with white factory workers opposed to illegal immigration, and so on. The strength of identity politics is its sense of group cohesion, which offers the possibility of political solidarity between and among other similarly constituted groups.

The downside of identity politics is its erasure of distinctions and differences and its tendency to confer the status of activism on identity. White lesbians may assume that sexual discrimination and homophobia are the main issues lesbians should organize around, but lesbians of color may view racism as the chief obstacle they face and be angered by the way white lesbian politics erases their concerns. Poor women who have had to work and never had the choice to stay home may object to the insistence by middle-class feminists that working outside the home is desirable. Lesbians may feel that gay men ignore sexism; gay men may feel that lesbians do not understand life under the threat of HIV/AIDS.

In the early 1990s coming out was considered a political act to such an extent that many people came to consider being gay or lesbian as being equivalent to political activism. Looking gay, buying from gay-friendly companies, and sponsoring gay events meant that everything was political, and that nothing was. Gay activism declined in the wake of the AIDS crisis, in large part because of the complacency of this type of identity politics.

SEXUAL IDENTITY AND THE LAW

However, some gay activists moved into the legal system, challenging laws that discriminate against people on the basis of sexual identity. The U.S. military considers homosexuality incompatible with military service and routinely discharges servicemen and servicewomen if they are outed or reveal themselves to be gay. One goal of contemporary activists is to overturn this policy and allow gays and lesbians to serve without fear of persecution. In many states sodomy, which is defined as sex other than heterosexual coitus in the missionary position, is illegal, but sodomy laws are enforced mainly against homosexuals. Thus, a sexual act is linked to a sexual identity, and this sexual identity makes gays and lesbians vulnerable to persecution. The specificity of sexual identity persecution under state sodomy laws was revealed in the case of *Lawrence* v. *Texas* (2003), in which the court determined that it was unjust to specify a certain group of people, in this case homosexuals, as the group specifically prohibited from engaging in sodomy.

Lesbian or gay sexual identity still is used by private agencies and some states to turn down gay men and lesbians as foster parents, deny them adoption rights, deny them domestic partner benefits and pensions, and deny them employment, promotions, and housing. Slowly, these forms of discrimination are being challenged in courts around the country.

One frontier of legal reform concerns the definition of sexual identity as gender identity. Transgender individuals are winning the right to have their gender legally changed from the one assigned them at birth, though this legal change usually depends on the subject having undergone hormone therapy and a sex-change operation. Other legal issues at the forefront of gender activism include gender presentation in the workplace, such as whether gender conformity in clothes and makeup is enforceable under office dress codes or whether such enforcement constitutes gender discrimination.

Recent work on gender identity has questioned the prevailing view of gender as a binary or dimorphic category. There may be five or more naturally occurring sexes, ranging from genetic females with XX chromosomes with typically female gonads and genitalia, to genetic females who appear to have male genitalia, to female-appearing people with male XY chromosomes, to people with varying chromosomal makeups, (including XX, XY, and XXY) who may have both male and female gonads, to genetic XY males with typically male genitalia. Various kinds of hormone baths in the womb can transform external genitalia in developing fetuses as well, further complicating the assignment of gender as sexual identity at birth. Many of these subjects identify as intersex and have dedicated themselves to changing social, legal, and medical notions of gender as including only male or female. This reflects a larger tendency in queer activism to expand sexual and gender categories in order to encourage sexual and gender diversity of all kinds.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity; Melancholia and Sex.*

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SEXUAL INSTINCT

A sexual instinct is the innate drive to have sexual relations. In biological terms instincts are behaviors that occur as if natural and without teaching or model. They are species-specific practices for life and survival. How animals know, for example, what to eat or that they should migrate or hibernate for the winter, are instincts. That organisms seek sexual relations with one another is also an instinct believed to be founded on a compulsion to reproduce. German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) thought sexual instincts comprised a part of what he called *human will*. Psychologists such as Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) also tried to understand how the sexual instinct relates to the mental and emotional mechanisms governing human behavior. Some scientists believe that humans do not have a sexual instinct at all, because humans learn primarily from their social environment and because any behavior that might have been instinctive can be altered and overcome by thought.

Arthur Schopenhauer. *Arthur Schopenhauer believed that human behavior was govered by irrational internal instincts, the most important of which was the sexual instinct.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

CHEMICAL VERSUS PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSES

Biologists consider instincts to be preprogrammed responses to external stimuli. Instincts are a part of *preintellectual* behavior that is not based on any prior learning or experience. Many biologists consider instinct to be a series of traceable *fixed-action patterns* triggered by a *key stimulus*. Pheromones, chemical signals detected by smell, for example, constitute a key stimulus for the release of some sex hormones. These hormones in turn provoke sexual behaviors.

The behavior of animals is often understood as instinctive. Their survival techniques and drive to court and reproduce are considered instincts. But biologists debate whether or not human beings are as governed by instincts as other species seem to be. Some biologists, such as Martha K. McClintock (1999), think that humans also have pheromone signals. For example, a substance excreted by nursing women seems to increase sexual desire in other women. The perfume industry has tried to profit by including various pheromones, believed to increase sexual desire, in perfumes. Others think that humans respond more readily to facial signals, language, and other behavioral cues.

For humans, however, sexual instincts may be more psychological than responses to chemical stimuli. Schopenhauer believed that human will—the driving force of unrest—was constituted by irrational internal instincts that governed human behavior, the most important of which was the sexual instinct. In Schopenhauer's thinking individuals did not have their own separate wills, but all shared in a larger group will that governed the species. "Man is incarnate sexual instinct," Schopenhauer wrote in *The World as Will and Representation* (1819); "he owes his origin to copulation and the wish of his wishes is to copulate." For Schopenhauer the sexual instinct is the "highest affirmation of life," and "the most important concern of Man and animal." And, "In conflict with it, no motivation, however strong, would be sure of victory." He goes on to say that the "sexual act is the unceasing thought of the unchaste and the involuntary, the ever recurring daydream of the chaste, the key of all intimations, an ever ready matter for fun, an inexhaustive source of jokes." Furthermore, as an instinct, Schopenhauer points out, the sexual instinct is "a delusion of the individual, who believes to care for his welfare whereas he is fulfilling the aim of the Species" (Ellenberger 1970, pp. 208–209).

FREUD'S VIEWS

Other philosophers, such as Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), believed in a sexual instinct as a force operating in the human psyche, but it was Schopenhauer's ideas that influenced the thinking of Freud. Freud believed that the human psyche was a dynamic system comprised of conscious wishes, motivations, and actions, which were themselves influenced by unconscious desires and drives. Throughout his long career Freud would develop theories about how the unconscious relates to the conscious as well as how the unconscious is structured. He used these theories as the basis for treating patients suffering from various psychological disorders and symptoms. Early in his career, for example, Freud hypothesized that repressed sexual desires were the underlying cause of many psychological symptoms. As he studied female patients with hysteria—nervous tics, odd speech patterns, and anxieties—he determined that these symptoms were the effects of repressed sexual wishes.

But sexual wishes were, for Freud, different from a sexual instinct, which operated on an even deeper level. Freud understood the sexual instinct to be the force that compelled people to continue to live and mate and that pushed against such other instincts as the *death* instinct or the *pleasure principle*, which represented a desire for stillness or quiescence. This sexual instinct is much more than sexuality itself but is an intrinsic pressure to continue and seek disquiet. In terms of Freud's dynamic theories, the sexual instinct is the same as what he calls the *libido*, the energy that underwrites desire and drive.

According to Freud, in comparison with biological instincts, which have a specific chemical chain of cause and effect, sexual instinct is the idea of a psychic force without any specific object or aim. It exists between the body and the mind. Although the sexual instinct tends to link to one or another of the body's erogenous zones as a path for satisfaction, it can also gain satisfaction in a large number of ways with a wide variety of objects. The sexual instinct is thus fragmented and scattered and becomes organized only through an individual's fantasies and experiences.

In his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Freud examined the various kinds of objects and aims through which the sexual instinct might work. In this theory the sexual instinct itself is undifferentiated—that is, it has no natural or inherent goal such as reproduction. Instead, the instinct is expressed through a number of different desires or *aims* that might fix on a variety of *objects*. Thus, for example, the sexual instinct works equally for an individual who wants oral sex with a male partner as it does for a male who wishes sexual intercourse with a female partner. It works as well for someone whose aim is masturbation as it does for someone whose aim is voyeurism, or watching others engaged in sexual activity.

In Freud's theory, however, this scattered sexual instinct is an intrinsic part of a developing human psyche. For Freud, small children evince a sexual instinct. Young childhood is the period during which the sexual instinct becomes associated with specific erogenous zones, aims, and types of objects. As individuals develop, the sexual instinct becomes increasingly linked to fantasies, including cultural ideas, that push the instinct in certain directions, such as reproductive sex or homosexuality. In Freud's theories, the sexual instinct also forms the material that is repressed by individuals. This means that very often individuals are not aware that the sexual instinct is the force behind certain decisions, wishes, or actions. It becomes evident, for example, in the famous *Freudian slips*, in which the mispronounced word generally refers to a sexual act or object.

Throughout an individual's life the sexual instinct, which Freud later calls *Eros*, works in a dynamic relationship with other primal forces, such as the *death instinct*, or the desire to stop. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) Freud mapped the ways these various forces interact to keep individuals going. He links the sexual instincts to an Eros and later to a *life instinct*, which includes both the desire to create life and the desire to survive. The desire to create life, or Eros, originally represented some primeval state of joinder. Citing Aristophanes's (c. 448–c. 388 BCE) story of early beings in Plato's (427–347 BCE) writing, Freud saw Eros as the desire to return to a primordial state in which all beings were joined to another being in couples—male to male, female to female, and male to female. In Freud's later work the sexual instinct is linked in this way to a desire to merge with another—not necessarily as an impulse toward reproduction, but as a desire to return to an earlier state of existence.

POST-FREUDIAN VIEWS

Although the term *libido* refers to the sexual instinct after it has become bound to an object or an aim, most references to sexual instinct after Freud really mean libido instead of instinct. Swiss psychologist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), for example, understood libido as psychic energy in general. Contemporary references to sexual instinct in popular culture refer primarily to libido as sexual desire.

New studies of the human genome and especially studies of the connections between genes and behavior have posited the possibility that sexual instincts are genetically programmed. There is as yet no evidence that such a complicated behavior as sexuality is genetic, nor that a single instinct accounts for sexual desire, urges to reproduce, or the libido. Sexual instinct is, however, often used as a rationale for not controlling sexual urges. A desire that is instinctive is viewed as uncontrollable, or controlled only with difficulty. Thus, as with human nature, the sexual instinct tends to excuse lapses in judgment. Sexual instinct is also seen as an inalienable right and as one of the basic motivations of humanity. As a motivation sexual instinct sometimes works better when repressed or sublimated—put aside while its energy is used to create art or conduct research. The sacrifice of sexual instinct is also considered to be virtuous, as when clerics choose to be celibate.

SEE ALSO *Psychoanalysis.*

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Judith Roof

SEXUAL INVERSION

Sexual inversion was a nineteenth-century theory of homosexuality best described by the pioneering sexologist Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895) as *anima muliebris virili corpore incluse*, or, a woman's soul confined within a man's body. In the nineteenth century, *sexual inversion*, *homosexuality*, and *antipathic sexuality* were interchangeable terms. The "inversion" in sexual inversion referred to the inverted, or upside-down, quality of a body that did not reflect the "true" essence of its possessor. The truth of the invert was inside rather than on the surface; thus a male invert was "really" a woman, and should be allowed to express a female gender, and a female invert was "really" a man, and should be allowed to dress and live as one. Inversion also referred to the ways in which such bodies inverted the laws of nature, which supposedly decreed that male bodies should desire female sexual partners instead of male ones, and vice versa. The theory of sexual inversion maintained conventional categories of sexuality and gender and did not allow one to be divided from the other. Inversion meant that a man's homosexual desires, effeminacy, or both did not challenge masculine gender or heterosexual sexual norms; rather, a perfectly normal heterosexual woman with a feminine gender was trapped inside him, yearning to come out.

When sex pioneer Havelock Ellis published his landmark *Sexual Inversion* in 1897, he defined congenital sexual inversion on the very first page of his book as "sexual instinct turned by inborn constitutional abnormality towards persons of the same sex." By 1905, however, Sigmund Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* posited the innate bisexuality of all human beings and began to theorize sexuality more as an unruly drive in need of channeling than an essence or nature. Although Freud put gender almost entirely in the service of sexual desire, his work began the privileging of sexuality over gender that would eventually uncouple one from the other almost entirely, and lead to the call by midcentury homosexual and lesbian activists to end the stereotyping of gay men as effeminate and lesbians as masculine. The English novelist Radclyffe Hall attempted to revive the concept of sexual inversion in her landmark 1928 novel, *The Well of Loneliness*, in order to argue that lesbians and homosexual men were really normal people trapped in the wrong bodies, but by then sexual inversion was already outdated, and for the next sixty years it remained out of favor as little more than an antiquated theory of lesbian and gay identity.

Sexual inversion found new favor among transgender activists and scholars in the late 1980s and 1990s, in large part because sexual inversion privileged gender as much or more than sexual desire as grounds for a personal identity and identification. The notion that one's true self is trapped inside a body that does not reflect it is the essential definition of sexual inversion, though in the early twenty-first century *gender inversion* might be a more accurate term. Sexual inversion, now called transgender identity, offers an explanation as to why changing the gender of one's body through cross-dressing, hormones, and surgery feels "right" to so many transgender people. It seems to explain to many women why they feel like men, and not women or lesbians, and explains to many men who feel like women, and not gay men, why they are happier acting and dressing like women. In the early twenty-first century, transgender identity refers almost exclusively to gender in a way that sexual inversion, which was still tied to sexual expression, did not. As a result, where once candidates for sexual reassignment surgery had to convince doctors that they wanted to be heterosexual and gender-normative, one can now be a gay genderqueer transman as well as a straight one, or a transgender drag queen or transgender lesbian as well as a heterosexual woman.

SEE ALSO *Gender Identity; Sexual Identity.*

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SEXUAL LITERACY

In the mid-1960s, Rob and Laura Petrie, the husband and wife characters featured on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, slept in separate single beds. Such were certainly not the sleeping arrangements of most American couples, but it was all that was allowed to be shown on network TV. Twenty years later, when *Sexually Speaking* began airing on WYNY-FM in New York, words such as *penis*, *vagina*, and *orgasm* were regularly featured, and not too long after making its debut in the Big Apple in 1981, the program began airing nationally on the NBC radio network, in effect signaling that the curtain the media had thrown over the topic of sex had finally begun to lift. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, with commercials for drugs to combat erectile dysfunction flashing across screens at all times of the day and night, to mention but one small example of how ubiquitous the subject of sex has become in the American home, sex has come fully out of the closet.

But just because sex has gone from back room smokers to prime time does not mean that the average person is much more sexually literate than in the days when sex was kept under wraps. If the level of sexual literacy had climbed as high as that of exposure to sexual content, then the rate of unintended pregnancies and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases should have plummeted. As that is not the case in the United States, then people are either not paying attention to all the information that is now beamed into their homes, or they are selectively choosing to ignore some of that information.

Sexual literacy has many components. They include: knowledge of sexual functioning, especially with regard to enjoying sex to the highest degree; having the skill set to prevent an unintended pregnancy among sexually active people; knowing how to protect oneself from catching or transmitting a sexually transmitted disease; having the ability to distinguish sexual facts from sexual myths; being able to successfully maintain a relationship with a sexual partner; and understanding the dangers presented by the wealth of material with a high sexual content now so easily available.

The level of sexual literacy a person reaches can be affected by many factors including level of education, income level, and culture. One important factor is age. In a survey of more than 19,000 Australians done in 2001–2002, males aged sixteen to nineteen were the segment of the population least likely to have had sexual satisfaction from their last sexual encounter. For women it was also this age bracket, as well as those aged fifty to fifty-nine. Since younger people are less experienced, they are thereby less sexually literate, and the resulting lower level of sexual satisfaction gives credence to the concept that a higher level of sexual literacy leads to a better sex life. (Even the second group of women may support this conclusion, as women in this age group are undergoing the physical changes brought on by menopause, and those changes require a learning curve in order for a woman to make the proper adjustments to the changes in her body.)

Another important factor in the determining the level of sexual literacy could be gender, but this one is more difficult to ascertain. For example, in the Australian study, 68.9 percent of women reported having an orgasm as a result of their last sexual episode as opposed to 94.8 percent of men. But since the men in this same study wanted sex more often, and women are capable of satisfying their partner's sexual desire without necessarily fully participating in the act by having an orgasm, it is not possible to say that the difference in the number of women reporting orgasms had anything to do with their level of sexual literacy or was merely the result of their willingness to participate in a sexual encounter just to please their male partner. Another complication in deciding the level of a woman's sexual literacy is the fact that women are far more dependent on their partner to achieve sexual satisfaction. So a woman with a partner whose level of sexual literacy was lower than hers might still have difficulties achieving sexual satisfaction.

But while it may be difficult to compare the level of sexual knowledge between men and women, there is no doubt that women have gained considerable amount of knowledge regarding their sexual functioning in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Sadly, for far too many women over much too long a period of time, sex was once only a chore. The majority of women never derived any sexual satisfaction from sex and many thought of themselves as frigid, assuming they had any realization of the concept that it was possible for a woman to have enjoyment from sex at all. If neither their mothers had ever enjoyed sex, nor many of the other women around them, there really was no place for these women to get the information that sex could be as enjoyable for women as it was for men. (And this pertains only to Western society. In those parts of the world where female genital mutilation continues to be performed, the concept of women enjoying sex is totally alien.)

Although there are still some women who fall into the category of not receiving the ultimate enjoyment from sex, at the beginning of the twenty-first century the vast majority of women at least know that sex between two people is something that should be causing orgasms for both of them, even if not every one of them has yet figured out how to accomplish this. And where it was once the women who felt themselves pressured into having sex, many men have come to feel the pressure of having to perform with a certain level of skill in order to give their partners the sexual satisfaction they demand. And if the tables have turned, and women have become more sexually literate, it is entirely because of the information that was broadcast over the media, again and again and again.

And on the other side of the now televised king-size bed, similar changes have occurred in the knowledge men have, not only about the sexual functioning of their partners, but about themselves as well. The most visible of these is no doubt the issue of erectile dysfunction. Who would have dreamed during the administration of John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) that one day a powerful senator who once ran for the presidency would be seen on television admitting his problems with obtaining and maintaining his erections? Yes, the development of Viagra was an accident; Pfizer was trying to develop an alternative to nitroglycerin for people with angina. But had they stumbled on this type of drug twenty years earlier, it would be sure bet that few men would ever have heard of it, and fewer still would have actually had the courage to speak to their doctors about their problems. And the overall result, apart from improving the sex life of many older men, is that both men and women of all ages now are much more familiar with this particular male dysfunction, and the potential cures.

Returning to the other variations in population, it has been ascertained that both men and women in lower socioeconomic groups obtain less enjoyment from sex. Given that this population is also less educated, one can safely assume that the level of sexual literacy among this group is also lower. Although men in this population are more likely to enjoy the pleasure that comes from sex, and not just the reproductive aspects, all populations report that sex in a companionship relationship is better. Therefore if the women in the lower socioeconomic groups were able to improve their enjoyment of sex, there would be a corresponding improvement in the enjoyment of sex among the men as well.

However, much of the educational efforts aimed toward lower economic status groups has been with the goal of teaching them about contraception, so that they would not have as many children to support, as well as about how to avoid sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS in particular. The concept of teaching the other aspects of sexual literacy, especially with regard to increasing the pleasure of sex, is most certainly a foreign one. And the culture of many countries with large concentrations of poor people tends not to accept the sexual gratification of women. One study that polled more than 27,000 people worldwide found that the level of sexual enjoyment throughout Asia is less than in Western countries. And in Muslim countries where the custom of performing clitorectomies on young women is practiced, making it impossible for them ever to have an orgasm, many of the concepts that form the basis of sexual literacy are irrelevant.

Another finding of this study was that lower levels of overall health lead to lower levels of sexual enjoyment. Because various diseases and ailments almost always afflict those living in poverty, this further decreases their need for sexual literacy, as other needs of these people are so much more imperative. Yet it is also known that people in good relationships tend to be healthier than those who are not in a relationship, so that improvements in sexual literacy among poor people, which would aid in their personal relationships, would have a positive effect on their overall health.

The more sexually literate a person is, the fewer sexual myths to which that person should still give credence. While some myths have been dealt severe blows, for example those having to do with masturbation, new myths have arisen that end up lowering sexual literacy. No scientific evidence has been found for the so-called G-spot, and yet many people believe that it exists, just because they have heard so much about it; that belief, in turn, can do damage to their relationship. If the female accuses her partner of being a lousy lover because he is unable to locate her G-spot, which may not exist, then their overall level of sexual satisfaction will lessen.

Of course it is difficult to talk about sexual literacy when the very definition of the word *sex* is somewhat up for grabs. In the 1980s a woman who used her mouth to give her partner an orgasm would universally have been considered to have had sex. Yet in the early 2000s many young people consider *sex* to mean only intercourse and will have oral sex much more casually than intercourse. Are they demonstrating sexual illiteracy or is this just an example of a change in the sexual mores?

Perhaps a better question would be whether teens should be given the power to make such changes. If they were fully sexually literate, they might be considered to have the competency to push society in certain directions. But the truth is that American teens have been shown not to have a good grasp of sexual functioning, based on statistics comparing them with young people in Europe. For example, the U.S. teen pregnancy rate is nearly twice as high as that of Canada and Great Britain, more than three times higher than in Sweden, nearly four times higher than France, nearly five times higher than Germany, and more than nine times higher than in the Netherlands. The teen chlamydia infection rate in the United States is nearly two times higher than in Canada and Sweden, more than five times higher than in Great Britain, nineteen times higher than in France, and eighty-eight times higher than in Belgium. And the underlying fault seems to be the state of their sexual education.

The differences in the level of sexual literacy between American teens and those in Europe are not accidental. Beginning in the 1990s, the U.S. government—prodded by conservative forces—began to coerce localities, via federal funding, to use abstinence-until-marriage curricula in their sexual education courses. The statistics cited above demonstrate that these programs have failed to raise the level of sexual literacy among the nation's teenagers, and, in fact, have had a negative impact rather than a positive one. Two specific pieces of legislation that caused this effect were the 1996 passage of the Welfare Reform Act and the creation of the Special Projects of Regional and National Significance—Community Based Abstinence Education Program (SPRANS-CBEA).

The main difference between many European sex education programs and that of the United States is that in countries like France and Sweden, the message given to teens is that it is okay to have sex within a committed relationship, and this acceptance helps encourage teens to enter such relationships rather than engage in casual sex. In the United States, teens who have no desire to get married end up having more casual sex, and as a result undergo more unintended pregnancies, abortions, and are more likely to get a sexually transmitted disease.

There is one more issue that needs to be covered when examining the state of sexual literacy, and that is the confusion that exists over the shifting sands of information that threaten to overwhelm us in so many areas of health care. One obvious case is the issue of Hormone Replacement Therapy (HRT) for postmenopausal women. One of the benefits of HRT is that it allows women to continue to lubricate naturally when they become sexually aroused. But when HRT came under suspicion, and women found themselves torn between taking it to relieve the symptoms of menopause versus the risks that had been widely discussed, the resulting confusion left them floundering. When information that had been part of the bedrock of their sexual literacy comes into question, it naturally makes them mistrust other information that they had considered true.

On the male side of the equation, the arrival of Viagra and its competitors also changed the situation, for the men taking these drugs and for their partners. Older people, who had expected a natural decline in their sex lives, suddenly found themselves facing the possibility of an active sex life that could continue for many more years. This change in expectations requires an adjustment to the sexual habits of every couple caught in this situation. So here is a case where a couple's level of sexual literacy may dip due to a change in outside factors that suddenly make their sex lives more complicated than they were before. And that can be even truer for couples for which these drugs may not be appropriate. There are alternatives, such as surgically implanted pumps that have become quite safe and more effective, but with all the attention drawn to the pills, being able to find out about these alternatives may become more difficult. Of course, with men having to go to their doctor to get a prescription, some are given much needed information along with the prescription, thus raising their level of sexual literacy. Sadly, this is not always the case.

And then there is the area covered by those who do not consider themselves heterosexual. When homosexuals first began to come out of the closet in great numbers, their levels of sexual literacy increased as overall communication about homosexual sex exploded. But with the arrival of HIV/AIDS, along with an acceptance of the possibility that some people might be bisexual, the picture became much more complex. Many men who had shunned activities that might put them at risk began to revert back to those same activities, clearly showing that their level of sexual literacy had, if not actually dropped, at least become clouded.

There is no doubt that all the media attention given to sex has made people more aware of the complexities of a natural human function that for so long was just a part of the reproductive process and did not require much in the way of education. So to rate the sexual literacy of an individual might require two scales: one that would measure the level on an absolute basis, and another on a relative one. For the former, it is clear that people, in general, know a lot more about sexual functioning than they did before. But because of the many added variables that arose in the last few decades of the twentieth century, this increase does not mean that everyone is better able to navigate the actual universe of sexual behavior as it stands today.

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Ruth Westheimer

SEXUAL OBJECTS

Psychiatrist Sigmund Freud, in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1963 [1905]), coined the term *sexual object*, along with *sexual aim*, in order to discuss sexuality. According to Freud a sexual object is "the person from whom sexual attraction proceeds," whereas sexual aim refers to "the act toward which the instinct tends" (Freud 1905, p. 1, 2). Thus, the sexual object of a heterosexual man could be a woman and his sexual aim could be the completion of intercourse by orgasm. Such an example is regarded by Freud as a basic norm, but he then expands on the many and varied types of sexual objects that range from the mundane to the bizarre. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Freud not only highlights aberrant sexual patterns and describes their roots from a psychoanalytic perspective but also stresses that normal sexual behavior and object choice remain on the same continuum as deviant practices.

Drawing a fine line between perversion and normative behavior, Freud states that perversions occur in relation to typical sexual objects and aims. Perversions merely sexualize and eroticize nongenital bodily regions or fixate on close relations to the sexual object itself. The degree of abnormality achieved in perverted object choice and/or sexual aim is considered in a Freudian psychoanalytic view to be linked to a childhood conflict. Inability to seek a more appropriate and fulfilling object may present itself as a consequence of certain memories or fears.

In the realm of psychology deviant object choice is often a factor in the diagnosis of paraphilias. The paraphilias, representative of aberrant sexual patterns and behavior, are usually chronic conditions diagnosable through the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV* (1994). The following four examples of abnormal object choice are paraphilias.

FETISHISM

Fetishism involves fantasy, arousal, and/or sexual behavior concerning a singular body part or inanimate object. As the *DSM-IV* notes, these sexual objects are not limited to things specially created for sexual gratification (i.e., vibrators). Common items utilized for sexual pleasure include leather, bras, panties, stockings, shoes, hair, and feet. To attain the given sexual aim the fetish object is necessary, or at the very least, intensely preferred during the sex act. Without the object the aim may not be achieved.

The attraction to the fetish may form, as presented by the psychoanalytic perspective, through a childhood conflict, or it may serve as a symbolic reminder of another sexual object. Some researchers attribute the fetish's power to a Pavlovian type of classical conditioning in which the fetishized object is continually experienced in conjunction with other sexually arousing material until at some point the fetish alone triggers the response of typical sexual objects.

VOYEURISM

One of the main paraphilias in the *DSM-IV*, voyeurism is the practice of watching others as they are disrobing, naked, or participating in sexual acts. Those who are being watched tend to be strangers and do not realize that they are in direct view. The unsuspecting individual becomes the sexual object for the voyeur, and he or she may fantasize that they are having sex with the object while looking and masturbating. Unlike the majority of the paraphilias, both men and women engage in voyeurism.

Some researchers hold that the exhibitionism involved in voyeurism is the result of traumatic childhood experiences. Studies also show that voyeurs often experience anxiety, low self-esteem, obsessive compulsiveness, and interpersonal communication difficulties. As is the case with a number of the paraphilias, people can engage in voyeurism more easily since the advent of the Internet; for example, via web cam feeds that allow the public access to private spaces.

PEDOPHILIA

Pedophilia, from the Greek for *love of children*, involves sexual urges, fantasies, and behavior focused upon or enacted with children. In such cases an immature sexual object substitutes for the typical adult, perhaps because the pedophile does not feel comfortable in adult relationships, feels empowered by the difference in age and authority, and/or has fixated upon and wishes to recapture some sexually arousing experience from childhood. Pedophiles tend to be males who appear to be well-adjusted and have steady work histories, although they can often be shy loners. Some child-abuse researchers draw a distinction between pedophiles and child molesters, noting that the latter generally have sporadic work histories along with histories of arrest. According to such definitions the child molester is also considered more likely to use aggressive force. The law, however, does not acknowledge such distinctions and prosecutes adults engaging in sexual contact with children regardless of the perpetrator's tendencies or history.

NECROPHILIA

One of the rarer paraphilias is necrophilia, meaning *love of the dead*. Marked by obsessive interest in or sexual attraction to the dead, necrophilia may serve as an outlet for individuals who intensely need to confront death and dying. Necrophilia is not limited to sex with a corpse. A number of sexual acts such as stroking, rubbing, or masturbating in the vicinity of the body can be labeled as falling under this paraphilia.

There are three types of necrophilia: violent, fantasy, and romantic. The violent type may desire a corpse so relentlessly that they kill for one. Fantasy necrophiles sate their desires by imagining sexual encounters with a deceased sexual object and/or have sex with a person who is pretending to be dead. Finally, romantic necrophiles are those who cannot accept that their sexual object has died. Unable to sever the living bond of love, they forgo burial or cremation of their sexual object and keep the corpse.

Freud's usage of the term sexual object carries over into sexology and sociology while maintaining its psychoanalytic meaning. Sexual object in this sense must not be confused with the sociological understanding of sexual objectification. Sexual objects are many and varied and may be anyone or anything. Though certain object choices are criminalized or considered freakish or bizarre, their status may change as cultures change and may one day be deemed more acceptable.

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SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Sexual orientation is a set of categories by which a person's sexual and emotional preferences are defined. The possible categories are produced by combining one's gender with the gender or gender*s* of the people to whom one is attracted romantically, sexually, and emotionally. When people are attracted only to people of the same gender as themselves, their orientation is said to be *homosexual*. When people are attracted only to people of another gender, their orientation is called *heterosexual*. When people are attracted to people of any gender, they are considered *bisexual*. People who are not attracted to anyone at all are called *asexual*. Although people use the categories of sexual orientation all of the time when trying to define themselves or others, what an orientation is, how one's preferred object of desire becomes an aspect of one's identity, how such categories may or may not characterize individuals, and what such preferences reveal about sexuality are not clear either in scientific research or in everyday life.

Attempts to classify sexual desire began in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the German writer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895). Ulrichs was interested in removing the stigma from homosexuality, which he regarded as innate. Ulrichs devised a set of classifications that applied to male desires; for him females were simply fainter versions of the male. The idea of classifying sexual desires in terms of the relative genders of the loving subject and beloved object was taken up by others, particularly the sexologists who were studying the phenomenon of human sexuality, resulting in the three primary categories in use in the early twenty-first century.

From almost the beginning there were disputes about how to understand what the nature of any relation must be in order to define an orientation as homosexual or heterosexual. Most early sexologists understood sexual desire to be an innate urge and thus primarily psychological. They saw sexual orientation as a matter of urges. Sexologists Havelock Ellis and Richard von Krafft-Ebing both understood categories of sexual desire as deriving from feelings rather than necessarily being proven only by sexual acts.

Later sex researchers such as Simon LeVay determined whether or not individuals fell into a category based on either emotional or physical behavior. Individuals might be categorized on the basis of the primary gender toward which they were attracted or on the gender of those with whom they had actual sexual relationships. Others understood the classifications to apply only to those who had had physical experience itself. Milton Diamond (1984) commented that the requirement of actual sexual experience rather than more difficult-to-assess emotional criteria tends to be the one used by researchers attempting to discern the size of the homosexual population.

Even if researchers agree on which criteria is relevant, they very often do not have any consistent notion of what constitutes an *emotional* or *physical* attraction to someone else. In other words there is no agreed-upon understanding about what constitutes sexual preference or even sexuality. Some, especially those influenced by the women's movement, understand sexual/affectional preferences as a *continuum* ranging from affection and emotional intimacy to sexual desire and behavior. Others understand the psychological aspects of sexual desire as innate and as formed in early childhood (as do the psychoanalysts Sigmund Freud [1856–1939] and Jacques Lacan [1901–1981]). Both Freud and Lacan understand sexual orientation as a part of a complicated set of positionings infants make in relation to the world and the people surrounding them. Alfred Kinsey and later sexologists thought that individuals' sexual orientations existed on a scale, or continuum, from purely heterosexual on one end to purely homosexual on the other. According to Kinsey, most individuals fell somewhere in the middle. Since then others have seen sexual orientation as genetic, that is, preprogrammed in an individual's genes. Many see sexual orientation as an *identity*, as a set of desires and practices that help define an individual's sense of self.

In the same way, deciding which acts might constitute the kinds of sexual behavior that would define an orientation range from having sexual fantasies to arousal to sexual touching to sexual activity to orgasm. The choice and definition of criteria often reflects a researcher's own beliefs and ideologies about sexuality. If, for example, only actual sexual behavior culminating in orgasm counts as a sexual orientation, then there would be fewer homosexuals than if fantasies count as well. Those interested in reducing the reported incidence of homosexuality might deploy a more restrictive definition, whereas those interested in showing how widespread the phenomenon is may use a more inclusive definition.

Even using the broadest definitions it is often difficult to define an individual's sexual orientation, because desires change from context to context and throughout life. Some who might begin puberty with more heterosexual or homosexual leanings may change that orientation later. Some, pressured by parents and society, may express themselves as heterosexuals, even while feeling attracted to others of the same sex. Some believe that one's sexual orientation can be changed through conditioning programs. Some religions believe that certain sexual orientations are sinful. Others, believing sexual orientation to be innate, argue that society should change to accept the naturally occurring and harmless variations that exist. Still others believe that sexual orientation is a choice everyone should be free to exercise.

Attitudes and acceptance about sexual orientations differ around the world. Most cultures are openly heterosexual, which means that the institutions of the culture accommodate only heterosexual desires. Most cultures tolerate asexuality. A minority of cultures tolerates the other orientations, essentially by permitting nonheterosexual orientations to exist in subcultures. In the United States there is no constitutional protection for nonheterosexual citizens on the basis of their sexual orientation, but some states, such as Wisconsin and Massachusetts, local governments and businesses provide their own nondiscrimination policies. A small minority of countries, such as Canada and almost all of western Europe, recognize the rights of all sexual orientations, offering all citizens the same rights and protections. In the United States all sexual orientations are legal, but many sexual practices associated with homosexuality, such as sodomy, are still illegal.

SEE ALSO *Sexual Identity.*

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SEXUAL PARAPHERNALIA

SEE *Sex Aids.*

SEXUAL PERVERSION

Sexual perversion is an old-fashioned diagnostic term that served as a label for sexual activities considered outside the norm of heterosexual sexual desire and activity. This norm was defined as coitus with a person of the opposite sex with the aim of achieving orgasm through genital penetration. Any other type of sexual activity, regardless of the sex of the participants, was traditionally considered perverse.

Sexual perversion appears most famously in Richard von Krafft-Ebing's nineteenth-century medical textbook *Psychopathia Sexualis*, first published in German in 1886. There sexual *perversion* is defined as a disease of the sexual instinct, as opposed to sexual *perversity*, which is defined as vice rather than pathology. Sexual perversion was understood as a deviation of instinct, which means that it refers to predetermined behavior that is invariable as regards both its performance and its object. The sexual perversions delineated by Krafft-Ebing included sadism, masochism, fetishism, bestiality, sexual inversion in men and women (understood either as what is now termed homosexuality, on the one hand, or gender dysphoria, on the other, or both), rape, nymphomania, onanism (masturbation), pedophilia, exhibitionism, necrophilia, and incest.

In psychoanalysis perversion is used exclusively in relation to sexuality. Sigmund Freud used the notion of sexual perversity in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* [1962 (1905)] to question traditional notions of so-called normal sexuality. He noted rudiments of sexual perversions, such as touching, looking, kissing, and various sorts of fetishism and idealization, in most normal sexual processes. For Freud perversion was limited to sexual activities that either extend anatomically beyond the genital regions of the body or linger indefinitely on activities leading up to coitus without ever arriving at sexual intercourse.

To pervert something is to turn it away from its natural course, but the term has become so exclusively associated with sexuality in the 100-plus years since Freud's *Three Essays* that calling someone a *pervert* in the early twenty-first century is tantamount to labeling them a sex criminal. Because sexual perversion carries with it judgments about the naturalness and value of some kinds of behaviors and the artificiality and wrongness of others, it has been replaced in medical dictionaries and diagnostic manuals by the more neutral term *paraphilia*. Paraphilias are no longer understood as dysfunctional deviations from the normal, as the sexual perversions once were, but are now defined as behaviors centered on sexual arousal with objects or situations where affection may not be reciprocal or returned. The fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV-TR* (2000) lists the paraphilias as exhibitionism, fetishism, frotteurism, pedophilia, sexual masochism, sexual sadism, transvestic fetishism, and voyeurism. Masturbation and homosexuality are no longer considered to be sexually perverse, but some gender-transgressive behaviors have been singled out and retained, such as erotic cross-dressing. Voyeurism, which Krafft-Ebing did not consider unusual and which Freud related to the essentially healthy scopophilic drive, is considered an atypical sexual disorder in the early twenty-first century, and is often associated with criminal behaviors such as stalking.

One or some of the eight major paraphilias must be a patient's sole means of sexual gratification for six months and cause them distress and interpersonal difficulty in order to be diagnosed as an illness requiring medical intervention. Of these exhibitionism is defined as the recurrent urge to expose the genitals to another person; fetishism as the use of objects for sexual pleasure; frotteurism as the urge to rub against nonconsenting persons; pedophilia as the desire to have sex with children; masochism as the desire to be beaten, tied up, humiliated, or made to suffer; sadism as the urge to cause pain and humiliation as a form of sexual excitement; transvestic fetishism as a sexual desire directed at the clothes of the so-called opposite gender; and voyeurism as the desire to secretly observe people undressing or having sex. Many of the older sexual perversions, such as necrophilia (the desire to have sex with dead bodies) or bestiality (the desire to have sex with animals), can be grouped under the major paraphilias, such as sadism and fetishism.

Theories of how paraphilias develop tend to focus on traumatic events associated with early sexual experience, during which subjects are conditioned to respond sexually to unusual situations. Because almost anything can be sexualized, it follows that paraphilias can encompass any behavior, object, or sexual subject.

SEE ALSO *Necrophilia; Pedophilia; Sadomasochism; Voyeurism.*

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SEXUAL PRACTICES

What counts as sexual? One may tend to think of sexual activity as primarily genital activity done alone, with a partner, or in a group, but genital activity alone does not cover the range of bodily pleasures available to most human beings and the wide range of activities that may be defined as sexual. In his 1905 book *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1962), psychoanalytic pioneer Sigmund Freud argues that humans have a sexual instinct akin to hunger that he terms the *libido*. He defines libido as having a *sexual object*, or person or thing one is attracted to, and a *sexual aim*, an act or sexual practice one wants to have with this person or thing. Further, he notes that countless deviations are possible in both object and aim. Sexual practices have come to be recognized as all of the possibilities available for both the objects and the aims of sexual attraction.

Freud formulates his theories of sexual behavior by looking at what he calls the *deviations* of object and aim. The idea of deviation assumes the existence of *natural* or *normal* objects and aims that would not be deviations. Deviations include deviations of object, which in Freud's time included homosexual attraction, as well as deviations still considered abnormal in the twenty-first century, such as pedophilia and bestiality. The sexual aims of these different objects comprise the realm of so-called nonnormative sexual practices, which for Freud included homosexuality, fellatio, cunnilingus, anal sex, the use of other parts of the body for sexual satisfaction, the fetishizing of objects such as shoes, voyeurism, excessive touching, sadism, and masochism. Most of these practices are considered to be normal sexual behavior by many people in the contemporary United States, Canada, and Europe. Sexual practices not mentioned by Freud but cataloged previously by influential sexologists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), include necrophilia; violent nonconsensual acts such as rape, maiming, or murder; nymphomania; incest; and onanism, or masturbation. Modern textbooks also list exhibitionism as a perverse sexual practice, whereas masturbation, or autoeroticism, which was once considered a deviant sexual practice, has—except among some religious conservatives—come to be regarded as a normal and even healthy human sexual behavior. Newer practices unimagined by Freud include the use of many types of manufactured objects such as sex toys, cybersex, and phone sex.

Freud codified the notion of *normal* heterosexual and reproductive objects and aims in order to understand those desires falling outside the norm; thus, the natural object of a man is a woman and vice versa. The natural aim of this attraction is sexual coitus, where the woman's vagina encloses the man's penis until ejaculation occurs, potentially leading to pregnancy and childbirth for the woman. This procreative aim is still the only acceptable one for many religious institutions, such as the Catholic Church, which forbids the use of birth control devices and pharmaceuticals. However, many societies accept family planning and nonprocreative sex as part of their ideologies of normal heterosexual marriage, and thus, heterosexual coitus for its own sake within marriage is generally an acceptable sexual practice in most of the world. Heterosexual coitus outside of marriage is officially frowned upon but socially tolerated in most of Europe and North America, whereas more conservative countries in South America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East operate under a sexual double standard, punishing unmarried women and their children while tolerating male infidelity. In some Muslim countries, such as Pakistan, a woman can be executed—often by members of her own family—for *dishonoring* the family with adulterous behavior, promiscuity, or being the victim of rape. Officially sanctioned sexual practice in such places is strictly limited to heterosexual behavior between men and women who are married to each other.

Heterosexual sexual practices can vary widely. In North America, Europe, and countries experiencing gradual relaxation of sexual Puritanism, such as Argentina and Australia, oral–genital contact is not considered an unusual sexual practice except among some religious conservatives, and even then, what a husband and wife choose to do consensually in their bedroom is largely considered to be their business alone. In countries such as Brazil that associate worldliness with sexual experimentation, sexual cosmopolitanism is mostly limited to men and prostitutes. Heterosexual fellatio, where the penis is sucked, is a common practice among U.S. teenagers seeking to avoid pregnancy, whereas cunnilingus, where the women's genitals are licked and sucked, is less common but still practiced. Heterosexual anal penetration, where the penis is inserted into the female's anus, is also a growing trend among U.S. adolescents, again because it limits the risk of pregnancy. Although some married couples do engage in anal intercourse, it is considered by most people, even liberals, to be more deviant than is oral sex.

Finally, pleasures such as pornography, fetishism, leather, sex toys, erotica, intergenerational sex, wife swapping, group sex, and phone sex are also more tolerated among heterosexuals, especially in Europe and the Americas, with group sex seen as the most deviant, probably because it offers more possibilities for homosexual sexual contact. Again, married couples enjoy a zone of privacy around their consumption of pornography, their fetishistic practices, their use of sex toys and erotica, and the ages of their choices of partners, as long as those partners are above the legal age of consent.

Homosexuality remains the most consistent dividing line the world between sanctioned and unacceptable sexual practices. Homosexual sexual practices comprise any sexual act between two people of the same sex. This includes practices also common between heterosexual partners, such as oral–genital sex; oral–anal sex; anal penetration with the hand, penis, or manufactured object; vaginal penetration with the hand or manufactured object; rubbing the genitals against a partner's body; scopophilia; sadomasochism; mutual masturbation; and talking someone to arousal and sexual climax on a telephone or using a web camera.

One of the best indices of late-twentieth-century attitudes toward human sexual practices can be found in Gayle Rubin's influential 1984 essay "Thinking Sex," which argued that mainstream U. S. culture still draws clear distinctions between *good* sexual practices and *bad* ones—distinctions that reflect the enduring influence of Freud's notion of normal sexual objects and aims versus deviant or abnormal sexual objects and aims. Contemporary good, or sanctioned, sexual practices include sex between monogamous, same-generational heterosexual married partners, done at home, potentially procreative, without monetary payment, using only bodies, and without the use of pornography for arousal. Bad sexual practices include homosexual sex, promiscuous sex, nonprocreative sex, sex for money, masturbation or group sex, casual sex, cross-generational sex, sex in public, sex that uses pornography for arousal, sex using manufactured objects, and sadomasochistic sex. Whereas many of these bad sexual practices, such as the use of pornography and manufactured objects, have become more acceptable among heterosexuals in the intervening years since Rubin's essay was published, homosexuality is still unacceptable among religious conservatives in many parts of the world. Therefore, any sexual practices that take place between same-sex partners are still considered bad, or unacceptable, on the basis of that alone. In some parts of the world where it is acceptable to have more than one wife, such as non-Christian South Africa, sanctioned sexual practices might encompass intimacy between a man and several women who are wives in his household.

COMMONLY-KNOWN SEXUAL PRACTICES

Most of the following list of sexual practices can be part of heterosexual, homosexual, single, or group sexual activity. Although most of these practices are considered fairly normal today, vaginal intercourse is the only practice on this list that would have been considered normal in terms of sexual object and sexual aim by Freud and his contemporaries.

Abstinence Sexual abstinence is the voluntary decision not to engage in sexual relations of any kind. For some people abstinence is more narrowly defined as the decision not to engage in penetrative sex. Reasons for abstinence include periodic abstinence for contraception, disease or pregnancy prevention, and abstinence for religious reasons.

Anal Intercourse Anal intercourse, which at one time was one of the definitions of the term *sodomy*, involves the insertion of the penis into the rectum. This practice is widespread among both homosexual men and heterosexual couples. Some people define anal sex as including insertion of objects into the anus, such as dildos, fingers, and hands. Insertion of hands is often termed *fisting*. Some define anal–oral contact as anal sex.

Anilingus Also known as *rimming*, anilingus is the stimulation of the anal area with the lips and tongue.

Autoerotic Asphyxiation Autoerotic asphyxiation is the practice of self-strangulation while masturbating. Partial asphyxiation is said to enhance orgasm, though this can also inadvertently result in death. It is usually practiced by males and often by adolescent males.

Autofellatio Autofellatio is fellatio—sucking and licking the penis—performed on oneself. This can be most easily done by men limber enough to bend their torsos so as to hook their legs behind their heads, often facilitated by sturdy bed headboards. Very few men are able to accomplish autofellatio.

Axillary Intercourse Referred to by the slang term *bagpiping*, axillary intercourse is the act of inserting the penis under a partner's armpit. It is part of a broader category of sexual practice termed *outercourse*.

Bestiality Bestiality is a catchall term for any type of sexual contact with animals. This can involve various types of body contact, including oral, anal, and vaginal intercourse by humans on animals or animals on humans. Bestiality is another practice that was once included as part of the definition of sodomy.

Body Rubbing Also known as *dry humping* when partners are clothed, body rubbing is the practice of rubbing bodies together, especially sexual organs, sometimes leading to orgasm. It is also sometimes called *frottage*, and can be done in private with consenting partners, or in public with unwilling strangers, as is the case with people who become aroused by rubbing against strangers in crowds and on public transportation.

Bondage and Discipline Bondage and discipline is sexual role play involving sadism and masochism in which one partner, sometimes called a *bottom*, is bound or restrained and then punished physically or mentally by the other partner, or the *top*. Some people make a distinction between sadism and masochism as involving pain and bondage and discipline as not involving pain, but there is a good deal of overlap between them, as the common acronym BDSM suggests. Such acts are generally found to be sexually arousing for both partners and mutually agreed upon or negotiated beforehand. Tops and bottoms can maintain consistent roles or switch at will, and although it may appear as if the top is in control, it is often the bottom who calls all the shots. Whereas some forms of bondage and discipline, such as the use of handcuffs, have migrated into mainstream sexual practices, it remains a subcultural sexual practice.

Bottoming Bottoming is taking the role of the bottom, or submissive partner, in a consensual bondage, sadomasochistic, or disciplinary sexual scenario, becoming sexually aroused because one is being hurt or punished in some way. Bottoms used to be called masochists, but that term has fallen out of favor as too judgmental. Bottoms may enjoy being forcibly confined, bound, gagged, or blindfolded; receiving punishment such as whipping, slapping, paddling, hot wax dripped on one's body, hair pulling, or verbal or physical humiliation; consensual abuse such as rough penetration with hands, penises, or sex toys, by a single partner or a group of people; or servitude, where one may be treated as a pet animal, a beast of burden, or a human slave. Bottoms and tops may switch roles or maintain consistency over the course of many sexual encounters.

Coitus Also known as sexual intercourse, copulation, or vaginal intercourse, coitus is the insertion of the penis into the vagina, followed by rhythmic rubbing back and forth that commonly leads to male orgasm. Women may orgasm during coitus, but because coitus was socially defined until recently as a reproductive practice, it was not traditionally considered to have been completed unless the male ejaculated sperm into the woman's body.

Coprophilia Also called *scat*, coprophilia is sexual response related to the smell or taste of feces or to seeing someone defecate, either by themselves or on another person. Sexual practices enjoying contemporary notoriety that incorporate aspects of coprophilia include the *dirty Sanchez*, in which a man wipes feces from his penis or finger on another person's face after anal sex.

Cunnilingus Cunnilingus, or oral sex on a woman, is the stimulation of the genitals of the woman with lips, mouth, or tongue. The clitoris can be licked or sucked, as can the vaginal lips, and the vagina can also be penetrated with the tongue. This practice may or may not be continued to orgasm. It does not carry the cultural freight of fellatio, as often it is considered masculine for a man to lick a woman's genitals. Cunnilingus between women is thought to be a common lesbian sexual practice, though this is not necessarily true. Cunnilingus between women is prominently featured in heterosexual pornography, and the sight of two women licking each other's genitals is considered arousing for heterosexual men.

Cybersex Cybersex refers to sex-related activities, products, and services having to do with the Internet. Cybersex includes sexual arousal fostered between individuals or groups through games, film and video clips, computer animation, chat rooms, bulletin boards, instant messaging services, web cameras, Internet porn, and other sources.

Erotic Fantasy Erotic fantasy is defined as reading, watching, imagining, telling, or acting out sexual fantasies with or without a partner. Erotic fantasies can involve stories, scenarios, dreams, novels, film and television, or music. Imagination is the biggest factor in erotic fantasies, which are usually more arousing as fantasies than they would be if acted out in *real* life.

Erotic Massage Erotic massage is a sensual and sexually arousing body massage that sometimes includes stimulation of the sexual organs with hands, body, or mouth. An erotic message may or may not culminate in orgasm, which is sometimes referred to as a *happy ending*. Erotic message can be a form of sex work, a part of sex therapy, or simply a sexual practice between partners.

Exhibitionism Exhibitionism is sexual arousal achieved by taking off one's clothes or exposing the genitals, performing sex acts, or masturbating in front of others, usually strangers. Having sex in public places where one might be caught is considered a kind of exhibitionism, as is a preference for public nudity.

Fellatio Oral sex on a man, called fellatio, involves licking or sucking the penis with the mouth, lips, and tongue. It can also involve licking or sucking the scrotal sacs. This action may or may not be continued to orgasm, and the partner may or may not swallow the ejaculate. Although fellatio has gained popularity among heterosexuals in the latter part of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, it has historically been considered degrading, and many men still consider fellatio improper for a wife but proper for a prostitute to perform. Male–male fellation is considered a common homosexual sexual practice. Because of this, the sexual practice of male–male fellatio is synonymous with homosexuality among homophobic men in mainstream U. S. culture, and use of the epithet *cocksucker* is a common form of homophobic insult that relies on the assumption that any man low enough to suck another man's penis is worthy of contempt.

Conversely, among the male population of some Melanesian, Australian, and Papua New Guinea tribes, a tradition of adolescent males ingesting the semen of adult males is considered a vital ritual of manhood. Boys are fed mother's milk until just before puberty, when they are taken away from women and brought into a society of men. It is thought that in order to become men, they must be fed semen, or man's milk, and that without this they will have no semen of their own and be unable to father children. Unlike cultures that believe males lose masculinity when they suck another man's penis, these peoples believe males gain masculinity, fertility, and power through ritualized fellatio.

Felching Felching is licking semen out of the anus after anal intercourse. It can also refer to licking semen out of the vagina after vaginal intercourse.

Fetishism Fetishism is sexual arousal in response to an object, such as a boot or baseball bat; to a practice, such as wearing animal costumes or military uniforms; or to nongenital parts of the body, such as feet, breasts, legs, elbows, armpits, hair, or ears. Fetishes vary widely and might include items of clothing, such as shoes, underwear, opposite-gender dress; materials, such as leather, latex, rubber, feathers, or silk; or body parts. Some might consider the use of sex toys to be a fetishistic practice, though others might see toys as an extension of the sexual act or acts and not the thing in itself.

Fisting Fisting involves inserting a hand into the rectum or vagina of a sexual partner, sometimes forming a fist during or after insertion. Usually the fist is moved in a rhythmic motion once inside the partner's body.

Foot Fetishism Also called *podophilia*, foot fetishism is sexual arousal from viewing, handling, rubbing against, or kissing the feet and toes, as well as the shoes, socks, or boots, of another person.

Foreplay Foreplay describes sexual practices other than heterosexual sexual intercourse, and includes sexual activity such as touching, kissing, licking, massaging, hugging, and other types of bodily contact that promote sexual excitement (erection or vaginal lubrication). This type of sexual activity may or may not lead to orgasm and does not necessarily lead to sexual intercourse, although it is most often understood as a prelude (*fore*) to heterosexual vaginal intercourse. Homosexual sex between men or between women does not involve penis–vagina sexual intercourse and so does not have the interest in distinguishing one kind of sexual practice from another, or earlier stages of sexual relations from later stages that follow it, as conveyed by a term such as *foreplay*.

Frottage Frottage is sexual arousal achieved by rubbing against another person, including nonconsensual rubbing against strangers in public places. Frottage can be practiced between men or between men and women and in its consensual form is a time-honored homosexual sexual alternative to oral sex and anal intercourse. It may include *intercrural intercourse*, which involves inserting the penis between the thighs of a partner; *frotting*, in which penises are rubbed together as a couple embraces; and *mammary intercourse*, where the penis is rubbed between the woman's breasts. Frottage is considered a safe sexual practice that reduces the likelihood of HIV transmission and has enjoyed a resurgence in popularity in recent years.

Furries Also sometimes known as plushies, furries are people who enjoy wearing anthropomorphic animal costumes. The media has portrayed them as people looking for nontraditional sexual experiences, but many furries insist that they are merely a kind of fandom, like Star Trek *Trekkers* or *Trekkies*. Nevertheless, there are furry or plushie groups interested in dating and sex within their interest group, as is true of other fan subcultural groups.

Group Sex Group sex is sexual activity between more than two partners at the same time in one place. It is sometimes called an orgy, though group sex can involve couples next to each other, threesomes, daisy chains, or gang bangs. Threesomes may be composed of three men; three women; or some combination of men and women, where two men have sex with one woman or two women have sex with one man. Larger groups can form and are called daisy chains if the person one is having sex with is also having sex with the person next to him or her and so on. Gang bangs are consensual scenarios where a group of men line up to have intercourse with one person, either male or female. A nonconsensual gang bang, where a person is violated by others against their will, is called a gang rape.

Incest Incest is sexual contact between closely related individuals, such as siblings; or children and their parents, grandparents, aunts, or uncles. Incest violates sociocultural or religious norms or laws concerning kinship and sexual activity. Definitions of the type of kinship within which sex is forbidden vary widely between cultures; in some cultures first cousins may marry; in others, cousins may have sexual relations but not marry; and still others consider such relationships to be incestuous and therefore completely forbidden.

Intercourse Intercourse is understood to involve insertion of the erect penis into some orifice, such as the vagina, anus, or mouth. It may also be used to describe some forms of frottage, such as interfemoral (intercrural) intercourse or mammary intercourse. Intercrural or interfemoral intercourse is inserting and moving the penis between the thighs of a partner, whereas mammary intercourse involves inserting and moving the penis between a woman's breasts.

The Kama Sutra is a Hindu treatise by a writer known as Vatsyayana written during the Classical Age of India (320–540 CE) and delineating various sitting, standing, and recumbent heterosexual sexual positions. It was translated by Sir Richard Burton (1821–1890) in 1883 and exists in various photographic, illustrated, film, and animated forms. Contemporary lesbian and gay male versions of the text exist as well, and kama sutra is understood today as another name for a sex manual.

Masturbation Masturbation is manual stimulation of oneself or a partner for sexual pleasure and can be penetrative or nonpenetrative. Mutual masturbation is sexual activity in which partners stimulate each other's genitals with hands or sex toys. Masturbating a man is often described as giving someone a *hand job*.

Necrophilia Necrophilia is sexual activity or obsession with a corpse. It is seen as a disorder or as signaling an underlying disorder. It is thought to be rare.

Nymphomania Nymphomania is an archaic and disparaging term used to refer to a very sexually active woman, implying excessive or uncontrollable desire. It was once considered unusual and even pathological for a woman to be sexually active, especially without pay. The term has been replaced by the ubiquitous *whore*, another sexist epithet that functions in a similar way.

Oral Intercourse Also called oral sex, oral intercourse includes cunnilingus, fellatio, anilingus, felching, and rimming.

Paraphilia Paraphilia is sexual arousal or orgasm dependent upon a sexual practice that is outside of social norms. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV-TR* lists the paraphilias as exhibitionism, fetishism, frotteurism, pedophilia, sexual masochism, sexual sadism, transvestic fetishism, and voyeurism.

Pederasty Pederasty is a term signifying love, friendship, sexual attraction, and sometimes sexual relations between an adult man and a pubescent boy between twelve and seventeen years of age. Pederasty was understood as an institutionalized relationship in ancient Greek society, officially sanctioned as long as it was consensual and mutually beneficial. Some relationships were sexual, although chaste pederasty was also championed as a form of self-control for both partners. The man was expected to mentor the boy in various ways and help him attain manhood; the boy was expected to delight and inspire the man to virtuous living and great deeds. Classical Greek pederasty is quite different from pedophilia, as pedophilia is a sexual attraction to children and includes girls as well as boys, and Greek pederasty excluded children and girls.

Pederastic relationships are known outside of the Greek tradition, and there are many societies in which the principal homosexual love object for males is the adolescent boy. Such relationships have been known in Korea, Japan, China, and many Islamic countries where contact between males and females is limited. Pederasty is institutionalized in Papua New Guinea, where men and boys have sexual relations until the boys marry. Pederasty was defended in poetry and philosophy in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Germany, England, and the United States, but by the late twentieth century, it was mostly out of favor largely because of strict sex-offender laws seeking to limit sexual contact between legal adults and minors below the age of consent.

Pedophilia Pedophilia is the sexual arousal for an adult obtained by sexual contact with or fantasies about children and is considered a pathological sexual disorder, or paraphilia.

Phone Sex Telephone or phone sex is a kind of virtual sex consisting of sexually explicit conversation between two or more persons using the telephone. Usually one or more of the participants masturbates during the conversation, and details of this masturbation are candidly related to other listeners as part of the conversation. Phone sex conversations may include sexual commands and suggestions, sexual stories and confessions, and frank discussion of sensitive sexual topics. The best-known cliché of phone sex is the opening line, "What are you wearing?" Phone sex can be part of an intimate monogamous relationship when lovers are separated by distance, casual sexual contact between people interested in a network of virtual sex partners, or a commercial transaction where one person pays another person to verbally arouse them.

Role Playing Role playing is the acting out of sexual fantasies, sometimes using costumes, masks, or props. It may incorporate aspects of sadomasochism.

Sadomasochism Sadomasochism (SM) is the consensual use of domination or pain for sexual arousal and stimulation. It is a dynamic that usually involves playing out dominant and submissive roles, where the so-called sadist inflicts pain or humiliation and appears to enjoy it while the so-called masochist becomes aroused and satisfied receiving it. Derogatory terms such as *sadist* and *masochist* have been largely replaced by words such as *top* and *bottom*, because these terms are less judgmental and emphasize the role-playing dimension of the SM sexual dynamic. Certain films, such as prison movies and military dramas, rely on stereotypical versions of sadism and masochism for plot and character development. However, SM sex is a highly ritualized form of role-playing that involves many rules and safety words to protect its participants. It may or may not involve genital stimulation, and thus may or may not lead to orgasm. It may be done in couples in private, in groups, or in public scenes divided between participants and spectators. It can be heterosexual, lesbian, or gay. Feminine women who *top* other women or men are sometimes referred to as dominatrixes. Although many elements of sadomasochism, such as bondage and discipline, leather and latex fetishism, and role-playing, have entered mainstream sexual culture, most people still consider SM sexual practices *kinky* and subcultural.

Safe Sex Safe sex refers to sexual practices that reduce the risk of HIV transmission. These practices include various forms of rubbing, such as interfemoral intercourse, frotting, masturbation, mutual masturbation, manual stimulation wearing latex gloves, role playing and sadomasochistic scenarios where body fluids are not exchanged, phone sex, cybersex, and anal, oral, or vaginal sex using condoms or dental dams. A broader definition of safe sex might ideally include precautions to ensure against pregnancy, violence, and coercion.

Sex Toys Sex toys are objects designed and used for sexual pleasure, such as dildos, vibrators, nipple clamps, butt plugs, cock rings, sex dolls, and penis sleeves. Sex toys also include fetish wear, such as leather, latex or rubber clothing, boots, and high-heeled shoes. Implements used for bondage and discipline, such as handcuffs and wrist restraints, paddles, whips, harnesses, hoods, and gags, are sex toys, as are mainstream items used to enhance sexual pleasure, such as lingerie, erotica, and pornography.

Sixty-nining Sixty-nining refers to mutual, simultaneous oral sex. Two men, two women, or a man and a woman can sixty-nine.

Sodomy At one time sodomy could be defined as any sexual act that was not penile–vaginal penetration. The term usually refers to oral or anal intercourse, but various legal definitions may include other activities, such as bestiality.

Swinging Also called mate swapping or wife swapping, swinging is exchanging partners between couples for sexual recreation or having sex together with at least one other additional person. It is thought to have originated among United States Air Force pilots and their spouses on bases during World War II and the Korean War, and it subsequently spread to the suburbs.

Tantric Sexual Practices From *tantra*, a Sanskrit word meaning *woven together*, tantric sexual practices are part of a system of Hindu yoga that worships the union of men and women. Historically, the movement has its roots in the heterosexual physical and spiritual union of man and woman, which leads to a form of sexual ritual in which slow, nonorgasmic sex is believed to be a path to experience the divine. In the Buddhist tradition, tantra refers to ritual texts that urge the cultivation of sensual pleasure. Recently, gay and lesbian interpretations of tantric sex have been developed as well.

Topping Topping is taking the dominant role in a consensual disciplinary, bondage, or sadomasochistic sexual scenario. The top distributes punishment or exacts servitude from the bottom, whose pleasure it is to serve or be dominated, humiliated, or hurt. Tops often dress in clothing meant to convey authority, such as military uniforms and leather. Professional female tops who exaggerate their femininity are sometimes called dominatrixes.

Transvestism Transvestism, or cross-dressing, is dressing in clothes traditionally considered those of the opposite sex. Some people feel compelled to cross-dress in order to experience sexual arousal; others do it in order to experiment with gender identity. Many transvestites are heterosexual men who are not interested in physical gender change or homosexual object choice. Other transvestites are homosexual men, or *drag queens*, who develop elaborate feminine personas for entertainment purposes or as part of their sexual and gender expression but who are not interested in changing their physical or social gender to female.

Still other male cross-dressers are interested in becoming women and cross-dress as part of a gradual transition from male to female. Some butch women cross-dress to indicate that they are lesbians, though they may be uninterested in becoming men. Others cross-dress as part of a transition from female to male. Women who dress as men for entertainment purposes are called *drag kings*. In opera there is a long tradition of women playing young men; these are called *trouser roles*, or *travesti* roles. There is also a long tradition of women who passed as men for economic, social, or sexual reasons, living undetected for long periods of time, marrying other women, and serving in the military.

Tribadism Tribadism is the practice in which a woman arouses herself by rubbing her genitals upon another woman's body, genitals, or an object such as a pillow, stimulating the clitoris to orgasm. Because this was once believed to be a common lesbian practice, *tribad* was a term for lesbian.

Vaginal Intercourse Also called coitus, vaginal intercourse is heterosexual penis–vagina sex.

Vanilla *Vanilla* is a term originally used by SM practitioners to signify sex that was not sadomasochistic or subcultural in any way. Vanilla is considered by many people to be the safest, blandest, most boring flavor of ice cream, and SM people used this notion of vanilla to describe as boring mainstream sexual practices that favored sentimentality and convention. Vanilla sex at its most conventional is heterosexual, married, missionary position vaginal intercourse. More broadly vanilla sex suggests a dynamic of equality, an ethos of tenderness and love, and the sense that sexual expression is emotionally and spiritually meaningful rather than casual. The opposite of vanilla is SM, suggesting that the more one incorporates the dynamics of dominance and submission, role-playing, fantasy, and fetishism into one's sexual relationships, the less vanilla they will be.

Violent Practices (Extreme) This describes practices in which someone becomes sexually aroused by hurting another human being, such as maiming, murder, or rape. Violent practices are behaviors linked to psychological disorders and are considered deeply antisocial and criminal. Maiming or murder is an extreme form of sadism in which a subject becomes sexually aroused by injuring or killing another person. This compulsive criminal behavior is often what drives serial killers. Rape is nonconsensual sexual intercourse (vaginal, anal, oral) or other sexual contact using physical force, threat, or coercion.

Rape fantasy, a form of sexual arousal achieved by fantasizing about being forced to engage in sexual activity or forcing a person to engage in sexual activity, does not imply an actual desire to be raped or to rape. More often rape fantasies merely express the desire to incorporate dominance and submission or forms of sadomasochism into consensual sexual relationships.

Voyeurism Voyeurism is sexual arousal achieved by watching other people undress or engage in sexual activity. It is related to *scopophilia*, the visual pleasure of an unobserved spectator coded as heterosexual and male, which film critics use to describe the eye of the camera in classical Hollywood cinema. The scopophilic gaze is most often a heterosexual male gaze interested in fetishizing women and observing their intimate lives. Voyeurism is also called *peeping*, and is catered to in *peep shows* in which women display themselves through windows to anonymous observers. *Peeping Tom* is a slang term for a voyeur and derives from the name of the one man said not to have averted his gaze when Lady Godiva rode naked through Coventry in the eleventh century to get her husband to repeal his taxes on the peasantry. Historians think Peeping Tom, who was supposedly struck blind for his voyeurism, was added to the legend in the seventeenth century as a cautionary lesson.

Watersports Also known as urolagnia or urophilia, *watersports* refers to sexual arousal at the scent, taste, or sight of urine. Watersports may include watching someone urinate, smelling urine, urinating on or being urinated on by a partner (also known as *golden showers*) or drinking urine. Watersports may be practiced alone, in a couple, or in a group and can include same-sex or opposite-sex participants.

SEE ALSO *Oral Sex; Penetration.*

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SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Within American popular thought, the sexual revolution occurred during the tumultuous and progressive time of the 1970s. The roots of this change in perceptions and practices of sexual behavior and understanding are found in the work of Alfred Kinsey, Bill Masters, and Gini Johnson (Heidenry 1997). Their work operates from a foundation created primarily by psychoanalysis and the work of Sigmund Freud, and Masters and Johnson drew on work by Margaret Sanger, Margaret Mead, and Clelia Mosher as well (Heidenry 1997). Kinsey and his colleagues in the field of sex, gender, and reproduction challenged Freudian ideas of male and female sexuality, which, at the time, were the dominant authority in issues of sexuality and upheld the white male heterosexual hegemony (Heidenry 1997). Kinsey's controversial studies, specifically his two books on human sexual behavior—*Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*—"proclaimed that nonmarital sex was not uncommon, that women experienced sexual pleasure, and that homosexuality was unusual but normal" (Bullough 2002).

This "second" sexual revolution was often perceived as "a revolution of mores and an erosion of morals" that turned the United States into a "sex-affirming culture" ("The Second Sexual Revolution" 1964). (The first sexual revolution is said to have emerged following World War I and alongside American modernism, when Americans rejected Victorian rules for sexual behavior.) During this historical moment, Americans broke many sexual taboos, including "interracial dating, open homosexuality, communal living, casual nudity, and dirty language" and engaged in "eroticism, experimentation, and promiscuity" (Bondi and Holloran 2002). In some ways, this shift was facilitated by the increased availability of the birth control pill and other forms of contraception. Popular culture also responded to these growing trends, evidenced most visibly in the fashion and film industries. Women's clothing was made to "accentuate female sexuality" with products like miniskirts and halter tops, and pornography became a multi-billion-dollar industry (Bondi and Holloran 2002).

The pornography industry drew on 1960s artists who widely used nudity in their work to "challenge social convention" (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Pornography in the 1970s entered the mainstream with such films as *Deep Throat* (1972) and *Debbie Does Dallas* (1978). *Deep Throat* put pornography on the map and earned approximately $600 million at the box office (director Gerard Damiano shot the film for only $25,000) (Corliss 1997). Bernardo Bertolucci's 1972 film *Last Tango in Paris,* starring acclaimed actor Marlon Brando, also brought explicit sex to the mainstream movie-going audience. Despite its graphic sexual content (it was originally rated "X"), *Last Tango in Paris* earned Academy Award nominations for Best Actor and Best Director, in effect legitimating this type of film. Because these sexually explicit films were widely viewed, they also drew a flurry of responses, most notably from feminists and critics of the growing sexual revolution. Though the primary audience for such films was men, women also became consumers of pornography. *Playgirl* debuted in 1973, and "eroticized romance novels with titles such as *Royal Bondage* and *Sweet Savage Love* sold twenty million copies a year, primarily to women" (Bondi and Holloran 2002).

Another significant characteristic of the sexual revolution was the prevalence of open homosexuality. The presence of lesbians within the women's movement, as well as the incident at the Stonewall Inn and its aftermath, played a significant role in bringing homosexuality out of the closet and into the mainstream. As David Allyn recounts the incident in his 2000 study, on June 27, 1969, the mostly male patrons of the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar, in New York's Greenwich Village, were enjoying a typical evening of socializing when police raided the establishment. During the 1960s gay bars were (technically) illegal in New York City, as they were in most cities; police often raided these establishments, arresting the patrons. Following a night in jail, those arrested would find their names printed in the paper, which could lead to the loss of a job or a family if the man led a double life. The Stonewall incident began like many other raids, but then a police officer clubbed a patron on the head and others tossed rocks at the windows of the bar. The ensuing violent conflict led to a weekend-long demonstration in the streets of Greenwich Village, in effect giving birth to the gay liberation movement.

In the wake of Stonewall, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA) were formed. "GLF stood for coalitions with other progressive groups, while the GAA, which took a single-issue stance, became more influential in the movement" (Cruikshank 2002). Emerging from the activist work of these groups and individuals within the gay liberation movement was the phrase "the personal is the political." In line with the sexual revolution, this idea "called on everyone, not just the sexual minority, to rethink their most basic assumptions about love, sex, marriage, [and] family" (Cruikshank 2002). It made the most private feelings and actions a political act. By making the personal political, gays and lesbians in the 1970s pushed for the legitimacy of homosexuality and equality for homosexuals.

In the women's movement, lesbian feminists became vocal and influential participants, and they integrated concerns from both the women's movement and the gay liberation movement. As lesbian feminist Martha Shelley noted in a 1969 essay, "the lesbian, through her ability to obtain love and sexual satisfaction from other women, is freed of dependence on men for love, sex, and money," but she "still must compete with men in the job market, facing the same job and salary discrimination as her straight sister." Lesbian feminists embraced the idea that "the personal is political," and their challenge of white male heterosexual assumptions about sexuality (specifically the belief that the penis was the focus of sexual pleasure), proffered primarily by Freud, became a political act. In other words, sex between two women and the achievement of orgasm sans penis in and of itself became a political act. They also challenged myths surrounding the female orgasm, bringing into the mainstream—using their own experiences as anecdotal evidence—much of the scientific work conducted by Kinsey and his colleagues. In addition to challenging heteronormativity, activists like Shelley saw lesbian feminism as a struggle for human rights, alongside other minorities fighting for their own civil rights (Shelley 1969).

The sexual revolution did not proceed without criticism. Conservatives, including President Richard Nixon, argued that sexual promiscuity was "immoral and dangerous, ultimately compromising social discipline" (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Others drew connections between the various activities occurring during the sexual revolution and rising divorce rates, an increase in the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, and even "the failure of the United States to win the war in Vietnam" (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Religious institutions shared many of the same views and expressed concern about single motherhood and premarital sex. The use of birth control did not seem to deter critics, who pointed toward the increase in teenage pregnancies as a symptom of the sexual revolution (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Many also blamed the women's movement for the rise in teenage pregnancies because many feminists advocated for female sexual awareness and liberation. Yet criticism also came from within the women's movement itself, specifically regarding "the new sexual adventurism and the growth of pornography" (Bondi and Holloran 2002). Some feminists believed pornography degraded and objectified women, and many women saw promiscuous sexual behavior as detaching intimacy and meaning from the sex act.

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SEXUAL SUBCULTURES

The term *subculture* signifies a class or group that is smaller than the larger mainstream culture and that possesses beliefs, values, or practices that may be at variance with the larger culture. Subculture comes into English in the 1930s as a term used primarily by sociologists and psychologists to distinguish an aberrant and sometimes inferior population; by the late 1970s, however, cultural studies in the United Kingdom recognized subcultural social formations, especially youth subcultures, as a pervasive feature of many twentieth-century societies. Modern youth subcultures take shape around consumerism and popular cultural trends; the cultural critic Dick

Hebdige argues that youth subcultures in the United Kingdom, such as punks, mods, beats, teddy boys, and Rastafarians, identified themselves and each other primarily through the manipulation of style and fashion and the use of symbolic objects to confer group identity.

Hebdige's primary interest is in defining and describing youth subcultures organized around musical tastes and fashion, but his paradigmatic subcultural object is homosexual writer Jean Genet's (1910–1986) tube of Vaseline, a lubricant Genet claimed to carry with him as a defiant badge of his sexual identity in a era when homosexuality was against the law. The sexual revolution of the 1960s, a countercultural rejection of established sexual and gender norms, led to new permissiveness in European, South American, North American, Australian, and white South African sexual and gender behavior, though rural areas remained more traditional than urban areas. Sexual subcultures proliferated as part of this permissive social climate, and as with other subcultures, they adopted certain styles of gesture and fashion to distinguish themselves from the mainstream.

HOMOSEXUALS, GAY MEN, AND LESBIANS

Homosexuals constituted the largest sexual subculture of the twentieth century, though a growing tolerance for homosexuals in Europe and North America, the relaxation of sodomy laws, and the influence of gay style have all made homosexuals part of the contemporary mainstream in many urban areas. Homosexuality and its gender expressions were illegal, except in theatrical contexts, in most of the United States and much of the world until the last third of the twentieth century, driving gay men and lesbians underground and contributing to the formation of a thriving subcultural world of bars, nightclubs and theaters, social organizations, and, eventually, political groups. By the 1950s there were bars for men and bars for women in many cities. Sometimes homosexual men and women shared bars and nightclubs as a survival tactic, socializing in same-sex groups when possible and then quickly integrating in the event of a police raid. Social and political groups, such as the Mattachine Society for men or the Daughters of Bilitis for women, first socialized in private homes and spaces where separatism was possible then became increasingly public throughout the 1960s. Because gay establishments were illegal, bars that catered to gay men and lesbians were often run by organized crime and charged exorbitant drink prices to customers with nowhere else to go.

Gay men are a subset of the larger sexual subcultural category of homosexuals, and the word *homosexual* is used as a synonym for gay men rather than for lesbians. Gay men before 1969 recognized each other primarily by the fashion and behavioral codes that conveyed subcultural membership to others in the know. In various decades a green carnation, red tie, pinky ring, dyed hair, plucked eyebrows, a brightly colored shirt, or tight, fashionable clothes might signal effeminacy, and thus, by extension, male homosexuality. Gay men have always had a niche in mainstream culture as hairdressers, choreographers, dancers, fashion designers, and stage actors. They were often tolerated in entertainment society though never encouraged to cultivate openness or pride in their sexual identities. After the 1969 Stonewall rebellion in New York's Greenwich Village launched the modern gay rights movement, gay fashion entered the mainstream. In the 1970s the *clone* look of short hair, big mustache, and aviator sunglasses started in the San Francisco gay community and moved outward. Gay men adopted a handkerchief code to signal sexual practices, such as sadomasochism, watersports, or scat, to each other.

In the early twenty-first century gay style in hair, music, fashion, design, and even sex has so entered the mainstream that homosexuality can no longer be considered a sexual subculture. Its expressions are various and diverse and can hardly be said to characterize a common set of values or practices. Shaving the head, a fashion trend that started as a gesture of solidarity with gay men losing their hair because of HIV/AIDS in the 1990s, quickly became the vogue among straight men as well, as did the goatee that usually accompanied it. There are promiscuous gay men, monogamous gay men, fashionable gay men, butch gay men, sloppy gay men, conservative gay men, and radical gay men in many parts of North America, South America, Africa, Europe, and Australia. Some categories of gay life have become all-encompassing enough to constitute subcultures in relation to a larger gay culture; these include leathermen, bears, and feeders. Leathermen run the spectrum from gay men fond of leather clothing to sadomasochists who enjoy sexual role playing to men who live every day in dominant/submissive, master/slave relationships. Bears are big, hairy men and their admirers. Feeders are a variant of dominant–submissive relationships where one partner assists the other in growing as fat as possible.

Lesbians are also a subset of the homosexual subculture, though often existing on its fringes. European and North American lesbians in the 1920s often distinguished themselves and recognized each other by adopting a masculine style that included tailored suits, ties, dress shirts, vests, short hair, and competence. By the 1940s many lesbians indulged their fondness for uniforms and their patriotism by joining the armed services. Among midcentury lesbians, membership in a sexual subculture might have been signaled by becoming part of a butch–femme couple in which one woman dressed and comported herself as more masculine than did her stereotypically feminine partner. Feminism steered many lesbians away from femininity in the 1970s, and flannel shirts and Birkenstock sandals became a middle-class lesbian uniform. The 1980s and 1990s brought back butch–femme style, femininity in the form of the hyper-girlish lipstick lesbian, and the androgynous look of the shaved head and slender figure known variously as the andro, grrrl, or boi. Testosterone became part of lesbian fashion, beginning in San Francisco in the 1990s, where many butch lesbians explored their masculinity and sometimes decided to transition into female-to-male subjects, or F2Ms. Male impersonation, especially as entertainment, gained popularity among lesbians in the late 1990s, and by 2000 drag kings and drag king shows were a fixture of lesbian culture in many cities. Lesbian style entered the mainstream in the 1980s with the androgynous, soft-butch suits, ties, and short hair of musicians such as Annie Lennox, and survived into the 1990s with the crew cuts and shaved heads of many Riot Grrrls and Queer Nation activists, but has been largely absent since the mid-1990s. Lesbians of the early twenty-first century tend to be either stereotypically feminine or sporting gay male hairstyles such as the butch flip or faux-hawk.

QUEER-IDENTIFIED

Queers constitute a subcultural gender and sexual category that rejects normativity and celebrates visibility and activism. The queer movement started in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a coalition between lesbians, gays, transgender people, sadomasochist and leathersex radicals, bisexuals, and queer-identified, nonnormative heterosexuals. Queer was an inclusive category; if one identified as queer it did not matter what gender or sexuality one expressed. Queer style included leather, tattoos, brightly colored punk hair or shaved heads, and body modification such as piercing, hormone therapy, and transsexual surgical procedures. The queer movement helped spawn activist groups such as Queer Nation, ACT UP, the Lesbian Avengers, Riot Grrrls, and Transsexual Menace, among others. It also coincided with an explosion of academic queer theory in the humanities and social sciences. A conservative political and academic climate, economic constraints, and the trend of gender normativity and nonqueer identification among teenagers and young adults have all led to the speculation that *queer* is over; this debate, however, should help maintain the presence of queer in the social lexicon for some time to come.

NONGAY- OR NONQUEER-IDENTIFIED

Down low, or *on the down low*, is a term used for African-American men who have sex with other men but do not identify with gay culture or even consider themselves to be homosexual. Men on the down low are often married or have girlfriends, and most are in the closet. They do not identify themselves as a sexual subculture in the way that out gay men identify themselves, but they do combine attributes of masculine comportment and hip-hop/thug street fashion with gestures of gay cruising, such as prolonged looking and repeated sidelong glances, to signify to each other that they are looking for sex. Because members of this group are sexually promiscuous but do not identify as gay, they may be in denial about the necessity of safe sexual practices and have been identified by safe-sex advocates and health professionals as at high risk for HIV transmission.

Swingers are a sexual subgroup of mostly middle-class heterosexual married couples who exchange husbands and wives with each other for sex or have threesomes with people outside of the couple. Swingers find each other through personal ads, friends, and neighbors. Also called *wife swapping*, swinging is seen as a practice confined to the 1960 and 1970s suburbs or as something that occasionally took place after wild parties. Yet swinging started among Air Force pilots and their wives during World War II and the Korean War, moved into the suburbs, and gained popularity during the sexual revolution of the 1960s. Swinging continues in the early twenty-first century as an avenue of heterosexual sexual adventure and bisexual exploration in North America and Europe, and there are swingers clubs all over the world. Urban swinging hit an upsurge in the 1990s, beginning with parties in London. Swinging is also called *the lifestyle* by its proponents, who recognize each other by behavioral cues such as flirtatiousness with others when one's partner is present.

Nonidentified and bicurious people claim not to identify with either gay or straight sexual communities but usually tacitly pass for straight. Some nonidentified youth are out as pansexual but do not feel they have anything in common with gay men and lesbians; others pass through this phase on their way to becoming gay or lesbian. The same is true for bisexual or bicurious people, who may experiment with same-sex partners or relationships as part of a heterosexual swinging lifestyle or may be bisexual on their way to embracing lesbianism or gay male sexuality. Bisexuals are often queer-identified and may signal sexual availability by adopting gay or lesbian gender, hair, and fashion styles, or by displaying body modifications, such as tongue or nipple piercing, that indicate an interest in sexual experimentation.

LEATHER

Leather communities can be primarily heterosexual, gay, or lesbian. They are usually sadomasochistic, involved in dominant–submissive dynamics, or both, and are distinguished by a preference for leather clothing and accessories, uniforms, and latex and rubber wear. Leather communities enjoy sexual role-playing scenarios, games, spectacles, and private encounters. Roles are primarily those of tops—masters, mistresses, doms, dominators, or dominatrices; and bottoms—submissives, slaves, or boys/bois. Some people enjoy switching roles, though many do not. Bondage and domination, or BD, and sadomasochism, or SM, are now commonly grouped under one set of initials, BDSM or BD/SM. The BDSM leather sensibility entered the sexual and fashion mainstream in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and these days a little bondage play is no longer considered kinky or subcultural. Few people outside the leather community, however, live their roles as often or as intensely as do those who consider themselves part of the BDSM subculture, some of whom are masters or slaves every hour of every day of their lives.

SMALLER OR MORE MARGINAL SUBCULTURES

Ex-gays consist of gay men and lesbians who have gone through some sort of program, usually affiliated with a religious denomination, to make them into heterosexuals. Theirs is a lifestyle choice that may involve heterosexual marriage, often to a fellow ex-gay person of the opposite sex. Some members claim to have been *cured* of their homosexuality, though many former ex-gays, as well as many health care professionals, are unconvinced that it is possible to change one's sexual orientation. Ex-gays are usually religiously affiliated and often signal this affiliation as part of their group identity.

Man–boy lovers are men who feel that consensual sexual relationships between grown men and boys under the legal age of consent should be legal. Their umbrella group, the North America Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), has been the subject of police and FBI persecution since its founding in the late 1970s. Although NAMBLA still meets occasionally, it has been driven underground by ostracism from both mainstream culture and the gay community, which has long sought to distance itself from stereotypes of gay men as pedophiles. In the early twenty-first century little of the organization remains outside of a web site maintained by a few of its members, and it is considered nearly defunct.

Infantilists, or adult babies (AB), are adults who are sexually aroused by dressing and acting as infants. Many enjoy wearing and playing with diapers as well, which makes them adult babies who are diaper lovers (AB/DL). Most are heterosexual males and enjoy being helpless or having no responsibilities. Infantilism involves the fantasy of being a child but has nothing to do with desiring children. Infantilists usually find each other through personal ads and Internet groups and sites.

Plushies and furries are variations on people who enjoy dressing up as either stuffed animals or real animals. Plushies are people who enjoy looking like a stuffed animal or toy; furries are people who enjoy wearing suits that resemble real animals. Furry fandom also includes enjoyment of the humanization of animals. Some plushies and furries are merely hobbyists who enjoy socializing in their characters; others are sexually aroused as plushies or furries and may seek sex with other plushies or furries as an extension of their socializing. They also find each other through Internet groups and sites as well as conventions.

Polygamists are people who have more than one husband or more than one wife; a subset of polygamy is polygyny, the practice of one man marrying several women. Polygamy is officially against the law in most parts of the world but is still practiced as polygyny in many rural places as a matter of custom. In the United States polygamy is still practiced by a breakaway sect of the Mormon Church known as the Fundamentalist Latter-day Saints, or FLDS. Mainstream Mormons, or Latter-day Saints (LDS), stopped new polygamous marriages in 1890 as a condition of Utah statehood, but some marriages continued into the 1920s. Although in the early twenty-first century the LDS church officially frowns on polygamy, many prominent LDS families in no way affiliated with the FLDS are said to retain the practice of polygamy. The FLDS is mainly concentrated in the West in such places as Colorado City, Arizona. Its members wear traditional clothing, and women often wear homemade, pioneer-style, long dresses.

Trans or transgender people are technically a gender community or set of gender communities rather than sexual subcultures. However, the long conflation of sex and gender in the gay and lesbian communities, which many trans people originally embraced as their own communities before deciding to transition, combined with the particular sexual issues of transgender people, especially those not wishing to have genital surgery, can lead to a solidarity among transgender people that can include sexual partnering. Transmen may identify as queer, gay, or straight, and male-to-female transgender women may also identify as lesbian or heterosexual. They may be members of other sexual subcultures, such as leather and BDSM. They may choose to identify as trans or decide to pass as men or women in the general population. Still, many need the support of a trans community, and sometimes this support leads to sexual relationships. The fluidity between the gay and lesbian community and the trans community also facilitates queer partnerships of various kinds, as transmen may continue to also identify with lesbians and transgender women with gay men, in various ways relating to mutual marginalization as members of subcultural sexual and gender communities. Trans people may signal their membership in the trans community by wearing clothing identifying them as trans, through personal ads and Internet sites and web pages, in queer and trans-friendly organizations, and through body modification practices, such as piercing and tattooing, that ally them with other socially and sexually experimental people.

Celibates, virgins, and born-again virgins are those who have decided to abstain from sexual activity for a certain amount of time or the rest of their lives, claim to be waiting until marriage to have sex, or have had premarital sex but have since decided to abstain from further sexual activity until they are married. While the so-called virginity movement has been gaining popularity among U.S. teenagers in the early twenty-first century, it is also true that many teenagers who claim to be virgins or born-again virgins engage in sexual activities other than heterosexual intercourse, such as anal sex, oral sex, and mutual masturbation. They signal their belonging in this sexual subculture by wearing jewelry and T-shirts with slogans espousing virginity. Although they claim not to have sex, their lifestyle and fashion choices advocate certain sexual practices, such as celibacy and no sex outside of marriage, that are outside the practices of mainstream European and North American cultures, and virgins and celibates should be considered a sexual subculture.

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SEXUAL TENSION

Sexual tension refers to often hidden or suppressed feelings of anticipation, excitement, attraction, and desire that may occur in relation to another person. Sexual tension characterizes and is a necessary part of sexual flirtations, courtships, and sexual foreplay. In the context of the sexual, the term *tension* refers to sets of unresolved, sometimes unidentified, feelings of excitement, which are disguised by an appearance of outward calm or even disdain. Sexual tension is an intrinsic part of traditions of European and North American narrative, appearing as a feature in the plots of many novels, films, and television shows and often drawn out to pique and retain viewer interest.

Part of the tension of sexual tension comes from the difference between what the parties feel and what they reveal. This produces a series of practices, such as verbal sparring, disagreement, flirtation, and touching, that the parties and witnesses to the tension translate as sexual interest. The parties themselves often deny this tension for a period of time, as the sexual tension produced by not identifying the interest as sexual is often pleasurable. Another part of the tension of sexual tension is whether or when sexual interest will become overt. In this context tension refers to the sense that a state of affairs is stretched to the limit; that an apparent balance will soon explode. Sexual tension exists as parties wait to see how long it will take for what appears to be calm disinterest to become violent passion.

Sexual tension may comprise the first stages of a sexual relation, provide pleasure in an indefinite extension, or remain permanently unresolved. Outward manifestations of sexual tension may assume various forms, from one person ignoring the other, to longing glances from afar, to friendly flirtation, to arguments and hostility. As noted previously many of these expressions of sexual tension are familiar clues to the incipient romance of characters in novels, plays, and films. The way that characters look at one another is one cue for sexual tension in film; disagreement and annoyance often foreshadows intimate involvement.

Sexual tension is often palpable both to the parties involved and to those around them. The feeling of tension perceived by others may be the result of the parties' communicating excitement through agitation, excessive talking or movement, paying persistent or obsessive attention to the other person while denying an interest, and engaging in unnecessary or illogical behaviors designed to enable contact. In addition, both parties and witnesses may pick up even more subtle physiological and chemical clues, such as pheromones, adrenalin, and general agitation and nervousness.

Generally in Europe and North America the accepted course of sexual relations involves an initial period of sexual tension, during which flirtation and delayed physical contact increase desire and intensify sexual feelings when they are eventually released. This first stage, however, need not be acted upon, particularly if one of the parties is in a position of disadvantage, as happens in relations between students and teachers, or in the case of good friends who prefer not to alter their friendship by becoming sexually intimate.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay.*

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SEXUALITY

Sexuality can refer to sexed beings, reproductive function, genital expression, a libidinal drive, the nature of sexual desire, or sexual identity. At one time it was assumed that all beings were sexually oriented toward heterosexual sexual behavior, thus the biological *sex* of a person was thought to indicate his or her *sexuality*. However, as homosexuality demonstrates, one's biological sex does not necessarily predict one's sexual behavior, nor does sexual behavior reflect biological sex. Thus, sexuality is understood in the early twenty-first century to refer only to sexual behavior and not to gender or biological sex (though these factors may influence it).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCE OF SEXUALITY

The term *sexual* comes into English in the seventeenth century as a scientific term used to describe the male or female characteristics of plants and animals. It was assumed that these sexed characteristics facilitated reproduction, thus leading to the notion of sexuality at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a quality of sexed species having to do with the expression of reproductive function. During the nineteenth century, sexuality gradually became a term that described the behaviors and identities of individuals. As European political and medical institutions grew more interested in managing populations, sexuality became an important branch of scientific knowledge in the European and North American world. Historian Michel Foucault points out that this modern science of sexuality, or *scientia sexualis*, is markedly different from the *ars erotica*, or erotic arts, of ancient times. Whereas ancient erotic arts amplified pleasure as its own truth and reward, the science of sexuality produces knowledge about sexual behavior in order to control people.

According to Foucault, then, there is a history of sexuality insofar as there is a history of the science of sexuality as an instrument of control. But this instrument of control can be subverted because the same sexual categories that science uses to label and control people can also give them a sexual identity. This sexual identity can help them organize as a group, and this group sexual identity can help them resist some of the control exerted upon them. Thus, men with same-sex desires labeled as homosexuals might recognize themselves as a group, organize, and fight for homosexual political rights. Foucault suggests that the more categories of abnormal sexual expression sexual science invents, the more types of perversity will flourish as a result of those categories.

FREUD'S WORK

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Sigmund Freud theorized that sexuality was one of the most important human impulses, or drives. In his 1905 *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1962), he named the sexual drive the *libido* and attempted to account for the wide variety of its expression in human beings by charting its development in infants and young children. Freud argued that infants experience pleasure in most of the zones of the body and that this pleasure is not organized for any function except itself. He called this unorganized pleasure *polymorphous perversity* and showed how the gendered practices of the *fin de siècle* (end of the century) European nuclear family and its larger culture helped organize polymorphous perversity into acceptable adult genital sexuality and heterosexual gender roles. According to Freud human beings are innately bisexual, able to desire men or women equally, and it is only with the organization of polymorphous perversity into genital sexual behavior that one recognizes sexuality as heterosexual or homosexual.

Freud believed that the organization of polymorphous perversity into genital sexuality was tied up with the assumption or rejection of traditional gender roles. Part of the difficult work of the castration complex is that all children desire their mother sexually, and this desire must be modified or redirected in order for adult heterosexuality to be possible. Freud maintained that sexuality becomes properly organized in children through the trauma of castration, which literally scares them straight. According to Freud little boys, upon seeing a woman's genitals for the first time, develop a fear of castration, which propels them toward following the rules of sexuality and gender. Little girls, on the other hand, upon seeing a penis, perceive themselves as castrated and disadvantaged and thus adopt femininity in order to get a man with a penis to give them a baby with a penis. Castration trauma is supposed to encourage little boys to identify with their fathers, become masculine, and desire women, and to encourage little girls to identify with their mothers, become feminine, and desire men, thus lining up gender roles and sexual behavior along so-called normal lines. Freud was most interested in reproductive sexual function; the adult with abnormal gender behaviors, such as a man with extreme effeminacy, but with normal heterosexual desires was in his view much better off than the normally gendered person with homosexual desires, as the former would be able to find happiness in marriage whereas the latter would not.

Freud's theory of childhood sexuality and sexual perversity was a radical idea for his time, overturning Victorian ideals of children as asexual and innocent. So, too, was his theory of the innate bisexuality of all human beings and his account of how culture rather than nature organizes sexuality and gender roles. Freud viewed all sexual behavior as normal insofar as it made reproduction possible. He argued that even a behavior as seemingly bizarre as fetishism, which entails becoming sexually aroused by objects such as women's shoes, is normal and acceptable if it helps heterosexual sexual intercourse take place.

Freud's ideas about childhood sexuality and the innate bisexuality of all human beings remain radical ideas in many places into the twenty-first century. Even permissive societies still largely expect children under the age of sixteen to forgo sexual behavior, and a significant number of cultures around the world still view sex outside of marriage as taboo. Nevertheless, children and teenagers in most European and North American countries experiment with sexuality, sometimes constructing elaborate rationalizations defending certain sexual practices—such as anal and oral sex—as being outside of vaginal intercourse and, therefore, outside of the category of *real sex*. Notable exceptions include the tradition of adolescent males ingesting the semen of adult males—considered a vital ritual of manhood—among some Melanesian, Australian, and Papua New Guinea tribes—and traditions of permissiveness among Trobriand Islanders surrounding teenage sexual experimentation. In more conservative regions of India, Pakistan, and Nigeria, among others, prepubescent female children are still married off to older men, though officially this is either frowned upon or done with the stipulation that consummation only take place after puberty.

CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUALITY

The legacy of Freud's time includes the notion that normal sexuality is defined as heterosexual vaginal intercourse, with all other sexual practices viewed as either subordinate to intercourse or as perverse deviations from it. At the turn of the twenty-first century, sexuality within marriage in more permissive countries and regions might include monogamous heterosexual intercourse, oral sex, anal sex, fetishism, bondage and domination or sadism and masochism (BDSM), swinging, polygamy, and homosexuality. Ideals of companionate marriage and the practice of birth control in the twentieth century in European and North American culture constituted a significant shift in normal sexuality from reproduction to sexual pleasure. A zone of privacy surrounds heterosexual married couples in those regions, such that anything they do consensually in the privacy of their bedrooms is considered normal. A significant portion of heterosexual couples in European and North American countries engage in sex with one or more people outside the marriage or relationship, and may also participate in subcultures considered deviant, such as the SM leather scene.

Polygamy is officially practiced in some rural parts of the world and is practiced illegally in the western part of the United States by the breakaway fundamentalist sect of Mormons known as the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS). In 2006 homosexual marriage was legal in the U.S. state of Massachusetts and in the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, and Spain; gay and lesbian couples who marry may or may not practice any of the behaviors listed above, with the exception of monogamous heterosexual vaginal intercourse. Other countries and U.S. states that allow homosexual civil unions or registered partnerships with many or all of the rights and privileges of marriage but reserve the term *marriage* for heterosexual partners include Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, France, Germany, Finland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Britain, Connecticut, and Vermont.

Sexuality outside of marriage can include adultery or infidelity, promiscuity, cohabitation, dating, and homosexuality. *Adultery*, more commonly called *infidelity*, is defined as a married person or persons participating in a secret sexual relationship with someone other than their spouse, constituting a breach of faith or trust between the spouses. Swinging with one's spouse, or with the knowledge of one's spouse, may be technically adulterous but would not constitute infidelity. *Promiscuity* is a morally condemnatory term for when someone has a series of sexual partners; one can be heterosexually or homosexually promiscuous. *Cohabitation* is the term usually reserved for heterosexual couples who live together in a sexual relationship without being married to each other. This is still true even where gay marriage is legal, though perhaps this will change if gay marriage becomes something that is routinely expected of gay and lesbian couples in those places. Dating is the term for people who spend time with each other in pursuit of a romantic relationship; however, dating does not imply monogamy, and people who date may or may not have sex with each other. Unmarried homosexuals may behave in any of the ways married heterosexuals and homosexuals behave, or they may behave in any of the ways unmarried heterosexuals behave. Homosexual activity by one partner in a heterosexual marriage is considered a form of adultery or infidelity. The term for homosexual infidelity among

African-American men married or otherwise involved with women is *on the down-low*.

HISTORY OF SEXUALITY RESEARCH

Sexual science, or as Foucault termed it, *scientia sexualis*, has constituted a field of study since the nineteenth century, first as sexology, then as one of the major pursuits of psychoanalysis, psychology, and sociology. Famous sexologists include Richard Krafft-Ebing, whose *Psychopathis Sexualis* comprised one of the first and most exhaustive taxonomies of sexual behaviors in modern medicine; Havelock Ellis, best known for his study of homosexuality in *Sexual Inversion* (1901), and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), the German pioneer whose Institute for Sexual Science was destroyed along with its library by the Nazis. The term *sexology* went out of fashion by the mid-twentieth century and was replaced by the figure of the sex researcher on the one hand and the sex therapist on the other. Alfred Kinsey is perhaps the most famous sex researcher of the twentieth century; his 1948 study *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and follow-up study *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), which showed a much wider variety of sexual practices in mainstream America than anyone had believed possible, is thought to have helped usher in a new era of sexual permissiveness in the 1960s and 1970s. The research was compiled from 18,000 testimonials and found that premarital sex was common, half of married men and a quarter of married women had cheated on their spouses, 37 percent of U.S. men and 13 percent of women had had at least one homosexual experience, and 62 percent of women and 92 percent of men masturbated. Kinsey founded the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University and created a seven-point scale of human sexual behavior that ranged from heterosexuality at the zero end of the scale to homosexuality at point six.

After Kinsey, William Masters and Virginia Johnson, sex therapists as well as sex researchers, published *Human Sexual Response* in 1966 and *Human Sexual Inadequacy* in 1970, founding what would become the Masters & Johnson Institute in 1978. Another sex researcher, Fred Klein, published *The Bisexual Option: A Concept of One-Hundred Percent Intimacy* in 1978 and in 1998 founded the American Institute of Bisexuality (AIB) to support research and education about bisexuality. He also developed a scale measuring sexual orientation and identity separately, allowing for change over time.

Sexuality is still studied, usually along with gender, in traditional disciplines such as sociology and psychology, as well as in interdisciplinary programs such as gender studies and women's studies. Sociology departments often offer courses in sex roles and stereotypes, marriage and family relations, and sex ethics and sexual conduct. In psychology programs evolutionary psychology is a theoretical approach to psychology that views many mental traits as adaptations in the sense of evolutionary biology as a result of natural and sexual selection. Sex education is a field of study commonly found in psychology departments and in education programs. Sex therapists are certified mental health care professionals who have specialized in treating sexual disorders during their graduate work in psychology programs.

SEXUAL IDENTITY

Sexuality can become such an important aspect of a person's identity that it seems to define them, as is the case with the popular notion of sexual identity. Sexual identity assumes that something crucial is known about an individual if you know his or her sexual practices. Foucault argues that the conflation of sexual activity with social character began in the nineteenth century, when—he argues—medical and legal institutions sought to understand and control individual sexual behavior. Prior to this sexual practices such as anal sex, or sodomy, comprised a category of forbidden sexual acts that did not confer any sort of identity on a particular person (though individuals could be severely punished for them). With the rise of sexual science the homosexual, as with the heterosexual, became a species of person with a history, a body, and a particular psychology. Homosexuality became a sexual identity.

The assumption that a common sexual or gender identity leads to other kinds of political similarities in a group is called identity politics. Sexual identity and identity politics played an important role in feminist, gay, lesbian, and queer organizations in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Identity politics insists that common membership in oppressed groups, such as homosexuals, women, or people of color, leads to common political interests and goals. The strength of identity politics is its sense of group cohesion, which offers the possibility of political solidarity between and among other similarly constituted groups; the down side of identity politics, however, is its erasure of distinctions and differences and its tendency to confer the status of activism on mere identity. Identity politics came under attack in the 1990s for these reasons, with the result that new groups, such as gay Republicans, have become more visible but political organizations have had to struggle with new ways to organize and affiliate marginalized communities.

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SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES

Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) are those diseases transmitted primarily through sexual means, which may include oral, anal, or genital contact; osculation (kissing); or manual stimulation. STDs are also referred to as sexually transmitted infection (STI), venereal diseases (VD), and reproductive tract infections (RTI). Though other diseases may also be transmitted through sexual contact, the term *STD* is reserved for an infection spread primarily through sexual means. The source of infection may be bacterial, fungal, viral, or parasitical. Depending upon the infecting agent, the resulting disease may remain localized at the site of infection (such as the genitalia or sex organs) or may spread to other parts of the body. Though symptoms may vary, both men and women are susceptible to STDs. Humans who engage in bestiality (zoophilia) may also contract diseases from animals. Though animal viruses tend to be species specific and thus not a threat to humans, bacterial infections such as brucellosis may result from sexual encounters with infected animals.

The most reliable method for the prevention of all STDs is abstinence or limiting sexual activity to monogamous, long-term relationships with partners who have been tested and are free of infection. Consistent and correct use of latex condoms may help to prevent the transmission of many STDs but may be ineffective in preventing others.

CHLAMYDIA

Chlamydia is a bacterial infection caused by *Chlamydia trachomatis*. It is the most commonly reported STD in the United States. Chlamydia may be transmitted through vaginal, anal, or oral sex. Infected mothers may also pass the disease to their babies during vaginal childbirth. Risk factors include multiple sex partners. Young women are particularly susceptible to infection because the cervix is not yet fully mature. Symptoms are often mild or absent. If present they may appear between one to three weeks after exposure. In women symptoms may include abnormal discharge from the vagina or burning during urination, and in men the disease may manifest as a discharge (with possible itching and burning) from the penis.

The disease usually infects the cervix and the urethra in women. Untreated chlamydia can spread to the rectum or the fallopian tubes causing lower abdominal pain, back pain, fever, nausea, pain during intercourse, and spotting between menstrual periods. Damage to the reproductive organs may result in pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) or infertility. Women infected with chlamydia are at higher risk for contracting human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) if exposed to it.

The treatment for chlamydial infections is antibiotic therapy, with all sexual partners being tested and treated to prevent reinfection. Annual screening for women at risk helps to detect infection and prevent the disease from spreading further. Latex condoms when used consistently and correctly can reduce the risk of transmitting chlamydia.

GENITAL HERPES

Genital herpes is an infection caused most often by the herpes simplex virus type 2 (HSV-2) but occasionally by the herpes simplex virus type 1 (HSV-1), which more commonly causes cold sores and fever blisters around the mouth and lips. Genital herpes is widespread in the United States, with one out of five people ages twelve and older being infected. From the late 1970s to the early 1990s the incidence of the disease in the United States increased by 30 percent. HSV infections are more common in women than in men, suggesting that male-to-female exposure is more likely to result in herpes than female-to-male exposure.

Generally, genital herpes occurs when a person engages in sex (oral, anal, genital, or manual stimulation) with someone who has an active infection of HSV-2, even in the absence of visible sores (asymptomatic shedding). Genital herpes may also result from oral–genital or genital–genital contact with a person who has an active HSV-1 infection.

Most people who are infected with HSV-2 or HSV-1 have mild symptoms or none at all and often mistake the outward manifestations of herpes for a rash or insect bite. However, when symptoms do occur, they usually appear within two weeks of infection and may be pronounced (although the virus may lie dormant for extended periods of time before manifesting clinical symptoms).

The first occurrence (primary episode) may involve the appearance of one or more blisters on or near the genital or rectal areas. Tender or painful sores (ulcers) result when the blisters break. These open sores may take from two to four weeks to heal. More sores, flu-like symptoms, and/or swollen glands may also accompany the primary outbreak. Recurrence is common and most people who show symptoms of a primary infection typically have four to five outbreaks within the year. Though HSV may remain in the body indefinitely, subsequent outbreaks generally occur with less frequency and less severity over time.

The clinical manifestation of genital herpes in immunocompromised individuals can be serious. Pregnant women who have active genital herpes at the time of delivery may transmit the infection to their babies during vaginal delivery, which may result in life-threatening infections in the infants. Women who have clinical symptoms at the time of delivery can undergo a cesarean section to prevent transmission to the baby or may undergo antiviral suppression therapy during the third trimester of pregnancy to preserve the option of vaginal delivery.

Though the mechanism is not fully understood, people who have genital herpes are more susceptible to contracting HIV infections if exposed to it. People who have genital herpes are also more likely to transmit HIV to uninfected partners.

Though there is no cure for herpes, antiviral medications may shorten and lessen the severity of subsequent outbreaks. Daily suppressive therapy may reduce the transmission of symptomatic genital herpes to uninfected partners.

Because HSV shedding may occur outside the areas normally covered by a condom, even consistent and correct usage of latex condoms offers only limited protection from the transmission of herpes. People with active infections should abstain from sexual activity with others.

GONORRHEA

Gonorrhea is caused by the bacterium *Neisseria gonorrhoeae* that infects the warm, moist areas of the reproductive tract, including the uterus, the cervix, and the fallopian tubes. The bacterium may also infect the urethra, anus, mouth, and eyes of either sex. Transmission of the disease is through sexual contact with the penis (with or without ejaculation), vagina, mouth, or anus. Gonorrhea can be spread from infected mothers to their infants during vaginal delivery. Previous infections of gonorrhea provide no immunity against reinfection.

Symptoms of gonorrhea are often mild or absent. In women they may include pain or burning during urination, increased vaginal discharge, and/or vaginal spotting between menstrual periods, but very often clinical manifestations are nonspecific and can easily be mistaken for a vaginal or bladder infection. In men the first signs of infection may occur two to five days after infection but may take as long as 30 days to develop. Symptoms may include burning during urination, discharge from the penis, and swollen testicles accompanied by pain. Gonorrhea infections of the rectum may be asymptomatic or may manifest with a discharge, rectal bleeding, itching, soreness, and/or painful bowel movements and may affect both women and men. Oral infections usually do not manifest symptoms but if present may include a sore throat.

Untreated, gonorrhea can cause serious and permanent health concerns in both men and women. In men the disease can cause epididymitis, a painful inflammation of the epididymis that may result in infertility. In women it may lead to pelvic inflammatory disease (PID), a serious condition that can cause damage to the fallopian tubes and lead to infertility and an increased risk for ectopic pregnancy (a condition in which the fertilized egg implants outside the uterus). Gonorrhea may also cause serious blood-borne disease that results in joint pain, fever, and other systemic (bodily) symptoms. People who have gonorrhea are more susceptible to contracting HIV and are also more likely to transmit HIV to uninfected partners.

Children infected during vaginal delivery may develop blindness, joint infection, or severe blood infection. Immediate treatment of the disease in pregnant mothers helps to reduce the possibility of transmission of gonorrhea to the baby. For this reason pregnant women are routinely screened for gonorrhea, and the eyes of all newborns are treated with a topical antibiotic (formally with silver nitrate) to prevent infection.

Antibiotics usually cure gonorrhea, but the emergence of drug-resistant strains makes treatment more difficult. Many people with gonorrhea are frequently infected with chlamydia or other STDs, thus requiring multiple antibiotic therapies. All sexual partners must be treated to prevent disease spread. Treatment will resolve the infection but will not repair the damage already done by the disease. Consistent and correct use of latex condoms can reduce the risk of transmitting gonorrhea.

GENITAL HUMAN PAPILLOMAVIRUS (HPV)

Genital human papillomavirus (HPV) (genital warts, condylomata) infection is caused by a group of more than 100 strains of viruses, of which more than thirty may be sexually transmitted. At least 50 percent of sexually active persons will contract HPV infection, and by the age of fifty, at least 80 percent of all women will have been infected with HPV making this one of the most widespread STDs. Strains of the virus that result in STDs are mainly transmitted through sexual contact of the genitals. Most people who become infected with HPV do not present symptoms yet can continue unknowingly to transmit the virus to uninfected sexual partners. Pregnant women can, though rarely, infect their babies with the virus during vaginal childbirth.

Genital HPV may infect the penis, vulva, anus, lining of the vagina, cervix, or rectum. Though most people with genital HPV remain asymptomatic of disease, some develop genital warts or precancerous changes in the cervix, vagina, vulva, penis, or anus. Depending on the strain of virus, infections may be *high risk* and cause abnormal Pap tests and lead to cancers of the reproductive tract, including cancers of the genital or anal regions. Persistent infection of high-risk types of HPV is the main risk factor for developing cervical cancer. *Low-risk* strains may cause genital warts (venereal wart) or mild changes in Pap tests. Genital warts appear as moist, soft, pink or skin-colored growths that may be raised or flat and may manifest singly or multiply in cauliflower-shaped eruptions called condylomata. Genital warts may be found in or around the vagina, anus, cervix, penis, scrotum, groin region, or upper thigh.

Though there is no cure for HPV, most infections will clear up without treatment (90% of infected people will clear the virus within two years if not reinfected). A small group of people carries the virus chronically. Visible genital warts and changes to the skin or mucous membranes may be treated by a variety of methods, including application of topical medications or by treatments such as cautery, cryotherapy, or laser therapy. Routine Pap tests are helpful in detecting precancerous and cancerous cells on the cervix and in preventing the disease from becoming life threatening.

The most reliable way to eliminate risk for genital HPV infection is to refrain from any genital contact with another individual or remain in a mutually monogamous, long-term relationship with an uninfected partner (though it is difficult to determine whether or not that partner has been infected in the past). Because HPV infection may affect areas outside those normally covered by a condom, even consistent and correct use of latex condoms provides only a limited degree of protection. Nevertheless, regular condom use is associated with a decrease in the incidence of cervical cancer, suggesting that some measure of protection is conveyed. A vaccine for the most virulent strains of HPV is available and is recommended for women age nine to twenty-six. The length of immunity imparted by the vaccine is still unknown, and boosters may be necessary.

HUMAN IMMUNODEFICIENCY VIRUS (HIV)/ACQUIRED IMMUNODEFICIENCY SYNDROME (AIDS)

AIDS is a serious infection first reported in the United States in 1981 that has subsequently become a worldwide epidemic. The syndrome is caused by human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection. The virus progressively kills and damages cells of the body's immune system and severely diminishes a person's ability to combat infections and some cancers. Further, it increases the chances of contracting other life-threatening opportunistic infections (such as viral or bacterial) that normally do not cause disease in healthy people.

Though HIV can be spread through infected blood products (rarely in the early twenty-first century) and contaminated needles, the most common mode of transmission is through unprotected sex with an infected partner. People can contract HIV through sexual contact with the vagina, penis, vulva, rectum, or mouth. Infected women can pass HIV to their unborn children during pregnancy, delivery (especially vaginal births), or through nursing.

Most people who are infected with HIV exhibit no early symptoms. When they do occur, they appear within a month or two from exposure and manifest as a flu-like illness with symptoms such as fever, headache, fatigue, and enlarged lymph nodes. When symptoms do occur, they generally resolve within a week to a month. Nevertheless, infected individuals are highly contagious during this time.

Initial infections are generally followed by an asymptomatic period that may last anywhere from several months up to ten years. During this time the virus multiplies and begins destroying the cells of the immune system. Eventually, the immune system is compromised and cannot mount defenses for opportunistic infections and disease. AIDS is the term used to describe advanced stages of HIV infection. Symptoms include coughing and shortness of breath, seizures, difficulty in swallowing, mental impairment, persistent diarrhea, fever, nausea, abdominal cramps, weight loss, severe fatigue, loss of vision, and death.

The treatment for HIV consists of a cocktail of a variety of drugs that slow the progression of the disease and make it less infective. Treatment is complicated by the growing number of drug-resistant strains of HIV.

Aside from abstinence or having sexual relations only within a mutually monogamous, long-term relationship with an uninfected partner, the only method for preventing the spread and transmission of HIV is to abstain from high-risk behaviors such as sharing needles and engaging in unprotected sex. Male latex condoms or female polyurethane condoms only offer partial protection during oral, anal, or vaginal sex. The risk of an HIV-positive mother transmitting HIV to her unborn child is dramatically reduced if the mother undergoes treatment during pregnancy.

PELVIC INFLAMMATORY DISEASE (PID)

PID is a general term that refers to infection of the uterus, fallopian tubes, and other reproductive organs. It is a common and serious complication of STDs, especially chlamydia and gonorrhea. Young women under twenty-five are particularly at risk for developing PID because the cervix is not yet fully mature. Douching and the use of an intrauterine device (IUD) increase the risk of infections if exposed to them.

Symptoms of PID vary depending on the infecting agent. Infections caused by chlamydia may be mild to nonexistent. When symptoms occur they may include lower abdominal pain, fever, odorous vaginal discharge, painful intercourse or urination, and spotting between menstrual periods. Even in the absence of symptoms, untreated PID can result in abscesses, chronic pelvic pain, infertility, and ectopic pregnancy.

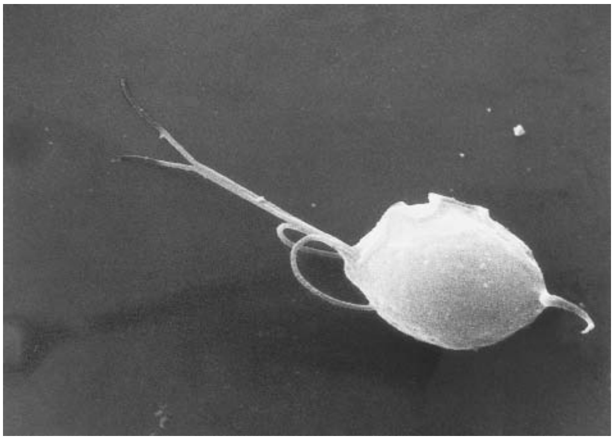
PID can be treated with antibiotics but treatment cannot reverse any damage already done by the disease. Occasionally, surgery is necessary to alleviate abscess formation or other symptoms. The best means of preventing PID is to avoid contracting STDs such as chlamydia or gonorrhea.

SYPHILIS

Syphilis is a serious sexually transmitted disease caused by the bacterium *Treponema pallidum*. Since 2001 the incidence of syphilis has increased, especially among homosexual males. The disease is transmitted by direct contact with a syphilis sore, most commonly found on the genitalia, vagina, anus, rectum, or mouth. Pregnant women who are infected can pass the disease onto their babies.

Though many infected individuals remain asymptomatic for years, initial symptoms of primary-stage syphilis may include the appearance of one or more chancres (sores) that present between ten and ninety days after exposure. Chancres are usually round, firm, small, and painless and can last anywhere from three to six weeks before healing. If treatment is not administered the disease progresses to a secondary stage characterized by skin rash, mucous-membrane lesions, fever, sore throat, head and muscle aches, fatigue, and weight loss. Symptoms will resolve without treatment, but the infection remains active. Late-stage syphilis may present with severe damage to the brain, nerves, eyes, heart, liver, bones, and joints and even death.

Early stage syphilis is treated with a single intramuscular injection of penicillin (sometimes multiple injections are necessary depending on the duration of the disease), but the damage resulting from untreated syphilis is permanent. Correct and consistent use of latex condoms can reduce the risk of contacting syphilis, but it does not provide full protection against infection as chancres may occur in areas not normally covered by condoms.



Trichomanas vaginalis. Trichomanas vaginalis, *the human protozoan parasite that causes trichomoniasis.* BSIP/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

TRICHOMONIASIS

Trichomoniasis is a common sexually transmitted disease caused by the protozoan parasite *Trichomonas vaginalis*. In women infections are usually situated in the vagina and in men in the urethra. The parasite spreads through penis–vagina or vulva–vulva contact. Though women can contract the disease from either infected men or women, men generally only contract trichomoniasis from infected women.

Symptoms in women may include a frothy, yellow-green, odorous discharge from the vagina that may cause irritation and itching, discomfort during intercourse or urination, and occasionally lower abdominal pain. Infected men generally do not show symptoms, but there may be a discharge or slight burning or irritation after ejaculation or urination.

Infected pregnant women risk giving birth prematurely and having low-birth-weight babies. Trichomoniasis infections increase a woman's susceptibility to HIV if exposed to it and increases the risk of transmitting HIV if infected.

Treatment consists of the use of a single, oral dose of metronidazole. Even in the absence of symptoms, all sexual partners should be treated to prevent reinfection. Consistent and correct use of latex condoms can reduce the risk of transmitting the disease. Persons who are being treated for trichomoniasis should avoid sex until they have been treated and are infection free.

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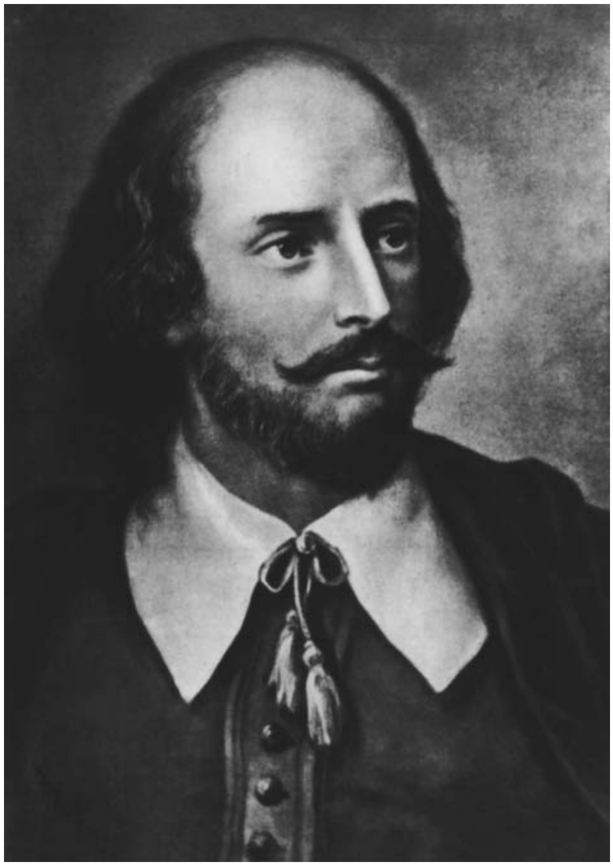
Diane S. Saylor

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM
1564–1616

William Shakespeare, who was born in April 1564 in Stratford-upon-Avon, England, and died in the same town on April 23, 1616, is among the most celebrated of English poets and playwrights. At eighteen Shakespeare married twenty-six-year-old Anne Hathaway, who was already pregnant; they had three children together. Nevertheless, Shakespeare's impassioned expressions of desire for a *fair youth* in the *Sonnets* (published 1609) have led to much speculation about his possibly homoerotic inclinations.



William Shakespeare. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Although nothing is known for certain about Shakespeare's own sexual desires or practices, his work complexly engages contemporary issues of gender and sexuality. Renaissance England was a patriarchal society, and the subordination of women to men was justified through theology and biology: the apostle Paul's description of woman as *the weaker vessel* in his Letter to the Ephesians was corroborated by theories of women's biological inferiority derived from classical philosophy and medicine. According to the ancient anatomical theories still in place during Shakespeare's era, the natural *coldness* of women's bodies made them mentally as well as physically weaker than men. In Shakespeare's cross-dressing comedies, intelligent young women do successfully pass as men, thus suggesting that gender is not simply biological but cultural, a matter of learned behavior rather than innate traits. Nonetheless, these cross-dressed women betray typically *feminine* characteristics under stress: In *As You Like It* (1599), Rosalind faints at the sight of blood, and in *Twelfth Night* (1601), the prospect of dueling terrifies Viola.

The purportedly natural differences between men and women justified the radical exclusion of most women from public life. Although women worked in nursing, midwifery, or various manual trades and a handful even earned recognition as writers or patrons, they were barred from universities, thereby excluding them from careers as theologians, lawyers, scholars, doctors, or politicians—with the notable exception of Queen Elizabeth I, who ruled England from 1558 to 1603. The queens in Shakespeare's early historical plays such as *Henry VI* (1589–1592) and *Richard III* (1592) acquire power by manipulating and controlling the kings who desire them. Shakespeare's later historical plays *Henry IV* (1597) and *Henry V* (1599) associate the political success of Henry V with his lack of interest in women as a young prince and with his strategic marriage to the French princess, Catherine, which authorizes his conquest of France.

Shakespeare's culture placed enormous emphasis on the sexual purity of women as vehicles of family lineage and the orderly transfer of property through inheritance. The ideal woman was defined as *chaste*, *silent*, and *obedient*: A woman who was free with her tongue, it was thought, was likely to be free with her body. The importance of preserving female modesty in public explains why the female roles in English Renaissance plays were played by boys who were sometimes regarded as *effeminate* in appearance and behavior. In *The Taming of the Shrew* (1593), Katherine is considered unmarriageable not only because she is disobedient and outspoken but also because her rejection of feminine norms implies a lack of chastity. Many of Shakespeare's works register anxiety about the threat posed to men by the supposedly voracious and uncontrollable sexual appetite of women. In the narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* (1593), the lusty goddess Venus aggressively pursues the innocent Adonis, who prefers to go hunting with his friends. Shakespeare's *Sonnets* contrast the speaker's temperate love for a young man with his destructive lust for a promiscuous mistress whom he associates with disease, death, and hell.

As in the *Sonnets* same-sex relationships in Shakespeare's plays are often characterized by physical intimacy and emotional devotion. The process of courtship can disrupt affectionate same-sex friendships between men (Mercutio and Romeo in *Romeo and Juliet* [1594], Antonio and Bassanio in *The Merchant of Venice* [1596]) or between women (Helena and Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* [1595], Rosalind and Celia in *As You Like It*). Nonetheless, certain plays suggest that same-sex bonds are more deeply rooted than are marital bonds: In *Twelfth Night*, Sebastian marries Olivia for status and property but demonstrates an enduring affection for the masculine Antonio.

A married man's reputation was dependent on his wife's behavior. The pervasive jokes about cuckoldry (female infidelity) in Shakespeare's comedies express anxiety about a wife's power to undermine her husband's masculinity. The comedies benevolently explore temporary transgressions of gender roles, allowing virtuous, chaste, and intelligent women either to instruct or to aid men by adopting masculine roles, as when Portia plays a lawyer in *The Merchant of Venice*. Generally, wives did not enjoy independent legal or property rights, but they had considerable authority in running the household. The judicious wives of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1600) vigorously defend their chastity and domestic property from the courtly predator Falstaff. In the tragedies, however, gender difference becomes a source of mistrust, betrayal, and terrible suffering. Othello murders his wife in the mistaken belief that she has cuckolded him, Antony blames his military and political losses on Cleopatra's sexual looseness, and Lady Macbeth goads her husband into regicide by questioning his manhood.

Certain of Shakespeare's plays seem more overtly to challenge cultural norms of female gender and sexuality. Isabella in *Measure for Measure* (1604) and Joan of Arc in *Henry VI*, Part 1 (1592) reject the cultural expectation of marriage and motherhood by determining to live as virgins—Isabella as a nun and Joan as a warrior. As a metaphorical Amazon Joan is particularly compelling, although the play finally demonizes her by revealing her to be a witch and a whore. Hippolyta in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is literally an Amazon, but a conquered one who marries her captor, Duke Theseus. The witches in *Macbeth* (1605) influence national politics by prophesying Macbeth's future as king. In *The Winter's Tale* (1610) the fiercely independent noblewoman Paulina bravely defends Queen Hermione's chastity against King Leontes's jealous suspicions. Accused by Leontes of being a witch, a bawd, and a scold, Paulina redeems these stereotypes of transgressive femininity through her loyalty and judgment, which finally serve to reunite the royal family at the end of the play. In Paulina's case the *refusal* to be silent and obedient constitutes female virtue.

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Romeo and Juliet.*

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Mario DiGangi

SHAMANISM

Shamanism was characterized by Mircae Eliade (1964 [1950]), the famed scholar of comparative religion, as someone who entered an ecstatic state to interact with the spirits on behalf of the community. These universals of shamanistic healers have been characterized in terms of an innate psychology by Michael Winkelman (2000), who points to other universal characteristics of shamans: Charismatic group leadership in communal ritual activities, generally carried out overnight, involves the use of chanting, music, drumming, and dancing. *Ecstasy*, an altered state of consciousness, is a key aspect of training and practice, with the characteristic altered states of consciousness experience known as the soul journey, or soul flight. Interaction with the spirit world, in training and professional practice, includes training involving a vision quest and an initiatory death-and-rebirth experience. Control of animal spirits as a primary source of power includes the ability to transform into animals and to provide assistance in hunting. Professional abilities include healing, diagnosis, and divination. Maintaining an ambivalent moral status reflects the ability to do harm through sorcery.

Gender-specific roles and sexual restrictions of shamanistic healers reflect adaptations to altered states of consciousness and the effects of social processes on characteristics of altered states of consciousness. Relationships of sex and gender to shamanistic healers vary in terms of their social contexts. Cross-cultural research shows how shamanistic healers vary in gender roles as socioeconomic adaptations to universal human potentials involving healing and altered states of consciousness. This research illustrates the validity of the term *shaman* as a cross-cultural concept. Shamanism is revealed in the universal features of the spiritual healing practices of hunter-gatherer and simple agricultural and pastoral societies worldwide in which transformed men and women engage spirit powers. Shamans and other shamanistic healers manifest cultural universals involving adaptations to potentials of human nature, an integrative mode of consciousness similar to dreams. These altered states of consciousness experiences are induced in community rituals for interactions with the spirit world to obtain information and provide healing.

Shamans differ from other types of shamanistic healers in their altered states of consciousness (soul flight, death-and-rebirth experience), use of sorcery, power relationships with animals, and their preeminent role in society as charismatic leaders. Other types of shamanistic healers are found in societies with priests, male secular and sacred leaders who dominate religious and political life and alter the more egalitarian gender dynamics of shamanism. In these more complex societies shamanistic practices persist in female-dominated cults of mediumship and possession.

GENDER PATTERNS OF SHAMANISTIC HEALERS

Shamans are predominately males, but in most cultures, females also are chosen, generally inheriting spirits from parents or grandparents. The shaman's involvement in hunting, warfare, and raids may contribute to a male predominance among shamans. There are also restrictions on females practicing shamanism during childbearing years. Women typically function as shamans before marriage and following menopause. These restrictions on female shamans' practice may reflect consequences for cardiovascular function, oxygen availability, and other vital parameters produced by altered states of consciousness, reflected in their conceptualizations as *half-death*. Risks that altered states of consciousness could pose to the fetus apparently underlie this prohibition on women engaging in shamanic practices when they could be pregnant.

Females are also occasionally found among shamanistic healers of agricultural societies but are virtually absent from the healers found in more complex, politically integrated societies. These hierarchical societies also have shamanistic healers called mediums, who are typically female; relatively infrequent male mediums are often weak or effeminate. These female mediums are generally from lower social strata in strongly patriarchal societies. Mediums are respected people, nonetheless, particularly among women and their possession cult. Mediums experience altered states of consciousness, engage spirits, and provide healing and divination, activities characteristic of shamans; but they differ from shamans in that they lack soul flight, death-and-rebirth experiences, animal relations, sorcery powers, and the high social prestige of shamans. Medium cults involve possession—control by spirit entities that take over the body, speech, and mind of the individual. Female recruits to the cults are those who are ill from spirit possession; they gain control of the spirits through cult participation. Mediums do not typically have long-term sexual restrictions, but their *spirit spouses* may dictate restrictions on sexual relations with their physical spouses. The predominance of females among mediums may reflect how their disadvantaged status contributes to the malnutrition, abuse, and trauma that may predispose women to altered states of consciousness. Through statements made while possessed by male spirits, mediums mediate male and female domains and exercise indirect influence in a male-dominated society where their subordinated status limits their direct confrontation with male power.

SEXUAL RESTRICTIONS

Shamanistic healers generally refrain from sex in preparation for professional activities. Religious officiants of many major religious traditions are frequently enjoined to permanent celibacy. Sexual restrictions for shamanistic healers normally begin during training, with sexual prohibitions for weeks, months, or even years. Traditions dictate celibacy for several days before and after ceremonies, explaining sexual restrictions in terms of purity and the idea that spirits are attracted to the celibate. Many shamanistic traditions view spirit relations in sexual terms, engaging in sex with spirit entities and having spouses and children in the spirit world. Spirit spouses may be jealous of physical spouses and require that shamans abstain from sex.

Sexual restrictions on shamanistic healers may reflect adaptations to the physiological dynamics of sexual orgasm and induction of altered states of consciousness. Orgasm requires simultaneous increase in both the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous system. Julian Davidson (1980) points out that when a peak of excitation is reached, the sympathetic system collapses, exhausted, and the parasympathetic state as with those of altered states of consciousness, becomes dominant. The *rebound* aspect of the parasympathetic aspect means that the greater the excitation in the sympathetic system before collapse, the stronger the parasympathetic relaxation response. Sexual activity could interfere with the dynamics of excitation and physiological collapse, reducing the degree of sympathetic excitation by prior release in orgasm. Sexual prohibitions may assure more powerful altered states of consciousness. Postceremony sexual restrictions in some shamanistic traditions might relate to the anorgasmic states potentially produced by altered states of consciousness. This is illustrated in the Tantric traditions that use sex with prevention of ejaculation to induce more profound altered states of consciousness.

TRANSGENDERED ACTIVITIES IN SHAMANISM

The belief that shamanism is normally associated with homosexuality or other cross-gendered behaviors is not validated by Michael Winkelman's and Doug White's cross-cultural studies (Winkelman 1990, 1992; Winkelman and White 1986); shamans, shaman/healers and healers are not typically considered to have cross-gendered tendencies. Mediums, however, may incorporate weak, effeminate, or homosexual males. The widespread transvestism associated with Chukchi shamans studied by Waldemar Bogoras (1904–1909) does not appear typical. Homosexual and gender-switching individuals may be attracted to shamanistic roles because changing identities is fundamental to shamanic professional roles involving communication with spirits. Gender crossing does occur in some shamanic enactments as a way of gaining ritual power through incorporating symbols of femininity, but without involving homosexuality.

Barbara Tedlock (2004) points out how aspects of self and identity are defined in the interactions between male and female personalities displayed in shamanic performances. Shamanic performances engage gender expressions in enacting powers in nature, feminine as well as masculine, making shamans mediators between gender concepts. The sacred is often expressed in transformations involving a blending of gender characteristics and gender reversals. Gender dynamics may be expressed in shamanic healing specializations where female powers and energies are engaged for nurturance and integration, whereas male symbols engage warlike activities of exorcism and attacks to defeat spirit entities thought to cause illness. Universal concepts are expressed in gender differences that shamanistic healers can balance and integrate in patients through ritual.

Shamanic practices allow access for both genders, with males predominating in these roles. Sexual restrictions are important consideration in these practices. As societies become more complex, shamanistic practices become more predominantly female. Their incorporation of male spirits give voice to oppressed females and some degree of power in male-dominated societies, including restricting their spouse's sexual access.

SEE ALSO *Witchcraft.*

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Michael Winkelman

SHA'RAWI, HUDA
1879–1947

Huda Sha'rawi is regarded as one of Egypt's foremothers of feminism. At its inception Egyptian feminism was inextricably linked with nationalism, and this synthesis was especially clear in the case of Huda's life and contributions. She was born Nur al-Huda Sultan, her father a wealthy provincial administrator. Growing up in the harem system on a lavish estate near Cairo, she was given in marriage to her cousin at the age of thirteen. Angry at discovering that he did not renounce his slave concubine with their marriage, she left him for seven years; later she reconciled with him and had two children.

Within a few years and at the initial behest of Princess Ain al-Hayat, she became actively engaged in social reform, establishing a clinic for the poor. The center offered classes in infant care, family hygiene, and household management. Throughout her life Huda argued that upper-class women had an obligation to contribute to the betterment of society through charitable activities. In light of contemporary feminist thought, Huda's activism could be characterized as elitist in nature; however, it also reflects an early twentieth-century romantic view of the poor as passive recipients of philanthropic efforts of the rich.

Following World War I, the Wafd political party emerged in Egypt. Demanding independence from English occupation, the supporters of Wafd initiated the nationalist Revolution of 1919. In the same year Huda led the first demonstration of women against British occupation and formed the Wafdist Women's Central Committee.

Widowed at the age of forty-five, and with all the men in her life gone, Huda committed her organizational skills and immense wealth to support the equality of women in Egypt. She became an activist in the struggle for women's full political rights, educational and employment opportunities, reform of the Muslim personal-status law, and campaigned for women's rights in the areas of divorce and polygamy. Her rise as a central figure is best represented by the story of her return from the International Women's Conference in Rome in 1923. A crowd had gathered at the station to welcome her home, and as she stepped from the train, she removed her veil. The action had profound impact, and within a decade, few women in Egypt remained fully veiled. It should be noted that while Huda's autobiography and every narration of the episode refers to her taking off the veil, what she removed was only the face cover (*niqab*) and not the *hijab*, or head covering.

After founding *Al-Ittihad al Nisa'I Misri*, the Egyptian Feminist Union, she served as its president from 1923 until her death in 1947 and was invested with Egypt's highest honor, *Nishan al-Kamal* (Order of the Virtues). Fluent in French, Turkish, and Arabic, Huda was a popular speaker for women's rights throughout the Arab world and Europe. Huda recorded her memoirs in Arabic with the publication of *Mudhakkirati*, referred to as the *Memoirs of the First Lady of Arab Modernity*. The *Memoirs* narrate her transition from childhood in the harem to her militant feminist activities. She was the first Egyptian woman to cowrite an autobiography, which has become part of the history of Arabic literature.

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Rosemary Drage Hale

SHAME

SEE *Honor and Shame.*

SHEKHINAH, GOD'S BRIDE

One of the most perplexing concepts in Judaism is that of the Shekhinah, a figure identified as the Divine Presence and Bride of God. Shekhinah is a Hebrew noun that means literally *the act of dwelling*. In the Bible Shekhinah is used as one of the names of God. In the Talmud the term comes to be identified as the Divine Presence or indwelling or presence of God in this world. However, by the twelfth century the term had undergone a radical transformation and has since been used to refer to God's feminine aspect and/or consort. The kabbalistic system known as the *Sefirot* describes ten emanations of God—what Abraham Joshua Heschel (1996) calls *the inner life of God*—and the tenth of these is *Malkhut* and is identified as the Shekhinah. In this view the Shekhinah is understood to be the feminine aspect of God—not an independent mythic being.

However, in some sections of the *Zohar*, the central text of Kabbalah, dating from about the thirteenth century, the Shekhinah is clearly identified as God's Bride. In some of these kabbalistic myths, the coupling between God and the Shekhinah is described in specifically erotic terms: "The Temple served as the sacred bedchamber of God the King and his Bride, the Shekhinah. . . . The King would come to the Queen and lie in her arms. . . . He took his delight between her breasts. . . . They lay in a tight embrace, her image impressed on His body like a seal imprinted on a page" (*Zohar* 1:120b, 3:74b, 3:296a).

Other kabbalistic myths portray a confrontation between God and the Shekhinah provoked by the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem—the Shekhinah's home in this world—and the impending Babylonian exile, that concludes with God's Bride declaring her intention to abandon her spouse—God—and go into exile with her children, the Children of Israel (*Zohar* 1:202b–203a). Nor will she return to God until her home—the Temple in Jerusalem—is rebuilt. It is in this central myth of the exile of the Shekhinah that the figure of the Shekhinah attains mythic independence.

Thus, the term Shekhinah undergoes a radical transformation, from one of the names of God, to the presence of God in this world, to one of the emanations of God, and, finally, to God's Bride. It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the monotheism of Judaism with the notion of a divine consort, which more closely resembles the divine pairings of Zeus and Hera in Greek mythology or El and Asherah in the Canaanite. This is one of the reasons that the study of Kabbalah was regarded as esoteric and was limited to married men over the age of forty.

The exile of the Shekhinah from God inspired Rabbi Isaac Luria of Safed (1534–1572) in the sixteenth century to teach that heaven was in need of human assistance in bringing the divine couple back together. These teachings, known as Lurianic Kabbalah, present the concept of *tikkun olam*, repair of the world, in which God is said to have created the Jewish people in order to repair the breaches that took place in heaven at the time of the creation, at the time of the Fall, and when the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed. Further, messianic Jewish theology holds that one of the key tasks of the Messiah will be to restore the Temple in Jerusalem, at which time the God's Bride will be reunited with God and the world will be restored above and below.

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Howard Schwartz

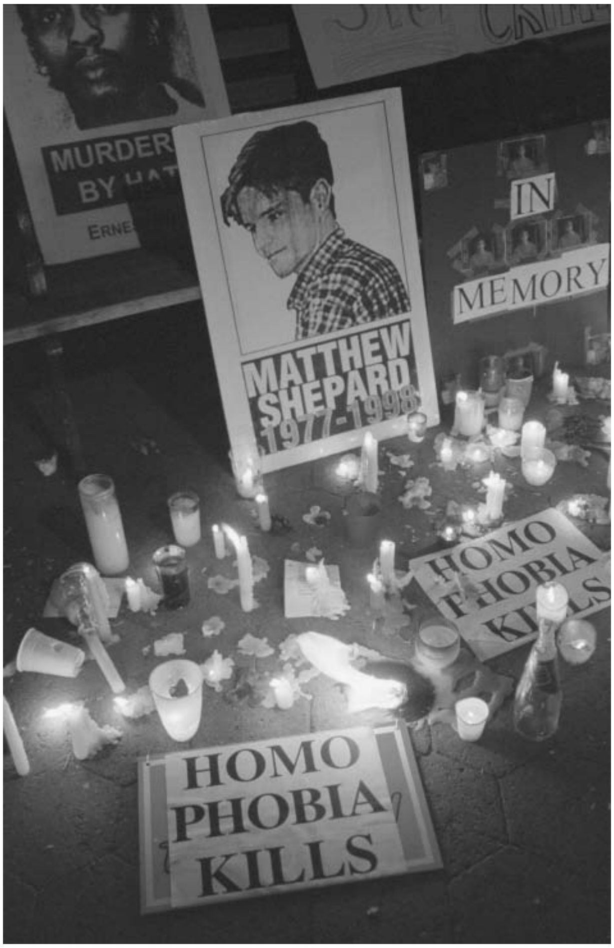
SHEPARD, MATTHEW WAYNE
1976–1998

Matthew Shepard, born on December 1 in Casper, Wyoming, was a University of Wyoming undergraduate whose murder sparked nationwide debate about antibias and hate crime laws and drew attention to the persistence and brutality of homophobic violence in a decade that purported to celebrate tolerance and diversity. Many details surrounding the crime—that Shepard was a good-looking, middle-class white man; the false media reports that he had been found tied in a position suggesting crucifixion; and that the crime occurred in a part of the United States identified with the masculine cowboy mythology—thrust the case into the national spotlight and made Shepard a household name.

On the night of October 6, 1998, Shepard attended a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Association (LGBTA) meeting at the University of Wyoming and later went to a bar alone. He was approached by two young locals, Aaron McKinney and Russell Henderson. The pair lured Shepard out of the bar with the offer of a ride. McKinney pistol-whipped Shepard in the car, as Henderson drove to an elevated site on the outskirts of the town. Henderson used Shepard's shoelaces to tie him to a wooden fence with his hands behind his back. McKinney and Henderson then stole Shepard's shoes and wallet and left him badly beaten and unconscious with severe head injuries. Later that evening, the two men provoked another violent incident, this time involving two Laramie men of Hispanic descent—Jeremy Herrera and Emiliano Morales. Shepard was found eighteen hours after the attack, barely breathing, by a teenager bike riding nearby.

Henderson and McKinney were arrested days later. The media descended on Laramie and followed the story closely through the trials. Vigils and protests took place across the country and Shepard became a symbol of antigay violence and a martyr for the gay rights movement. Right-wing Christian and antigay protestor, Fred Phelps, headed a group of demonstrators who condemned homosexuality and suggested that Shepard deserved to die. Shepard's friend Romaine Patterson and another group of protestors countered by blocking Phelps and his followers from public view with the long, draping wings of their angel costumes.

Many were offended by the fact that McKinney and Henderson pursued a *gay panic* defense, suggesting that Shepard had made sexual advances toward the two men thus justifying the attack. Before verdicts were reached, both pleaded guilty. Neither man showed much remorse for the crime. At McKinney's sentencing, Shepard's



Candleight Vigil for Matthew Shepard. EVAN AGOSTINI/ GETTY IMAGES.

father read a moving statement and asked for two consecutive life sentences rather than the death penalty. Henderson received a life sentence, while McKinney received the two consecutive terms.

In the aftermath of the events, media, artistic, and critical commentary about the case focused on the intricacies and contradictions of rural gay life, the state of Wyoming's ultimate failure to institute bias crime legislation and legal protection based on sexual orientation in the year after the murder, and the impact of the events on the town of Laramie. Scholarly work has considered how race and class impacted the crime and the media coverage and raised questions about the politicization of Shepard's murder. A theater troupe from New York City, Moisés Kaufman's Tectonic Theater Project, visited Laramie a number of times over the course of one year to interview residents. These discussions resulted in *The Laramie Project* (2001), a play later turned into a film (2002) that told the stories of many of Laramie's residents and others involved in the case, such as Reggie Fluty, the deputy who was the first to arrive at the gruesome scene. Shepard's murder has also been associated with less-publicized hate crimes, such as the 1998 racially-motivated killing of black Texan James Byrd Jr., who was dragged to his death behind a pickup truck by three white men.

Shepard's parents, Judy and Dennis Shepard, became gay rights activists and advocates for hate crimes legislation. In 1998 they founded the nonprofit Matthew Shepard Foundation, which serves as a vehicle for the advocacy of gay rights issues and provides support for educational programs and gay youth organizations.

SEE ALSO *Hate Crimes; Homophobia.*

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The Laramie Project. Dir. Moisés Kaufman, with Peter Fonda, Janeane Garofalo, Terry Kinney, Laura Linney, and Amy Madigan. 2002.

Emma Crandall

SHINTOISM

The roots of Shintoism, or Shinto (the way of the gods), Japan's indigenous religion, lie shrouded in the mists of prehistory. Indeed, in a very real sense, to be Japanese is to be a Shintoist despite the fact that the religion in question has coexisted with Buddhism for fifteen hundred years. Even the seemingly mundane act of removing one's shoes before entering a Japanese home is implicitly a reflection of Shintoism's strong emphasis on ritual purification and maintaining a boundary between secular and sacred space.

The single most important concept in Shintoism is that of *kami*. Although the word is usually translated as *deity* or *god*, it covers a much wider semantic range than its English—or, indeed, European and North American—equivalents. *Kami* are believed to animate all phenomena, inanimate as well as animate, from the sun, moon, mountains, and rivers, to every single living creature. It is for this reason that Shinto, as with other religions that venerate an infinity of spirit beings, is generally held to be a manifestation of what anthropologists call *animism*. Some *kami*, however, do come close to approximating the European and North American concept of god (or goddess)—that is, divine entities with highly developed personalities and functions. According to the *Kojiki*

The Sun Goddess Amaterasu Emerging from Cave. **THE ART ARCHIVE/VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM LONDON/EILEEN TWEEDY.**

(Records of ancient matters), which was compiled in 712 CE and is the oldest and most sacred Shinto text, the head of this pantheon is Amaterasu, the sun goddess. What is more, Amaterasu established her divine sovereignty after a successful confrontation with her rebellious brother, Susanō, the storm god. Her other brother, Tsukiyomi, the moon god, is a passive male figure who supports his sister in all things. Amaterasu's principal shrine, the Inner Shrine at Ise in Mie prefecture, is the most sacred spot in the Shinto universe and the only major shrine where no Buddhist temple ever intruded. For fifteen hundred years it has been rebuilt at twenty-year intervals, thereby symbolically renewing the life-giving power of the sovereign sun goddess. The Outer Shrine at Ise is devoted to Toyouke, the deity who oversees the rice harvest.

Among a great many other major Shinto *kami* are Hachiman, the war god; Ōkuninushi, the deity who protects the imperial family (traditionally believed to descend from Amaterasu); Tenjin, who incarnates scholarship and learning; and Inari, the rice god, who is also a patron of merchants and is thus widely venerated.

The focal point of Shinto ritual is the *jinja*, or shrine. There are tens of thousands of *jinja* in Japan, ranging from tiny altars devoted to local *kami* barely known outside of a single village to massive complexes such as the Inner and Outer Shines at Ise, which are collectively known as the *Ise-jingu*. Unlike European and North American religious institutions, Shinto shrines are, for the most part, not places for communal worship. Rather, they are typically visited by single individuals, who pray to the enshrined *kami* for good health for themselves, their spouses, and children; success in school or business; or a host of other personal favors. At the communal level almost all Shinto shrines sponsor an annual (or, in some cases, semiannual) festival called a *matsuri*, in which an image of its principal *kami*, concealed within a *mikoshi*, or portable shrine, is carried around a village or urban neighborhood on the shoulders of chanting young people. This sacred procession, or *gyōretsu*, serves to sanctify both those who bear the *kami* and the region through which it is carried.

Before the introduction of Buddhism from China and Korea in the latter part of the sixth century, many Japanese women played extremely prominent roles in both Shinto and the society at large. There were priestesses and reigning empresses, one of whom, the quasi-legendary Himiko (fl. c. 200), was famed both as a warrior and as a shaman. But thanks to the profound impact of Chinese civilization and its patriarchal, Confucian ideology, the importance of women in Japan declined steadily, and this new state of affairs was, of course, reflected in Shintoism. To be sure, most large shrines continued to employ *miko*, young female virgins who can best be described as *altar girls*. They assist the *kannushi*, or priests, in conducting rituals, sell talismans and fortunes, and occasionally perform sacred dances that reflect their ancient shamanic heritage. But except for a handful of minor shrines traditionally presided over by women, the Shinto priesthood remained almost exclusively male into the late-twentieth century.

As feminist ideas began to have an impact on Japan in the late 1960s and 1970s, however, things began to change. Young women began to take their place in the heretofore all-male *mikoshi*-carrying teams, wearing the same traditional costume—that is, a *happi* (a short, workman's jacket tied around the waist) and a *hachimaki*, or ritual headband—as their brothers. At a small Tokyo neighborhood shrine where this change in the annual *matsuri* occurred, the local *gūji*, or chief priest, had argued in favor of allowing women to carry his shrine's *mikoshi*, in part because in ancient times there were many Shinto priestesses, the most important being the high priestess of Ise.

Moreover, since the 1970s the number of full-fledged, female *kannushi* has steadily increased—in part because of the difficulty of persuading young men to forego lucrative careers in business and enter the priesthood. Thus, female *kannushi* are still very much in the minority, but their ranks are growing.

In short, although a great many *jinja*, urban as well as rural, remain steadfastly conservative, contemporary Shintoism that, since it ceased to be the state religion in 1945, has consisted of a loose confederation of shrines, is beginning to catch up with Japan's emergent feminist movement. Indeed, it is not impossible to believe that someday a high priestess might once again serve Amaterasu at the Inner Shrine at Ise.

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C. Scott Littleton

SIKHISM

The northern Indian religion of Sikhism begins with the first guru, Nānak, born in 1469. It developed with his nine successor gurus between the *eastern* tradition of Hinduism and the *western* tradition of Islam (the tenth guru, Gobind Singh, died in 1708). Although they were male, the Sikh gurus were very sensitive to the hierarchies of their *doubly patriarchal* society in which the age-old Indian caste system had succumbed to foreign oppressive codes brought in by the Turkish, Afghani, and Mughal rulers. The sacred verse of the gurus and the institutions they created aspired for an egalitarian world without hierarchies of caste, class, sect, race, or sex. They emphasized gender equality and rejected prevalent customs of *sati* and *purdah*, and notions of pollution associated with women's bodies. Nevertheless, because history and exegesis have primarily been the domain of male elites, Sikh scriptural ideals and institutions have neither been fully understood nor practiced by the Sikh community. As a result gender, sex, and sexuality remain extremely complex and convoluted issues for Sikhism.

VISION OF THE SIKH GURUS

Sikh gurus promote gender equality in numerous ways. Their poetic utterances (Sikh scripture, called Guru Granth) form the center of Sikh philosophy, ethics, and rituals. By designating the Divine as numeral *One* at the very outset, Sikh scripture discards centuries-old images of male dominance and power. It opens the way to experiencing the Transcendent One in a female modality: The ontological ground of all existence is *mata*, the Mother; the divine spark within all creatures is *joti*, the feminine light; the soul longing to unite with the Transcendent One is *suhagan*, the beautiful young bride; the benevolent glance coming from the Divine is the feminine *nadar*, grace.

From the very origins there is no sex-based apartheid in Sikhism. Men and women can participate equally in the fundamental Sikh institutions of *seva* (voluntary labor), *langar* (community meal in which everybody cooks together and eats), and *sangat* (congregation). Single women, married women, and widows are equally welcome to participate in all spheres of life. There is no priesthood in Sikhism.

Both Sikh men and women wear five symbols of their Sikh identity: *kesha* (untrimmed hair), *kangha* (comb to keep the hair tidy), *kara* (bracelet), *kirpan* (small sword), and *kacha* (long underwear). Whereas Sikh men wear turbans to cover their uncut hair, Sikh women have their hair either neatly braided or put up in a bun and wear their distinctive long sheer scarves (*dupattas*). Both men and women have their hair covered in the presence of their holy book. Sikh men have the last name *Singh*, meaning lion; Sikh women have the last name *Kaur*, meaning princess, which remains the same whether they are married or unmarried, thus freeing them from the lineage of fathers and husbands. The first name can be the same for men and women; Singh and Kaur mark their gender. The gurus denounced conventional taboos against menstrual blood and blood of parturition. Images of conception, gestation, giving birth, and lactation are powerfully present in Sikh sacred verse.

Though heterosexuality and homosexuality are not explicitly addressed, sexuality is regarded as an important aspect of humanity and spirituality. Celibacy and asceticism that disparage the body and sex are rejected. Male Sikh gurus do not repress or stunt themselves in male–female dualisms, and they express their love for the Divine from a female perspective. They openly identify with *her*, and trace the Transcendent as both father and mother, male and female.

SIKH PRAXIS

The liberating momentum of the Sikh gurus lies buried under ancient discriminations against girls. The flamboyant regime of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) and the British admiration for the *martial* character of the Sikh men have even contributed to a hypermasculine society. From the moment of birth, sons and daughters are chartered out different roles and given a different set of obligations. Sons are privileged in all spheres of Sikh life. They are given a better education and even choicer food than their sisters. It is taken for granted that the daughter will leave her natal home at marriage and join her husband and his family and that her biological parents will be financially responsible for all major events in her life, even after marriage. The son's family enjoys a status that the daughter's family simply does not.

The cultural and economic codes have made the obsession with sons so great that modern technology is abused profusely to perform sex-selective abortions and maintain India's traditional antifemale bias. Although the Indian government has banned the use of sex determination techniques, the law is not enforced. Sikh leaders are beginning to take action against the dwindling ratio of girls.

Under the influence of globalization, women who earlier followed their husbands and fathers are now migrating on their own to study; teach; and enter business, medicine, fashion design, or law. Since the 1980s the traditional Sikh folk dance, *Bhangra*, has become very popular with young music lovers in Britain, USA, and Canada. The popular male voices and patriarchal idioms of *Bhangra* music find a counterbalance in the works of Sikh feminists such as Gurinder Chadha (the director of the 2002 film, *Bend It Like Beckham*) and Shauna Singh Baldwin (author of *What the Body Remembers* [1999]).

Globalization has also triggered a trend in the Punjab to marry off daughters to men settled in distant lands as a means of sponsoring their entire families for immigration. Because women are literally the reproducers of the community, the preservation of *Sikhness* falls primarily on them. Many are becoming victims of the patriarchal code of *Izzat*, or honor.

In its attempt to formalize the message of the gurus, an ethical code (the *Sikh Rahit Maryada*) was developed by Sikh reformers in the middle of the twentieth century. It prohibits infanticide and dowry. Yet, the ancient gender codes and sexist attitudes continue to govern Sikh life. The economic and social demands of Sikh masculinity are so strong that the teachings of the gurus go unheeded. The challenge for the Sikh community is to match up their daily practices with the egalitarian and pluralistic vision of their gurus.

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Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh

SIN *CONTRA NATURAM*

In theological, philosophical, scientific, legal, and literary texts from the medieval and early modern periods, the term *contra naturam* (against nature) was applied to a range of nonprocreative sexual acts (masturbation, oral sex, same-sex relations, bestiality). From the eleventh century on, the sin against nature was frequently conflated with sodomy, but the meaning of the two terms was never precise or fixed—indeed, it was often deliberately vague; their valence was dependent to a great extent on the immediate context in which they were deployed. Whereas sodomy was an invention of medieval theology, the idea of an act or sin against nature was part of Christianity's inheritance from the ancient world as elaborated in a broad range of writings. A further factor contributing to the slipperiness of the two terms is that only rarely were they applied in the same manner to both men and women.

The idea of an act against nature was inseparable from conceptualizations of the natural, and ancient Greek authors typically recognized the existence of same-sex sexuality as an observable phenomenon in both nature and society. In both Aristotelian and Platonic thought, the natural world was gendered—that is, possessing a male, or dominant, principle that *naturally* dominated its female, or passive, counterpart. Any deviation from such arrangements was, by definition, against nature. In ancient Greek and Roman society, free males could thus enjoy sexual relations with women, slaves, or boys as long as they played the active role, whereas homoeroticism between women, though well attested, tended to be viewed by male authors as unnatural because neither partner could assume the dominant role without transgressively assuming the role that properly belonged to the male. In his *History of Animals*, Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE) noted same-sex behavior among animals (Brooten 1996) and apparently also considered it natural among humans (Boswell 1980) In Plato (428 BCE–348 BCE), however, one sees the tension between differing formulations of acts defined as *against nature*. In his *Symposium*, Aristophanes's (448 BCE–380 BCE) myth of the androgynes represents sexual attraction between people of the same sex as a naturally occurring phenomenon in nature. However, in the *Laws* Plato labels same-sex relations as *para physin* (against nature), ascribing them to a lack of self-control (Brooten 1996).

The ancients' conception of a naturally gendered universe was shared by St. Paul (died c. 66 CE), whose condemnation of unnatural intercourse was to be the authoritative foundation of all subsequent Christian writing on the subject. In Romans 1:26–27, one of several passages traditionally viewed as condemning same-sex relations, immediately after the condemnation of the idolatrous worshipping of false gods, Paul writes: "For this reason, God gave them up to degrading passions. Their women exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural, were consumed with passion for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received in their own persons the due penalty for their error." What Paul meant by unnatural intercourse (rendered in the Vulgate as *usum contra naturam*) is a matter of considerable scholarly debate. Arguing that *contra naturam* should be taken to mean *beyond nature*, that is, extraordinary or peculiar, John Boswell reads the passage as a condemnation of acts (not sexual identities in the modern sense) that show a willful rejection of knowledge of the natural order of God's creation (Boswell 1980). However, Bernadette Brooten emphasizes that Paul, in condemning same-sex love, condemns above all "sin against the social order established by God at creation" (1996, p. 264). She also argues that his denunciation of same-sex love was not specifically formulated as an argument in favor of procreation. Affirming that what Paul meant by *against nature* in Romans can only be elucidated through an intertextual approach including other Roman-period writings, Brooten concludes that despite the apparent gender symmetry of Paul's condemnation, his culture did not view dominant or submissive women within a same-sex relationship as it viewed such relations between men, and that the woman playing the *role of the man* was particularly shocking to Paul's world view.

Clement of Alexandria. *Clement of Alexandria was the most influential Hellenistic writer on this subject of same-sex sexuality.* COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

As with his contemporary St. Paul, Philo of Alexandria (20 BCE–40 CE), a Hellenized Jewish philosopher whose work influenced Christian authors, condemns male–male sexual relations (specifically but not exclusively those between a man and a boy) as *para physin* and sees such relations as contributing to the *disease* of effeminacy (Boswell 1980). Philo's definition of acts against nature has procreation as a central concern, for he also considers sexual relations between different species (including bestiality) and between a man and a woman during her menstrual period to be against nature. He does not concern himself with sexual relations between women but displays a specific concern with pederasty, which he says had become widespread in his day (Greenberg 1988). He views the pederast as pursuing an unnatural pleasure resulting in the corruption of the boy and judges both parties worthy of death (Brooten 1996).

Moralists of this period also refer to the animal world when they address same-sex sexuality. The second-century

Christian Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215) was the most influential Hellenistic writer on this subject. Drawing on both Plato and Paul, among many others, Clement holds that same-sex relations, both between males and between females, are unnatural. As does his close contemporary and fellow Christian Tertullian of Carthage (c. 160–225), he specifically condemns female–female marriage as *para physin* (Brooten 1996) and is among the first theologians to articulate the *Alexandrian rule*, to the effect that all sexual intercourse must be directed toward procreation (Boswell 1996). In his enormously influential *Physiologus*, a collection of anecdotes about the animal world, he condemns the supposed ambiguous sexuality of the hare (said to grow a new anus each year) and the hyena (held to be male or female in alternate years). The Mosaic injunction against consuming the flesh of the hare is interpreted by Clement as a rejection of pederasty.

By the early third century of the Christian era, a considerable body of writings, both Christian and non-Christian, with an array of interpretations, supported the condemnation of same-sex sexuality as being against nature. Theologians such as St. John Chrysostom (347–407) in the Asia and St. Augustine (354–430) in Europe drew on this tradition. In his homily on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Chrysostom decries all passions as dishonorable but singles out the sins against nature as the most abominable, denying that any pleasure can be derived from them, as real pleasure can in his view only be in accordance with nature. He holds that the sin against nature is even more shameful between women, who are supposed to be naturally more modest than men, and that ultimate depravity prevails when men, supposed to be the teachers of women, practice this vice. Nature knows her own boundaries, he opines, and homoeroticism is unnatural and lawless for breaking down the boundaries between the sexes and sex roles. For Augustine, human sexuality in general is foremost an impediment to salvation. He only allows sex for the purpose of procreation, and he therefore condemned, for example, anal intercourse between man and wife as *unnatural and grossly wicked* (Brooten 1996). Augustine's treatment of the sin of the Sodomites would prove to be particularly influential on later theologians, for, unlike St. Jerome (c. 345–420), the translator of the Vulgate who interpreted the sin of Sodom as pride, for Augustine, it is specifically, if not exclusively, the sin *contra naturam* of male same-sex copulation.

Whereas the sin against nature thus has its roots in ancient writings, sodomy is a more recent invention of medieval theology, specifically of Peter Damian in his tract the *Liber Gomorrhianus* (c. 1049). Damian's concern was to reform what he viewed as the rampant moral corruption of the church. He casts sodomy as an especially pernicious variant of incest, for he alleges that bishops and abbots engage in unnatural acts with their spiritual sons, whom they have brought into the church or monastery. From its inception the sin of sodomy thus appears ambiguous, assimilated to incest but also to hierarchical and generational transgression. Subsequent taxonomies of sin, either theological or pastoral, were no more able to provide a coherent account of sodomy or the sin against nature.

In Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* (c. 1265–1274), sodomy is the last of the six species of the capital sin of *luxuria*, subdivided in turn into four types: masturbation, bestiality, same-sex coupling (with reference to Romans 1:27), and otherwise improper coupling (e.g., using an instrument or an improper orifice) (2–2.154). Of these, bestiality is the most serious, solitary masturbation the least. But, as Mark Jordan (1997) argues, one would be mistaken to conclude that sodomy is merely a *middling vice*, for the sodomitic vice is a pleasure with no end in the order of nature and thus a sin against God in his creation. In an earlier text, the *Scripta super libros Sententiarum* (c. 1256), Thomas says that the sin of *luxuria* against nature is, quite simply, unnamable. This incoherence is perhaps most clearly marked in pastoral literature, such as confessors' manuals. On the one hand they atomize sins, their aggravating or mitigating circumstances, and the relative weighting of penance. On the other confessors were warned against naming the sin against nature for fear that the innocent be tempted to commit it and thus be corrupted. Thus, the sin against nature, falling outside of the order of creation, ultimately falls outside the discursive order as well as unmentionable and unrepresentable, the *sin that dare not speak its name*.

Any attempt to cloak the sodomitic vice in silence was, however, doomed to failure, as theologians, moralists, and natural philosophers continued to delve into the causes, effects, and etiology of the sin against nature. Scientific texts, such as Peter of Abano's commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems* (1310), sought to give a naturalistic explanation of why some men were given to indulge in anal intercourse. Peter does not blame such men but distinguishes them from "sodomites," who indulge in this habit through depravity (Cadden 1993). Moralists writing after Damian are anything but silent about the sin against nature, denouncing the supposed corruption of their particular social environment. Etienne de Fougères in his *Livre des Manières* (c. 1174–1178) rails against the court culture of Henry II (r. 1154–1189), ascribing the sin against nature specifically to the ladies at court and, as with St. Paul, advocating death for transgressors. However, it is impossible to know if any of the vices he attributes to the court were practiced there. At a later date the sermons in which Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) attacks sodomy from the pulpit in

Florence and Siena in the 1420s are but one source documenting a rich culture of same-sex erotic and affective ties among men that flourished in the urban centers of fifteenth-century Italy. Civil authorities in Florence were alarmed enough to establish the Office of the Night (*Ufficiali di notte*), the earliest judicial institution whose purpose was to counter same-sex sexual practices (Rocke 1996).

As these final examples indicate, the sin against nature was a highly unstable construct that readily lent itself to a broad array of strategies of containment in both prescriptive and descriptive texts. As such the imputation of sodomy against perceived enemies of the church or the state was a formidable tool. The unorthodox, such as the Albigensians or Cathars, were regularly accused of being sodomites, and the confusion of categories in this instance operated on a lexical level as well. Thus, the Old French *bougre* (bugger) (q.v. bugger, buggery) was applied to heretics and *erite* (heretic) to supposed sodomites. In the late medieval and early modern period, accusations of sodomy were also deployed in court politics, as in the case of Piers Gaveston (c. 1284–1312), the favorite of Edward II (r. 1307–1327). The intersection of politics and sodomy operates as an important theme in Christopher Marlowe's (1564–1593) *Edward II* (c. 1592) and other contemporary literary works. However, with the exception of Renaissance Italy, there is a dearth of documents for the medieval and early modern periods that would make it possible to gage the prevalence of same-sex sexuality at any given time and place. Remaining documents are of interest primarily for their myriad representations of sodomy and the sin against nature.

SEE ALSO *Alan of Lille; Boswell, John; Bugger, Buggery; Catholicism; Damian, Peter; Effeminacy; Nefandum; Sodomy; Sodomy Laws; Sodomy, Repression of.*

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Robert L. A. Clark

SIXTY-NINE

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

SLANG, SEXUAL

Sexual slang is informal language that refers to aspects of sexuality in a way that is secretive, humorous, or metaphorical. It results from cultural taboos, social constraints, contextual influences, ideological struggle, and personal stylistic preferences. Sexual language varies from the technical (*to copulate*) to the more informal, which includes polite euphemisms (*to sleep with*), slang (*to knock boots*), and obscenities (*to fuck*). Most informal sexual language can be considered broadly as sexual slang.

Sex requires slang and euphemisms both because it is fundamental to human existence and because it is frequently taboo to talk about it in public. Because sexual topics are considered private, slang has developed not just for the act of sex itself, but also for most things connected to sex, including genitals, menstruation, masturbation, pregnancy, and certain types of people such as prostitutes. Interestingly, the more taboo a concept is, the more it is talked about. Thus, the notion of copulating has thousands of slang, technical, euphemistic, and obscene terms and phrases that avoid directly naming this ever-present yet ever-hidden activity. Pointing out the difference between talking about sex and having it, psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, in his 1977 book, *Écrits: A Selection*, argues that sexual discourse acts as an outlet to express desire that often has not been satisfied through sexual activity.

Theorists such as Georges Bataille (*Eroticism*, 1987 [1957]) argue that taboos such as those on sexual discourse are necessary components of culture and that ritual activities that allow for the transgression of such taboos both are cathartic and reinforce the taboo. Proving this theory from a historical perspective, Michel

Foucault notes in *The History of Sexuality* (1990 [1978]) that sexual discourse began to be altered in the seventeenth century as repressive governmental and religious policies made it improper to talk about sex outside official venues. As a result circumlocutions developed with metaphors, allusions, euphemisms, and slang, allowing people to talk about sex in code. This use of nonstandard English continued and flourished in the Victorian era, a period marked by repression.

GROUP-SPECIFIC SLANG

Slang functions as an alternative to the official or standard language, and it is usually created by groups of people that are similar in terms of class, age, gender, race, sexual orientation, and ethnicity. Individuals create sexual slang in social groups in order to bond with others and establish common attitudes toward sex. Some sexual partners have their own sexual slang that acts as a secret code unknown to outsiders, expressing intimacy and a shared history. Because courtship often involves talking about sex, using slang, verbal sex play, double entendre, or innuendo can help establish a sexual mood, familiarity, or mutual desire. Sexual slang can also be fun, making light of a potentially intimidating topic or highlighting the playful quality of sex.

Evidence suggests that men have a larger sexual slang vocabulary than women, and men use sexual slang and dirty words almost exclusively in same-sex company. Motivations for doing so include affirming masculinity, group bonding, and verbal expression of aggression in general or specifically against women. This kind of talk often includes sexual boasting and challenging, mock-aggressive curses and threats, and denigrating terms that render women as sex objects. Aggressive slang distinctly from the man's perspective includes *bang*, *poke*, and *nail* for sex and *flog the bishop* and *spank the monkey* for male masturbation.

Gay men and lesbians have sexual slang that is particular to their communities. Examples include *cruising*, which means looking for sex partners in popular rendezvous sites; *breeders*, a term for heterosexuals; *friend of Dorothy*, meaning a gay person and referring to Judy Garland's role in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939); and *hasbian*, a woman who used to be lesbian but who now acts as a heterosexual. The slang *dyke* refers to a lesbian, but it was originally one of many other slang words for the vagina that relied on the metaphor of a passage.

African-American slang includes *booty call*, a phone call or visit with the singular goal of having sex; and *jungle fever*, interracial sexual attraction especially by a white person for a person of color. Typical of all slang, popular phrases such as these can easily enter mainstream culture and lose their distinctiveness and exclusivity.

SLANG AND CULTURE

Sexual slang reflects the influence of both nature and culture on human behavior. Some slang emphasizes the fundamental and animalistic side of sexuality, such as eating and hunting, whereas other slang reflects cultural practices, such as sports and dancing. Slang related to the animal world includes *cock* and *donkey* for the penis, and *pussy* and *kitty* for the vagina. Referring to sex itself is *to ride*, which is found in Middle English with sexual meaning; *to mount*; *to make the beast with two backs*, found in William Shakespeare's *Othello*; and *to horse*, popular from the seventeenth century until the twentieth century. Another Shakespearean phrase, *to pick the lock*, refers to sex through the lens of the culture-specific chastity belt. Sports-related phrases for sex include *to score*, *hole in one*, and *the national indoor game*, whereas *to play with oneself* means to masturbate. Related to dancing are *the horizontal dance* and *jazz*, whereas the mixture of electronic and jazz music known as *funk* both resembles and is substituted for the more vulgar fuck.

Sexual slang is found frequently in mass media, including television, movies, and songs, and often functions to bypass censorship. Marvin Gaye's 1973 rhythm and blues song "Let's Get It On" is a classic of seduction that has been played frequently on the radio. Rhyming slang in Britain, from Cockney dialect, successfully communicates harsh and derogatory sexual terms in a very roundabout way. For example, instead of using *cunt*, which is considered highly offensive, rhyming slang substitutes *berk*, which is short for *Berkeley Hunt* or *Berkshire Hunt*. Likewise, many rhyming slang expressions exist for fuck, including *bit of luck*. The word cunt itself, which can be used to name the vagina or as an insult for a woman or man, has existed since 1230. It was used by Geoffrey Chaucer in the fourteenth century and was not considered vulgar until the sixteenth century.

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Michelle Veenstra

SLAVERY

Scholarship on the lives of enslaved Black women in the United States and the Caribbean emphasizes the multi-dimensionality of their roles in two polarized spheres, the dynamic slave community and the plantation economy. Studies of slavery are cogent to discussions of gender because they help to problematize the historiography of *women* and highlight the effects of enterprise on gender identities. A historical examination of Black women under the regime of slavery points to the disunity and incoherence of feminine identity. Slavery set a social precedent by the ways in which Black women occupied at once genderless and engendered spaces as workers and reproducers of labor. Foremost, enslaved women were defined as labor units and, indeed, slavery transformed gender relations, ironically testifying to the equality of men and women.

BONDWOMEN AND WORK

The accumulationist drive of slavery created a binary gender order, one that lauded the virtues of white femininity and the other that defeminized Black women, measuring their worth in terms of their functionality as laborers and as conduits for reproduction. Black women were unequivocally central to slave economies and any understanding of this history requires a triangular analysis of race, gender, and labor extraction as interlinking points of oppression. Moreover, histories that *center* Black women show that Black women's expressions of dissidence during slavery were ubiquitous and vital to the survival of enslaved communities.

The labor requirements of plantation slavery shifted gender representations and constructed Black women primarily as property with productive value. Enslaved women worked as domestics, artisans, farmers, and petty traders. They dominated the ranks of the household labor economy as well as the labor pool of field gangs. Thrust into the brutality of chattel slavery, Black women were recognized as a "versatile and flexible form of capital" (Beckles 1989, p. 3). Slave owners differentiated between skilled and unskilled labor and established hierarchical categories of household occupations, such as housekeepers and domestics. This occupational ladder awarded greater autonomy to some Black women and increased the vulnerability of others to sexual and physical abuse. Slave women served as seamstresses, cooks, and washerwomen, while also being held responsible for the suckling or nursing and weaning white children.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese argues the importance of the plantation household as an "indispensable unit of analysis because it operated as a site of production and reproduction" (1988, p. 85). Within the slaveholder's household, relations between white women and Black women were framed by the objective position of white women as "economic actors" (Fox-Genovese 1988, p. 43; Beckles 2001, p. 220). Field women comprised the majority of the plantation workforce because "gender mattered little in the production of raw commodities in New World Slavery" (Morrisey 1989, p. 31). Black bondwomen in the Caribbean weeded, hoed soil, and planted and cut sugarcane, whereas in the Carolinas and Georgia, they were the principal cultivators of rice. Yet, as historian Marietta Morrisey explains, in spite of the perceived "interchangeability of male and female slaves to slaveholders," some measure of gender stratification characterized the labor organization of plantation slavery in the Caribbean (Morrisey 1989, p. 79).

Despite dehumanizing working conditions, Black women struggled to carve out spaces for "quasi-autonomous economic activities" (Wood 1995). In the Caribbean they cultivated "gardens" and in the American South they grew "patches" for household consumption and for petty commerce. These "hucksters," "market women," and vendors were central to the informal economies found among slave populations (Beckles 1989). Southern bondwomen farmed corn, peanuts, tobacco, melons, pumpkins, beans, cabbage and benne (sesame seed) and kept poultry. Furthermore, they produced household goods such as utensils and other commodities for sale. Highly visible in the markets of South Carolina, slave women contributed to the robust informal economy of the slave community. These patterns of autonomous economic initiatives were some of the survival strategies enslaved Black women employed for the reproduction of their households during slavery.

A comradeship formed between Black women and men because of the "all hands" labor policy that joined both sexes in fieldwork (Wood 1995). Betty Wood (1995) argues that in the Southeast, a sexual division of labor was most commonly a feature of semiurban or urban centers where the majority of slave women were domestics, but that the comradeship between bondmen and bondwomen was also identifiable within the slave-based informal economies. In the Caribbean slave women cultivated food for their families and were essential to the internal slave economy as producers and sellers. Despite the visible egalitarianism surrounding productive activities between Black men and women, it did not diminish the impact of gender ideologies imposed by white patriarchy.

Rationalizations in support of hegemonic masculinity strengthened under slavery, and Black women were forced to navigate multilayered systems of gender oppression. On the sugar plantations of Barbados, Black women were the "primary source of labor reproduction" (Beckles 1989, p. 2). As "breeding women" or "breeding wenches," enslaved women were the focus of slave management, and their fertility was a calculated variable to capitalization (Beckles 1989, p. 92). Therefore, slavery was a gendered experience that included an expressed "woman's policy" that illustrated just how fundamentally Black women were at "the base of the system" (Beckles 1989, p. 29). Black female bodies were under constant surveillance, sequestered within a "geography of containment" (Camp 2004, p. 28). Black maternity was pivotal to slavery, and mixed-raced children were evidence of the systematic interference of Black women's sexuality by white men.

Enslaved Black women suffered an enormity of gynecological ailments, and miscarriages were common. Intent on exerting some biological autonomy, enslaved women used infusions of herbs to induce abortion and regulate their fertility. Even as some Black women practiced "gynecological resistance," Black motherhood could not be disentangled from slavery's profit margin (Beckles 1989, p. 158). Slave women did not acquiesce to their subordination as *sexual units of production* but used family life as a space for multifarious resistance. The endemic sexual abuse of female slaves was often camouflaged by the projection of hypersexuality onto Black women and a deviant sexuality onto Black men.

DYNAMIC KINSHIP AND RESISTANCE

Black female slaves struggled within a "context of duality," where multiple households depended on their labor (Bush 1990, p. 8). Early studies emphasized the matrifocality of slave families, but later scholars found that there was diversity in family arrangements within slave communities. In the United States Black family life during postemancipation was often identified as dysfunctional, damaged by a "culture of poverty" and headed by matriarchal women with peripheral Black men. Instead, traditional "conjugal domestic units" were more the norm than the exception under slavery (Morissey 1991, p. 274). Various forms of coresidential kinship, extended families, fictive kin, and mother–child units characterized Black families. Slaves practiced monogamy, polygamy, and serial monogamy within single and multigenerational households. Conjugal relationships were "unable to conform to dominant ideological patterns," as Black women were excluded from gender norms (Davis 1981, p. 12). In her assessment Angela Y. Davis contended that the oppressive practices of slavery constituted a "negative equality," which in turn helped to develop egalitarianism between Black men and women (Davis 1981, p. 18). Clearly, Black women were advocates for their families and committed to "subversive community work" (Jones 1985, p. 8). Any discussion of slave family forms has to be contextualized with reference to the forces of class, race, and gender dynamics as well as Black women's tactics for family survival.

Black women waged, to varying degrees, an everyday subaltern resistance. Strong women were targeted as potential insurgents and provocateurs. Black women led work stoppages, appropriated goods and food, engaged in infrastructural sabotage, performed self-induced abortions, and participated in marronage, armed resistance, cultural resistance, and knowledge attainment including clandestine literacy. They were not immune from physical punishment such as floggings, whippings, brandings, mutilations, hangings, or punitive rape. The institutionalization of rape was instrumental to systems of control of Black women. Consistently, the exerted agency of Black women was criminalized, and a common terrain of resistance was Black women's bodies. Bondwomen engaged in antihegemonic practices that precipitated the social and community activism undertaken by Black women following emancipation. Hilary Beckles explained that "anti-slavery mentalities preceded the plantation" and thus a counterperspective to the legitimatizing ideologies for slavery emerged among captive African women before they arrived in North America (Beckles 1998, p. 45).

Harriet Tubman. *Harriet Tubman is an iconic figures of female resistance to slavery.* COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Truancy, escape, and marronage were the most recognizable forms of physical resistance to the institution of slavery. Historical antislavery activists, such as Nanny from Jamaica and Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth from the United States are iconic figures of female resistance. Whereas women were "key protagonists of social and biological regeneration" within maroon communities, the high valuation of women did not preclude the formation of gender hierarchies (Steady 1981, p. 457). Enslaved women were critical to the "culture of opposition" that existed in juxtaposition to a culture of degradation (Camp 2004).

NARRATIVES AND BLACK WOMEN'S AGENCY

A review of slavery advances the discourse on gender because it disaggregates women as a category and empowers the subjectivity of Black women. Black literature commenced with the slave narrative, and these early texts extolled the power of literacy. Black women's subjectivity emerged through slave narratives, refracting resistance through orality. Slave narratives were testimonies that exposed the intimacies of injustice. DoVeanna Fulton refers to these expressions as "oral resistance" that valorizes Black female subjectivity. Narratives implicated slavery as "crystallizing Black women's experiences of oppression" and articulated a rebuttal to oppression (2006, p. 6). Autobiographical narratives authored by Black women and oral life stories point to a "Black feminist epistemology" (Hill Collins 1990). The corpus of slave narratives include *Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs (writing as Linda Brent, 1861), *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, A Northern Slave, Emancipated from Bodily Servitude by the State of New York* (1850), *Letters of Phyllis Wheatley, the Negro Slave Poet of Boston* (1864), *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman* (1864), and collected interviews from the Works Progress Administration. Slave testimonies contested the depersonalization experienced by women and cracked the unnatural silences forced on them. Toni Morrison, author of the novel *Beloved*, explains that her writing process draws on a "literary archeology" to access the interiority of Black female subjectivity. Her writing accentuates an emotional memory that is interwoven with imagination, whereby she "extends, fills in and complements slave autobiographical narratives" (Morrison 1998, p. 199). Cultural memory and emotional memory reaffirm identity and reclaim agency. These diverse "liberatory narratives" interrogated the parameters of freedom and illuminated the journey from "objectification to subjectivity" (Davis 2004, p. 305).

Black women were "quadruply burdened" by the hazards of slavery, reproduction, gender oppression, and racial oppression (Gaspar and Hine 1996, p. 210). Because slavery was "female focused," an appraisal of the productive lives of Black women is of paramount importance (Beckles 1998, Davis 1981). Slavery was a seminal process that "invented" new ethnic, cultural, political, and gender identities. American slavery set the tone for future movements where peoples of African descent fought to "define their collective identity and address the structure of hierarchy" (Mullings 1997, p. 132). Theorizing about the impact of slavery on contemporary gender relations requires that conceptual models are employed that "capture the multiple jeopardy of the interacting processes that face Black women" (King 1988, p. 47). The greater objective parity between Black men and women has been decisive in configuring family life and recasting gender ideologies.

The histories of Black women throughout the Caribbean and the United States demonstrate the "metalanguage of race" and how it shapes multiple identities discursively and ideologically (Higginbotham 1992). The experience of "simultaneous oppressions" informs a "Black women's standpoint" and draws on the distinctive histories of Black women (Hill Collins 1990). Slavery was an extreme example of the trajectory of race in relation to other systems of power. In sum, slavery as an institution was embedded with paradoxical ideologies and practices, and its importance lies in its demonstration of how gender identity cannot be extricated from relations of race, community, culture, and class.

SEE ALSO *Family; Gender, Theories of; Hierarchy.*

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Sayida Self

SLAVERY, SEXUAL

SEE *Trafficking of Women.*

SNUFF FILMS

A snuff film is a film that records an actual murder committed solely for the purposes of that film. Often, the alleged death occurs in relation to scenes of sexualized torture, and the victims are likely to be women. The idea that women, especially women willing to star in pornographic films, are expendable, is an integral part of the snuff-film legend, although there are also legends about gay snuff films involving the sacrifice of young, naive males. Snuff films, though primarily the stuff of international urban legend, represent the extreme capacity of humans to watch and enjoy the suffering of others. Also, the idea of capturing death on film or video cuts through all ideas about film as essentially staged. Recognizing an actual onscreen death makes film's realism all too real. There are also many false snuff films in which scenes of people being murdered are faked. Snuff films about snuff films comprise a subgenre of horror film.

The term *snuff*, meaning to kill someone, existed in English before its inclusion in a film genre rubric. The term *snuff film* was used by Ed Sanders in his 1971 book *The Family: The Story of Charles Manson's Dune Buggy Attack Battalion*. The Manson family was rumored to have murdered someone, filmed the act, and then buried the film in the desert. No one has ever found the film. There are those who enjoy watching people die, most often psychopaths, who videotape their own crimes so they can relive their experiences. Serial killers Paul Bernardo (b. 1964) and Karla Homolka (b. 1970), for example, recorded their acts of sexual torture and murder. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, British police admitted to the existence of child snuff films made in Russia.

Snuff films that record deliberate murder are different from films that compile scenes of people dying, often violently. Such compilation films as *Faces of Death* (1978), for example, combine scenes of executions, accidental death, and suicide, but none of these scenes was made specifically for the film, and the victims all died in other circumstances. The same is true of a series of videos depicting torture and genocide in Chechnya, which circulated in Russia in the mid-1990s. It is most likely that real snuff films do not, for the most part, actually exist. Nevertheless, rumors about a number of snuff films have circulated, including the aforementioned film by the Manson family, the Japanese *Guinea Pig* films, and Italian and South American snuff films. Rumors of gay snuff films have circulated in Boston and New York, though they have never been verified. Those in Boston claimed the films were from New York, and those in New York claimed they were from Boston.

There are many videos available that include scenes of people actually dying. In the early 2000s Internet videos of Iraq hostage executions showed the beheadings of real individuals in horrific circumstances. The purpose of these videos was terror. The Zapruder film of the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy has long been familiar; and television programs such as *World's Wildest Police Videos* (1998–2002) show violent death, excising only the worst parts. Executions are often filmed and sometimes find their way into compilations or even art films such as Michelangelo Antonioni's *Professione: Reporter* (1975), which contains the filmed sequence of a death by firing squad. Occasionally, people die during the process of making porn films. These death scenes, even if included in fiction films, do not make any of these films snuff films, because the deaths were not a scripted element of the film.

Most snuff films that circulate, however, are fake. Capitalizing on the Manson rumors, faked snuff films began to circulate in the 1970s. Low-end film producer Allan Shackleton, using the promotional line "Made in South America—Where Life Is Cheap," released *Snuff*, in which a faked death was added to the end of a tacky slasher film, previously titled *The Slaughter*. South American director Cláudio Cunha made *Snuff, vítimas do prazer* (Snuff, victims of pleasure) in 1977, and the Italian director Ruggero Deodato released *Cannibal Holocaust* in 1980 with a murder scene so realistically filmed that authorities questioned him about whether or not it was faked. It was. Other fake snuff films appeared every so many years, including the series of Guinea Pig films made in Japan in the 1980s and early 1990s. These films simulate the amateur quality imagined to belong to the authentic snuff film and show the slow torture and murder of female victims. The films were so realistic that they inspired the Japanese serial killer Tsutomu Miyazaki and caused the actor Charlie Sheen to call the police convinced he had seen a real snuff film. The incidents then inspired an episode of the television program *Law and Order*.

The snuff films of urban legend are underground films, reputedly circulating secretly, always made in some exotic location such as South America, which is imagined to have less control over the fates of its citizens. The idea of a snuff film in which an often enthusiastic and completely unwitting actor is sacrificed reflects a fear about the valuelessness and inconsequentiality of individual lives. As such, the idea of the snuff film itself becomes the subject of horror films as well as a commentary on the film industry. There is a long tradition of horror films in which a protagonist discovers a secret snuff-film ring. The 1978 film *The Evolution of Snuff*, directed by horror king Wes Craven, pretends to be a documentary film about the making of snuff films. *Final Cut* (1993), *Snuff Killer* (2003), and *8MM* (1999), the latter directed by Joel Schumacher and starring Nicolas Cage, are all films plotted around the discovery of snuff filmmaking. Most of these horror snuff films are about a protagonist either stumbling upon a snuff film ring or, as in *8MM*, trying to determine if a snuff film is actually a real snuff film. With advanced digital imaging technologies, there will no doubt continue to be fake snuff films, ever more realistically filmed, but the jolt of real life and death imagined in the older snuff film will, with such realistic technology, always come into question.

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Judith Roof

SODOM AND GOMORRAH

Sodom and Gomorrah—as a series of historical events, as an archaeological site, as a set of biblical claims, and as an enduring and protean set of cultural myths—has been burdened with both the complexities of biblical and theological interpretation and of cultural metaphor. The recitation of the biblical account of events in Sodom and Gomorrah and the extensive extratheological uses of these narratives represent the fears and preoccupations of the populations that have given this story ongoing vitality.

Geographically, Sodom and Gomorrah were two cities of the Pentapolis, a group of five towns of the plain of the Jordan River thought to be located approximately 11 kilometers (7 miles) south of the Dead Sea. Archaeological evidence since the mid-1980s and revisions in translations have been instrumental in a contemporary shift in interpretation of the meaning of Sodom and Gomorrah in biblical and contemporary contexts.

THE BIBLICAL OUTLINE

Sodom and Gomorrah are referred to throughout the Bible, including references in the books of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Malachi, Luke, Jude, and Revelation. According to the biblical outline, Lot elected to live in Sodom because of the quality of abundant grazing land for his flocks, necessary to him because he, as had his uncle, Abraham, had become wealthy with livestock. God advises Abraham that he plans to destroy Sodom. Abraham beseeches that God not destroy the city—that he not destroy the righteous along with the

Lot and Family Fleeing Sodom and Gomorrah. *Illustration depicting Lot and his family fleeing from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, c. 1500.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

wicked. In response to Abraham's plea, God declares that he will spare the city if fifty righteous people can be found in Sodom. Ultimately, God settles for the discovery of ten righteous people in the city as sufficient reason to spare it from destruction. When Lot alone is found to be righteous, God plans to destroy the city. Two men meet Lot at the gates of Sodom. Lot knows them to be angels, and he takes them into his house as guests. Soon after their arrival the men of Sodom demand that Lot send his guests out so they could know them, commonly interpreted as bearing sexual implication. Lot offers the men his two daughters instead, and the men of Sodom became angry, rushing the door of Lot's house. The angels stop the men, blinding them. They warn Lot that they have been sent to destroy the city and that he should remove his family from Sodom. Lot and his family are directed by God to refrain from looking back as they flee their home and city. Lot's wife, however, cannot resist her urge to turn around, perhaps suggesting her unwillingness to relinquish her material goods. The resulting punishment: Lot's wife is turned into a pillar of salt, but Lot and the rest of his family escape safety to the city of Zoar.

The central question posed by this story remains: What was the sin of Sodom that resulted in its destruction? In traditional Christian interpretations, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah represents the literal recounting of actual events, including the rain of brimstone and fire that destroys the cities. In this view the sin of Sodom concerns the desire for *strange flesh* and the men of Sodom desiring to *know* the angels. These expressions, in English translation, have been understood as expressions of homosexual desire, and the expression of such desires brings the wrath of God. The traditional interpretation in Judaism understands the central sins of the people as greed, lack of compassion, and failure to extend hospitality to visitors. The Koran and Islamic tradition tell the story somewhat differently without direct reference to the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah but with explicit identification of the behavior of the men of Sodom as homosexual and *beyond bounds*. The contemporary secular view, informed by geological, archaeological, and historical evidence, holds that the story of Sodom and Gomorrah concerns two issues: a revised understanding of the geophysical events reported as God's destruction of the cities through a rain of fire and brimstone, and a revised understanding of the linguistic problems associated with the translation of key terms and concepts.

CONTEMPORARY FINDINGS AND REINTERPRETATIONS

Archaeological findings and satellite imaging reveal that subsurface activity and tectonic shifting produced an earthquake and forced masses of sulfuric acid out from underground, resulting in fires and massive destruction. Situated on a fault line south of the Dead Sea, the Pentapolis experienced the pressurized release of subterranean bitumen into the atmosphere. Interacting with fires or sparks on the ground, the petroleum-rich bitumen ignited and resulted in massive fires. Prior to this environmental activity of approximately 5,000 yeas ago, the land around the salty Dead Sea was lush, and the area where Sodom was situated was particularly verdant and congenial to farming. This would explain its attractiveness and the accumulation of wealth by the residents, providing a context for the biblical view that greed and lack of generosity characterized the people of Sodom.

Linguistic challenges to the conventional interpretation of Sodom and Gomorrah focus on three elements. First, the names of these two cities are derived from the Hebrew *Sodom*, meaning *burned*, and *Gomorrah*, meaning *ruined heap*, suggesting that the name by which these towns are known were coined after their destruction, because the cities were neither burned nor ruined before their claimed destruction by God. This view tends to support the idea that the story of Sodom and Gomorrah emerges largely as a parable rather than in faithful service of a set of historical events. Second, the centrality of the homosexual desire in the men of Sodom rests heavily on the understanding of the word know as a euphemism for sexual intercourse. Modern interpretations suggest that the men of Sodom intended to know the strangers and thereby discover the identity of Lot's guests. Finally, the supposition of homosexual desire on the part of the men of Sodom for the guests relies on a translation from Hebrew to English in which the Hebrew *enoshe* is taken as meaning *men*, when *esh* would have likely been used to indicate that the Sodomites who wished to know the guests were male. In fact, the Hebrew *enoshe* likely demarcates the mortal residents of Sodom from the angels who were Lot's guests. Indeed, both *esh* and *enoshe* are used in this contested passage from Genesis, differentiating male-gendered humans from mortals.

In actuality, the sin illustrated by the story of Sodom and Gomorrah is less likely the menace of homosexual contact than is the violation and serious breach of cultural practice represented by Lot's selfishness and the selfishness of the people of Sodom. Greed, unwillingness to share, and the widely recognized, traditionally Middle Eastern, violation of the rules of hospitality lie at the heart of the moral of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. Indeed, if any sexual misdeed or violation of cultural protocol is described in the story, many scholars suggest that the discussion in Genesis of strange flesh refers to the citizens of Sodom seeking sexual relations with nonmortals rather than seeking homosexual congress.

PLACE IN EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN NARRATIVES

The legend of Sodom and Gomorrah has, at least since the thirteenth century, occupied a special place in European and North American theological and secular narratives, signifying evil, sin, and, in particular, the perils of homosexual contact between men. In the United States prior to the colonial period, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah did not carry the moral imprecations more familiar in contemporary discourse. Contemporary political and cultural preoccupations have provided particular support to some of the less informed interpretations of this story. The particular emphasis on a mythology that surrounds the claimed homosexual desire in the story has enjoyed popularity since the 1980s and a widespread popular renaissance, with implications for drawing contemporary lines of moral judgment.

The story of Sodom and Gomorrah has moved beyond simple biblical interpretation. It has formed the basis for religious training, been cited for its moral authority in public policy contexts, and been mistakenly used in knowing-but-tongue-in-cheek ways, such as the exchanging of *Saddam* and *Sodom* in humorous contexts. As with many lasting foundational narratives of civilization that transcend time and circumstance, this story's cultural uses stem largely from bad or inadequate translations, cultural fantasy, and lack of archaeological knowledge. Increased archaeological excavation, enhanced satellite imaging, and ongoing improvements in translation and interpretation will yield a more balanced understanding of the various genuine meanings of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah.

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Melinda Kanner

SODOMY

Sodomy, as the term is generally used, refers to anal sex. It most commonly is used to describe anal sex between two males, although it has also been used to describe anal sex between a man and a woman. In common parlance in Great Britain, the term *buggery* is used. It carries the same connotations as sodomy but is often used as well to describe a kind of benign, nonstigmatized queerness. According to historian John Boswell, the word sodomy has meant, over time, "everything from ordinary heterosexual intercourse in an atypical position to oral sexual contact with animals. At some points in history it has referred almost exclusively to male homosexuality and at other times almost exclusively to homosexual excess" (Gomes 1996, p. 150).

Sodomy is often considered the most infamous of all sexual acts, because some see it as a mockery of heterosexual intercourse and because it is the act most specifically linked with pederasty. Thus, sodomy is considered either irreverent or predatory or both. The defining characteristic of sodomy seems to be the insertion of an actual penis into a rectum. Therefore, the use of sex toys or other surrogates, even when inserted into the rectum, is not generally considered sodomy. This distinction means that lesbian sex acts, some of which may involve a surrogate penis used or worn by a woman, often have no legal status as sexual activity. The legal stigmatization of male homosexuality, therefore, has largely been avoided by lesbians. While creating a degree of legal safety for lesbians, such attitudes indicate the general disregard with which lesbian sexuality is treated.

BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVES

The word sodomy is biblical in origin, derived from the name Sodom, one of the five cities of the plain of the Jordan River that, according to the biblical book of Genesis, were destroyed by God because of the sinfulness of their inhabitants. The specific sins of these five cities are not recorded, but their destruction was immediately preceded by an attempt by one group of male citizens in Sodom to *know* another group of men who were visiting (actually angels of God in disguise). The Hebrew word *yadha* commonly means either *to become acquainted with* or *to have heterosexual intercourse with*. In translations and interpretations of this text over time, however, it has become associated with homosexual intimacy, specifically anal sex. While the meaning of know in this instance is contextually ambiguous, it has become the scriptural basis for the general prohibition of homosexuality in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions.

Homosexuality in scripture has been reevaluated following the increasing visibility and acceptance of homosexuals since the late-twentieth century, as well as the discovery of various ancient scriptural manuscripts whose texts differ from later versions upon which most modern translations are based. Many scholars have come to believe that if the word know indeed means carnal knowledge, then the wickedness of the Sodomites was that they wished to rape their visitors, not that the sex act they intended would involve two men. New Testament scholars point out that in the books of Matthew and Luke, Jesus himself claims that Sodom was destroyed because its citizens were inhospitable to others, which seems to reinforce the claim that rape, not anal sex, was the crime of the Sodomites. After millennia of prejudice against homosexuality, however, these new understandings of scripture have been slow to take hold.

PERSPECTIVES IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

The history of sodomy in European and North American culture has been, as Boswell points out, varied. Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400), in *The Canterbury Tales*, offered a definition of sodomy that encompassed all sex acts that are not procreative—anything other than heterosexual vaginal intercourse. Pope Gregory IX (c. 1155–1241), in the thirteenth century, called sodomites "abominable persons—despised by the world [and] dreaded by the council of heaven" (Fone 2000, p, 8). In court documents from the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries, a variety of sexual acts with partners of various sexes, ages, and species are referred to as sodomy, including charges of *imperfect sodomy*, apparently referring to lesbianism (Greenberg 1988). In fourteenth-century Italy sodomy was linked to wealth and aristocracy. The rising middle classes, prevented from assuming positions of civic authority by the hereditary nobility, criticized the upper classes for their self-indulgence in all matters, including those sexual. Oddly, they accused the nobility of sodomy because it was seen as (along with wealth and power) something that the middle classes were prevented from having but which they aspired to. This may be the only moment in European culture when sodomy became something for nonsodomites to desire (Greenberg 1988).

Throughout the history of Europe and North America, sodomy has been illegal. In ancient times penalties for sodomy included death. This is worth noting in that sodomy is the one sexual crime almost exclusively linked to male sexual practice. Other sexual crimes (particularly adultery) that incur the death penalty have traditionally been viewed as women's crimes. The prohibitions against sodomy have rarely been prosecuted, however. Except in historical moments of extreme religious strictness, people have generally only been charged with sodomy in conjunction with other crimes.

European and North American nations have been slow to decriminalize sodomy. Prohibitions against the practice were lifted in several countries in the late-twentieth century but were visibly reinforced in the United States. In *Bowers* v. *Hardwick* (1986), the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that a citizen of the state of Georgia could be prosecuted for engaging in consensual sodomy in his own home. Legally, the matter concerned an interpretation of the U.S. Constitution's Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable search and seizure: Police entered the house in response to a disturbance, were admitted by someone other than the owner, and discovered the owner engaging in anal sex in his bedroom. Once the Court decided that the search of the home was legal, the sodomy charges against the homeowner could proceed; in addition the Court found that Georgia's law prohibiting sodomy was legal. The Court found that the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection guarantee was not applicable to issues of homosexual practice. The Court reversed itself in *Lawrence* v. *Texas* (2003) and held that all state laws prohibiting sodomy were unconstitutional. In the years between the two decisions, many states, including Georgia, had overturned their own antisodomy laws; the Court invalidated such laws still in effect in states at the time of the *Lawrence* ruling.

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Brian D. Holcomb

SODOMY LAWS

Sodomy laws, or more accurately, antisodomy laws, are statutes that prohibit sodomy. The term *sodomy* refers generally to modes of sexual intercourse involving the anus or body parts other than the penis or vagina. More specifically the term refers to male anal intercourse with another male, although the term is sometimes enlarged to refer to anal intercourse between males and females, males and animals, or any sexual act that is not heterosexual genital intercourse. The term sodomy derives from the name of the town Sodom, described in Genesis as a place of careless sin and deep lack of hospitality. In the Bible God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah because their residents threatened to rape the angels visiting Lot. Although as David F. Greenberg (1988) observes, there is no connection between biblical passages about Sodom and Gomorrah and the sexual acts now called sodomy; the name of Sodom was belatedly transposed into a term referring to anal intercourse between men. The term sodomy meaning male intercourse with males first appears in English in the late thirteenth century.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The history of laws proscribing anal intercourse between men or between members of a heterosexual couple is somewhat varied. Some cultures, such as ancient Mesopotamia, did not consider homosexuality or sexual variations at all. The Code of Hammurabi, one of the earliest extant collections of laws (c. 1780 BCE), does not mention male–male sexual practices. Ancient Assyria (1450–1250 BCE) punished sodomy with castration: "If a man has lain with his male friend and a charge is brought and proved against him, the same thing shall be done to him and he shall be made a eunuch." Under the *Vendidad* (c. 250–650), the Zoroastrian collection of laws, male homosexuality was understood as an effect of demons: "The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daeva [demon]; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daevas, that is a male paramour of the Daevas."

In ancient Greece homoerotic relationships formed the basis for social ties, especially between older and younger men. The Greeks had no specific term for homosexuality or sodomy because the gender of sexual partners did not mean the same thing for the Greeks as it does for early twenty-first-century North American and Europeans. Pre-Christian Rome had a similar social system as the Greeks in which relationships between men were tolerated. The emperor Nero (12–41) is reported to have publicly *married* several male partners. Emperor Hadrian's (76–138) preference for men was also well known and tolerated. What Romans did not so easily tolerate was males who played the woman's part in homosexual relations. Caesar Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE) punished such male effeminacy in his law treating adultery.

The late Roman Empire finally promulgated the first European law openly prohibiting sodomy in 390. The law was part of a *code* of laws set forth by Emperor Theodosius (c. 345–395), who was under the influence of the Christian Church. At that time some powerful men in Rome were eunuchs or were homosexual. These men opposed the church, which in turn used scripture to disadvantage its enemies. The growing influence of a Christianity that had imported Old Testament prohibitions and that understood sexual pleasure as contrary to virtue made sexual behaviors easy targets for prohibition.

The Byzantine emperor Justinian (c. 482–565) outlawed homosexuality in 533 in the Justinian Code. As in Augustus's earlier prohibition, homosexual acts were linked to adultery. Other European cultures only later followed Rome's lead. For the most part, however, the church was primarily responsible for defining homosexual acts as sins. The church's policy was defined by Augustine (354–430), who, following the apostle Paul, determined that sexual pleasure was permissible only as procreation within marriage. Because homosexuality, as with adultery, was a sin, its punishment was penance imposed by the church rather than by a secular authority.

Although through the Middle Ages the church defined sodomy as a matter of sin rather than as a crime, sexual transgressions of priests finally catalyzed the first secular laws against homosexual sex. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the church itself became less tolerant of its priests' lack of celibacy, particularly of their marriages and mistresses. When their heterosexual dalliances ceased, some priests became more interested in homosexual relations with their brethren. In the eyes of the rising class of bourgeois merchants, sexual excess of any kind became associated with a decadent feudal aristocracy in league with the church. As a part of his power struggle against the Catholic Church, Henry VIII (1509–1547) devised the first English law prohibiting sodomy in 1533: "Forasmuch as there is not yet sufficient and condign punishment appointed and limited by the due course of the Laws of this realm, for the detestable and abominable Vice of Buggery committed with mankind or beast," a crime punishable by hanging. Henry's law defines buggery as both male homosexual anal intercourse and bestiality. Because Henry's antibuggery law was linked to his war with the Catholic Church, the law was repealed whenever a Catholic monarch, such as Queen Mary, took power in England. With the Protestant Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), however, the statute was instituted for good and became the basis for all such laws in England's many colonies.

The rest of Europe continued with church law, although Italy had also made sodomy a capital crime that was pretty much ignored in daily life. After the French Revolution in 1789, sodomy was omitted from the penal code, and again from the code adopted in France in 1810. The basic concepts of the 1810 code also became the basis for much of the law in Spanish South America. European traders and colonizers found that in China and Japan, there were no prohibitions against male homosexual relations.

Fears about moral laxity believed to have instigated the French Revolution spurred the English aristocracy into a campaign against vice in the nineteenth century. Joined with more general puritanical beliefs about the sinfulness of pleasure, this attitude formed the basis for legal prohibitions against sodomy and homosexuality in the United States. Just as it had been in England, the colonies made sodomy—considered an *infamous crime against nature*—a capital crime, though after the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), most states eliminated the death penalty for such behavior and usually did not prosecute people. State laws, which followed English prohibitions against sodomy, were based on scriptural prohibitions and considered sodomy both unnatural and a crime against God.

Until the nineteenth century, when the medical establishment became interested in sexual behavior and began to scientifically study various sexual phenomena such as prostitution, laws governing sexual behavior persisted but did not loom large in the public imagination. With the increasing visibility of sexology in the late nineteenth century and psychoanalysis slightly later, the issue of homosexuality, and more specifically the act of anal intercourse, became the object of some public attention, especially when Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) was tried and convicted of this crime in England in 1895. As public cultures shifted from a religious to a scientific basis, it became less certain that sexual behaviors were *unnatural.* If anything, this uncertainty seemed to make sodomy laws all the more necessary. By 1960, all states in the United States had adopted legislation criminalizing sodomy.

THE BATTLE OVER DECRIMINALIZATION

At the same time that the legal codes of states criminalized sodomy, legal scholars suggested that sodomy should be decriminalized. The American Law Institute's Model Penal Code of 1955 did not include sodomy, though it is certainly the case that states did not immediately follow the model's lead. Only Illinois removed sodomy from its criminal laws in a 1961 revision without much comment from anyone. Before the burgeoning awareness created by gay and feminist rights activists in the late 1960s, however, modernization of penal codes eliminated sodomy as a crime in twenty-three other states, starting with Idaho and Connecticut.

Such laws were the obvious place for gay rights activists to begin their work. In California, New York, Minnesota, and the District of Columbia, gay rights movements worked to persuade state legislatures to repeal their sodomy laws. Once the issue of gay rights entered the foreground, it sparked resistance from conservatives and others who might not otherwise have paid attention to legal reform. Starting a battle about rights ended up producing a battle about what was morally correct, natural, and culturally desirable. Sodomy laws became one symbol of a war of beliefs and attitudes about government, privacy, morality, and family values. The side opposing sodomy statues argued that individuals have a right to express their sexuality with another consenting adult in private. The side wishing to retain such laws argued that it is the government's job to enforce public morality defined as the beliefs of the majority. The latter kind of appeal resonates with previous centuries' confluence of religion and law. In California the public campaign to repeal the sodomy law succeeded, but by a margin of only one vote in the legislature. New York, Minnesota, and the District of Columbia did not repeal their laws until after 1980.

With the increased visibility of a homosexual minority as well as the revitalized religious fundamentalist movements in the 1970s and 1980s, a battle over values began in the United States that continued into the early twenty-first century. Law is only one place where such battles are joined. As some states continued the movement toward legal reform and modernization, other states where religious lobbies were stronger passed new laws outlawing homosexual behavior. In 1974 Kentucky passed a statute outlawing anal intercourse between men (but not between heterosexual partners). Three years later Arkansas passed a similar law. Because the Kentucky law singled out male participants, it was declared unconstitutional by the Kentucky Supreme Court.

The advent of AIDS in the 1980s galvanized fears about homosexuality and again made sodomy laws a matter of public interest. This produced what is perhaps the most famous of two key contemporary cases treating the constitutionality of states' antisodomy legislation. *Bowers* v. *Hardwick* (1986) tested the constitutionality of Georgia's antisodomy law, but it also represented a case of extremely invasive police action. An undercover police officer had targeted Michael Hardwick, a bartender in an Atlanta gay bar. Going to Hardwick's house the officer was admitted by one of Hardwick's friends who thought the officer was another friend. The officer caught Hardwick in the middle of consensual sexual activity with another male and arrested him under the Georgia antisodomy statute, which punished sodomy by up to twenty years' imprisonment. The Georgia statute defined sodomy as sexual acts involving the mouth or anus of one person with the genitals of another. Although the state dropped the charges, Hardwick brought the case in order to have the courts determine whether the statute itself was an unconstitutional abridgment of individual rights under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The U.S. District Court dismissed Hardwick's case, saying that he presented no case to be adjudicated. The Court of Appeals, however, determined that the statute violated a homosexual's right to privacy under the Ninth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The attorney general of Georgia, Michael J. Bowers, appealed the Court of Appeals decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled on the case in 1986. A divided court found that "the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not confer any fundamental right on homosexuals to engage in acts of consensual sodomy."

Despite what seemed to be a negative decision by the Supreme Court, other states continued to repeal or change their sodomy laws. Some states, such as Nevada, altered a gay-only sodomy law (a law that proscribed sodomy only between same-sex couples) to a law prohibiting public sexual activity. The U.S. Congress, which makes the laws for the District of Columbia, finally repealed the district's sodomy law in 1995. Rhode Island's antisodomy law was not repealed until 1998.

STATUS IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

As of 2006 thirteen states still had antisodomy laws on the books, including Texas and Michigan, though a 2003 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, *Lawrence* v. *Texas*, suggests that state antisodomy laws are unconstitutional. The Lawrence case involved the arrest of two adult males who were having consensual sex in their home, an arrest made possible by a Texas antisodomy statute that made engaging in "'deviate sexual intercourse' with another individual of the same sex" a misdemeanor. The Supreme Court held that the Texas law "violated the adults' vital interests in liberty and privacy protected by the due process clause of the federal Constitution's Fourteenth

Gays and Lesbians Celebrate Supreme Court Ruling Overturning Sodomy Law. *Celebrating the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to overturn the Texas sodomy law that prohibited consensual sex between same-sex partners in 2003.* © REUTERS/CORBIS.

Amendment." The Court also determined that the statute "sought to control a personal relationship." It declared further that "the state could not demean the adults' existence or control their destiny by making their private sexual conduct a crime, as the adults' right to liberty under the due process clause gave them the full right to engage in their conduct without intervention of the government."

The Supreme Court's decision in *Lawrence* v. *Texas* makes it difficult for those states that still have antisodomy laws to prosecute offenders. Even though one state's statute may be declared unconstitutional, other states with different statutes covering a similar crime may continue enforcing their laws until the laws are challenged or changed by their legislatures. This was the case, for example, in Kansas until the Kansas Supreme Court (in *State of Kansas* v. *Limon*) declared the Kansas sodomy statute unconstitutional. States may still prohibit sodomy in certain kinds of circumstances: with minors, in public, without the consent of both parties. But the kinds of nonreproductive sexual activity often outlawed by sodomy laws have become a part of the behaviors and rights that the Supreme Court deems protected by the Fourteenth Amendment.

This decriminalization in the United States followed the more liberal policies that were already in place in Europe. There are no antisodomy laws in Europe, including in the Vatican City. In the Caribbean and South America, there are still sodomy laws in Nicaragua, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. In East and South Asia, antisodomy laws are more prevalent, existing still in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Fiji, India, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, New Guinea, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Uzbekistan, and Samoa. Afghanistan and Pakistan still have the death penalty for the crime, whereas punishments in other countries range from three years to life in prison. Sodomy is still illegal in most African countries, with the notable exceptions of Chad, the Congo, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, and South Africa. The death penalty for the crime persists in Nigeria, Mauritania, and the Sudan, whereas other countries punish sodomy with prison terms of between three years and life. Only in Jordan and Israel is sodomy legal in the Middle East, whereas in all other countries it is illegal and in several (Iran, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen) it carries the death penalty.

Laws regulating the private consensual sexual behavior of adults often seem still to be linked to religious beliefs. However, as a survey of such laws around the world shows, there is not always a correlation between state religions and sodomy laws nor does one religion seem to have a stricter prohibition than any other. The presence of antisodomy laws may reflect cultural anxieties about hierarchy and order or insecurities about family stability, because most of the extant antisodomy statutes are in less industrialized countries. The presence of antisodomy laws may also reflect as well the status of women in these countries.

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Judith Roof

SODOMY, REPRESSION OF

In most historical periods, same-sex sexual activity has left few traces. By contrast, verbal sanctions that regulated or sought to regulate homoeroticism have often survived in writing. For the pre-modern period, sexual prohibitions therefore provide one of the main sources for our knowledge of sexual cultures in the past.

The earliest known prohibitions on same-sex sexual activity arose from societies in the Near East with little separation between a legal and a religious sphere: the Zoroastrian "Code Against the Devas," the Book of Leviticus, St. Paul's New Testament letters, and the Koran. Such passages, taken from specific contexts, are far from unequivocal.

Reiterations of older laws or commentaries sometimes invested precedents with clear-cut meanings they had originally lacked. Genesis 19, God's wrath over Sodom's sinfulness, emerged as the locus classicus to advocate for penal severity with regard to male-male sex acts. Justinian's law code of 528/542 elaborated on the tale of Sodom's destruction by positing a causal link between same-sex sexual acts and natural disasters such as epidemics or earthquakes.

Lack of prohibitions against same-sex sexual activity does not necessarily indicate freedom of sexual expression, however. In ancient Greece sex was a question of ethics, not a matter of regulation by the law. Certain sexual acts, though, were sanctioned. Athenian law of the fourth century BCE, for instance, prohibited men who had prostituted themselves from addressing the civic assembly.

The explicit condemnation and severe penalization of male-male sex that emerged in Christianity resulted from the confluence of various intellectual, social, and religious forces over a long period of time. Christian theology viewed sexual sins as emblematic of humans' fallen state, transgressions all humans were prone to commit.

During the first millennium CE, surveillance of same-sex sexual activities lay mainly within the realm of church discipline. The so-called penitentials, pioneered in Irish monasticism and issued from the sixth to the eleventh centuries, were tools of church discipline that listed the appropriate public penance for all types of offenses, sexual transgressions prominent among them. Tariffs for male-male sex acts varied from text to text (women were rarely mentioned in this context); factors such as age and the type of sex act committed (masturbation, intercrural, oral, anal sex, and so forth) affected how many years a sinner had to do penance.

Nonetheless, before the eleventh century, same-sex sexuality was of relatively little concern to Christian theologians or authorities. This was to change with the emergence of ecclesiastical reform and of scholasticism. The alarmist rhetoric about the dangers of sodomy, a term fleshed out in this time period, set the stage for more proactive measures. In an attempt to systematize religious knowledge, St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, lumped several, if not all, nonprocreative sex acts together as the sodomitical vice. At least by intent, scholastic definitions encompassed sexual acts among women, though these implications were rarely spelled out.

Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140), canon law's foundational textbook, showed little interest in sodomy, however. Sodomy was censored as extramarital intercourse. Several twelfth-century synods demand that those who practice sodomy should be excommunicated. Analyses of records from church courts indicate, however, that sodomy cases, including those among the clergy, rarely came to court. The enforcement of prohibitions on sodomitical sex in court or in confession, the so-called *forum internum*, was caught up in a dialectic of silencing and speaking. The *Summae confessorum*, manuals for priests, and catechetical texts testify to anxieties among theologians that any mention of this sin ran the risk of instigating the same behavior.

From the twelfth century, laws penalizing male-male intercourse started to appear in secular legislation across Europe. The fact that lawmakers and rulers took an interest in such activities therefore marks a significant turning point in the history of sexual repression. In the reign of Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, the Council of Nablus, a gathering of royal officials and clerics, stipulated that sodomites be burnt at the stake. Twelfth-century Norwegian law included a provision condemning two men convicted of sex to permanent outlaw status. Some thirteenth-century French and Spanish law codes also included relevant sanctions. They drew on a variety of sources, biblical, canon law, as well as Roman law while merging them with customary law. Only rarely, legal stipulations also targeted women offenders (e.g., Li Livres di jostice et de plet, c. 1270, or the German Constitutio Criminalis Carolina of 1532). In the high and late Middle Ages, secular authorities across Europe meted out penalties against so-called sodomites or heretics, though overall levels of enforcement probably remained low, especially for women.

While persecution of so-called sodomites was most stringent in secular urban courts, sodomy was a *delictum mixti fori* throughout the later Middle Ages. Penalizing offenders lay within the competence of both church and state jurisdictions—legal authorities that often competed and rarely teamed up together. Nonetheless, it would be erroneous to posit two distinct legal spheres for the later

Middle Ages or the early modern period. Ecclesiastical concerns and secular persecution interpenetrated one another.

The deregulation of legislation on sex between men has rarely been scrutinized. In the eighteenth century, legal practitioners and reformers initiated a period of milder punishments. Enlightenment writers called for rescinding a crime the French National Assembly called an "imaginary crime" in 1791. Legal reforms and abolition of legislative measures often were coextensive with continuing repression of these same acts, though, on moral grounds.

Unlike Europe, the rest of the world did not witness the rise of a repressive mentality and measures with regard to sex acts between men or between women. Few if any regulations are recorded for medieval China or premodern Japan—cultures whose social and military elites adopted fashionable homoerotic codes. Yet during colonialism European powers also exported their conceptual apparatus across the world. Entering into a dialogue with European modernity therefore increased the pressure to conform with European legal standards. In Iran and elsewhere, this development resulted in public campaigns against erotic cultures described as homosexual and viewed as unmodern.

Michel Foucault's insight that the category of "sexuality" is not neutral has further enriched the discussion over how to approach the production, dissemination, and reach of sexual norms. Discourses are themselves regulatory in character: the word *sodomy* is an extreme case in point. It is a concept whose very essence conjures up a horizon of significations which condemn homoeroticism as a fundamental threat to society.

SEE ALSO *Bugger, Buggery; Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Nefandum; Sodomy; Sodomy Laws.*

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Helmut Puff

SONG OF SONGS

The *Song of Songs* is one of the books of the Hebrew Bible of the third class, denominated hagiography, or *kathūbhím*. In the Greek version of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, and in the Latin Vulgate, it is titled *Canticum Canticorum*. The title of this erotic composition means literally Canticle of Canticles, a superlative form (in Hebrew *Šír haš-Širím*), traditionally attributed to King Solomon in the tenth century BCE, although early twenty-first-century scholarship considers it the composition of an unknown poet (circa sixth to fourth centuries BCE) writing in a style used at the time of Solomon.

SACRED VS. PROFANE

The controversy centers on whether or not this poetic dialogue of love between a man and a woman, with the presence of a chorus, is to be read strictly allegorically without regard for its literal meaning, or also literally. Traditionally the Hebrew Talmudic and Catholic exegeses have read it as a sacred text allegorically celebrating the union or marriage of love between God and Israel, the bridegroom and the bride, respectively. Hebrew Prophets such as Hosea, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah have expressed God's love toward Israel as a binding love or a marriage. Consequently the Christian tradition transformed it into a union between Christ and the Church, or the union of Christ and the soul, or the Virgin Mary and the human soul. The metaphor was used by Christian authors such as Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), who employs it in *La Divina Commedia* (1307–1321) and extends it to the union of Saint Francis and Lady Poverty as lovers in the final part of that work, the *Paradiso*. The *Songs of Songs* is an erotically charged lyric composition that, though rather brief, has elicited an extraordinary amount of commentary throughout the centuries.

Jewish sage and rabbi Akiba ben Joseph (c. 50–c. 132) defined it "as the most holy of the Kethubhim": "The entire world is unworthy of the day the *Song of Songs* was given to Israel, for all the scripture is Holy, but the *Song of Songs* is the Holy of Holies" (quoted in Bloom 1988, p. 1). Saint Teresa of Avila (1515–1582) found in it the loftiest of mystical elevations. Since the twentieth century, and especially in contemporary feminist scholarship, the literal erotic and naturalistic interpretation has been widely accepted. *Song of Songs*, in this view, is in fact an erotic poem manifesting sensuous love between two lovers in which the woman's voice is strong, sensual, independent, and assertive. It is the voice of the Shulamite woman that resounds in the expression of lust and sensuous desire whose fulfillment she shares with her companion. The woman is not unlike the Queen of Sheba (1075–955 BCE), who was united in love with King Solomon.

The feminist scholar Phyllis Trible, in her essay "Love Lyrics Redeemed," sees the lyrics as uttered from "lover to lover with whispers of intimacy, shouts of ecstasy and silences of consummation" (Bloom 1988). She connects the exchange between the lovers to the creation of sexuality in the biblical Book of Genesis, a sexuality that was denied in the traditional exegesis and turned into sin and transgression. As Ariel and Chana Bloch observe, "Never is this woman called a wife, nor is she required to bear children. In fact to the issues of marriage and procreation the *Song of Songs* does not speak. Love for the sake of Love is the message and the portrayal of the female delineates this message best" (Hirschfield 1995, p. 66).

This orientation is reflected in translations informed by feminist scholarship, as in this passage translated by Chana and Ariel Bloch:

> Come, my beloved,
> Let us go into the fields
> And sleep all night among the flowering
> henna. . . .
> There I will give you my love.
> The air is filled with the scent of mandrakes
> And at our doors
> Rich gifts of every kind, New and old, my love,
> I have hidden away for you.

(Song 7:12–14, Hirshfield 1995)

The Beloved by Rossetti. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti's painting* The Beloved *depicts the bride from the Song of Songs and her attendants.* THE ART ARCHIVE/TATE GALLERY LONDON/EILEEN TWEEDY.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS AND RELATIONSHIP TO RELIGIOUS AND FEMINIST ANALYSIS

For Marcia Falks, *Song of Songs* has in it elements of the Arabic Wasfs, which are "poetic fragments that describe through a series of images the parts of the male and female body" (Bloom 1988, p. 67). Indeed this technique is enhanced by the dialogue format which led some to believe that it is a dramatic representation. Jesuit priest Andres Pinto Ramirez (1595–1650), writing in 1642, believed that the text was represented in dramatic form at the time of Solomon. Protestant theorists (e.g., Fredrick Heinrich Jacobi [1743–1819]) also believed that the text was a drama. Others maintain that there are two characters involved, the Shulamite shepherdess who enters the harem of Solomon and the shepherd who is Solomon himself, or that there are three protagonists: the Shulamite, the shepherd who is in love with her, and Solomon who wants to conquer the woman. As the religion scholar W. E. Phipps states, the simplest explanation is that the poem represents "lyrics principally used for wedding celebrations in lovely outdoors settings," part of the Hebrew religious traditions allowing "sensuousness in male female relationships"(Bloom1988, p. 7).

Rabbi Akiba had in fact affirmed that this is not a vulgar song but a nuptial song meant to sanctify marriage, the tradition of the kiddushim ("sanctification"). In rabbinic tradition, therefore, it was most natural to allegorize the *Song of Songs* as the union or marriage of Yahveh and the nation of Israel, the groom and the bride. One can understand how Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) wrote eighty-six sermons on the *Song of Songs* in order to obliterate any literal interpretation, due in part to his contempt for sexuality and women. Christian commentators, such as Abelard (1079–c. 1144), who may have read the *Song of Songs* as an expression of natural sexual urges, which were sanctified when man and woman were put together in the Garden of Eden, were declared heretics. The Catholic interpretation remained faithful to the exegesis of Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who called it "the bridal union of the Church with Christ her spouse." The Protestant interpretation, starting with the German Reformation leader Martin Luther (1483–1546), adhered to the allegorical reading as suggested by the King James version of the Bible. The Swiss theologian and reformer John Calvin, however, believed in a literal interpretation. The *New English Bible* (1976), sanctioned by the Catholic

Churches of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, does recognize primarily its literal lyrical meaning:

> Unique in the Bible, this collection of songs sensitively touches several major chords in the love life of a young man and a maiden. It is an anthology which plays on a wide range of themes: love's awakening, the description of the beloved, the enticement, the surrender of the embrace, the pain of separation, the joy of coming together again, the wedding ceremony.... In its own way, the book extols the virtues of deep rather than transient love.... [T]he positioning of the various songs creates a definite dramatic effect.
>
> *(Sandmel 1976, p. 717)*

Indeed many poets have been influenced by these love lyrics, from the English Edmund Spenser in the sixteenth century to the German Johann Gottfried von Herder and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the Senegalese Léopold Senghor in the twentieth century. Feminist scholars have raised the consciousness of contemporary readers by reclaiming the poem's original meaning and the strong active voice of the woman addressing her beloved, eliminating the millenarian male religious attempt to frame the poem as an expression of evil and sin and to suppress its tender and naturally sensuous expression of deep human love.

SEE ALSO *Bible, Old Testament or Tanakh; Gender, Theories of; Literature: I. Overview; Love Poetry; Love, Devotional and Erotic.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

SOPHIA

Sophia is the preeminent female spiritual being in Gnostic mythology. Her character is complex and contradictory, encompassing ambivalence toward the feminine that simultaneously casts women as cherished helpmates and evil sexual predators.

Sophia is the Greek translation of the Hebrew term *Hokhmah*, both of which mean "wisdom." Sophia is the feminine personification of wisdom. She first appears in Hebrew literature from the first centuries before and after the common era. Sophia appears most prominently in the apocryphal (noncanonical) books but also is found in the poetic writings of the Hebrew Bible such as Proverbs. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Jewish Sophia is a remnant of a pre-Hebraic Mediterranean great mother goddess. She often appears as a companion to the Jewish god. A notable noncanonical writing, *The Thunder, Perfect Intellect*, describes Sophia as a series of positive and negative paradoxes. It claims that she is the harlot and the holy, the mother and the virgin, the root of sin and free from sin. This poem reveals a classical ambivalence about the good and evil nature of the feminine.

The image of Sophia as a powerful but contradictory being is integrated into the Gnostic traditions that involve her. In the Gnostic *Apocryphon of John*, Sophia appears as the last in a series of paired spiritual beings. She disrupts the idyllic spiritual realm by defying tradition and creating without the help of her male partner. In addition to breaking with the normal pattern of creation, Sophia is described as being motivated by excessive feelings of lust and sexual desire. Her transgressions lead to the creation of the monstrously imperfect Ialdabaoth, the evil false god of Gnosticism. Ialdabaoth then produces the human realm, which is hideously flawed because of the taint of Sophia's unnatural act of creation. Her contravention of tradition has the further negative consequence of casting Sophia and Ialdabaoth out of the spiritual realm as fallen beings. Sophia, however, is redeemed in later Gnostic myths and becomes a paradigm for human salvation.

The lessons encoded in Gnostic depictions of Sophia seem to include a warning about the dire consequences of the creative power of the feminine. Sophia's independent act of creation mirrors the solo creation of the unknown god, except that her lust-based creation results in error and corruption. The myth suggests that when attempted alone, the feminine power to create only achieves imperfection. The myth also sets up a normative model for gender relations, implying that in the ideal setting of the spiritual realm the masculine and feminine always work in pairs and that deviation from that pattern produces disaster.

In modern times practitioners of New Age religions and some feminist theologians have pointed to Sophia as evidence of a powerful but suppressed feminine aspect of the divine.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval; Gnosticism; Hokhma.*

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Jennifer Hart

SPACE, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

The distinction between public and private, like many dichotomies, has been criticized by feminist scholars as part of a nexus of ideas that mark women as inferior. Other dichotomies that are related to and reinforce the public/private distinction are: male/female, rational/emotional, culture/nature, and universal/particular. In order to understand how the public/private distinction impacts women's daily lives, it is necessary to analyze the different, but overlapping, conceptions of "public" and "private" and to consider how these ideas have taken material form in various cultural settings.

THREE MEANINGS OF "PUBLIC"

The political idea of a public sphere and the corresponding concept of a private sphere is a distinctive feature of post-Enlightenment Western democracies. In the West, at the time of the U.S. and French Revolutions, the idea that there exists a corporate body called "the public" that can express its opinions and can also be the sovereign power came into existence. An examination of this historical emergence of the public sphere reveals three related meanings of the words *public* and *private*.

As Western democracies first took form, people needed a space in which to meet, discuss their positions on governmental matters, and to express them. Ideally, a unified public opinion that adequately expressed what would be good for the country as a whole would emerge from rational debate. Therefore, public space needed to have three related qualities. First, it needed to be accessible to all. The democratic ideal calls for the participation of everyone in the society. Thus, one meaning of *public* is "open" or "accessible." Second, everyone present in a public setting should have an equal say. In an ideal democratic state, no person's opinion should count more than any other person's, so issues of status should be overlooked. Therefore, a public space should be neutral. Last, if all goes as intended, the people present in a public space will develop and express a public opinion that is truly beneficial to the public welfare, rather than to private interests. This has been called the discursive public sphere.

The public sphere, however, becomes complicated because it follows that citizens both debate and carry out public policies in a democracy. Thus *public* sometimes means "governmental" when it focuses on the role of elected officials administering the decisions of the public. However, public can also mean the electorate as a whole and is sometimes opposed to the policies that its elected officials carry out. For example, a "public" demonstration *against* the government is a discursive public sphere just as a meeting of a governmental body is, even though the two may be pitted against one another.

Corresponding to each of these senses of public is a concept of privacy. Hence, corresponding to the openness of a public space, a private space has restricted access, as in a "private party" or "private property." It may also connote a lack of neutrality, as when "private beliefs" are contrasted with "public opinion." In contrast to the discursive public sphere, private can mean both particular and emotional. Special interest groups are concerned with their own rather than the general welfare. Emotional expressions are private, rather than part of the rationally achieved public opinion. Thus, private spaces are associated with concealment, restriction, bias, particularity, and emotion.

Spaces are constructed in relation to this dichotomy of private and public, emphasizing one or more of the meanings of the two terms. A restroom, for example, may be public because it is open to all, but it is not a discursive public space. A county courthouse is—ideally—open, neutral, and discursive. This does not make it more public than the restroom, however. Instead, public is a flexible term that shifts emphasis from one or more of these meanings in different contexts. When the governmental meaning is stressed, public excludes the world of commerce as well as private homes; but when the contestatory discursive sphere is emphasized, the world of work, special interests groups, and other elements of "civil society" become the location of the public sphere.

Just as the location of the "public" can be shifted, spaces can become more or less private in different contexts. A house is private property, but there are more restrictions on admittance as well as more emotional connection to the bedroom than there is to the living room. Further, one's kitchen, normally understood as a private place, can house a discursive public sphere when a group of women meet there to discuss politics.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Women have historically been associated with the private sphere and with private places such as the home. Women have been described as naturally more emotional and self-interested than men, as well as more fragile. Based on this understanding of women it has seemed appropriate that women remain in the private sphere, where their perceived fragility can be protected and their irrationality can be removed from the discursive public. This view is, of course, false; but it has, nevertheless, shaped societies globally.

Containing women in private has been achieved in many ways. In the United States, the ideology that "a woman's place is in the home" coupled with the lower pay that women receive in most occupations has, historically, kept women tied to the private sphere. The threat of rape in most societies has limited women's forays into the public sphere, especially at night. As Lila Abu-Lughod (1985) observes, among the Awlad 'Ali Bedouins, women and men are not spatially separated into private and public areas but maintain their separation through behaviors like women's veiling and avoiding looking in a man's face.

The slipperiness of the terms *public* and *private* has made it difficult for women, persons of color, and other non-powerful persons to gain full admittance to the public sphere. The expansion of the electorate formally opens the public sphere to women; however, the understanding of the public as neutral and/or nonemotional often works to tokenize their inclusion. Feminists have argued that the purportedly neutral public sphere is in actuality masculine, although that masculinity is masked. The calm, rational neutrality expected of citizens in the public sphere is associated with masculine behavior. Thus as women are admitted to the public sphere, they find themselves with a dilemma. They can present themselves as masculine, wearing clothing that mimics male attire, or they can present themselves as feminine and, therefore, mark their inappropriateness in the male public sphere.

Powerful women in the West have tended to opt for the first technique, as the attire and demeanor of women elected to public office attests. This mode of inclusion in the public sphere, however, can keep a woman from being able to present the needs of women into the discursive development of public policy. She may feel that she needs to steer clear of feminist issues in her attempt to come off "neutral" (or, in other words, masculine). Thus, although she is included in the public, it is only a partial inclusion, because she leaves many of her own interests behind. This has been the experience, also, of women in socialist countries, such as China, where state-sponsored feminist reforms led to the homogenization of the public sphere: Men and women dressed and worked alike. Chinese feminists, however, as Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (1999) notes, found that the state's attempt to minimize gender differences obscured the preexisting power

A Member of Madres de Plaza de Mayo. *A member of Madres de Plaza de Mayo looks at a flag featuring photos of those who disappeared under the military dictatorship in Argentina between 1976 and 1983.* ALI BURAFI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES.

relations between men and women as well as the unique problems of women.

The second avenue of inclusion in the public has been taken by groups such as the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, who have mobilized their status as mothers to petition for the return of their disappeared children in Buenos Aires. They do not claim to be more than private, emotional, domestic persons; yet they brought their concerns to the public setting of the Plaza de Mayo and insisted on being heard. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the United States led protests against saloons, pushing for abstinence in order to protect women in their homes. Thus, they brought issues from the private sphere into the public, but did so as wives and mothers with the intention of protecting the private sphere. The WCTU did advocate suffrage for women, but on the same basis: the protection of the (private) home.

Using both of these methods, women have gained partially successful admittance to the public sphere. However, many feminist theorists maintain that the public sphere must be rethought in order to fully admit women and other underrepresented groups. Rather than understanding each society to have one public sphere, with all underrepresented groups marginalized to the private sphere, it is more accurate to see the public as a multitude of publics in conversation, although one or a few of them remain dominant. The currently dominant public sphere is masculine, and its privileged status is achieved by domination, not superior rationality. A heterogeneous public made up of alternative publics, or "counter publics," can provide space for a more inclusively democratic development of public opinion. This view requires doing away with the Enlightenment belief in the unity of reason that leads to only one homogenous public sphere.

Some feminists also argue for the resistant potential of the private sphere. In a space set apart, women can regroup and gather strength in order to resist oppression. Thus, bell hooks (1990) speaks of "homeplace" as a site of resistance. Nancy Fraser (1997), on the other hand, views these sites of resistances as "counter publics," which must be fostered in their multiplicity.

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C. Tabor Fisher

SPANKING

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

SPENTA ARMAITI

SEE *Zoroastrianism.*

SPERM BANK

SEE *Artificial Insemination; Reproductive Technologies.*

SPERM DONOR

SEE *Artificial Insemination; Reproductive Technologies.*

SPERMICIDE

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

SPIES

SEE *Espionage.*

SPINSTER

Spinster at first designated, simply, people (either male or female) whose occupation was spinning. The term was originally appended in name lists of various sorts to designate the individual's occupation. From the seventeenth century onward, the term morphed into a legal designation for a never-married woman and from there into general use, where it usually was deployed with faintly pitying or contemptuous connotations. Thus a term that begins as an occupational tag for people (mostly women) who could support themselves independently with the work of their hands evolves into an invidious policing technique for what Adrienne Rich famously dubbed "compulsory heterosexuality": a spinster was an unmarried woman who had "lost" the race for heterosexual success.

Women who were spinsters were free, of course, to view the term rather differently. Louisa May Alcott (1832–1888), author of *Little Women*, *Little Men*, and many other novels, short stories, journals, and essays (some based on her work as a nurse during the Civil War), gloried in the title. Commenting on her sister's honeymoon cottage, she noted in her journal, "Very sweet and pretty, but I'd rather be a free spinster and paddle my own canoe." As her writing career was to all intents and purposes the sole support of her birth family from an early age, it is no doubt safe to say that Alcott's paddle was formidable.

Like other women categorized as spinsters, Alcott undercuts the presumptively negative valence of the term in her own personal habitation within it. Additionally, as with so many other labels that begin their linguistic careers as terms of opprobrium (e.g., *queer*), spinster has also been reclaimed for political and theoretical purposes. The feminist philosopher and theologian Mary Daly (1987) revises spinster thus: "a woman whose occupation is to Spin, to participate in the whirling movement of creation; one who has chosen her Self, who defines her Self by choice neither in relation to children nor to men; one who is Self-identified; a whirling dervish, Spiraling in New Time/Space."

Spinster functioned as a "polite" code word for lesbians well into the twentieth century. For instance, Barbara Bell's 1999 memoir quotes Joan Lock, a 1950s British police officer, as estimating that 10 to 15 percent of the women who served with her were of "the confirmed spinster type." It is still deployed as a pitying/contemptuous marker for presumptively heterosexual women who have not, somehow, managed to be winners in the race for a heteronormative life with male husband and children. There are also people who are recycling the word to define a voluntarily chosen lifestyle that involves neither; notably, this use of the word conflates the lesbian woman with the heterosexual woman who chooses to opt out—or, rather, it erases what is supposed to be a line of demarcation.

Spinster has thus moved from a term denoting a woman who lives independently financially and legally to a term denoting a woman who lives independently financially and legally. And yes, this is progress.

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Lynda Zwinger

SPONGE

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

SPORTS

At the onset of the twenty-first century, few sports are still closed to women, who, in increasing numbers, at least in the Europe and North America, invade male purviews, and are more present in *extreme* sports. However, outside of some events in professional tennis, women routinely are less well paid for athletic performance, less praised and covered by the media, and less marketed. This last aspect has changed since the mid- to late twentieth century, with major companies discovering the consumer potential of women athletes' images to sell their products (Heywood and Dworkin 2003). Yet, especially in sports based on strength or physical confrontation, women are largely ignored, or attacked and ridiculed for exceeding the bounds of female nature. Women who lift weights or inflict and endure blows are still considered sexually deviant because building body mass or enjoying the danger and risk of combat—that "purity of their intention to harm" eloquently evoked by Leah Hager Cohen discussing boxers (Cohen 2005, xiv)—are seen as antithetic to an essentialist view of female nature—as passive, retreating, soft, and gentle. The issue of femininity continues to haunt women athletes in the Europe and North America, whereas in other parts of the world, they face complex cultural issues of modesty and the public exhibition of their bodies that can lead to prohibitions against their participation in sports. Conversely, the compulsory ideal of aggressive, heterosexual masculinity as desirable in men leaves no tolerance for male athletes to be openly homosexual and elicits antipathy and derision if they show any apparent signs of femininity.

Since ancient times women have been present, if not visibly active, in the basic human kinetic activities such as swimming, running, gymnastics, and perhaps wrestling. In most known human societies, their athletic pursuits have been at the very least restricted, if not curtailed, or even blocked, and they have been viewed as secondary or inferior to those of men.

Roman Sports. *This Roman mosiac depicts two young women participating in sports.* THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI.

Because of scant evidence for the presence of women in sports before the modern era, historians dispute whether forms of female physical activity that are forms of entertainment should be added to this history, or whether they should be discounted unless actual competition was involved (Guttmann 1991). Reasonable enough in terms of what modern sports entail—the enormous import of competition and its political and national ramifications—this distinction is reductive for cultures and historical moments that have notions of competition that differ from those of the contemporary global sports world. It does not take into account how much the mere fact of being able to train and practice a sport, even without competition, had to mean for girls and women otherwise constrained in their activities their daily lives, professional options, and rights of citizenship. And it casts aside entertainers such as acrobats—lionized in the competitive gymnastics of the early twenty-first century—or equestrians, who required real training and physical skills. Riding, for instance, became a plebeian and acrobatic, performance-oriented, form with the late-eighteenth-century advent of the circus, as female equestrians realized highly skilled feats on horseback. This is not unrelated to the spectacular—in every sense—rise in the public participation of women in athletic endeavors with the onset of the modern industrial age.

SPORT, RITUAL, AND THE SACRED

The religious nature of the sports arena or of a given sport sometimes elicited fears of women polluting it through physical contact—in particular, menstruation. This may be the root of the well-known absence of women from the original Greek Olympic games. The first record of women participants in the Olympics is dated 776 BCE in a place called Olympia on the northwest coast of the Peloponnesus, but the games go back at least another 1500 years and may have originally been those of women. Abolished in 393 CE by Emperor Theodosios I (Flavius Gratianus, 346–395), the Games were at once an athletic and religious event dedicated to Zeus, in which only free, male, Greek-speakers could participate. However, the quadrennial Heraia, or women's games dedicated to Hera, held in the same place, indicate that, perhaps, it was the mixing of the sexes that transgressed the sacred. It was not, at any rate, a basic opposition to women practicing sports in any guise. Contrary to what was asserted before the 1970s, there were women athletes in ancient, classical Greece who were much more active than Roman women would be. The existence in the Hellenistic period of an administrator of the gymnasium, or gymnasiarch, of the women, implies that at least some women used the gymnasium, and under Roman and Byzantine rule, it seems that Greek girls and women were fairly active in sports (Guttmann 1991), calling into question the entrenched Sparta-Athens dichotomy, opposing athletic to sedentary and subjects to objects (Arrigoni 1985). Plato argued, against his contemporaries' views, for the Spartan model, and stated both in *Republic* and *Laws* that women should undergo the same exercise programs as men, and that "gymnastics and horsemanship are as suited to women as to men." (Guttmann 1991, p. 27).

The fear of contact with menstrual fluid is a specific Shintoist prevention against the presence of women on the wrestling mat, one that is being slowly contested as women begin to participate in Sumo wrestling. Religious veneration of the art and the space of the contest is also behind a long-standing Thai prohibition against the participation of women in the same ring as men, and thus, in the national sport, Muay Thai, or Thai kickboxing. Thai women have increasingly challenged that barrier, and a head-on collision with these restrictions took place in the late 1990s, in full national view, with the career of champion kick-boxer Parinya Charoenphol, or Nong Thom (b. 1981). A male-born but female-identified fighter who fought as a transvestite, or *ladyboy*, he finally underwent a sex-change operation and transmuted into a delicate-limbed but strong woman fighter and trainer, upsetting both Thai and international views of gender, strength, and violence. On another level, women have for a long time trained and competed in Asian martial arts imbued with philosophical and religious dimensions, including in societies not otherwise inclined to promote the equality of women, such as Japan, where the extensive training of women in judo and other arts reflects a cultural commitment to discipline and obedience, instilled, unlike in Europe and North America, through fighting techniques rather than passivity.

THE MATERNITY IMPERATIVE

Patriarchal control over the reproductive capacities of women and the deep-seated societal conviction that bearing children is the essence of women's social role has long been the strongest factor in allowing or blocking women from sports. In Sparta naked girls and young women participated in foot races, cheered on by male spectators who picked their wives from among the most athletic (Guttmann 1991). The Spartan view that foot races and wrestling promoted the development of healthy mothers of warriors was clearly eugenic, as was the rhetoric of fascist Italy, in its endorsement of accomplished female athletes to glorify the nation, in contrast to the subjection expected of all women (Gori 2004). The same aim led to the opposite view, with ludicrous early twentieth-century *scientific* concerns that the precious organs of women would be damaged or fall apart when subjected to strenuous exercise. The dogma of compulsory motherhood was so widespread and unmovable in early twentieth-century France that even some feminists prefaced their endorsement of women in sports as necessary to further reproduction and enhance maternity, and the conservative sex/gender ideology deployed through every avenue available—the press, medical corps, physical education specialists, writers, and so forth. Women were thus barred from any number of sports in the name of the sanctity of motherhood, combined with demeaning views of the female body as a womb surrounded by a fragile nervous system.

Some bans were clearly symbolic. For instance, the leading national French periodicals of the early 1900s claimed that women lacked calm and would always be unable to drive a car—a long-lived stereotype—and that their fragile nerves made then unable to handle a high-powered machine—although they had been flying airplanes. Power, mobility, and freedom were central tropes in the gender-enforcing efforts of the early twentieth century. (Zeyons 1994).

INDECENCY AND MODESTY

Across many cultures the partial or total nudity of athletes has been deemed antithetic to the modesty of women. Viewed as indecent in the Victorian era, in particular in the United Stated, the exposure of even parts of the female body was fiercely opposed as women were trying to enter sports such as professional swimming in the 1910s and 1920s (Warner 2006).

In the twenty-first century the near impossibility in some instances, to practice a sport in any competitive manner fully clothed, and covered in such a way as to not offend modesty remains a crucial issue for Muslim women in particular. This was brought home in the 2004 Olympics when the woman runner from Afghanistan was praised publicly for running with a scarf and thus honoring her country and religion. Such questions became a major obstacle in the career of the distinguished Algerian runner Hassiba Boulmerka—at first adulated, and then reviled in her home country—and may have contributed to her gradual erasure from international sports.

Questions of covering and exposure are related to gender in other ways as well: Thai transgendered kickboxer Nong Toom, mentioned earlier, while still in a male body, fiercely and desperately resisted the custom of disrobing completely at weigh-in, and associated his femaleness with as much modesty as the sport allowed.

GENDER, SPORTS, AND TECHNOLOGY

Although medieval women had little or no sports practice, aristocratic women were at least expected to know how to ride; the norms of such traditional societies allowed bold actions by women when useful to society and their social class. Despite the cumbersome apparatus used by French women to ride, a sort of side armchair mounted on the horse's back, the *sambue* (Frieda 2003), women leading troops on battlefields—which is not to say that they fought—evading pursuers in feudal political upheavals, and participating in hunting, the quintessential aristocratic pastime, are evidence that some did so with ease.

Riding remained the principal outdoor activity of aristocratic women of the Renaissance (1350–1600), again, often in the context of hunting. It is thought that queen Catherine de Medici (1519–1589) brought to France, as a young bride at the court of Francis I (1494–1547), the side-saddle that made it possible for women to move beyond the slow amble and ride at a fast pace. She also brought a form of pantaloons that addressed the ever-present issue of women's modesty. One of the traits required of the courtly ladies in the French king's immediate entourage was precisely "courage on horseback," and Catherine lived up to the requirement, capable both of sustaining falls and of riding hard and fast, jumping hedges and fences (Frieda 2003, p. 50).

Thus, a decisive factor in increasing the participation of women in sports has been technological change, and, from the end of the eighteenth century, the increased presence of women in sports is linked to industrialization and the expansion of mechanical conveyances. These were initially risky enough to draw only the bold and, curiously, to make gender barriers fall. The advent of the hot-air balloon at the end of the eighteenth century attracted substantial numbers of women in spite of its dangers. Between 1783 and 1848, sixty-eight women (versus 491 men) took to the air in the developing forms of these balloons. But out of the fifty-six such pioneers who were professionals, in the first half of the nineteenth century, twenty were women, so that female aerostatics were more professionalized than the were the male. Sophie Blanchard (1778–1819), married to an aeronautic engineer, accompanied him in 1804 during a flight and in 1805 completed a tour with solo demonstrations in a small hydrogen balloon with stops in Rouen, Bordeaux, Montpellier, and Toulon, then another tour with her husband from Antwerp to Amsterdam and Rotterdam. She continued alone after his death in 1809, but met her own death in an accident in 1819 when her balloon caught fire and she was thrown from the basket at a celebration at the Tuileries in Paris. Jeanne Genevieve Garnerin, in 1798, was the first woman ever to execute a parachute jump; her niece, Elisa Garnerin, completed thirty-eight balloon ascensions followed by parachute jumps between 1815 and 1835 (Zeyons 1994, pp. 212–213). After mid-century, flying the balloon—a new fad at weddings—became commonplace and lost its sporting value. Yet Louise Poitevin in the 1850s astonished spectators with elaborate airborne stunts, and in 1902, the magazine *La Vie au Grand Air* [Outdoor life] sponsored a women's long-distance sporting event, with a record of 408 km.

The budding airplane industry provided women with a golden opportunity in a new type of sport. Between 1908 and 1914, more than ten French women were well-known pilots. Marie Marvingt (1875–1963), licensed in 1910, was an accomplished sportswoman. She practiced flying balloons, hydroplaning, riding, swimming, canoeing, mountain climbing, skiing, bobsledding, playing tennis and golf, fencing, wild bear hunting, boxing, and jiujitsu, and was the most decorated woman in French history, receiving thirty-four medals. On May 27, 1910, she established the first woman's flying time record at forty-three minutes and participated in military operations during World War I (1914–1919) (Zeyons 1994, pp. 212–213). Flying was no frivolous pastime, because several women also died in airfield accidents (Suzanne Bernard in 1911, Denise Moore in 1912, Raymonde Laroche in 1919) (Zeyons 1994, p. 214)

GENDER, COMMUNITY AND THE NATIONAL HONOR

The nationalistic investment in modern competitive sports, especially at the Olympics, combined with globalization's rapid exportation of specific forms of athleticism to other countries, has paradoxically provided a backdoor for women in sports, even though nationalist ideologies are usually inimical to women. By the late twentieth century, the participation of women was a routine element of most countries' victory strategies. In contrast, at the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, because of modesty controversies about women in swimming, the U.S. Olympic Committee had declined to field a women's team, whereas other European countries were being represented.

The importance of women in the Olympic race for a country's medals total has sometimes superseded disdain for women athletes or the devalued status of women in the home country. At the 1988 Olympics China reportedly had the highest proportion of women on their team of any other country, although women constituted only 25.84% overall of all competitors (Riordan and Jixiang 1996, p. 133). From 1993 to 1996 China rose to the status of world power in sports, and this trend has been attributed entirely to its women athletes. This is "… referred to in China as the blossoming of the yin (female) and the withering of the yang (male)" (Riordan and Jinxia 1996, p. 131) This nice record was subsequently tarnished by revelations of widespread use of anabolic steroids, including among many sportswomen, and with government-sponsored involvement, something of course also prevalent in Europe and North America (Riordan and Jinxia 1996). At the 2004 Summer Games, Hasna Benhassi (b. 1978) won Morocco won a silver medal in athletics in the women's 800 meters, and she was picked best sportsperson on a Moroccan radio survey of forty-three press institutions in December 2005.

Despite campaigns by extreme Islamic fundamentalists to bar women from public competition, national imperatives propelled women from the Muslim world—some of them Christian as well—to long overdue recognition. At the 2004 summer Olympics, just about every Muslim country of the globe (except Iran and the United Arab Emirates) sent at least one woman—sometimes several—even within small delegations. Iraq, Kuwait, Chad, The Comorro Islands, Djibouti, the Gambia, and Jordan all had at least one woman competing. Turkey had the most and perhaps the most varied, along with Egypt and Algeria, whereas tiny Bahrain, Albania, and Azerbadjan had two, the latter competing in target shooting. Although many or most of these women competed in track and field, and sometimes in swimming—precisely those areas likely to fuel modesty controversies—it is noteworthy that a substantial contingent competed in martial arts, chiefly judo, tae-kwon-do, and even wrestling, with several competitors from Algeria and Tunisia ranking in the top ten in the finals. The only competitor in judo from Afghanistan was a woman, Friba Razayee (b. 1985), one of the first two women from the country to compete at the Olympics. Egyptian women competed in archery and in fencing, as did Algerian women, and in women's weightlifting, one gold medal was won by the Turk Nurcan Taylan (b. 1983) and a silver medal by Indonesian Raema Lisa Rumbewas (b. 1980).

Women who are injured while competing internationally, and yet, forge on, are heroized: Such was the case of the Indian heptathlon competitor J.J. Shobha (b. 1987), a gold medalist in the 2003 Afro-Asian games, who received the Arjuna award in 2004 for returning to the competition with a bandaged ankle, and finishing third in the final 800-meter event and eleventh overall. A famous example of this fervor is the young U.S. gymnast, Kerri Strug (b. 1977), who, in 1996, was carried wrapped in a U.S. flag by her coach to the victory podium.

The degree of nationalistic passion elicited by a sport with such questionable assumptions—women's gymnastics—is noteworthy, both with respect to the issues of femininity in sport and of children in the public imagination of sports and bodily performance. *Women's* gymnastics displays blatant gender discrimination, with exercises that emphasize being limber, agile, and graceful, whereas the men's competition involves real adult men whose performance stresses muscular strength rather than contortions of the body. Girls and young women, performing arduous aerial feats, are domesticated for viewers of this immensely popular sport through what Ann Chisholm describes as the "cuteness" of female children, which both contains femininity and reaffirms it in an unthreatening way (Chisholm 2002, p. 429). In fact, women's gymnastics regularly sacrifices the emotional and physical welfare of very young girls, who are often still children, dressed and made up in enticing apparel, to the ambiguous desires and aims of coaches, parents, the public, and the nation.

REGULATING SPORTS FOR GENDER

The Olympic Games were reinstated in 1896 in Athens to encourage international cooperation through sport by French sports educator Pierre de Frédy, Baron de Coubertin (1863–1937). His views were openly hostile to women and he maintained in his lifetime the position that they had no role to play in them other than crowning the victors (Graydon 1983). There was not one woman athlete at those 1896 games, but women did begin to trickle in over the next few decades, especially from Scandinavian countries, with France and the United States being the rear guard. The number of women at the Olympics began to rise against obstacles at every step, and the 1984 summer games marked a turn in this respect. Yet the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has continued to maintain an often hostile regulatory function vis-à-vis women and can propel or terminate the career of aspiring women athletes. It has recently approved such limited sports as steeplechase and beach volleyball but continues to ban women's boxing. This ban not only squashes the Olympic hopes of women who have trained for them and will be too old for the next games, but also as shown, by a lawsuit filed by an amateur boxer and her coach, it discriminates openly against women boxers even when they compete in allowed venues, by excluding them from IOC-funded training facilities and funding. At the onset of the twenty-first century, as it was at in 1896, the IOC, stacked with conservative representatives of countries with low opportunities for women and an investment in conservative, normative, gender policies, remains an enemy of female equality in sports.

Yet, the economic and social importance of sports has moved some governments to equalize opportunities for women through law. In 1972 a section of the Education Amendments, called Title IX, prohibited sex-based discrimination in all federally funded education programs, including sports. The enormous importance and business implications of athletics in schools and colleges is a shaping factor in U.S. sports and it has, for a large part, left girls and women behind. The implementation of Title IX brought with it furor and controversy over gendered readings of sport. Battle lines were drawn between supporters of equality for women and entrenched bastions of male-dominated sports that, while resisting the arrival of women in their midst, regardless of change at the Olympics level, argued that women were taking away scarce resources from them. Title IX was thus challenged by the male wrestling establishment, and their claims were embraced by a wide array of conservative forces opposed to the presence of women in sports. The law, its language, and its implications were intensely scrutinized by commissions under the younger president Bush (b. 1946) and was in danger of being scuttled had not public outcry and mass political action by feminist sports advocates stemmed the tide. The disputes over the implications, often misunderstood, and the interpretation of Title IX language continue to affect the way sports are practiced and envisioned in the United States.

PUSHING LIMITS: MALE DOMINATION AND THREATENED MASCULINITY

Constructions of masculinity are often founded on maintaining the radical separation and identification of physically specific sexual trait and gendered roles, expressed by limiting the physical and social possibilities of women. Heteronormativity adds the burden of privileging the homosocial context of sports while radically preventing its homoerotics from surfacing, and stamping out homosexuality when possible.

Whereas there has been pervasive resistance to women in all sports, contact sports have raised the most hackles: After much opposition soccer and basketball have gained some degree of recognition. But this is still far from being the case in combat sports that engage the body in intimate contact, such as wrestling and boxing. Wrestling is seen as a male-dominated sport even though there are women wrestlers, as clearly sexual in the kind of synergy it produces between men, as, "in wrestling, the key image is the violent embrace of two men, and the conflict reaches its resolution when one man mounts the prone body of the other." The play of dominance and submission is clearly homoerotic, and "the most violent postures are also the most apparently sexual" (Mazer 1990, pp. 116–117) while male wrestlers play out an intimacy between men that is "otherwise considered taboo by mainstream America" (Mazer 1990, p. 117). Mazer does not see an equivalent spectacle between women and suggests, rather, that the homoerotic display is really for heterosexual male consumption, fed by lewd and proscribed displays of nude female flesh on stage.

Boxing has encountered, if possible, a worse reception. Although thousands of women worldwide are registered as amateurs or fight as professionals, train hard, have a following, and are sometimes credited with providing a better performance than the male fighters on the same card—women are almost always on the undercard: The recognition women boxers receive is scant. In effect their role in the sport has been given mass exposure largely through external forces such as popular movies. Women's boxing in the United States only became legalized quite late following a lawsuit by a young female boxer who wanted to fight with men. Instead, the court ordered the Golden Gloves organization to provide similar venues for female fighters. This case went to the courts in 1982, before the case for girls in wrestling had been considered, and the outcome was that "the court protected boxing from the potential disruption of coed competition, and in refusing to issue a preliminary injunction it brought amateur boxing more time to adjust to the idea of sanctioning female fighters" (Fields 2005, p. 126).

In 1993 the boxing federation dropped the prohibition against female competitors after another suit by a 16-year-old woman in Seattle who asked to fight other girls, not boys. The U.S. Amateur Boxing Federation (USABF) was ordered by Federal District Court Judge Barbara Rothstein to allow girls to compete until the matter went to trial, but it did not oppose, and instead, opened its doors to girls. Thus, in 1993, Dallas Malloy became the first USABF-sanctioned female fighter (Fields 2005). However, professional women's boxing in the United States continues to suffer from accusations of being *circus-like* on the basis of a few controversies, in particular over mixed-matches (e.g., a woman fighting a man), which do little to promote female professional boxing but unleash virulent and contradictory views of sports, violence and gender—who is a legitimate opponent? Is it still too shameful for a man to suffer defeat from a woman? Such negativity is not necessarily universal. Women's boxing has found an enthusiastic home among some women in Egypt, Jordan, and India; and in Germany female boxing, epitomized by the stellar career of Regina Halmich (b. 1976), enjoys a completely different status from in the United States. In the latter, women's boxing has to become newsworthy through the performance of *famous daughters*, but Halmich is a widely respected athlete whose views about sports, society, and politics are heard and who has a huge following.

PERSISTENT SEX AND GENDER BARRIERS

In the twenty-first century the most persistent gender-based problem faced by athletes in many countries, especially the United States, is the constant questioning of their femininity and the threat of being accused of being lesbians. As Pat Griffin puts it: "women's sport advocates have spent 100 years defensively promoting an image of women athletes as feminine and heterosexual to gain some modest degree of public acceptance" (1998, p. 213). Women in sports are thus constantly pressured into reaffirming femininity and heterosexuality and confirming that prescribed gender roles are unavoidable. Women athletes always have to respond to suspicions regarding their *normality*. In a mainstream sport such as tennis, only the talent and gumption of a Martina Navratilova (b. 1956) countered homophobic campaigns, but the press does not desist.

In team sports lesbians are expected to stay in the closet and be ignored, whereas the fact that lesbians are active in sports is common knowledge: "lesbian baiting is still used to control all women in sport" (Griffin 1998, p. 214). Virulent double standards affect the permission given heterosexuals to speak of their personal and romantic life—a subject of shaming and silence for lesbians and gays and a publicity and recruitment tool for heterosexuals. In cases of sexual relations between coaches and team members, male coaches in such inappropriate situations are only fired under great pressure and are defended by administrators, parents, and athletes themselves, even when they have been shown to be abusive. Yet outed lesbians are exposed and banned from the sport (Griffin 1998). Heterosexist discourse has successfully framed the question so that merely talking about homosexuality is talking about sex (Griffin 1998), whereas prattling all over the press about the *sex-appeal* of male stars or the beauty of female athletes is acceptable. This, one must add, affects gay men as well, as in the famous case of baseball player Dave Pallone (1990) who was hounded out of the sport.

The press plays a determining role in this ideology of sports and gender. The leading sports journal in the

United States, *Sports Illustrated*, promotes a heterosexist, homophobic, and masculinist gender order. In its yearly *swimsuit issue*, curvaceous female celebrities with no athletic credentials model alluring and scanty garments. In its front page outing of basketball coach Pam Parsons and her lover, it contributed to ruining Parsons' and her lover's professional options, but does not pay such attention to male coaches caught tinkering with their charges. In its July 1, 1999, homophobic coverage of Nong Toom ("He'd rather fight *and* switch" by Rick Reilly), it held the accomplished boxer's struggle with gender crisis in the public arena to ridicule. Mainstream magazines outside of the sports industry play up the image of famous women athletes in *town* clothing, wearing evening gowns, to underscore the image of the *complete* woman whose femininity is reasserted. And some women athletes have cooperated or played with—depending on one's viewpoint—the ambiguous public fascination with the bodies of strong, muscular, women; for instance, women boxers who have posed seminude or nude for *Playboy*.

Outside of Europe and North America, or of the norms of those countries, women athletes face other serious conflicts. Women athletes in the Arab and Muslim worlds contend with a double hurdle: They are largely marginalized by European and North American sports commentators and organizations, except insofar as their performance embodies social and cultural conflicts in their home country while their achievements are ignored, and condemned by the conservative and militant forces at home over issues of modesty, exposure, and complicity with Europe and North America.

In European and North American countries with long histories of colonialism and racism, such as the United States, France, or Great Britain, athletes of color, of all sexes, face supplementary pressures in conforming to gender stereotypes as part of an expectation of representativity for their communities. The imperative of femininity has deeply affected leading Black female athletes, for instance, from Wilma Rudolph (1940–1994) to the Williams sisters, Venus (b. 1980) and (b. 1981) Serena—the former widely respected and applauded for her acceptability, the latter often subject to disparaging remarks across constituencies, including other athletes, that translate racist views of black female identities as well as conservative gender views.

Even when accepted, women athletes must follow gender scripts in ways that remain foreign to (clearly) heterosexual men, who are indulged by the public and press for a variety of failings and transgressions (some of them criminal). Women are not allowed such latitude and are held to a higher standard—the public presentation of female athletes continues to stress their conventional roles as mothers and wives or girlfriends, their marketability as erotic female icons of beauty, or as involved in charity work. These features are a welcome corrective to aggression and competitiveness, which are still assumed to be mostly masculine and thus, ultimately, disturbing in women.

Competitive sports, whether they are still in effect a *man's world* or not, maintain that fiction through retrograde regulations, codes, and visual signals, such as the ring girls of boxing and other tournaments, and by structural contexts that send implicit gendered messages. At the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, for instance, billed as raising the visibility of women, a roiling controversy flared between the *Gender Equality* ministers from Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and the municipality of Athens, led by a woman mayor, over an alleged request by the Athens City Council to boost permits for brothels to meet demand during the Games. For the 2008 games, China, a country disproportionately represented by women athletes, has already signaled the content of that symbolic visibility by picking a women's musical world fusion ensemble, The Twelve Girls Band—an enormously accomplished, yet gender-conventional group of women performers from across China and musical genres—to star at the opening ceremony.

SEE ALSO *Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender, Theories of; Hierarchy; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Nationalism; Violence.*

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Francesca Candé Sautman

STAR-CROSSED LOVERS

Two households, both alike in dignity,
. . . From ancient grudge break to new mutiny,
. . . From forth the fatal loins of these two foes
A pair of star-cross'd lovers take their life.

(Romeo and Juliet, *Prologue)*

"Star-cross'd," coined by Shakespeare (1564–1616) to describe the young lovers in *Romeo and Juliet* (1595), has come to describe two people whose tragic destinies are intertwined. *Cross'd* carries the triple meaning of (1) brought into each other's path; (2) thwarted (or at least fraught with adversity or affliction); and (3) burdened (as in *a cross to bear*). Although Shakespeare gave a name to this kind of love, such love stories existed in world literature long before Shakespeare's time.

There are examples of star-crossed lovers in most literary traditions of the world. In Asian literature, Jia Bao-Yu and Lin Dai-Yu, two characters in Hsueh-Chin Tsao's early-eighteenth-century Chinese classic *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, are excellent examples of star-crossed lovers. When his family makes Jia Bao-Yu marry another girl, Lin Dai-Yu dies of grief. In Japan's famous eleventh-century literary work by Lady Shikibu Murasaki (c. 976–c. 1031), *The Tale of Genji*, the love between Genji and Fujitsubo, the emperor's concubine, is similarly doomed. Each of these examples fit the criteria set forth below for star-crossed love. However, this

"Tale of Genji," Twelfth Century. © ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS.

entry focuses on paradigmatic cases from the European and North American tradition.

CAN THIS LOVE SURVIVE?

Six elements define the state of being star-crossed: transgression, destiny, secrecy, heightened passion, tragedy, and sacrifice. Not all six need be present for a love relationship to be considered star-crossed, but to differentiate the paradigm from Aristotelian tragedy and other forms of love stories, several of the elements must be involved, often with one dominant element.

Transgression and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed love is transgressive: It is nearly always forbidden by society and/or made dangerous by circumstance. Romeo and Juliet are the only children of two feuding families. In Shakespeare's source, Arthur Brook's narrative *Pyramus and Thisbe* (1562), the lovers were forbidden to marry by their parents.

The love story of Peter Abelard (1079–1142), the French philosopher and theologian, and Heloise, in the early twelfth century, which survives in their famous letters to one another, provides another example. Heloise, the niece of a canon, fell in love with Abelard, who was her tutor, in her uncle's house. The two transgressed by disregarding the boundaries imposed on them by their social roles. After Heloise bore their child, Abelard was castrated and disgraced, then sent to live out his days in St. Denis while Heloise was sent to a convent nearby.

Inevitability and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed love is inevitable, preordained by destiny or fortune. Tristan and Isolde, lovers in a twelfth-century myth, illustrate this inevitability. In the Celtic version of the myth, Isolde was the daughter of Angwish, King of Ireland, and betrothed to King Mark of Cornwall. Mark sent his nephew Tristan to escort Isolde back to Cornwall. Through an accident of fate, Isolde and Tristan take a love potion intended for Isolde's wedding night. They fall into desperate, hopeless love. Sir Thomas Malory (c. 1410–1471) links the story of Tristan with another star-crossed pair, Guinevere and Lancelot, in his *Le Morte d'Arthur* (1485).

Secrecy and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed lovers' relationships are conducted in secret. The lovers dream of creating a passionate universe for themselves apart from everyday reality. Romeo and Juliet meet at the Capulet ball and fall instantly in love; yet during the four-day course of the play, they never see each other in daylight. Tristan and Isolde maintain their passionate relationship secretly after Isolde's marriage to King Mark; Pyramus and Thisbe communicate in secret through a chink in the wall of their parents' adjoining houses and arrange secret meetings at the Tomb of Ninus, in the fields outside the city. The latter two would gladly have married, but their parents forbade it. Instead they conversed through signs and glances, and the love grew more intense in its secrecy.

The world of star-crossed lovers is self-enclosed and passionate. The same kind of romantic and erotic isolation characterizes the nontraditional star-crossed pairing of two Wyoming ranch-hands, Ennis Del Mar and Jack Twist, in Annie Proulx's short story "Brokeback Mountain" (1997):

> They never talked about the sex, let it happen, at first only in the tent at night. . . . There were only the two of them on the mountain flying in the euphoric, bitter air, looking down on the hawk's back and the crawling lights of vehicles on the plain below, suspended above ordinary affairs and distant from tame ranch dogs barking in the dark hours. They believed themselves invisible.
>
> *(Proulx 2005, p. 15)*

Intensity and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed love is deeper, the passion stronger, than anything either of the lovers has ever experienced. Tristan could not consummate his marriage to another because of his love for Isolde. Heloise describes the intense passion she and Abelard felt and the suffering that would follow: "We shall both be destroyed. All that is left us is suffering as great as our love has been" (Radice 2003, p. 16). Juliet's declaration of this great passion is one of literature's most famous:

> My bounty is as boundless as the sea,
> My love as deep; the more I give to thee
> The more I have, for both are infinite.
>
> *(II.ii.133–135)*

The youthful passion of Romeo and Juliet destroys them, and hurts, then unites, their families and their city. The passion between another pair of Shakespeare's star-crossed lovers, Antony and Cleopatra, is powerful enough to destroy empires along with the lovers themselves.

Sacrifice and Star-Crossed Love Star-crossed love is often sacrificed for what is seen as a greater good for the beloved. The world of Italian opera is rich with examples of lovers doomed by their own choices. In Giacomo Puccini's *La Bohème* (1896), Mimi agrees to abandon Rodolfo for his own good. In *Tosca* (1900), also by Puccini, the title heroine pretends to sacrifice her body to Scarpia in return for her lover Mario's life. Tosca instead commits murder for Mario, only to see him executed anyway, which causes her to leap to her death from the top of Castel Sant'Angelo. In the classic Italian novel *I Promessi Sposi* (1840), by Alessandro Manzoni, Lucia makes a holy vow to save Renzo, even though doing so means they can never consummate their marriage.

Tragedy and Star-Crossed Love The star-crossed love story follows a tragic path. Shakespeare calls it "death-mark'd." Death—or, at least, disaster—is the only possible end for star-crossed love. On the eve of his death, *Tosca*'s Mario expresses the paradox of love and loss in the last line of his famous aria, *E' lucevan le stelle*: "Time is fleeting and I die in despair, yet never have I loved life more." Romeo too has a sense of imminent tragedy on his way to the Capulet ball where he meets Juliet:

> . . . my mind misgives;
> Some consequence, yet hanging in the stars,
> Shall bitterly begin his fearful date
> With this night's revels; and expire the term
> Of a despised life, closed in my breast
> By some vile forfeit of untimely death:
> But he that hath the steerage of my course
> Direct my sail.
>
> *(I.iv.107–114)*

Star-crossed lovers are doubly doomed. The stars—or fortune or fate or destiny—point them toward disaster; so does the world they try to escape. It is precisely the impossibility of a self-contained romantic/erotic life that dooms them: They cannot live outside the world of family, society, and politics, nor can they fully escape the rhythms and obligations of everyday life. Valerie Traub, in her book *Desire and Anxiety* (1992), sums up Romeo and Juliet's predicament:

> The two lovers attempt to forge an erotic alliance beyond the physical and ideological constraints of the feuding houses of Capulet and Montague. To the extent that their erotic love is given expression in spheres untouched by the feud—the balcony, the bedroom, the abbey, the tomb—they succeed. But the tragedy of the play is precisely the futility of such a desire. . . . Romeo and Juliet's love . . . is ultimately doomed precisely because it attempts to exist outside of the material, political world.
>
> *(1992, pp. 2–3)*

Harold Bloom, in *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*, argues that "*Romeo and Juliet* is unmatched, in Shakespeare and in the world's literature, as a vision of an uncompromising mutual love that perishes of its own idealism and intensity" (Bloom 1998, p. 89).

Most star-crossed lovers—either one or both—attempt to defy fate. Hearing that Juliet is dead, Romeo—the very Romeo who cried after killing Tybalt "O, I am fortune's fool!" (III.ii.139)—declares "Then I defy you, stars!" (V.i.24) and tries to take charge of his own destiny. Although such action heightens passion and strengthens the lovers' resolve, it also accelerates the journey to tragedy and doom.

Star-crossed love endures as a major theme in literature and film in the early twenty-first century, though sometimes the cause of the lovers' doom shifts from destiny toward psychological as well as social forces. As an expression of the unattainable—or unsustainable—passionate ideal, it reflects an enduring and widespread human need.

SEE ALSO *Love Poetry; Romeo and Juliet; Shakespeare, William.*

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Susan McGury
Peter Forster

STEIN, GERTRUDE AND ALICE B. TOKLAS

1874–1946 and 1877–1967

Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas were lifelong friends, lovers, domestic partners, and creative collaborators. They both grew up in the San Francisco area but did not meet until 1907 at Stein's brother's house in Paris. They were among the premier expatriate couples of Paris modernism, and remain one of the best-known lesbian couples of the twentieth century. It is significant that Stein's most popular and enduring work, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933), is a fictional autobiography that conflates the couple's subjectivities into those of the fictional Alice; in its pages, Gertrude Stein writes as if she were Alice Toklas writing about Gertrude Stein. *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* is an enduring portrait of Paris, its cafes, parties, famous artists, and writers, in the years between 1910 and 1930. This vibrant culture is contextualized in terms of the women's mutually interdependent and generative lesbian relationship.

STEIN: BECOMING A WRITER

Gertrude Stein was born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, on February 3. When she was three, her family moved to Vienna, and then to Paris. After two years in Europe, her family moved to Oakland, California. Stein lived there until she attended Radcliffe College, graduating in 1897. She then spent two years at Johns Hopkins School of Medicine but left without earning a degree. She moved back to Paris in 1903, where she lived with her brother Leo at 27 Rue de Fleurus. Leo was an art critic, and Gertrude began collecting art with him, lining the walls of their atelier with paintings by Auguste Renoir, Edouard Manet, and Paul Cézanne. The siblings' famous salon began when they started inviting people to view their paintings.

In 1903 Gertrude wrote a short novel about a failed lesbian love triangle, *Q. E. D*, but did not try to publish it, perhaps because of its autobiographical subject matter. She claimed to have forgotten about it until 1932. In 1903 she also began writing the long novel *The Making of Americans*. In 1904 she began the novella *Fernhurst*, and in 1905 started *Three Lives*, a series of three novellas about three working-class women from Baltimore.

Three Lives was finally published in 1909. The other writings were published later—*The Making of Americans* in 1925, *Fernhurst* and *Q.E.D.* together (posthumously) in 1971. Whether or not Stein truly forgot about her first novel, *Q. E. D.*, several of its characters, situations, and lines of dialogue reappear in recognizable form in the middle novella of *Three Lives*, "Melanctha," about a mixed-race woman who is ostracized because she believes in the free expression of sexual desire. She has numerous affairs with both men and women, rejects marriage with a popular doctor, and is finally betrayed by her best friend Rose, who breaks with Melanctha because she is not sexually respectable. Melanctha dies of consumption, suffering the sad demise common to the literary stereotype of the tragic mulatto she represents, but her story is also the story of marginalized desire and betrayal first touched on in *Q. E. D.*

"Melanctha" is a formally innovative text that uses an unreliable racist narrator, run-on sentences, and African American speech patterns to create a new, impressionistic way of writing. Critics hailed its portraits of black characters; some thought it was among the most sympathetic and realistic portrayals yet published, whereas other readers condemned the text for trafficking in the demeaning kind of racist stereotypes found in pulp novels and minstrel shows. "Melanctha" proved an early example of primitivism, a mode of representation that conflated non-Anglo-Saxon racial heritage—being of Jewish or African descent—with unconventional sexuality, such as homosexuality or sexual promiscuity. Primitivism was a fantasy wherein anyone could throw off the constraints of civilization and embrace the savage that lurked within. Visual artists such as Pablo Picasso were working with primitivist facial masks at the same time that Stein was writing "Melanctha," and certainly primitivist notions of character allowed Stein to create an experimental, streaming style of prose narrative and dialogue that helped put her on the literary map.

STEIN AND TOKLAS: LIFE AND WORK TOGETHER

By 1909 Stein was living with Alice B. Toklas, whom she had met two years earlier. Toklas was born in San Francisco on April 30. She attended the University of Seattle and then the University of Washington, where she studied music. When her mother died she returned to San Francisco to care for her father and brother for the next ten years, finally leaving at the age of twenty-nine to start her own life in Paris. Toklas met Stein almost immediately upon her arrival in France in 1907. By the next year, Toklas had taught herself to type in order to transcribe Stein's manuscripts, and she quickly became Stein's partner, secretary, confidant, muse, audience, and household manager. Toklas had excellent taste in paintings, furniture, and music, and was a very good cook. Stein and Toklas wrote each other love notes, calling each other by pet names such as "pussy" and "lovey." Stein wrote coded erotic poetry about their life together, the most famous example of which is *Lifting Belly*, written during World War I but not published until after Stein's death. Many feminist critics consider *Lifting Belly* to be a classic of lesbian literature, and see the word *cow*—a term sprinkled throughout Stein's writing—as a coded reference to orgasm:

Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas. AP IMAGES.

> Lifting belly high.
> That is what I adore always more and more.
> Come out cow.
> Little connections.
> Yes oh yes cow come out.
>
> *(Stein 1989, p. 33)*

After Leo moved out of the Rue de Fleurus in 1910, Stein and Toklas continued the literary and artistic salon, hosting writers Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Sherwood Anderson and artists Picasso, Henri Matisse, and Georges Braque, among others. In *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Alice talks about sitting with the wives while Stein visits with her male "genius" friends. The book is a loving tribute to Toklas's observational skills and engaging character, and it made Toklas, and the relationship between the women, famous when it was published.

After *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Stein and Toklas went on a lecture tour of the United States, and Stein received book contracts for subsequent work from the publisher Random House. During their life together, Stein published several volumes of memoirs, countless portraits, many poems, and several essays on writing. Stein and Toklas survived two world wars, driving medical supplies during World War I and laying low in the countryside of Bilignin and Culoz during the Nazi occupation of France in World War II. Their friendship with Vichy collaborator Bernard Fay helped them escape Nazi persecution, and Stein has been criticized for her self-serving politics during an era when other Jews were being sent to concentration camps and exterminated. Stein died of stomach cancer in 1946, leaving her estate to Toklas, who lived on for two decades. Without legal status as Stein's widow, however, Toklas eventually lost many of the paintings to members of Stein's family, who challenged her rights to them. After Stein's death, Toklas struggled financially, occasionally selling a painting and publishing letters and an autobiography, *What Is Remembered* (1963), and a famous cookbook, *The Alice B. Toklas Cook Book* (1954), to support herself. She is buried next to Stein in Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris.

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Jaime Hovey

STERILIZATION

Sterilization is the result of any procedure or condition by which a person becomes incapable of reproducing. Sterilization may be voluntary and undertaken as a permanent form of birth control, or it may be involuntary, the result of disease, treatment (including surgery, drug therapy, or radiation), trauma to the reproductive organs (such as castration), or public policy (as for population control). Surgical sterilization—vasectomy in males and tubal ligation (salpingectomy) in females—is the most common form of contraception used in married couples ages thirty and above. Because it is considered permanent, married women are more apt to undergo sterilization than those who are unmarried. Even though female sterilization involves more invasive surgery, has more complications, costs more, and has a higher rate of failure than male sterilization procedures (0.4% for females, compared with 0.15% for males), the rate of female sterilization is roughly 19 percent, whereas that of males is around 12 percent. In the United States, insurance companies are more likely to pay for a woman's tubal ligation than for her male partner's vasectomy.

Males are sterilized generally through a vasectomy. This is usually performed in a doctor's office under local anesthesia. The entire procedure takes fifteen to twenty minutes. A small incision is made in the scrotal sac, and a small section of the vas deferens is isolated and drawn through the incision. The ends of the vas are then either tied off or cauterized to prevent the ends from growing back and rejoining. The operation works by preventing the sperm from reaching the urethra and thus the ejaculated seminal fluid. Men who have undergone vasectomies are generally able to resume normal sexual relations within days of the procedure, though they must continue to use alternative birth control methods until the sperm count shows no sperm. Usually by six weeks after the procedure or fifteen ejaculations, men who have undergone the procedure are essentially sterile and incapable of impregnating a woman. Failures within the first two months following the vasectomy are usually due to a few residual sperm remaining in the genital tract. Later failures are generally the result of the vas deferens growing back together. For the latter reason, doctors frequently suggest a repeat sperm count after one year from the procedure. Other complications include a local and temporary inflammation, discomfort, and (very rarely) a serious infection of the epididymis.

Sperm continues to be produced by the testes but is released into the abdominal cavity and reabsorbed by the body. Vasectomy does not diminish libido (sex drive) or cause any change in erectile or ejaculatory function, nor does it noticeably diminish the volume of the ejaculate (since sperm normally only accounts for 1% of the seminal fluid). Male hormones, including testosterone, are still produced. Though vasectomy is considered a permanent form of sterilization, the procedure may be reversed in a vasovasotomy, in which the ends of the vas deferens are surgically reconnected. Success rates vary from 16 percent to 79 percent.

Tubal sterilization, also called tubal ligation (having one's tubes tied), is the most common method of female sterilization. During this procedure, the fallopian tubes are cut and cauterized (or otherwise occluded) to prevent the ova from reaching either the sperm or the uterus. There are several surgical means to accomplish this, including both abdominal and vaginal approaches. Laparoscopy is a minimally invasive method whereby a small incision is cut in the abdomen (or navel, in what is sometimes called belly-button surgery). The fallopian tubes are then isolated with a lighted laparoscope and looped out through the incision where they are either severed or tied. The tubes then slide back into the abdominal cavity. The procedure may be done on an outpatient basis, and women may return to their routines and resume sexual intercourse when discomfort subsides.

A laparotomy is more invasive and involves a larger incision. Women who elect to undergo tubal ligation immediately after a Cesarean section will undergo this type of surgery. A minilaparotomy (or minilap) employs similar technique but requires a smaller incision. Tubal ligation may also be performed vaginally, with the fallopian tubes severed through an incision on the back wall of the vagina (and thus leaving no visible scar). In addition, the Essure method, developed in 2002, uses hysteroscopy (a tube with a video and light source attached) to guide the placement of micro-inserts (elongated plugs) at the opening of each of the fallopian tubes in the uterus. Over the following three months, scarring develops and blocks sperm from entering the tubes to fertilize the egg. The advantage to the latter method is that it may be done in the doctor's office under local anesthesia. The downside is that, because there is a relatively high failure rate immediately following the insertion, the woman must undergo a hysterosalpingogram (a type of X-ray) three months after the procedure to confirm that the tubes are adequately occluded.

None of the previous methods disrupts the woman's sexual drive or response. Nor do they induce premature menopause, as hormone secretion is undisturbed. Women who have a tubal ligation will continue to ovulate and menstruate (though the unfertilized egg will be reabsorbed by the body). The procedure is considered permanent because it is difficult (and expensive) to reverse.

A hysterectomy may also result in sterilization, though it is not considered a method of voluntary sterilization. It is generally performed as a treatment for cancer or other disease of the reproductive tract. Hysterectomy with removal of the ovaries (oophorectomy) will put a woman into surgical menopause because of a profound reduction of the secretion of the hormones estrogen and progesterone.

When pregnancy does occur following a tubal ligation, there is a high incidence of ectopic pregnancy because of the tubal occlusion. Ectopic pregnancies are more likely to occur two or more years following the procedure rather than immediately following it. Vaginal procedures have higher failure rates and are more subject to infection than laparoscopic or minilaparotomy techniques.

Sterilization can also occur as the result of disease or treatment (such as chemotherapy or radiation). Untreated sexually transmitted disease may render the infected person (male or female) infertile resulting in irreversible sterility by causing scarring and occlusion in the reproductive organs.

Historically, because of high infant and child mortality rates, survival of societies depended on the fertility and fecundity of its inhabitants. A lack of understanding about reproduction led to many superstitions and folk stories about fertility. In ancient Mesopotamia the test for permanent infertility was to have a woman drink a concoction made of a hollowed-out watermelon and the breast milk of a woman who has produced a male child. If the woman in question vomited, she was thought to be able to bear a child; if she belched, she was deemed sterile and unable to conceive.

Instances of forced or involuntary sterilization involve issues of eugenics (trying to improve the gene pool of a society) and overpopulation. One of the more egregious programs for compulsory sterilization was practiced by Nazi Germany. In an effort to create an ideal Aryan race, the government oversaw the sterilization of over 400,000 people. These programs also existed in other countries. Sweden sterilized roughly 0.1 percent of its population (mostly criminals, mental patients, and as a condition for receiving social welfare benefits). The United States also targeted the mentally and physically impaired (including those with epilepsy, blindness, and deafness). Native Americans and African Americans were singled out in an effort to limit large families. In 2003 the North Carolina Legislature repealed the last of its eugenics laws, which were initially passed in an attempt to eliminate mental illness and genetic defects in the state. In a 2004 case, controversy arose over the decision by a couple to remove the reproductive organs of their mentally and physically handicapped daughter in an effort to keep her physically immature and smaller so that they could continue to care for her at home. Involuntary sterilization still occurs in the United States, but states very often require evidence of therapeutic benefit to the person before allowing the procedure.

In countries desperate to find a way to deal with exploding population growth, a major advantage of sterilization is its effectiveness (nearly 100%) and its permanence. Between 1976 and 1977, the Indian government under Indira Gandhi (1917–1984) began an aggressive program that both rewarded men and women for undergoing sterilization by offering them financial incentive (or in some cases a transistor radio) or coerced them with the threat of being arrested; it was proposed that parents with two children agree to be sterilized or else go to jail for two years. Rural areas were set in sterilization competitions with one another, with the winner receiving preferential status for irrigation facilities and fresh drinking water. People expressed fear of appearing in public places lest they be picked up by sterilization teams. Public outcry against coerced sterilization derailed the program.

Human rights groups have censured countries such as Slovenia and Peru for supporting coerced sterilizations. China is particularly targeted for imposing forced sterilization (among other reproductive control policies) on its population to reach its one-child policy goals.

SEE ALSO *Castrati.*

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Diane Sue Saylor

STONEWALL

In the early morning hours of Saturday, June 28, 1969, New York City police raided the Stonewall Inn at 53 Christopher Street in Greenwich Village. The raid prompted resistance from lesbian, gay, and transgender patrons and onlookers, sparking several nights of antipolice rioting. The Stonewall riots are frequently cited as marking the birth of the gay liberation movement. Annual gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) pride marches around the world commemorate those early acts of resistance on or around the last weekend in June.

HISTORY OF THE STONEWALL

The Stonewall Inn opened as a tearoom called Bonnie's Stone Wall in 1930, the same year Mary Casal's lesbian "autobiography" *The Stone Wall* was published in the United States. There is little documentation of the early years of Bonnie's Stone Wall, but records show that it was raided frequently by the police. By the late 1960s the regular patrons of the Stonewall Inn included the most marginalized gay communities in the city: drag queens, "flame" queens, transgender male-to-female youth, hustlers, and homeless queer youth, all from a mix of ethnic backgrounds, including significant numbers of blacks and Latinos. At its central location in Greenwich Village, the Stonewall drew an eclectic crowd that included gay men from a variety of social classes and some working-class lesbians. Those drawn to the Village for its gay counterculture recognized the Stonewall Inn as one of a handful of New York City clubs catering to sex and gender outlaws, though many chose not to frequent the Mafia-run establishment to avoid raids, blackmail, watered-down drinks, imperfect sanitation, and mixing with marginal classes of people.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Stonewall riots occurred amid the social upheaval of the civil rights movement, antiwar protests, student activism, and feminist activism. Specific acts of GLBT resistance and instances of oppression preceded and influenced the events, as did victories and increasing visibility around the world.

European and American homophile organizations founded in the 1950s worked to reduce legal discrimination against gays and lesbians. In 1961 Czechoslovakia and Hungary eased laws criminalizing sodomy, followed by Israel in 1963, then England and Wales in 1967, and East Germany in 1968. In the United States, Illinois became the first state to decriminalize sodomy (1962). West Germany and Canada both decriminalized sodomy in 1969, before the riots.

Founded on the West Coast in the 1950s, American homophile organizations became more visible during the 1960s, staging the first pro-homosexual public pickets in several eastern cities in 1965. As homophile organizations and the gay press were stepping up their tactics and rhetoric, street resistance was picking up as well. In August 1966 transgender youth picketed and later threw dishes, swung purses, and smashed windows in San Francisco's Compton's restaurant when security guards and police harassed the regular transgender clientele. In February 1967 homophile activists in Los Angeles organized a legal defense and an orderly public protest after brutal New Year's Eve police raids on gay bars there.

New York's homophile Mattachine Society waged a campaign against police entrapment in 1965 and in 1966 staged "sip-ins" to challenge the New York State Liquor Authority's practice of closing down gay bars. Courts decided that serving liquor to homosexuals was not in itself illegal, but establishments permitting homosexuals to congregate could be considered "disorderly" and were subject to closure. The New York Penal Code stipulated that people wearing fewer than three articles of clothing appropriate for their gender were subject to arrest, targeting drag queens, butches, and transgender people for police harassment. The Mafia established gay bars as private clubs (the Stonewall Inn kept a sham membership register) and profited not only by selling liquor of questionable provenance but also by exploiting "club members" in prostitution and extortion schemes while keeping police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation at bay with payoffs and blackmail. In light of the state-sanctioned discrimination, however, the Stonewall Inn was valued as a gathering place for people on the sexual margins. In 1969 the Stonewall Inn was a symbol and a space for an increasingly visible and vocal queer community.

A spring 1969 election in New York City prompted Mayor John Lindsay to pay closer attention to policing both the Mafia and queers, resulting in increased numbers of bar and bathhouse raids. During the week before the Stonewall riots, police allowed residents of Kew Gardens in Queens to cut down trees, ruining a popular nighttime gay cruising area. Police had just raided the Stonewall Inn on the Tuesday before the Friday night Stonewall raid, as well as several other gay places around that time.

THE RIOT AND ITS AFTERMATH

The raid on the Stonewall Inn took place around one in the morning, a peak attendance hour on a hot early Saturday morning. Greenwich Village was mourning the death of the gay icon Judy Garland, with record players blasting her voice into the streets. Seymour Pine of the New York City Vice Squad, Public Morals Division, led four other officers inside the Stonewall, wondering why the two undercover male and two undercover female officers already inside the inn had not communicated with them. Patrons in the bar that night reported that the crowd was fed up with police harassment and that there was grumbling and resistance from the approximately two hundred persons detained inside by officers demanding an identity check at the outset of the raid. As David Carter recounts in his 2005 book on Stonewall, Pine claimed that the raid's goals were routine: to arrest the employees and maybe a token transvestite, confiscate the illegal alcohol, and bust up the bar to put it out of business for a while. Pine reported that trouble started inside the bar when "transvestites" suspected of wearing gender-inappropriate clothing refused to go into the bathrooms for genital checks. One man inside the bar reported that lesbians in the bar loudly protested their manhandling by the police.

Instead of quietly dispersing from the Stonewall that night, a crowd gathered outside. Exiting the inn after identity checks, drag queens camped it up for a sympathetic crowd that also witnessed brutal police tactics. Witnesses reported seeing a drag queen or transgender cross-dresser being clubbed by police, who were roughly pushing her into a police wagon as well as a butch lesbian strenuously resisting that kind of mistreatment. The crowd responded by shouting and throwing coins at police, and the situation escalated into a full-blown melee. As police grew fearful of the crowd hurling bricks and bottles, they barricaded themselves inside the Stonewall. The crowd attacked the bar, breaking the front window with a garbage can and using a parking meter as a battering ram against the door, followed by the throwing of improvised firebombs.

Witnesses attributed the boldest initial resistance to street youth, many of whom were black and Latino, transgender, and cross-dressing. The police attempted to disperse the crowds by blocking and clearing the streets, but they were haunted by impromptu kick lines of "Stonewall Girls" who doubled back to taunt them repeatedly into the early morning. Nearby, lesbians in the Women's House of Detention lit toilet paper and sent it streaming down from high jailhouse windows in a display of support. When word got out, a crowd gathered the next Saturday night; the protest was smaller the following Sunday but gathered strength on Wednesday after the newspaper *The Village Voice* ran a front-page article on the riots.

Immediately after the riots New York gay and lesbian activists began to organize anew, starting the Gay Liberation Front, which soon split to form the Gay Activists Alliance. In November 1969 the Eastern Regional Conference of Homophile Organizations proposed the Christopher Street Liberation Day March to commemorate the anniversary of the Stonewall riots. This was the first of what are now annual celebrations of GLBT pride and resistance held in cities around the world.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Defined; Queen; Violence.*

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Polly Thistlethwaite

STORY OF O

Histoire d'O (The Story of O) was written by the French intellectual Dominique Aury (1907–1998) to keep the interest of her lover, the renowned editor and author Jean Paulhan (1884–1968), a married man. Paulhan had taunted Aury by claiming that a woman could not write a good erotic novel. Aury published the novel in 1954 under the pseudonym Pauline Réage. The book came to the attention of the French public when Aury, as Réage, won the prestigious Prix Deux Magots. The book, considered scandalous, proved to be wildly popular. It was translated into English in 1965 and has never been out of print. During the 1960s it was the most widely read contemporary French novel outside of France. For years most people speculated that the writer was a man. In a

***Dominique Aury, Author of* Story of O.** LIPNITZK/ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES.

1994 article in the *New Yorker*, the British journalist John de St. Jorre revealed the secret already known in some French intellectual circles: that Pauline Réage was really Dominique Aury, a respected and respectable editor, translator, writer, and, most scandalous of all, feminist.

PORNOGRAPHY, LITERATURE, AND FEMINISM

In *The Story of O*, a woman, known only by the first initial of her name, accompanies her adored lover René to the Chateau Roissy where he turns her over to a sadist named Sir Stephen to be trained in the art of perfect submission. O is sexually penetrated in every possible way by a variety of men; she is whipped, beaten, humiliated, and bound. She is not allowed to speak to women or look any man in the eye. She is corseted and left with her genitals constantly exposed. She is forced to wear a collar and cuffs. As time goes on, she learns to accept each cruelty as an act of grace, developing an extraordinary interiority that borders on saintliness. After Roissy, O is sent to Anne Marie, a dominatrix, to be further subdued, branded, and pierced. She is used to recruit other women into training for the lords of Roissy. Eventually her submission is so perfect that she is displayed at one of Sir Stephen's parties wearing a mask and led on a leash attached to rings in her labia. She creates a sensation and is rewarded by being sexually assaulted by the guests. Abandoned by René, appreciated but unloved by Sir Stephen, O eventually learns to ask for nothing, expect nothing, and desire nothing. Her training complete, she has no other recourse but to seek the perfect realization of her annihilation in death.

Critics have focused on the book as pornography, with some writers applauding the extremes of consciousness charted by the novel, others condemning its violence and misogyny, and some viewing it as a useful parable of female oppression and cautionary tale. In an essay on pornography as literature, "The Pornographic Imagination" (1969), the American writer Susan Sontag (1933–2004) argued that the novel helps prove that the obscene is "a primal notion of human consciousness" (Sontag 1983, p. 221), valuable because it explores the capacity of human beings to lose themselves in sexuality. In *Woman Hating* (1974), the American feminist Andrea Dworkin agrees that *The Story of O* is politically significant precisely because it is pornography. Unlike Sontag, however, Dworkin argues that pornography is important only as a means to reveal the mechanisms of patriarchal oppression, and as a way to study the fantasies and adult fairy tales of master and slave, both male and female, and dominant and submissive that form the basis of sexist culture. Dworkin interprets the name O as representing the vagina, thus reducing the protagonist to a hole to be penetrated. She insists that O's prostitution is not sacred or sanctifying, but is simply a demonstration of male ownership and male power. She sums up *The Story of O* as one of psychic cannibalism and demonic possession in which the question of who is the most powerful is answered by the specter of men standing triumphant over the dead bodies of women.

The psychoanalytic critic Kaja Silverman also discusses *The Story of O* in relation to pornography, but emphasizes the novel as a psychic account of the creation of normal female subjectivity. Unlike Dworkin, who argues that O is reduced to being merely a body, Silverman notes that O is merely a body at the beginning of the novel, but that her training at Roissy eventually gives her an inner life and the consciousness of a mystic or saint. Analyzing O's subjection to the intense discipline of Roissy, Silverman argues that O's body is brought into the discourse of pornography and invested with phallic meaning. Women like O involuntarily internalize this discourse, which in turn makes them participants in their own exploitation. It is necessary to understand the relationship of discourse to women's oppression, Silverman concludes, so as to subvert it.

REINTERPRETATIONS

In the 1980s and 1990s, some feminists and lesbian sex radicals broke with mainstream feminism's condemnation of pornography. In so doing, they rejected feminist notions of false consciousness and evidenced overt interest in erotica, power play, rough sex, sadomasochism (S/M), dominance and submission, bondage, and fantasy. Lesbian feminist S/M groups, such as Samois, argued that these practices expanded women's erotic autonomy. Feminist film critics used *The Story of O* as a yardstick for measuring portrayals of sadomasochistic sex and discipline in the movies. In the early twenty-first century, many readers see *The Story of O* as a manifesto of a woman's right to erotic expression and self-determination, with O's sexual awakening, however tragic its outcome, seen as a kind of transcendence.

The Story of O is a primer for sadists and masochists alike. The fact that the book has never been out of print is a testament to its enduring popularity. It is respected as a literary work in the tradition of the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814) and Georges Bataille (1897–1962), and is considered one of the best sadomasochistic erotic novels ever written.

The Story of O was adapted for film by director Just Jaeckin, who also directed the popular soft-core erotic movie *Emmanuelle* (1975). Filmed in French and starring Corinne Clery as O, the film is a stylized vision of restrained erotica, playing out many of the dominance-submission scenarios detailed in the novel. The film was banned in some countries and was released in the United States with an NC-17 rating (no one 17 and under admitted).

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Jaime Hovey

STRANGE FRUIT

Written first as a poem by Jewish schoolteacher Abel Meeropol (1903–1986) in the late 1930s, "Strange Fruit" captures the haunting and violent history of lynching in America. Meeropol was said to have written the poem after viewing a disturbing photograph of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, two young black males lynched in Marion, Indiana, in 1930. First published as "Bitter Fruit" under the pseudonym Lewis Allen, Meeropol's poem, a mix of idyllic language and images of death and decay, became an anthem for the antilynching movement:

Southern trees bear strange fruit,
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root,
Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze,
Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees.

Pastoral scene of the gallant south,
The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth,
Scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh,
Then the sudden smell of burning flesh.

Here is fruit for the crows to pluck,
For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck,
For the sun to rot, for the trees to drop,
Here is a strange and bitter crop.

(Allen 1969, p. 15)

Meeropol created a dreary, melancholy melody to accompany his poem and it was first performed at New York teachers' union meetings before reaching famous jazz nightclubs. At Meeropol's request, Barney Josephson (1902–1988), manager of the popular Greenwich Village nightclub Café Society, introduced the foreboding song to celebrated jazz vocalist Billie Holiday (1915–1959). Holiday's recording label, Columbia Records, declined to produce her rendition, claiming that the lyrics were too inflammatory. Looking elsewhere for a label willing to produce the protest song, Holiday found Commodore Records, a smaller studio that recorded "Strange Fruit" in April of 1939. Although "Strange Fruit" was rarely played on radio stations, it became a signature of Holiday's nightclub act. At the close of her performance, the crowd would settle into an eerie silence, lights would dim, and a spotlight would shine on Holiday's solemn face as she sung Meeropol's tune. As a protest against the horrors of lynching, Holiday's performance could not be ignored, and many credit "Strange Fruit" and its popularity both in the United States and Europe as paving the way for the Civil Rights Movement.

Although many Southerners during Reconstruction claimed that lynching was a necessary evil, one that deterred the population of newly freed black males from raping innocent white virgins, statistics tell a different story. Less than 25 percent of documented lynchings were carried out because of rape accusations, a figure not consistent with the supposed outbreak of black male ravishers. The lynching of black men and women for crimes like theft, murder, assault, or insulting a white person were not as sensationalized or broadly publicized as rape cases that resulted in lynching. In many instances, black males accused of rape would be stripped naked and castrated, obvious revenge for their supposed crimes. Rarely, if ever, was a rape accusation proven in a court of law; mobs of angry whites took it upon themselves to be judge and jury, resulting in spectacles of extreme violence against innocent black males. Northern opposition to lynching was typically countered with tales of countless rapes, the figures inflated to feed the anxiety of whites across the nation. From this disturbing history emerges a body of African American art and literature that exposes fear, anxiety, rage, and sadness over the period of American history also know as the Negro Holocaust.

As a trope in African American literature, "Strange Fruit" and the history of lynching surfaces in countless narratives, artwork, and music. In the story "Going to Meet the Man" (1965), James Baldwin tells the graphic tale of a young black male who is tortured, castrated, and burned to death for supposedly abusing an older white woman. The lynching scene, described in gruesome detail, portrays a frenzied mob with an obsessive bloodlust. The Jacob Lawrence's (1917–2000) series on the Great Migration includes an evocative portrayal of a lone black figure, stooped over, and barely visible as a noose hangs in the distance from a spindly tree branch. Gwendolyn Brooks's (1917–2000) poem "Ballad of Pearl May Lee" (1945) tells the story of a brokenhearted woman whose black lover was lynched for having an affair with a white woman. The speaker laments that her departed lover paid with his life for a taste of "pink and white honey." Wanda Coleman's (b. 1946) poem "Emmett Till" (1990) evokes the memory of a young boy lynched in Mississippi in 1955 for whistling at a white woman.

The Strange Fruit Project, a group of hip-hop artists from Waco, Texas, gives credit to Holiday's song, acknowledging the history of violence in their own town, which purportedly carried out more lynchings in the early 1900s than any other Southern city. Both Richard Wright's (1908–1960) *Native Son* (1940) and Amiri Baraka's (b. 1934) *The Dutchman* (1964) explore symbolic lynchings, with their black male characters executed for engaging in social activities with white women. "Strange Fruit" and the collective memory of lynching shaped a cultural and literary history, one that exposes extreme aversion to interracial sexual relationships and the resulting violence against black male bodies.

SEE ALSO *Baldwin, James; Blues; Masculinity: I. Overview; Violence.*

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Melissa Fore

STREETWALKER

SEE *Prostitution.*

SUCKING

SEE *Sexual Practices.*

SU E PIAN

SEE *Sex Manuals: China.*

SUFFRAGE

In almost all European and North American democracies, women obtained suffrage after men. In France the gap is considerable—almost a century. This denial of civil rights, justified for such a long time by the *difference between the sexes* and the complementarities of their roles (the public sphere reserved to men, the private one the *realm* of women) is no doubt the most eloquent example of the social inferiorization of women at the very moment when modern nation states were being constituted with *democratic* institutions.

REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE AND THE PRECEDENT OF THE DENIAL OF CITIZENSHIP

During the French Revolution, some women did indeed vote at the Estates General of 1789 and a few lone voices—Condorcet ("Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité") in 1790, then Olympe de Gouges with her *Déclaration des droits de la femme and de la citoyenne*, in 1791, argued for women's suffrage. Endowed with reason, like men, and constituting half of the human race, women, they claimed, should enjoy natural rights. The Convention, which raised men to the level of citizens, nevertheless decided in 1792 the political exclusion of women. Assimilating women to the abuses of the Ancien Régime and to clerical conservatism was a convenient pretext. Yet such exclusion already contradicted social and political reality: the existence of *female citizens* passionately engaged in the battles of the French Revolution (1789–1799). In 1793 women's clubs were dissolved, and women were excluded from the army. Two years later their presence in political assemblies was banned, as well as assemblies of more than five women in the street. In 1804 Napoleon (1769–1821) imposed the civil inferiority of married women through the Civil Code, which became a model for the rest of Europe. This dependent status in the family made political emancipation even more difficult. It entrenched the idea that the male citizen represented his family, a notion in complete contradiction with the theory of natural individual right.

During the 1848 Revolution in France, proposals were made in favor of women's suffrage, in particular by Jeanne Deroin (1805–1894), but the press met them with guffaws, and politicians remained indifferent (Riot-Sarcey 1994). The Second Republic did not even bother to specify that universal suffrage was exclusively male. But electoral laws were more cautious in Great Britain (1832), in the Netherlands (1885) and in Italy (1888) and clearly indicated the exclusion of women (Rochefort 1998).

THE BATTLE FOR SUFFRAGE

The right to vote only became compelling as a priority common to all feminist movements at the beginning of the twentieth century. Public figures and groups that defended the rights of women previously privileged access to education, the equality of civil rights, the struggle against government-controlled prostitution and bettering the conditions of working women. Suffragism affirmed itself at the very moment when political institutions were becoming more democratic (Klejman and Rochefort 1989). It symbolized the hope for emancipation in a society where socially privileged women were asserting themselves in the public sphere as students, teachers, lawyers, doctors, artists, journalists, philanthropists, and athletes. From mostly economically comfortable classes, urban and educated, feminists did not represent the majority of women. The workers' movement challenged their right to speak for working women and suffrage as a bourgeois demand. In 1907 the Second International, while recognizing the political equality of the sexes as legitimate (including it in its program as early as 1893), insisted on the priority of class struggle and condemned autonomous action by feminists (Gruber 1998).

As with the workers' movement, the feminist movement organized on an international basis. The United States played a key role as the feminist movement—stimulated by the engagement of many women in the struggles for the abolition of slavery, in the Temperance Movement, in moral reform societies, and in philanthropic associations—became entrenched earlier than in Europe. It was in Washington DC in 1888 that the International Council of Women was created. The National Council of French Women was founded only in 1901, and the International Association for Women's Suffrage was founded in Berlin in 1904. English women, with unequaled boldness, called the most attention to themselves. They defied the authorities by practicing *direct action* and by taking over the streets through spectacular demonstrations. Galvanized by their mystical fervor, the *suffragettes*—a belittling label in contrast to *suffragist*—captivated public opinion, at first hostile then sympathetic when the conflict hardened and more than 1,000 women were jailed, went on hunger strike, and were fed by force.

Feminists demanded suffrage at once on the basis of the universalism of natural right and the recognition of feminine specificity. This polarity marked their demands since the Revolution and crossed all tendencies, from the most radical to the most moderate. Most suffragists inscribed themselves in the discourse of sexual difference, valorizing the *natural qualities* and the opinions attributed to women or the roles they played, drawing up an ideal of complementarity of the sexes in governing the public sphere. This latter argument became dominant over the years and was sometimes associated with a true mystique, idealizing the mothering, pacifist, and altruistic nature of women. In part it overlapped with the dominant discourse on gender. It was also typical of the suffragist associations that were the most influenced by religion, in particular in North America (Basch 1994). In the United States, where the echoes of Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) were not negligible, the morality of evangelical Protestantism also inspired the majority of activists who wanted to fight with modern means—citizenship—against *sin* (prostitution, slavery, alcoholism, male profligacy).

A third line of argumentation arose strongly during World War I (1914–1919) (Bard 1995). The majority of feminists, renouncing vague pacifism, joined the war effort, a reaction comparable to that of the workers' movement. In both cases only a minority resisted the lure of nationalism and the Sacred Union. As war heroines, nurses, godmothers, munitions workers, workers and volunteers of all types, wives, and mothers, women experienced an exceptional moment when their social usefulness and patriotic sentiments were being recognized. They were then clearly included in the nation. And feminists saw in this a decisive step towards suffrage. This female patriotism, expressing the desire of citizenship, endured between the two world wars (Thalmann 1990) and was exemplified by the natalist and familist engagement of many moderate feminists. Motherhood, the *patriotism of women*, was sometimes compared with military service: exercising citizens' duties, women deserved the rights of citizens. The presence of women in all political parties was also a manifestation of a push for political integration.

Women's suffrage tended to become a means of realizing a program at once specific (the extension of the rights of women) and general (social progress and the construction of a durable peace). In the 1930s the fight against fascism was added but did not necessarily imply renouncing pacifism. More than suffragist/feminist political action, it was women's involvement in political formations, from the left to the right, including the far right, that marked the period before World War II (1939–1945) (Kandel 1997) in those countries that had implemented universal suffrage, as well as in those that were delaying it, such as France.

OPPOSITIONS, DIVERSIONS, HALF-MEASURES, RESTRICTIONS, AND CONDITIONS

At the end of the nineteenth century, antifeminist discourse masked the defense of masculine privileges by invoking the superior interests of the family, institutions, and the nation. It justified inequality in the name of *nature*, unequal herself, which has made women physically weak and psychologically fragile beings, yet *protected* by the existence of the patriarchal family and of a social order in which each must keep her or his place. To these arguments, imbued with a scientific weight, accrued fantasmic fears of the *devirilisation* of men and the excessive power of women, fantasies that were not the monopoly of any political camp (Bard 1999).

Although conjectures on the suffrage of future female voters diverged, with each camp foreseeing a risk of reinforcing the opposing one, both sides at least agreed on the fear of an irrational vote that would only benefit the political extremes. The lack of political maturity of women, often invoked, was one of the justifications for voting in stages, a learning process to begin at the municipal level. This conditional suffrage was thus adopted at first in Canada (1917), in Ireland (1918), in Great Britain (1918), in Georgia (1918), in Belgium (1919), in Rumania (1929), and in Turkey (1930), sometimes with a very long delay between this limited suffrage and civil equality, as in Portugal (1931–1976). In Belgium women participated in municipal elections as early as 1919 but had to wait until 1949 to cast their first legislative ballot.

Following World War I, proposals for the *vote of the dead* were glaring proof that women were still not recognized as individuals: In 1918 Belgium instituted, at the same time as male universal suffrage, voting rights for widows who had not remarried and for mothers of combatants killed by the enemy (as well as for war heroines). In several countries voting was at first restricted to certain categories of women. In the United Kingdom the 1918 law introduced an age differential (only women over 30 could vote) that allowed men to keep the majority of the voting body until 1929, when voting majority age became the same for both sexes. In Portugal, where Roman Catholic influence on the dictatorial regime established in 1926 was strong, voting rights were first given to graduates of secondary or higher education, then in 1946 to married women, and finally in 1968 to all women, except in municipal elections, which were reserved for male heads of families (Cova 1997).

Proposals for a *familial vote*, attributing one or several extra votes to the male head of the family, according to the number of his children, also limited women's suffrage (Talmy 1962). The Vichy government included this familial voting, put forward by the Roman Catholic right in France between the two wars, in its proposed Constitution (whose promulgation would be denied by the German occupying forces). The contemporary extreme right remains attached to this modification of suffrage (Lesselier 1997).

Is it easier, then, to envisage the access of women to governing towns and cities than their access to national representation? The nomination or, in some cases, the election of female municipal councilors with only consultative power in 1930s France was favorably received. The Vichy regime then decided to name a *qualified* woman on social issues to the municipal councils of large cities. It was easier to give in on eligibility than on suffrage proper. In March 1944, at the Algiers Assembly, eligibility alone was considered by the commission on reforming the State. In several other countries, the right to be eligible preceded the right to vote: in the United States (1788 and 1920), in Norway (1907 and 1913), in the Netherlands (1917 and 1919), in Belgium (1921 and 1948), in Spain (six months apart 1931), except in Canada (1920—with restrictions—1960 and 1918) and in Turkey (1934 and 1930).

NATIONAL DISPARITIES: DEBATES AND INTERPRETATIONS

The various analyses of national differences regarding the access of women to suffrage vary according to whether they privilege philosophical reasons, political or politically minded ones, or conjuncture. Much has been made, for instance, of the *French delay*. According to Pierre Rosanvallon (1992), the utilitarian English model allows an easier inclusion of women as a specific group, whereas French-style universalism resists this type of differentialism. This thesis is, however, lacking in nuance. Not only does France not have the monopoly of the *ideas of 1789* and of universalism, but such monocausal explanations cannot be resorted to. The comparative study of the access of women to suffrage in European and North American countries reveals other obstacles or accelerators in the process.

In Europe the gap between northern and southern countries is very clear. The Scandinavian advance is remarkable. Before 1914 women were voting in Norway and in Finland. Such precocity suggests that a broadening of censitary suffrage and a late implementation of male suffrage facilitate the inclusion of women by giving suffragists historical moments to weigh in on the debate. On the contrary, in France, the early date of universal male suffrage in 1848 and the lessons on the dangers it posed to democracy that Republicans drew from it explain in part the long delay in granting women's suffrage. In France women became electors with greater ease when the political vote was not particularly sacralized and where other forms of voting were well established in social, professional, educational, and religious practices. In contrast the reformist method favored by Anglo-Saxons facilitated the political inclusion of women, as well as the proportional ballot list, whereas the *revolutionary* method and the uninominal ballot had the contours of a more *brutal* masculine world (Rudelle 1997).

Changes in regime also seemed to provide circumstances favorable to the political inclusion of women: in Russia (1917), in Germany (1918), or in Spain (1931), nascent republics marked the authenticity of their democracy with the suffrage of women .

Another favorable circumstance was the participation of women in the constitution or defense of a nation, as in Finland or in Norway, that allowed "them to transgress the traditional separation of roles but also to acquire a collective identity and a place in that imaginary community constituted by the nation" (Rochefort 1998, p. 39). Later, the examples of Ireland and Poland show that "the political freedom of women is tied into the freedom of nations" (Rudelle 1997, p. 577). In Europe after World War I women in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, and Lithuania obtained the right to vote. In Turkey the young secular republic recognized the equality of political rights. But Romania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes remained indifferent to suffragist demands.

Spain was the first Latin country to implement universal suffrage in 1931. It would be tempting to invoke a contrast with Protestant cultures to explain that lateness were it not that Catholic countries such as Ireland (1928) or Poland (1918) also granted the right to vote to women relatively early. The fact that Pope Benedict XV (1845–1922) approved women's suffrage in 1919 removed obstacles: Catholic suffragist movements developed, and conservative parties rallied to their side, among other reasons because they saw in it a useful rampart against bolshevism. In 1924 Italian and Spanish women obtained a partial right to vote: These authoritarian regimes allowed no more than a moderate suffrage. In Italy, Spain, and Portugal the era of truly universal suffrage only opened with the end of dictatorship.

Finally, one has to take into account the rapport between the sexes. The *sex ratio* is one such element: women's access to the vote was faster in immigrant countries where women are a minority in the electoral body, as in New Zealand, in Australia (where Aborigines of both sexes remain deprived of citizenship until 1967), and in certain states of the American West, such as Wyoming where (white) men and women had the same political rights since 1869. Finland and Norway, pioneering countries in Europe, were also little affected by demographical unbalances linked to male emigration. In contrast there was strong reticence in Great Britain where women were a majority (1.5 million more than men among a population of 45 million). In France, during the last debate of March 1944 on this very question, many anxieties were still voiced concerning an electorate *dominated* by women and even more so due to the absence of prisoners of war.

The judicial status of women is another important element. Wherever the Napoleonic Civil Code persists, women reach citizenship more slowly, which is not the case in *common law* countries where the rights of married women were recognized already in the nineteenth century. In France this emancipation was late: A law of 1938 gave wives certain civil rights, but the need to secure the husband's authorization to exercise a profession was only abolished in 1965, and parental equality did not come to pass before 1970.

Finally, the relation between the emancipation of women and the emancipation of populations deprived of civil rights (ethnic minorities and colonized people) would call for further study. For instance, some French women suffragists found it illogical that a minority of Senegalese would have the right to vote at the end of the nineteenth century. The question of priorities reappeared in 1936 regarding the civil rights of Algerians. The law of 7 May 1946 that confirmed citizenship within personal status in Algeria only concerned men, and women had to await the law of 29 September 1947 to obtain identical rights (article 4), which only became effective in 1958 in the midst of the Algerian war.

Thus, in half of the countries in world women only acquired the right to vote in the second half of the twentieth century. In non-European and non-North American countries, the suffrage of women has a recent history, linked to national independence and to the nature of the ruling regimes (Seager 1998). Universal suffrage, for that matter, still does not exist everywhere.

SEE ALSO *Hierarchy; Sex, Race, and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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SUICIDE BOMBERS

SEE *Terrorism.*

SUPERHEROES

Superheroes developed in newspapers, comic books, radio and television programs, and films of the early twentieth century and have clustered in two traditions in competing comic book companies: DC Comics' traditional costumed crusaders and Marvel Entertainment's more psychologically complex heroes. Further deconstruction followed a landmark pair of graphic novels from 1986, Frank Miller's *The Dark Knight Returns* and Alan Moore and Dave Gibbon's *The Watchmen*, which ushered in an age of superheroes who reflect a postmodern condition of cultural dislocation and even antiheroism. Despite these modifications the superhero continues to affirm the fantasy of a masculine universe.

GENDER IMPLICATIONS OF THE SECRET IDENTITY

The gender template for the superhero was forged by Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster's Superman in the first issue of *Action Comics* (1938). The "man of steel" embodied power, invulnerability, and extraterrestrial mobility for an age of technological advancement. Moreover, as Umberto Eco argued in his 1979 essay on Superman, he reinforced masculine values of individualism, moral superiority, mastery over his environment, and a resistance to domestic demands. Replaying the plot dynamics of the typical Western hero who opts for the rugged frontier rather than settling down with a female admirer, Superman repeatedly rebuffs Lois Lane in order to protect his secret identity as Clark Kent, a bashful reporter. In this way, the hero reinforces a gender ideology popularized in the nineteenth century in which men were permitted to inhabit opposing realms, both the private and public spheres, whereas women were relegated only to the private. Though Lois

Lane is a workingwoman and thus occupies a public space, the superhero's split identity recodes gender divisions according to a new form of privilege. Only the male hero can move fluidly between two identities; Lois Lane and others remain rooted in one.

The duality of Superman's hero–wimp identity presents an allegory of Western middle-class masculinity of the mid-twentieth century. For example, Gary Engle (1987) reads Superman as a metaphor of the ideal immigrant, who uses normally hidden alien characteristics for the betterment of his foster community and whose rapid shifts between normally fixed social categories enacts a fantasy of mobility rooted in American frontier mythologies. Alternatively, for Eco, Clark Kent incarnates a mythic chastity, or ''parsifalism'': ''the bashful embarrassment of an average young man in a matriarchal society'' (1979, p. 115). To most critics, the superhero's dualism represents identity as a conflict between internal and social constructions of the self. While the powerful public self is masked and rendered theatrical in a flamboyant costume, the unmasked, private self must be kept just as secret. What distinguishes Superman from most subsequent superheroes is that his ''normal'' identity as Clark Kent is the costume; as Superman, he is free to be the alien he is. Subsequent superheroes exhibit a reversal of this role so that the superhero identity symbolizes a fantasy projection of the original ordinary self.

The secret identity and its gender implications endure in television superheroes who nuance Superman's hero–wimp paradigm, such as the African American teen Static Shock or the various members of the Justice League and Teen Titans. Notably, Spider-Man, like Captain Marvel or Shazam, represents a fantasy of identity split between extremes of age and maturity. Spider-Man's alter ego, troubled teen Peter Parker, transforms into a crime-fighting adult. Some heroes such as the Hulk or the Fantastic Four reflect the dual model of identity but dispense with the secrecy. For Batman, duality hinges on social location and temper: a carefree luminary of the wealthy as Bruce Wayne, but an obsessive, shadowy vigilante in superhero form.

THE SEXUALITY OF BATMAN

Notwithstanding Batman's unquestioned iconic status as a superhero since his first appearance in *Detective Comics* in 1939, certain representations of the character's sexuality have been the subject of questioning by critics and fans. Early comic books showed the ''caped crusader'' as a brutal vigilante epitomizing the moody, selectively lawless, and obsessive behavior of the film noir detective. But after teaming up with Robin, who first appeared in 1940, and causing a surge of hero-sidekick spin-offs in the 1950s, Batman became the target of a homophobic censorship campaign launched by the psychoanalyst Fredric Wertham, who, in 1954, famously accused DC Comics of portraying Batman and Robin as a gay couple (especially in repeated scenes of mutual rescue) and of inciting young readers to homosexuality. As Andy Medhurst (1991) notes, the campy 1960s television show of Batman satirically added to the claim that the hero as well as the accoutrements of superhero mythology—tight costume, boyish sidekick, secret lifestyle—suggested queer sexuality. Claims about the sexuality of the hero, then as now, have less to do with the details of the superhero's fictional universe than with America's penchant for arguing over sexuality and gender normativity through such symbolic figures as the superhero.

SUPERHEROINES AND GENDER DIFFERENCES

Since Wonder Woman's early acclaim as the first and sometimes only female in the pantheon of superheroes, superheroines have experienced a recent boom influenced by such television warriors as Xena (aired 1995–2001) and Buffy the Vampire Slayer (1997–2003). As with *Daredevil*'s introduction of the assassin Elektra (1981), *X-Men* revolutionized the superhero genre beginning in 1975 with its multicultural team equally supported by heroines such as Rogue, later incarnations of Jean Grey, and Storm, and spawned other female heroes who occupied more central and aggressive roles than the defensive positions allotted to the Fantastic Four's Invisible Girl or the Avenger's Scarlet Witch. But whereas television and film audiences of female superheroics may be more varied in age and gender, comic book readers for the two largest companies (DC and Marvel) still tend to be adolescent males between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. Some critics point to this readership as shaping the continued objectification and marginalization of female characters even with the trend toward incorporating formerly excluded gender identities such as stronger women and gay characters such as Alpha Flight's Northstar, the Authority's couple Midnighter and Apollo, and Ultimate X-Men's Colossus. Male homosexuality in Marvel teams may be seen as a continuation of a tradition established by the Fantastic Four in organizing superheroes around dysfunctional families that galvanize disparate outcast figures according to a principle of tolerance.

Nevertheless, as Norma Pecora argues (1992), even in such familial dynamics the masculine universe of Batman and Superman prevails, championing male dominance and mastery alongside concomitant representations of ''civilian'' women as either victim or vixen. Nor do superheroines exhibit great variation in appearance. Though superpowered, most are reduced to voluptuously buxom objects of visual consumption, unlike the male heroes who show a greater range of body types.

Regardless, then, of a relative trend toward power sharing in the superhero universe as more women fight alongside or against Spider-Man, Wolverine, and Batman, the regulatory sexualization of the female body reduces these would-be wonder women to stereotypes that fall short of the protofeminist agenda some critics, such as Lillian Robinson (2004), read in the earliest *Wonder Woman* comic books. The psychologist and gender theorist William Moulton Marston (pen name, Charles Moulton) created Wonder Woman in 1941 to provide young female readers with an archetype who combined valued feminine qualities of peace loving and tenderness with underrepresented qualities of strength, force, and power. Nevertheless, as a site of male gender disciplining, the objectifying conventions of superhero illustration disrupt the very forays into progressive gender politics (cyborg sexuality, transgender, nongender, etc.) that superhero stories increasingly undertake.

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Michael A. Chaney

SURROGATES, SEXUAL

Sexual surrogate partners are women and men with professional training who function in place of an individual's nonexistent sexual partner in the course of sex therapy using a short-duration, delimited-boundaries, psychosocial/behavioral therapy model. As specified in the code of ethics of the International Professional Surrogates Association (IPSA), typically a surrogate partner will work with a client who is simultaneously being seen by a therapist, who directs the therapy as one member of the therapeutic triad of the client, therapist, and surrogate. As such, the therapist and surrogate consult prior to the surrogate's work with the client, and again later, as the surrogate is able to bring insights to the therapist for processing with the client following their social and/or sexual interaction. Those surrogates who work with clients without the supervision of a therapist are generally considered disreputable and outside contemporary professional standards for this type of therapy. Typically, also, for legal, ethical, or therapeutic reasons, therapists will not use sex surrogate therapy with clients who are married or have a regular sexual partner. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, sexual surrogacy remains a controversial practice in the United States, with complex legal, moral, ethical, professional, and clinical implications. Yet it continues to be of interest to many potential surrogate practitioners and clients.

Therapists and surrogates will work with clients of any sexual orientation for a variety of sexual dysfunctions or other sex-related emotional and social problems. Some surrogates specialize in working with persons specially challenged by various physical or psychosocial limitations; in some environments, these persons are prevented from having social interactions in which to meet potential partners, which sometimes limits their social or sexual skills. Vena Blanchard, president of the IPSA, highlights some of the populations found to benefit from this type of therapy:

> The most common client referred to [surrogate partner therapy] is a heterosexual male with a combination of sexual and emotional inhibitions or dysfunctions that have delayed or inhibited his entry or re-entry into physically and emotionally intimate relationships—this includes mid-life virgins, men abused as children, and men troubled by rapid ejaculation, inhibited ejaculation, and erection difficulties. Female clients are referred to [surrogate partner therapy] to resolve debilitating negative body image, anorgasmia, vaginismus, mid-life virginity, sexual shyness, and sequelae of childhood abuse.
>
> *(Personal communication, June 5, 2006)*

Although surrogate partner therapy has been found to be a highly effective adjunctive therapy model for resolving such issues, the use of this type of therapy appears to have been steadily declining since its introduction by William Masters and Virginia Johnson in 1970 (following a decade of experience developing it) and its peak in the early 1980s. Some of this decline, which began in the mid-1980s and persisted for about a decade, can be attributed to the fears surrounding AIDS that began to surface at the time, as noted by Raymond J. Noonan (1995, 2004). Despite signs that this decline was reversing by the close of the millennium, the introduction of Viagra, and the concomitant "medicalization" of sex therapy with various other drugs designed to enhance sexual performance for both women and men, have since accelerated the decline. This reflects, in part, the simultaneous decline in the use of traditional forms of sex therapy overall in favor of pharmaceutical solutions. Julian Slowinski, William R. Stayton, and Robert W. Hatfield (2004) note the criticism of these quick-fix solutions and the discovery by many couples and individuals that mere sexual functioning often does not address the complex emotional and interpersonal problems that can disrupt and destroy intimate relationships—the very issues on which sexual surrogate therapy tends to focus. Many surrogates and therapists believe that the healing process inherent in surrogacy is because of two factors: on the emotional level, the psychological processes of transference and counter-transference provide experiential material that the therapist can address, while the teaching and learning of sexual and relationship skills provide the behavioral component.

Both prospective clients and the general public often ask the question, what do sex surrogates actually do? Within the context of surrogate therapy, Noonan (1995, 2004) found in a 1984 survey of sex surrogates that they provided more than just sexual service for their clients, spending about 87 percent of their professional time doing nonsexual activities. In addition to functioning as a sexual intimate—which, in its various manifestations, involved only about 13 percent of their therapy time—the surrogate functioned as educator, counselor, and cotherapist, providing sex education, sex counseling, social-skills education, coping-skills counseling, emotional support, sensuality and relaxation education and coaching, and self-awareness education. The results indicated that most of the surrogate-client interaction was spent outside of the sexual realm, suggesting further that surrogate therapy employs a more holistic methodological approach than previous writings, both professional and lay, would seem to indicate. Clearly, the sex surrogate functions far beyond the realm of the prostitute, a common misconception among some members of the public—and some professionals and politicians—that still persists.

In 1988 Dean C. Dauw noted that little in-depth research had been conducted about surrogates, their effectiveness, or their appropriateness in working with specific sexual dysfunctions, a situation that has persisted into the twenty-first century. A number of other research questions exist that also need to be answered about surrogate practice in light of the various changes that have occurred with respect to sexual health issues in the four decades since surrogacy's inception. The reasons for this lack of research are unclear. Perhaps it has as much to do with the general antisexualism that remains a part of American culture as it has to do with the litigiousness that has become a predominant focus of American life, and the reach of managed healthcare provisions that tend to foster simplistic pharmacological remedies for what are often larger biopsychosocial sexual problems. Further, the fact that sexual partner surrogates are themselves a relatively small group of individuals, with many not affiliated with established professional sexuality organizations or networks or possibly trained in idiosyncratic therapeutic protocols, may also serve as an impediment to such research. Although anecdotal reports exist for heterosexual male clients' work with surrogates, little is known about heterosexual female clients' or both female and male gay clients' experience with surrogates.

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Raymond J. Noonan

SUSANNA AT HER BATH

The apocryphal story of Susanna and the elders, dated circa sixth century BCE, became a favorite subject of painters of the early modern period. Although it is not in the Hebrew text of the book of Daniel, it was transmitted through the Greek Bible and in versions that derive from it. The Latin and Greek Orthodox Church have always considered this story as part of the book of Daniel, and it is cited as a canonical text as early as Irenaeus and Tertullian, and by Origen in the Epistle to Julius Africanus.

In the story Susanna (in Hebrew, "lily"), a most virtuous and beautiful woman, wife of Joakim, a rich and respected member of the Jewish community in Babylon, decides on a hot day to take a cool bath in the garden. Overhearing this, two elders or judges who had been visiting her house, after pretending to leave, return with illicit desires. Spying on the naked Susanna, they tell her that they will accuse her of adultery with a

Susanna and the Elders ***by Joseph-Marie Vien.*** THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEE DES BEAUX ARTS NANTES/DAGLI ORTI.

young man if she does not satisfy their lust. This would bring the death penalty upon her, according to the law.

In this dire predicament, Susanna cries out in despair. As the alarmed maids arrive, the elders accuse Susanna of coupling with a young lover. The following day everyone is assembled for the judgment, as the two elders pronounce their false accusation against Susanna. They claim that Susanna sent away the maids and lay with the young man who was hiding and got away when the two elders unsuccessfully tried to capture him, and that Susanna would not reveal his name to them. They solemnly testify to this accusation. Everyone believes them because of their reputation and prestige. Susanna is condemned to die based on this false charge, but she prays fervently to the Lord, being a woman of faith and virtue, asking God to come to her rescue. Her prayer is heard and the Lord fills with holy spirit a youth named Daniel, who cries out loudly that this woman is innocent: "I am clear of the blood of this woman." Daniel interrogates the two elders separately and proves that they are lying because they contradict one another. One states that they saw the two copulating under a mastic tree, the other under an oak. The two elders are unmasked and sentenced to death, and Susanna's virtue and reputation are reestablished. Daniel's wisdom is acclaimed by the people, and his prophetic spirit praised.

The story of Susanna has been of great interest to painters and other visual artists because of the inspirational character of Susanna's beauty and virtue, as well as her perseverance and faith in her God. Some painters have portrayed the episode in an erotic and sensuous vein, whereas others have placed emphasis on her virtue. Feminist scholarship has interpreted Susanna as an example of male violence, patriarchal hegemony, and abuse. Indeed, the portrayal of the scene by Artemisia Gentileschi (c. 1597–c. 1651) projects pain and modesty, the objectification of the woman, her fright and shame, while also showing the beauty and shapeliness of her naked body, as well as the wicked pose of the two elders. It is interesting to compare Gentileschi's version with that of her contemporary Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), as well as with renditions by other artists, such as Jacopo da Empoli (1554–1640); Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619), the Bolognese painter who rejects the erotic and focuses on the virtues; Il Guercino (1591–1666); Rembrandt (1606–1669); Tintoretto (c. 1518–1594); and a contemporary artist such as Vasili Ryabchenko (1991). Van Dyck's painting appears in the film *Psycho* (1960) by Alfred Hitchcock, suggesting male violence and a parallel with the movie's plot. Gus Van Sant's 1998 remake of *Psycho* substitutes another painting (possibly, according to Donato Totaro, a Titian, *Venus with a Mirror*), which would change the narrative intention.

Because of the multiple allegorical dimensions of the episode, the story of Susanna and the elders is of considerable interest to feminists, artists, biblical scholars, and also film critics.

SEE ALSO *Art; Erotic Art; Gaze; Nude in Visual Arts.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

SVENGALI

The term *Svengali* refers to a person who attempts to control another person using hypnosis, suggestion, or personal charm, often with evil intent. A Svengali is usually a male who influences a female to do his bidding, which often consists of performances, such as singing, and deeds, which may be everything from murder to sexual favors, that profit the Svengali and are not remembered by his victim. The term is archaic in contemporary culture, hypnosis and other such mind-control techniques having lost their mysterious appeal.

The term comes from the name of the evil villain in the English author George Du Maurier's 1894 novel *Trilby*. In the novel a cruel, brutal, unsuccessful middle-aged musician named Svengali, who is described as an "Oriental Israelite Hebrew Jew," uses his hypnotic powers to control a beautiful young woman named Trilby. Through hypnotic suggestion, Svengali commands that Trilby sing, which she does so successfully that Svengali is able to live off her concert fees in luxury. When not under a posthypnotic command to perform, Trilby is tone-deaf; Svengali's bullying and control of her behavior dominates her life and exploits her being. Through the course of the novel Trilby remains completely unaware that she has been hypnotized. Immediately before what will be her last performance, Svengali has a heart attack and is unable to command that Trilby sing. She tries to fulfill her concert demands but is unable to carry a tune. As a result of the abuse she receives for her failed performance, Trilby has a nervous breakdown and dies the next day.

The character Svengali is singularly unattractive and unsavory. He represents not only nineteenth-century anxieties about mind-control techniques, which were a subject of interest, but also connections made between the occult and orientalism that exist today. Curiosity about mind-control techniques began in the eighteenth century with the work of Franz (or Friedrich) Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), a German doctor who developed a technique that came to be called "mesmerism," which put his patients into a trancelike state. Mesmer believed that the technique depended on his ability to align the magnetic elements of the body, but he never understood the extent to which his technique was really a form of hypnosis.

Hypnosis is a state of consciousness in which the hypnotized person focuses attention on sensory experiences and ignores the outside world. Hypnosis was practiced by ancient Egyptians and Greeks who understood how to produce trances through a subject's fascination with a moving point. A hypnotist can also induce hypnotic trances by hypnotizing a patient through the repetition of monotonous words and phrases. While in a hypnotic trance, subjects may remember details they have forgotten in conscious life, or overcome chronic pain, anxieties, depression, eating disorders, and addictions to nicotine. As no one can be hypnotized against his or her will, the kind of situation represented in *Trilby* is highly unlikely; the exploitative and gendered power relation between a cruel hypnotist and his suggestible subject is more an allegory of gender exploitation than a feature of actual psychoanalytic treatment.

In the nineteenth century, techniques such as Mesmer's were employed to help cure women of hysteria, believed to be caused by a wandering womb and to produce symptoms such as nervous tics, loss of speech, coughs, and anxiety disorders. Psychoanalysis, which was only beginning to develop ways to cure women afflicted with hysterical symptoms, eventually adapted some of Mesmer's techniques, especially his way of touching patients, or laying on hands. The renowned French doctors Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893) and Pierre Janet (1859–1947) sometimes deployed hypnotism on hysterical patients, while surgeons began performing operations with patients under hypnosis. Charcot's charisma and control over his patients as well as the general sway of hypnosis used as a mode of treatment became the topic of several contemporaneous fictional works, including Léon Daudet's 1894 novel *Les Morticoles*, several novels by Alexandre Dumas père in the "Marie Antoinette" series, and Guy de Maupassant's 1887 short story "Horla." Both E. T. A. Hoffmann and Thomas Mann also wrote stories about the powerful interpersonal forces of hypnotism.

The hypnotic treatments performed by Charcot and other medical doctors stimulated a genre of stage hypnoses performed by nonmedical hypnotists and charlatans. Subjects, usually attractive young females who were conditioned to hypnotic suggestion, were commanded to perform various feats on stage at the behest of their controllers. Famous stage hypnotists included Charles Lafontaine, Auguste Lassaigne, and the more disreputable Ceslav Lubicz-Czynski and Franz Neukomm, who reputedly hypnotically suggested his subject's death.

The Svengali form of abusive hypnosis also became the subject of cinema, most famously in the 1931 film *Svengali*, an adaptation of Du Maurier's book, starring John Barrymore as Svengali and Marian Marsh as his hapless singing subject. Many versions of Du Maurier's novel were made into films, beginning with *Trilby and Svengali* in 1911, and appearing again in 1914, 1927, 1955, 1978, 1983 (starring Peter O'Toole and Jodie Foster), and 2004. In 1946 there was even an animated film titled *Svengali's Cat*. Other films about mind control include the innovative German expressionist film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919), which features a somnambulist, Cesare, who is made to murder victims under the control of a magician, Dr. Caligari.

The idea of controlling innocent, often delicately balanced women was a fascination of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that seems to have faded. The mystical quality of hypnotism gave way to the sense of deception and trickery fostered by stage charlatans. Hypnosis itself, though used as a treatment for eating disorders and nicotine addiction as well as some memory recovery, is no longer taken seriously as a mode of exploitation and interpersonal control. Hypnosis is more often referred to jokingly, while the character type represented by Svengali and linked with such other evil controlling figures as vampires has disappeared or been transformed into the emblems of other cultural anxieties, such as greedy self-help gurus who milk their victims for money while promising self-improvement.

SEE ALSO *Seduction.*

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Judith Roof

SWINGING

Swinging consists of sexual activity between one married or committed couple and other couples or individuals. Because it most often involves trading partners for an evening or a short period, it also has been called wife swapping and mate swapping. Less commonly, couples engage in sexual activity with individuals rather than other couples, generally preferring single women to single men. Swingers are typically heterosexual couples; gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals and couples participate in this lifestyle to a much lesser degree.

Typically, swingers are educated professionals who are socially conservative in most other aspects of their lives. They feel that swinging adds excitement, stability, and longevity to a marriage. It relieves the monotony of sex with a single partner while avoiding the problems associated with secret affairs. Some swingers also enjoy the deviant aspect of the activity and seem more willing to experiment with nontraditional sex acts with unfamiliar swinging partners than with their own spouses. Although some swingers retreat to separate rooms for private sessions, others remain in a common room where they can enjoy watching their spouses with other lovers or being watched by their spouses. Such practices add elements of exhibitionism and voyeurism.

Swinging became more popular and more visible in Great Britain and the United States beginning in the 1960s, a decade marked by increased sexual freedom and tolerance. Beginning in the 1990s, new groups of swingers formed that were limited to attractive young adults under age forty. These groups usually are in urban locations in European cities such as London.

A swing is a sex toy used by individuals and couples of all sexual orientations during sexual play or intercourse that suspends one person in a small hammocklike harness hung from the ceiling or a sturdy stand. It has several adjustable straps that support the occupant's back, buttocks, and feet or legs so that the occupant can lie or sit comfortably at many different angles. Once in the swing, the occupant has a great degree of mobility both from side to side and, because of a spring component, up and down. Some swings also rotate 360 degrees, allowing for a spinning movement. The swing makes the rider seem weightless, eliminating the typical top-bottom arrangement in which one partner's weight is pressing on the other. It therefore allows for longer periods of sexual activity and a greater number of sexual positions for intercourse, oral sex, and masturbation. Using a swing aids oral sex, since the giver can remain largely stationary while the receiver is swung back and forth. Additional benefits for intercourse include ease of movement so that the back-and-forth movement of the receiver's body replaces the thrusting movement of the giver. Many feel that it allows easier access to the G-spot in women for both a penis and a dildo.

Because the person in the swing is supported and held in place by straps of leather or other materials, participants may feel heightened pleasure from the association with bondage play. Although sex swings are distinctly less restricting than the slings and harnesses used for bondage play, a similar dynamic is created as a result of the imposed passiveness or submissiveness of the rider and the active or dominant role played by the other partner.

SEE ALSO *Adultery.*

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SWITCHHITTER

The term *switchhitter* is slang for bisexual. It is an epithet to describe an individual who is attracted to both sexes and implies that the individual is either indecisive in his or her sexual orientation or self-serving in his or her sexual behavior. Among users of American English, baseball is a metaphor affirming sexual prowess: the act of running each base suggests increased sexual activity between individuals in a relationship. *Switchhitter* as a metaphor, however, is not affirming. Whereas in baseball a switchhitter is a batter who can hit from both the right and left sides of the plate—a skill of versatility that is an asset to a team because the batter can strategize against both left- and right-handed pitchers—switchhitter as a metaphor has a negative connotation regardless of the community in which it is used. When employed by members of the gay community, it often describes an individual who treats same-sex relationships as temporary. Within heterosexual communities, switchhitter often describes an individual who deviates from heterosexuality either experimentally or temporarily. Both uses suggest a switchhitter will assert his or her heterosexual privilege eventually. As such, the epithet reinforces binary categories of sexual identity and reveals a social anxiety with bisexuality.

Other epithets used interchangeably with switchhitter include *swings both ways* and *AC/DC* (a metaphor based on electricity). The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the year 1956 as the earliest published use of *switchhitter* in literature, and the word first appeared in the *Dictionary of American Slang* in 1960.

SEE ALSO *Bisexuality.*

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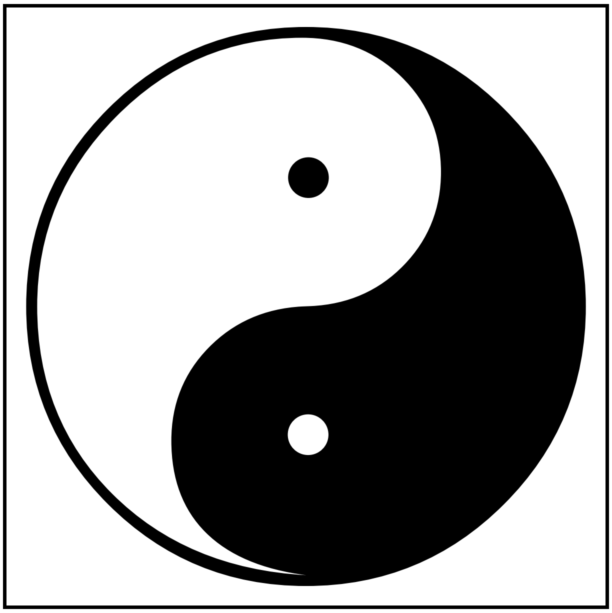
Johanna Frank

SYMBOLISM

Gender as a structure of binary opposites has been the most potent of all symbols of differentiation. Since the earliest beginnings of civilization, since the most ancient and simplest cultural elaboration, difference has been symbolized in compliance with the tenets of gender difference. Gender therefore may be defined as the symbolic elaboration of biological difference.



Yin-Yang. *The two fundamental principles, one negative, dark, passive, cold, wet, and feminine (yin) and the other (yang) positive, bright, active, dry, hot and masculine.* THOMSON GALE.

SYMBOLIST THEORY

Symbols signify what something is and what it is not, for it is the function of a symbol to express a polysemy, to contain and to convey ambiguity. Therefore a symbolist approach to gender is particularly able to grasp the ambiguity of gender relations.

The invention of the symbol is a creative act that rests on the ability to see a thing as what it is not (Castoriadis 1987). Symbolic understanding is therefore generated on the borders of ambiguity, where being and nonbeing merge, where the indeterminate is about to transform itself into the determinate, and where possibilities are latent or emergent.

For example, in Chinese culture the yang–yin symbol represents the dualistic distribution of forces between the active, masculine principle ("yang") and the passive, feminine one ("yin"). This distribution is symbolized by a circle divided by a sigmoid line indicating the dynamic interpenetration of the two principles. The light half of the figure is the "yang" force and the dark one the "yin" force, but each half contains a small circle of the opposite shade symbolizing that each principle contains the germ of the other. This symbol is a cross-section of a helicoid structure that links opposites and generates constant movement—a metamorphosis through contrary positions and situations. The vertical axis at its center constitutes the "mystical center" where there is neither turbulence, nor impulse, nor suffering. The three levels of signification are therefore present in this symbol, just as they are in other Hindu or Hebrew symbols that elaborate sexual difference as separation and inseparability.

As set forth by Juan Eduardo Cirlot (1971), symbolist theory is based on the following principles:

1. There is nothing that does not matter. Everything expresses something and everything is meaningful.
2. No form of reality is independent. Everything stands in relation to something else.
3. The quantitative is transformed into the qualitative at certain essential points which constitute the signification of quantity.
4. Everything is serial. Seriality includes both the physical world (the spectrum of colors, sounds, shapes, landscapes) and the spiritual world (virtues, vices, sentiments).
5. There are correlations of situation among different series, and of meaning among series and their constitutive elements.

Take, for example, the symbol of the sword. First there is the object in itself, stripped of every relation; next is the object in its instrumental function; finally is the object in its symbolic function to denote a general meaning, one which is often ambivalent and allusive. The multiplicity of meanings is never chaotic, however, because it moves to a shared rhythm. Thus the sword, iron, fire, the color red, the god Mars, the Rocky Mountains, are interconnected and meet in a symbolic direction of equal siginficance: the desire for psychic determination and for physical destruction. These symbols unite with each other; they call upon each other because of the inner affinity—the shared rhythm that enables connections to be established among the diverse levels of reality.

Rationality and emotionality clearly belong to that continuum of symbolic values that delineates gender: the male, the rational, the public, activity, separation, thought, the mind, hardness, coldness, and the vertical, as opposed to the female, the emotional, the private, receptivity, connection, sentiment, the body, softness, warmth, and the horizontal.

In contemporary society the symbolic fabric is much more fragmentary, complex, and chaotic than it was in traditional societies. Bureaucracy has exalted legal-rational thought. As Barry Turner argues, it has institutionalized an organizational society and a "rational, linear, denotative style of thought which thins out the symbolic density of cultural meaning arrays, which are then further fragmented by the prolific and sometimes incestuous transformations which we daily inflict upon all kinds of symbolic representations" (Turner 1992, p. 63). The difficulty in understanding symbolic representations stems from the nature of the symbol, which is so much the *significans* as to be indeterminate and constantly to defer its *significandum*, and which requires an indirect language, one that establishes relations and conserves transformative power.

For example, two symbols of gender relations—the sexual contract and the alchemic wedding—can denote, respectively, the opposition and the transformation that the gender relation may bring about as the male and female reciprocally define each other. The image of the contract and that of the wedding are symbolic representations of the separation and inseparability of the genders. It is the dialectic between these two images that produces the symbolic order of gender that sustains a specific cultural form.

THE SYMBOLIC ORDER OF GENDER

The symbolic order of gender that separates the symbolic universes of the female and the male sanctions a difference whereby what is affirmed by the One is denied by the Other. As the literary theorist Jacques Derrida (1978) observes, the One and the Other draw meaning from this binary opposition, which forms a contrast created ad hoc that maintains a hierarchical interdependence. The interdependence-based symbolic order is a relational order that rests upon difference and the impossibility of its definition. Male and female are undecidable; their meaning is indeterminate and constantly deferred.

The origins of the widely used concept of *difference* warrant examination. *Difference*, as defined by Robert Cooper and Gibson Burrell, means a form of self-reference "in which terms contain their own opposites and thus refuse any singular grasp of their meanings" (Cooper and Burrell 1988, p. 95). In order to stress the processual nature of difference, Jacques Derrida (1978) coined the term *différance*, which in French is pronounced the same as *différence* and incorporates the two meanings of the verb *différer*: defer in time and differ in space. Male and female are not only different from each other (static difference) but they also constantly defer each other (processual difference), in the sense that the latter, the momentarily deferred term, is waiting to return because, at a profound level, it is united with the former. The difference separates, but it also unites because it represents the unity of the process of division. Therefore the symbolic order of gender accommodates two ways of conceiving gender difference: as two separate terms—male and female—and as a process of reciprocal deferral in which the presence of one term depends on the absence of the other.

Like the mystical center of the yang–yin symbol, the situated meaning of gender stays at the point of intersection between the voice of static difference and the voice of processual difference. Because of their multi-individual dimension and supra-individual duration, male and female as symbolic systems possess a static aspect, which creates a social perception of immutability, of social structure and institution. But male and female is also a social relation dynamic whereby meaning is processually set out within society and individual and collective phenomena. As Silvia Gherardi (1995) notes, the symbolic order of gender is static difference and processual difference. It is the product of their interdependence: The impossibility of fixing meaning once and for all sanctions the transitoriness of every interpretation and exposes the political nature of every discourse on gender.

Gender symbolism is an approach that does not seek to posit a subjectivity of women or men in oppositional terms. It instead reflects the essential indeterminacy of the symbolic order of gender, governed as it is by the endless process of the difference and deferral of the meaning of male and female. It introduces a concept of subjectivity in which the subject is open-ended and indeterminate except when it is fixed in place by the culturally constituted symbolic order of gender.

Symbolist researchers in gender relations have the following distinctive features:

- They are qualitative researchers who prefer to see things through the eyes of the subject.
- They are interested in gender meanings, in the process of their attribution, in how they are sustained, and in the way that some gender representations prevail whereas others disappear.
- They are participative researchers, who know that they are part of the production of meaning and of the narration of stories, as both the narrating and the narrated subject.
- They are the products of contextual understanding of actions and symbols, not only because they are inseparable but also because all symbols are value-laden and meaningful only in terms of their relationship to other symbols.
- They are wanderers among the realms of knowledge seeking to reconstruct the links among the various levels of reality created by a symbol through individual symbolic production, the collective unconscious, and artistic production: the immanent with the transcendent, the mental with the physical, with action, with transformation.

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Silvia Gherardi

SYPHILIS

Syphilis is a bacterial infection caused by the *Treponema pallidum* spirochete (a spirochete is a type of bacterium that is thin, long, and coiled in shape). Called the *great pretender* or *great imitator*, syphilis has a number of signs and symptoms that may mimic those of other conditions.

Syphilis is a sexually transmitted disease/sexually transmitted infection that most commonly occurs in people aged twenty to twenty-nine. Women aged twenty to twenty-four and men aged thirty-five to thirty-nine are the most likely groups to be diagnosed with syphilis. In the early years of the twenty-first century, the majority of syphilis cases have occurred in men who have sex with men.

T. pallidum uses minor cuts or abrasions to enter the body, and the infection is typically contracted by direct contact with a syphilis sore, which is called a chancre. Infection can occur with oral, vaginal, or anal sex. In addition, women who are pregnant can transmit the disease to their fetuses (called congenital syphilis). Sores are most commonly found on the external sex organs, vagina, rectum, or anus; they can occur, however, in other places (e.g., in the mouth, on the lips).

Less likely means of transmission include transfusions of infected blood, direct intimate contact with an infected partner's chancre (e.g., through kissing), or a transfer to a health-care provider during an examination or procedure. Transmission via blood transfusion is extremely unlikely because the spirochetes cannot survive long in stored blood and the blood supply is screened for syphilis. Syphilis is not spread through casual contact (e.g., commodes, pools, clothing, kitchen utensils), likely because *T. pallidum* is highly sensitive to light, air, and temperature fluctuations.

STAGES

Infections of syphilis may progress through four stages. The infection may be spread during the primary, secondary, and early latent stages as well as from a pregnant woman to a fetus. In the primary stage the infection is usually evidenced by one sore, although there may be more than one, at the site where syphilis entered the person's body. Most often the point of entry is the penis, vagina, or vulva, but it could be another spot (e.g., lips, tongue, cervix). Typically, there is an average of twenty-one days (range ten to ninety days) between infection and evidence of a sore.

Chancres are normally small, hard, painless, and round. Chancres are usually present for three to six weeks and then heal. In approximately two-thirds of cases, lymph glands in the area will be swollen. Because chancres are often small, painless, and inside the body, they can easily be overlooked. Without satisfactory treatment, however, syphilis continues into the secondary stage.

In the secondary stage, common symptoms are rashes on the skin and lesions in mucous membranes. This stage usually begins with a skin rash, often one without itching, which may appear red or reddish brown in color. The rash typically emerges two to ten weeks after the chancre, following or during the healing of this sore. Although the rash may appear on one or more places on the body, frequently, such rashes appear on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet. Rashes may be light, challenging to see, and mimic those associated with other conditions. Other symptoms may occur during this stage of syphilis, including sore throat, fever, fatigue, aches, hair or weight loss, swollen lymph glands, and headaches. Regardless of whether treatment is administered, these symptoms will fade; without satisfactory treatment, however, disease progression may continue.

A third stage of the disease is the latent stage, which begins with the end of the symptoms of secondary syphilis. Early in the latent stage an individual may have no symptoms; however, one can infect others. When in late latent syphilis the risk of infecting others diminishes; without treatment, however, progression to the tertiary stage, a relapse into secondary-stage symptoms, or transmission of the disease to a fetus by a pregnant woman can occur. It is also possible that the signs and symptoms of syphilis may disappear and never return.

The final stage of syphilis is the tertiary stage, which is sometimes referred to as late syphilis. In this stage a subset of people receiving no treatment will develop serious health complications. After entering the body syphilis moves through the bloodstream, attaching to cells and damaging internal organs as time passes. By this late stage of the infection, damage to the body's internal organs (e.g., brain, heart, eyes, liver, joints) may have occurred. Although this damage takes place over time, it may not be evident for several years. In fact, individuals may have syphilis and not exhibit symptoms for a considerable period of time; nevertheless, they may still be subject to late-stage complications. Symptoms of this stage include coordination difficulties, blindness, and dementia. The damage incurred may even cause death.

CONGENITAL SYPHILIS

Syphilis can be transmitted to a fetus at any stage of pregnancy. Estimates suggest that more than half of pregnant women with untreated syphilis may infect their fetuses, and that nearly half of babies with congenital syphilis will die. Passing syphilis to a fetus increases the likelihood of miscarriage, premature birth, stillbirth, and newborn death. Babies who are infected with syphilis may not exhibit any signs of the disease, but prompt medical treatment is needed or health conditions may worsen. If untreated, babies with syphilis may experience slower development, seizures, or death. Other health conditions in babies born with syphilis include sight and hearing problems, bone irregularities, joint swelling, and misshapen teeth (i.e., screwdriver-shaped teeth, called Hutchinson's teeth).

DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT

Because it shares symptoms with so many other diseases, may have no symptoms, or may have symptoms that disappear, syphilis can be challenging to diagnose. In the early twenty-first century, there are two methods for diagnosing syphilis—examination of material from a chancre under a dark-field microscope, which can detect syphilis bacteria, or via a blood test, which will detect syphilis antibodies. All pregnant women should have this blood test to avoid the complications of infecting the fetus. If diagnosed with syphilis pregnant women should be treated immediately. During the second and third trimesters of pregnancy, infected fetuses may be cured by treatment.

If treated during the initial stages, syphilis is easy to cure. A penicillin injection is the typical treatment for individuals who have had syphilis for less than one year. For those who have been infected for more than a year, additional doses are needed. For individuals with penicillin allergies, other antibiotics (such as doxycycline and tetracycline) can be used. Penicillin treatment is more effective when used early rather than as the infection progresses. It is important to note that treatment stops the infection but does not repair previous damage. Also, persons can be reinfected. Although no effective alternative treatments exist for syphilis, rest, reduction of stress, and appropriate exercise can aid the results of taking antibiotics.

The availability of penicillin in the 1940s led to a dramatic decline in syphilis. Prior to penicillin arsenic- or bismuth-based treatments yielded some effectiveness. Early ineffective treatments included guaiacum (a wood gum) and mercury, which was inhaled, swallowed, or rubbed into the skin. Even malaria was used as a treatment, especially for tertiary syphilis, because some individuals with high fevers seemed to recover from syphilis, and then the malaria could be treated with quinine.

In the early twenty-first century, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) recommends screenings for individuals at risk. Further, individuals treated for syphilis should refrain from sexual contact until sores have healed and inform sexual partners so that they can be tested. The majority of syphilis transmission occurs from people who are undiagnosed. Because sores can be hidden (e.g., in the mouth, vagina, or rectum) and symptoms absent or difficult to diagnosis, one may not know a partner is infected. Also, chancres increase the likelihood of contracting and transmitting HIV.

ORIGINS

The origin of syphilis has been debated for several centuries. Three hypotheses now predominate. One hypothesis suggests that syphilis began in the New World and was taken back to Europe by sailors traveling with explorers, such as Christopher Columbus (1451–1506). This theory is also referred to as the Columbian explanation or

Incan Clay Figure of a Man with Syphilis. © BETTMANN/ CORBIS.

Columbian exchange perspective. A second is that syphilis existed in the Old World but was confused with leprosy until medical diagnosis allowed practitioners to distinguish between the two illnesses. This perspective is also called the pre-Columbian view. The third suggests that syphilis emerged on both continents evolving from yaws and bejel, diseases caused by other bacteria in the genus with *T. pallidum*. Recent work in paleopathology favors the New World as the source.

SEE ALSO *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

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Joy L. Hart

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TANTRA

Tantra refers to a variety of religious paths that developed mainly in northern India perhaps as early as the third century CE among Buddhists, Hindus, and Jains, although it took several centuries to achieve widespread influence. Its practitioners seek divine or magical powers, and one of its essential features is an abundance of female symbolism. These include divine females such as Śakti, Kālī, Tārā, Vajrayoginī, and various *ḍākinīs* and *yoginīs*, usually depicted in their fierce forms, as well as an emphasis on the *pīṭhas* (centers of goddess worship) created when pieces of the goddess Śakti's dead body fell off as her husband, the god Śiva, dancing madly in his grief, carried her on his head (Sircar 1973). Additionally, there is the symbolic or actual use of menstrual blood (and semen) in rituals and the valorization of female-identified substances such as Primal Matter (*prakṛti*), attributes such as wisdom (*prajñā*), and the energy of the universe (*śakti*). These last two are also the terms used for goddesses who are worshiped as the consort (Hindu: *śakti*; Buddhist: *prajñā*) of a male god or of celestial Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

In the early twenty-first century, Tantra survives among Buddhists in the Himalayan countries of Tibet, Nepal, and Bhutan; in Japan in the Shingon and Tendai schools of Buddhism; among exiled Tibetans everywhere; and among Hindu groups especially in the Indian states of West Bengal, Orissa, and Kerala, as well as in Indonesia. In the Hindu context there are three main Tantric sects, those who worship Viṣṇu/Kriṣṇa (Vaiṣṇavas) as the supreme deity, those who worship Śiva (Śaivites), and those who worship the Goddess (Śāktas, from *Śakti*). The last two are sometimes hard to distinguish because they are perceived as being inseparable. The Tantric Bāuls of India and Bangladesh respectively emphasize Hindu and Muslim forms of devotion. Both Buddhist and Hindu Tantric practices are also flourishing in North America and Europe.

The Tantric ideal type is the *siddha* (from the word *siddhi*, supernatural power) or *sādhu* (holy man), wandering yogis who are also wonder-workers, and both are also referred to as *tāntrikas*. Tantric practices (*sādhanās*) often take place at night and in cemeteries in order to avoid the prying eyes of the noninitiated and to conquer the fear of death. The behavior of *tāntrikas* is often designed to shock people, to break social taboos that keep people from seeing Ultimate Reality in which there is no right or wrong. There were and are women *tāntrikas*, but most often the tradition is oriented toward and described from the male point of view.

PRACTICES

One of the unique elements of tantric ritual are the "five m's" (*pañcamakāra*): wine, meat, fish, parched grain, and sexual union (respectively, in Sanskrit, *madya*, *māṃsa*, *matsya*, *mudrā*, and *maithuna*). The first four are described as aphrodisiacs and lead up to the fifth, actual or symbolical sexual union. Theoretically, there are two forms of practice: the right-handed path (*dakṣiṇāmārga*), which uses substitutes for the first four and visualizes the fifth, sexual union, and the left-handed path (*vāmāmārga*), which imbibes these substances and involves ritual sexual intercourse. In point of fact though, left-handed practice also frequently uses substitutes and visualization. Generally, Indian left-handed practitioners were wandering yogis, while right-handed practitioners were traditional Hindu priests (brahmans). A similar situation arose in Tibet where freewheeling Tantric practices were fairly widespread among nonmonastics, both householders and wandering yogis, while a more rationalized Tantra flourished in the monasteries. There were, however, exchanges between the two groups.

The five m's are forbidden to orthodox Hindus because they are polluting, but the Tantric practitioner, Buddhist or Hindu, ritually uses these forbidden substances to get beyond the concepts of good and evil, forbidden and allowed, and to achieve an experience of the ultimate union of all opposites, even of female and male. In both Hindu and Buddhist Tantra reality is one, but it is understood through a process of conceptual and intuitive polarization, or duality, symbolized in terms of gender. For instance, in Hinduism śiva is conceptualized as passive Intelligence while śakti (energy) is active Primal Matter; from these two everything else in the universe arises, yet they are really one. In Buddhism the gender is reversed into passive *prajñā* (or insight), which is feminine, and active *upāya* (skillful means), which is male. In both traditions, though, these poles merge philosophically through the doctrine of the oneness of the universe, experientially through ritual practices, and visually through representations of divine sexual union. Through visualization practices during rituals or meditation the adept seeks to merge with the deities, or the Buddhas, and their consorts. So Tantric practice can be theistic and nondualistic, and it stresses the essential divinity of humanity.

Historically, the vast majority of Tantric practitioners were and remain men, while Tantric texts (*tantras*) specifically address men as the active ritual participants and refer to women solely as consorts to men. Ritually, women participants are often only passive partners for male adepts, when not actually excluded from parts of the ritual (Bharati 1975), or completely absent as in many right-handed practices where the female is only visualized. In many texts, when ritual sex does occur, the man is instructed not to ejaculate; instead the goal is to reverse the flow of semen and in some cases to absorb the female's sexual fluids, thus enhancing the male's spiritual powers and denying the female any share of the spiritual power thought to be contained in his semen (Hayes 1995). In other words, ritually speaking, *actual* women are frequently passive, secondary, and/or absent, while *symbolic* women (e.g., goddesses and other divine women) may temporarily be active but finally they, too, will be absorbed back into the Absolute. Tantra is essentially a *theoretical* valorization of the *feminine*, and as such has had very little impact on the lives of the vast majority of Buddhist and Hindu women.

Sexual union, whether enacted or visualized, involves the belief that women inherently possess something men do not. In the Buddhist tradition it is *prajñā* that advanced male practitioners can access and appropriate through sexual yoga. For female practitioners, men are the source of *upāya*, which women can access and appropriate through sexual yoga. From the male point of view, which is the dominant view, during sexual union the adept, who will lose any spiritual benefit if he ejaculates, absorbs his consort's red drops (uterine fluids), mixing them with his white drops (semen), which he then absorbs through his penis up through his body to the top of his head (White 1996, Marglin 1986 [1982]). The female's red drops are not necessarily red, as they are also referred to as the vaginal secretion a woman is believed to ejaculate during intercourse—in other words, the female equivalent of semen.

THE SUBTLE BODY

Tantra uses the body as the means to salvation, and human beings are said to have both a physical body and a subtle body. *Cakras* (meaning wheel or a circle) are mystical points or centers in the subtle body, and while they can be experienced during meditation, they have no actual physical reality. Most essentially they are both symbols for and stages of spiritual experience that are perceived in physical, mental, and cosmic terms. Five or seven *cakras*, depending on the system, are aligned along the spine of the subtle body. The verticality of this arrangement describes the understanding that one first activates the *cakra* at the root in the torso and then gradually ascends up through each one in turn. In Hinduism, activation is brought about by awakening the Kuṇḍalinī, the female serpent power lying coiled and dormant around the first *cakra*, which is the goddess herself. This is accomplished through esoteric forms of yogic meditation and body postures, especially those that teach breath control and thus control of energy or the life force of the subtle body. Kuṇḍalinī is the energy (*Śakti*) that enlivens each *cakra* in order to awaken its powers. As the Kuṇḍalinī rises, the practitioner's consciousness is raised. When it reaches the highest *cakra* at the top of the head all dualities fall away, and there is only the divine oneness. (Feuerstein 1998).

ḌĀKINĪS AND YOGINĪS

Because visualization is another important part of Tantric practice, there is a rich legacy of Tantric art, including the geometrical designs of mandalas and yantras; major sites such as Khajuraho in India, well known for its highly erotic elements; and goddesses and other divine women. In Buddhist art *ḍākinīs* represent both the immanence and transcendence of enlightenment as well as the dangers that must be overcome. They can be beautiful, voluptuous, seminude women or terrifying, wrathful animal-headed females. In their most ancient form *ḍākinīs* were known as malevolent and dangerous demonesses or human witches who fed on human flesh and could inflict all kinds of suffering on humanity. To a large extent, they continue in this guise in Hinduism where they are members of Śiva's retinue in his fierce form known as Bhairava. In Buddhism *ḍākinīs* were converted into initiation goddesses and guardians of Buddhism. They continue to have an important place in Indo-Tibetan texts, iconography, and rituals. They remain, however, highly ambivalent and therefore dangerous beings. Being initiatory goddesses, they have important salvational roles and they also represent wisdom (*prajñā*), which they can bestow along with *siddhis* (supernormal powers). They do this through dreams, visions, or sudden appearances in various forms, such as old, disgusting women; dogs (a despised animal in India); or young, beautiful women. They make frequent appearances in the biographies of Tibetan saints.

Yoginīs are most compellingly depicted in Hindu iconography and temple architecture, where they too represent immanence and transcendence in their ability to cross over between the divine and human realms (Dehejia 1986). *Yoginī* is the feminine form of the masculine noun *yogi*, and thus can refer to human women who do non-Tantric yoga or who practice Tantra as well to divine female beings. Sometimes *yoginīs* appeared as wild, devouring females who would consume the sexual fluids and/or fetuses of their human victims, while at other times they are described as bestowing blessings and powers. As they are absorbed into Tantric practices, the emphasis shifts from women preying on men to men controlling these divine women in order to gain power (*siddhi*) from them.

Initiates sought worldly powers, such as sovereignty and bodily immortality (*jıvanmukti*), through direct sexual encounters with the *yoginīs*. Rituals were established to draw semidivine *yoginīs* down from the sky into human *yoginīs*, the Tantric consorts of the male adepts, and roofless, circular temples were constructed to enable their easy descent. Just as female practitioners were believed to be possessed by the semidivine *yoginīs*, the male adepts were similarly believed to be possessed by semidivine *siddhas*. In contrast to non-ejaculatory practices, the male adepts would ritually offer the *yoginīs* their semen, for which the *yoginīs* exchanged their own sexual discharge. The sexual discharge of the *yoginī* was understood to be the divine fluid of the universe, and receiving it was the point of the ritual. The male partner was able, following ejaculation, to draw up into himself the sexual discharge of his female partner (White 1996). For their part, the female consorts also gained powers from the exchange; the basic idea is that men fed the *yoginīs* the bodily constituents they craved, for which the *yoginīs* bestowed *siddhis*. The *yoginī* cult is all about obtaining magical power here and now, not liberation in the hereafter. Varieties of the *yoginī* cult flourished from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, and in some places it continued into the early sixteenth century, after which the cult and its temples were for the most part abandoned.

Although worshipers of the *yoginīs* believed in the supremacy of Śakti, the divine energy of the universe personified as the Great Goddess (*devī*), at the center of their temples there is or was an open shrine dedicated to Śiva, usually in his fierce form as Bhairava. Śiva is the consort of Śakti and has his own powerful cult. The central presence of his shrine, however, is further evidence for the containment of these originally wild, independent goddesses within a male-dominated cult.

IMAGES

The *yab yum* couple is one of the most ubiquitous images of Tantric Buddhist art. Representing the sexual union of divine beings with their consorts, these images strive to express the oneness of the two necessary elements for the generation of enlightenment—wisdom (Skt: *prajñā;* Tib: *shes rab*), a passive female principle, and skillful means (*upāya; thabs*), an active male principle—joined together on the plane of ultimate reality. The bliss they experience arises from their apprehension of the essential emptiness (*śūnyatā; stong nyid*) of all existent beings and objects. In Tantric Buddhism the couple is imaged either standing or seated, never lying down. This is in contrast to Hindu images that sometimes depict the goddess Kālī straddling the prone and dead body of Śiva. In the Buddhist tradition, these images are created only for initiates and are meant to be seen only by initiates; they function as supports for meditation and as objects of worship.

Theoretically, the female Buddhist practitioner can mix her partner's semen with the uterine fluids within her body, absorbing and carrying them up to the top of her head, but this requires that he shed a few drops during coitus, or ejaculate, in which case he loses any spiritual benefit for himself. Alternatively, visualization practices allow a woman to visualize herself as a man, and men can visualize themselves as women.

TANTRA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The academic study of Tantra began under colonial rule by British administrators and by nineteenth-century Indian reformers who were deeply influenced by Western values. Thus Tantra was filtered through the disapproving lens of Christianity (Urban 2003, p. 179).

A great deal of the Western understanding of Hindu Tantra centered on the dark and fearsome goddess Kālī. Kālī is usually depicted in a dynamic pose that suggests continual movement, with black skin, a bright red tongue sticking out of her mouth, four arms, a voluptuous, nude body ornamented by a necklace of decapitated heads, and a short skirt of severed arms. She is destructive, sexual, and redeeming—an all-powerful goddess who slays demons, resides in cremation grounds, and gets drunk on the blood of her victims. In India she accepts blood offerings, meaning animals are sacrificed to her, yet she is familiarly and lovingly referred to as Ma (mother) by her devotees. The early-twentieth-century nationalist movement reclaimed her ancient image as a war goddess and reinterpreted her preference for receiving the sacrifice of a white goat to mean a white person. Other Hindu groups have denied or reinterpreted the confrontational aspects of Kālī, especially her fierceness, sexuality, and martial nature. For example, in Bengal, in northeastern India, her image has been softened and beautified, she is thought of as the cosmic mother, and animal sacrifice to her has been somewhat marginalized. Further south in Orissa Kālī has been reinterpreted to encourage female self-control and self-restraint, an interpretive move that enables men to maintain their sense of male superiority and their social power over women while acknowledging female power as the supreme force in the universe, but only when encapsulated by self-restraint.

Recent Western feminist interpretations of Tantra, especially those of Miranda Shaw (1994) and Rita Gross (1993), suggest it is a liberating spiritual path for Western women, which indeed it may very well be, especially for women who are comfortable with vivid heterosexual imagery. Part of the appeal of Tantra for feminists is its emphasis on practices that use and thereby seem to affirm, the body—often the locus of negative views about women in other traditions, including Hinduism and Buddhism—and on desire as a spiritually liberating force. Not all women converts are feminist, however, and some are quite hostile to the goals of feminism, which they see as conflicting with their spiritual goals (Klein 1995). At the same time, a broader spectrum of Westerners has appropriated Tantra as a spiritual path that affirms sexuality or as a depository of sexual expertise that can be exploited for personal pleasure.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Hinduism; Kama and the Kama Sutra; Sexuality.*

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Serinity Young

TATTOOING

Tattooing is the permanent marking of the body by means of ink or other dye inserted under the skin with a needle or other sharp object. Tattooing has been a common practice in many cultures throughout human history. In North America, for much of the twentieth century, tattooing was considered a particularly male activity, engaged in by sailors, gangs, and motorcycle clubs. In the late twentieth century, however, tattooing moved increasingly into the mainstream, and it has become quite common for both men and women to get tattoos. For many people, the decision to be tattooed is deeply personal and significant; tattoos often mark special events, rites of passage, or choices in an individual's life. For women in particular, tattooing is often conceived as a reclamation of one's body and a declaration of one's independence. Similarly, the prevalence of tattooing in gay and lesbian culture is often understood as a

Tattoo Artist at Work. AP IMAGES.

means of rejecting or negotiating a heterosexually normative culture. Tattooing is also common in certain sexual subcultures—most notably among those practicing bondage and discipline, domination and submission, and sadomasochism (BDSM). Although the erotic implications of tattooing are oddly underexplored, many have noted the sensuality of decorated skin, the eroticism of the penetration of the skin by another, the "curious marriage of pleasure and pain" brought on by tattooing (Parry 1933), and the intense rush of adrenaline and endorphins that accompany and follow the procedure.

HISTORY

Evidence suggests that tattooing is almost as old as human culture. The oldest known tattooed human body is that of Ötzi the Iceman, a prehistoric man estimated to have died some 5,300 years ago. Tattooed mummies have been found in Siberia and in Egypt, and archaeological evidence suggests that cultures in the Pacific, Europe, Asia, and North and South America practiced tattooing. Maori tribes in New Zealand practiced extensive tattooing, particularly on their men, which served as marks of rank and achievement. Tattooing in Samoan cultures, for both men and women, served as a rite of passage, marking the transition into adulthood.

In the eighteenth century, Captain James Cook and the crew of the HMS *Bounty* reintroduced tattooing to Europe. Cook's expedition to the South Pacific had exposed him and his crew to the practice of tattooing among natives of the South Pacific. Upon their return, Cook's crew introduced tattooing to port communities throughout England, where tattooing established its long association with both sailors and the lower classes. Cook's science officer and expedition botanist Joseph Banks, however, had also received a tattoo in the South Pacific, and he instigated a rage for tattooing among the upper classes that lasted until the turn of the twentieth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century, numerous European kings had tattoos and even upper-class ladies—including Winston Churchill's mother—were often tattooed.

In the United States, tattooing in the early twentieth century was primarily associated with the lower classes; it was commonly practiced by immigrants and sailors. Tattooing retained its association with lower-class, male activity for much of the century. Tattooing, done on men by men, was used as a mark of membership in street gangs, motorcycle clubs, and in the military, and in the mind of the general public was often associated with criminality. The eroticism of tattooing has long gone unacknowledged among such groups, although erotic tattoos—tattoos of nude or semi-nude women, tattoos of sexual slogans or activity, or tattoos on or near genitalia—were common. Heavily tattooed women, though rare, were displayed and popularized as erotic objects in carnivals and freak shows in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Captivity narratives that depicted the women being abducted and involuntarily tattooed by a "savage" usually accompanied these displays.

Beginning with the counterculture movement of the 1960s, tattooing has become increasingly mainstream. It has been popularized by celebrities, including actors, musicians, and athletes, who openly wear their sometimes numerous tattoos. A 2003 study estimated that 16 percent of the U.S. population had one or more tattoos, while rates of tattooing among young adults and in the gay and lesbian community were around 30 percent. In contrast to the earlier predominance of male tattooing, men and women appeared to receive tattoos in roughly equal numbers (Harris Poll). In spite of this move to the mainstream, however, tattooing can still incur a social stigma. Most employers discourage visible tattoos, and very heavily tattooed individuals remain outside mainstream culture.

TATTOOING AND SEXUALITY

In his 1933 study of tattooing, Albert Parry suggested that "[t]attooing is mostly the recording of dreams, whether or not the tattooed are aware of it" (p. 2). As such, Parry argued, tattooing had inherent links to human sexuality, as the tattooed designs were necessarily reflective of a person's innermost, often unconscious, desires. Parry's study remains the most comprehensive treatment of the sexual nature of tattooing. Though some tattoo enthusiasts have suggested that Parry has somewhat overstated the connections between sex and tattooing, many agree that tattoos and tattooing do have sexual connotations. Serious studies of this connection, however, have largely been stymied by the unconscious nature of the desire that Parry identifies and, as Samuel Steward (1990) notes, are further compromised by the reluctance or inability of many tattooed subjects to articulate the erotic implications of their tattoos.

Tattooing has long been used to enhance sexual attractiveness, however. Archaeological evidence suggests that tattooing in ancient Egypt was confined to female dancers, singers, and concubines. In Japan, tattoo shops were at one time typically housed in brothels, and prostitutes commonly sported tattoos designed to be alluring or sexually provocative. Certain tribes of Borneo and Papua use tattooing as a means of enhancing the beauty and sexual attractiveness of their girls and women (Scutt and Gotch 1974). In the United States, women in particular are likely to believe that their tattoos render them more sexually attractive, and studies of North American tattooing practice suggest that even where getting a tattoo is conceived as a declaration of ownership of one's body, women often choose its size, design, and location in response to perceived notions about sexual attractiveness and availability.

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Maureen Lauder

TELEVISION

SEE *Media.*

TEMPTATION OF SAINT ANTHONY (IMAGE)

Saint Anthony the Great, born in Central Egypt about 251 CE (died c. 356), followed the call of the Gospel to abandon all riches and, in imitation of established local ascetics, went to live in the deep desert, the *Panerémos*, around 285. In about 305 he emerged as a spiritual guide to disciples in the cenobitic community at Scetis (modern Wadi Natrûn), returning to the eastern desert near the Red Sea five years later. He went to nearby Alexandria once during the persecution of the Christians and once to support Bishop Athanasius (c. 296–373) against the Arian heresy.

The prototypical eremitic saint, living for God alone through contemplation and total abstinence, Anthony is one of the holy men of the desert, *abba*, or *apa* (father), venerated in both Eastern and Latin Christianity. Abba Hilarion (291–371) refers to him as "pillar of light, giving light to the world," (*The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* 1975, p. 111).

His vita, written by Athanasius, served to direct the early monastic movement, also expressing platonic and stoic views. It details the saint's struggles, first against worldly thoughts (his sister, the honors of the world), then "impure thoughts," stirred up by the Devil impersonating a tantalizing woman, or appearing as a "black child" representing "the spirit of fornication" (Munnich 1996, p. 98–99). There follows full-fledged combat against armies of demons, their teeming multitude pitted against the obdurate solitude of the saint, as they beat and flail him fiercely and then try to terrorize him through nightly shape-shifting visions. Deeply gendered, the saint's vita opposes the "manliness" of his fight against the demons, commended by Christ after Christ watched him fight (Voragine 1993, pp. 93–96), to the mollifying effect of seductive women, agents of destructive lust. The *Sayings* thus underscore the power of sexual temptation, stating: "He who wishes to live in solitude in the desert is delivered from three conflicts: hearing,

Temptation of Saint-Anthony. ***By Hieronymus Bosch.***
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speech, and sight; there is only one conflict with him and that is with fornication" (1975, p. 3).

Whereas "The myth of the desert was one of the most abiding creations of late antiquity . . ." (Brown 1988, p. 216), Anthony's proximity to demons was particularly arresting to the European imagination. Following a passage in St. Jerome's *Life of Paulus the First Hermit*—as medieval texts retold, and manuscripts illustrated—a centaur, a satyr, and a wolf steered Anthony's search for Paul (Voragine 1993, Walter 1996). It is to be noted that these three creatures were symbolically marked as aggressively male. The combination of demons and the habitual melancholic pose of the saint in iconography suggested to Maxime Préaud that Anthony is a demonic figure himself, connected to Saturn, Wotan, and the Devil. The saint's association with a dreaded devastating disease, a form of erysipelas called Saint Anthony's fire that he could inflict as well as cure and was perhaps metaphorically linked to burning temptation, may have reinforced his ambiguity in popular religion.

The implied struggle with sexual drive and seduction and the visual potential of a fantasy and visionary world filled with demons contributed to articulate the Temptation of Saint Anthony as a distinctive and prolific pictorial theme, especially among Flemish artists from the fifteenth century well into the seventeenth. The Temptation also inspired Gustave Flaubert's nineteenth-century short decadentist tale, *Tentation de Saint Antoine* [The temptation of Saint Anthony]. Among the many versions of the theme are two Temptations by Hieronymous Bosch (1450–c. 1516; Madrid, Lisbon), two by Jan Mandyn (1500–c. 1560; Haarlem and Rome), three by Pieter Huys (c. 1519–c. 1581; Paris, Antwerp, and New York), one attributed to Joachim Patinir (c. 1485–1524) or Quentin Matsys (c. 1465–1530; Madrid), plus drawings by Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (1484–1530), Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525–1569), and Jacques Callot (1592–1635).

Temptation iconography seized upon the encounter with demons and developed it from separate instances of lures and snares into a single, multifaceted onslaught on the saint's serenity, carried out by a motley cohort of demonic creatures. The enticing woman was increasingly foregrounded in this iconographic theme. One of her earliest representations is on the fourth of eight predella panels by the Siennese Master of the Osservanza (active 1425–1450; Yale, University Art Gallery) in which Anthony encounters a winged but modestly attired woman en route back to his cell. In another, (Venice, Correr Museum) that has been attributed to the enigmatic Henry (Herri) Patenier, perhaps a relative of Joachim Patinir; or Herri Met De Bles, also known as Il Civetta, *Little Owl* (c. 1510–1550), two young women with large breasts and heavy necklaces are presented by a female purveyor with deer's antlers. Huys (Paris, Louvre) depicts the scene with a naked courtesan, her thighs and belly painted or tattooed, in the lower middle of the composition, and by her side a veiled woman and a hunchbacked hag with owl and distaff. In the work attributed to Patinir or Matsys, women offer an apple to the saint; among them, a wrinkled old woman exposing her breasts. All in all, a hagiographical legend that exiled and erased women from the narrative itself gave rise to a pictorial tradition that reinserted them on the basis of unflinching sexual power.

SEE ALSO *Art; Catholicism; Folk Healers and Healing; Symbolism.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

TERRORISM

As with other forms of violent conflict, terrorism intersects with questions of sex and gender. Terrorism is the systematic and preferential targeting of civilians not directly involved in war work for essentially psychological and political effect. As such it is distinct from war crimes, government repression, and guerrilla warfare, although groups that engage in terrorism often also engage in guerrilla warfare, especially in urban areas. Although some terrorists act for social or class issues, beginning in the final decades of the twentieth century, the overwhelming majority of terrorists have acted in national, ethnic, or sectarian and/or religious causes.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN TERRORISM

Most terrorists, as with other perpetrators of organized violence, historically have tended to be young men. The individual or small-group nature of terrorism, as well as the requirement to operate in a civilian environment, creates special opportunities or even advantages for females. During the French–Algerian War (1954–1962) the Algerian Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) used women (called fire carriers) to smuggle bombs out of the Kasbah. Those women exploited the gender rules of both sides of the conflict. Sometimes they hid their bombs under the flowing robes of Islamic modesty; at other times they wore fashionable European garb and distracted young French soldiers by flirting with them. One female terrorist, Jamila Bouhired (b. 1935), was lauded as the Algerian Joan of Arc after her capture. In the Palestinian struggle against Israel, Leila Khaled (b. 1944) was an early terrorist heroine.

The development of the technique of suicide bombing by the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka in the 1980s and 1990s gave greater visibility to women in an organization that systematically recruited both male and female adolescents as well as female young adults, such as the "'belt-bomb girl' who assassinated Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi" in 1991 (Hudson 1999, p. 139). Female suicide bombers also became a standard part of the second, or *al-Aqsa*, *intifada* of Palestinians against Israel after November 2000. Originally the bombers were men, but after the attack by suicide bomber Wafa Idris (b. 1975) in January 2002, there were increasing numbers of women suicide bombers. The use of female suicide bombers had a number of advantages, some general and some specific, to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Female bombers are harder for the Israelis to search and identify. The use of women also shames men, including male Arab governments, for their less aggressive attitude toward the state of Israel. Finally, such female fighters appear to contradict the European and North American image of Arab and Muslim women as oppressed creatures who need Israeli or Europe's and North America's help to liberate themselves.

TERRORISM AND GENDER ROLES

The entry of women into a previously male domain can threaten gender categories, especially in a symbolically fraught activity such as terrorism. Because terrorism was employed so frequently by revolutionary organizations that regardless of their specific causes also defined themselves in global-leftist terms, the participation of women could be defended as part of the universal emancipatory project. Frantz Fanon (1965) for example, argued that the involvement of women in the Algerian revolution (including their manipulation of traditional Islamic clothing) would spell the end of traditional patriarchal values and traditions.

With the Islamic revival increasingly replacing secular leftist nationalism as the chief ideological underpinning of Palestinian resistance, gender politics became more complicated. When Idris opened the path to female suicide bombers, some of her admirers were quick to compare her self-sacrifice to the superficial, beauty-oriented, and consumer-driven lives of liberated women in Europe and the North America. Most female suicide bombers have acted on behalf of the relatively more secular and Fatah-connected al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade and its offshoots.

The Islamic (and Islamist) resistance organization, Hamas, has taken a more nuanced view. It accepts women's participation in all aspects of clandestine activities, including the transport of explosives, but considers the actual act of purposefully blowing oneself up to be inappropriate. Sheik Yassin (c. 1937–2004), the spiritual and political head of the Hamas movement until his death at Israeli hands, first took the position that women could act in that capacity but only when accompanied by a chaperone, that is, the *mahram* (male relative) who protects a woman's virtue and reputation when she goes out into the world. Subsequently, the sheik decided that women could venture out alone if they did not expect to return but that the movement had no need for female suicide bombers for the foreseeable future.

Female suicide bombing interacts with traditional gender roles in complex ways. There is considerable evidence that many female suicide bombers, especially the earlier ones, were socially marginalized—in a sense, disposable—women. Idris, for example, was a childless divorced woman whose prospects for remarriage were limited. Other women appear to have been persuaded to sacrifice themselves to buy off shame associated with their or other family members' sexual or national improprieties, such as having family members who worked with the Israelis. Thus, at least in some cases, female suicide bombing can double as a form of honor killing, the practice in which a woman is killed so that her blood can wash away the shame to the family associated with the commission of or even the reputation for of sexual impropriety.

A lesser form of gender involvement seems to operate with the Chechen Black Widows, whose suicide terrorism has mixed explicit vengeance for their dead husbands with the national and religious cause. Both Tamil *Black Tigresses* and Kurdish women of the anti-Turkish Partiya Karker Kurdistan (Kurdistan Worker's Party, or PKK) have alleged that their actions were revenge for rape at the hands of government authorities.

SEXUAL ASSOCIATIONS OF TERRORISM

Although neo-Freudians, especially Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957), long have argued that political violence is a result of sexual repression, there are specific reasons to connect sex with the Islamic cult of suicide bombing of the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It is probably not accidental that the would-be male martyrs are promised, and appear to look forward to, sexual congress with the seventy-two virgins in Paradise (taken literally by the main Islamic backers of suicide terror). Further, martyrs and their handlers often speak of suicide operations as weddings. The resulting ritualized invocations seem to operate as a cult that brings together sex, suicide, murder, and blood (there are many references to the blood of the martyrs and that of the Jewish victims). The blood of defloration is associated with marriage in the Arab tradition as it is in other Mediterranean traditions. In the Arab mentality there is a preexisting association of the blood of the consummated marriage with that of political violence.

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Allen Douglas
Fedwa Malti-Douglas

TESTOSTERONE

SEE *Hormones: II. Sex Hormones.*

THIRD SEX

The term *third sex* originated in the late nineteenth century among sexologists as a way to describe homosexual men and lesbians. It did not carry the moral or legal stigma of *sodomite*, and suggested an innate or biological factor existed in behaviors that fell outside traditional categories of male and female. However, it also conflated same-sex desire with gender variance. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs used the word *Urning* in the 1860s to describe a third sex male being who desired other men; Richard von Krafft-Ebing used the term *sexual invert* to describe a similar being in his 1886 *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds followed suit in their 1896 study, *Sexual Inversion*, and Edward Carpenter followed the third-sex model in his 1908 work, *The Intermediate Sex*. The notion of sexual inversion insisted on a two-gender system, regarding homosexual men as women trapped in men's bodies and homosexual women as men trapped in women's bodies. The notion of an intermediate sex offered possibilities beyond two genders, allowing for three or more genders, with at least one of these being neither male nor female.

The ascendancy of psychoanalysis in twentieth-century Europe and North America, with its interest in sexual desire, spelled the demise of the third sex model. *Homosexual*, coined in the 1860s, eventually replaced such terms as *urning*, *invert*, *intermediate type*, *third sex*, and *psychic hermaphrodite* to describe subjects with same-sex desires. *Female homosexual* became interchangeable with *lesbian*, a term Ellis helped popularize, referring to the same-sex desires of the women of Lesbos. Radclyffe Hall returned to the idea of sexual inversion in her 1928 lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* because it offered her heroine a way to desire other women that was honorable; if one's inner self was really male, then desiring a woman would be normal rather than perverse. However, the third-sex model largely disappeared. Missing was the notion of gender variance, which might or might not be included in homosexual or lesbian. *Gay* eventually replaced homosexual as a less medicalized term, and was sometimes extended to women as well. Sometimes the term third sex occurred in pulp novels to sensationalize homosexuality, and to make gay men and lesbians seem freakish and less than human.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw a resurgence of interest in gender among urban sex radicals, feminists, lesbians, gay men, intersex activists, and people who felt increasingly alienated from sexual categories that erased gender variety. The word *queer* began to circulate as an umbrella term for those who disavowed normal gender and sexual categories, and more and more people began to experiment with alternative gender expression through hormone therapy, surgery, dress, and gesture. As queer and transgender people began to question sexual taxonomies, the idea of three or more genders caught on once more. Sex researchers uncovered the normative assumptions of medical professionals who routinely forced parents to impose one sex or another on their intersex infants. Some queer and transgender activists and theorists argued that being public about one's queer gender, intersex body, or transgender status made alternatives to the two-gender system more visible, subverting the fiction that human beings are naturally dimorphic. Others argued that transitioning from one gender to another upheld the notion that there are only two genders.

Queer, intersex, and transgender visibility has resulted in the return of the third sex as an alternative to normal heterosexual male and female bodies and desires. Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) has argued that there are at least five sexes that occur naturally in human beings, and that medical intervention can rob an intersex child of what might otherwise be a healthy gender identity and sexual and reproductive life. Leslie Feinberg (1997) has traced the presence of transgender people back thousands of years in cultures around the world. In the early twenty-first century, the *hijras* of India, *kathoeys* of Thailand, two-spirit Native Americans, *travestis* of Brazil, intersex people among the nomadic Bugis of the Sulawesi, *xanith* of Oman, *fa'afafine* of Polynesia, sworn virgins in the Balkans, *ashtime* of Ethiopia, *mashoga* of Kenya, and the drag queens, butch lesbians, transgender activists, and intersex people of North America and Europe, all constitute an alternative to the two-sex system, although they do not necessarily see themselves as members of a "third" sex. Regardless of how they view themselves, however, the presence of so many alternatively gendered people cannot help but expand traditional ideas of what it means to be embodied, gendered, and human in the early-twenty-first-century world.

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Jaime Hovey

THROAT

The throat has been eroticized for its role in both oral sex and in BDSM activity. In the former case, the practice of "deep throating"—made famous by the film *Deep Throat* (1972) —is a fellatio technique in which the "bottom" (or receiving/penetrated partner) takes the entire length of the penis into her or his mouth and throat by suppressing the gag reflex and drawing down the vocal muscles. Viewed, on one hand, as a more pleasurable approach to oral sex and, on the other hand, as a way of swallowing semen without having it in the mouth (and thus avoiding its taste and texture), deep throating is practiced by both hetero- and homosexual couples.

The film *Deep Throat* is often regarded as having introduced pornography and oral sex into the mainstream social conscience. Highly controversial upon its release, *Deep Throat* was played in many traditional American movie theaters as opposed to just in adult theaters. While the film's director Gerard Damiano himself admitted that it wasn't a great film, *Deep Throat* nevertheless paved the way for bolder and more open sexual practices, politics, and beliefs to be depicted and discussed (Keough 2005). In fact, the film is credited as starting the "porn chic" movement of the 1970s, wherein seeing pornographic films was considered to be a hip thing to do with polite company. More importantly, however, *Deep Throat* introduced the practice of deep throating to large groups of people who may have otherwise never attempted such practice. *Deep Throat* also began a genre of pornography that focused specifically on deep throat oral sex—a genre in which videos and images of men and women alike performing deep throat fellatio on men presents the throat as an erotic site of sexual pleasure.

In the case of the BDSM community, the throat is often cast as a site for enacting a dominant partner's power over the submissive partner. Exemplified by the practice of "collaring," the bondage and discipline (BD) eroticization of the throat involves placing collars around the submissive's throat for both sexual practices and metaphorical ownership. Collars can be constructed from leather, chain, metal, fabric, and so on, and they can be worn as chokers or used in conjunction with leashes. Collars and leashes enable the dominant partner to enact physical control over the submissive partner by giving the dominant partner the power to manipulate and control the submissive partner's position. This practice may also be used to signify a master/slave relationship in which the collar is an indicator of ownership.

Rendered explicit by the practice of collaring, the connection between power and sex has its axis at the throat. In a BDSM master/slave relationship, a process of increasing ownership and corresponding collars ensures that the throat and neck remain a site for enacting dominance. In this process, a slave or submissive partner is first given a "collar of consideration," which is analogous to a courting or dating stage. This is followed by a more elaborate collar, called the "training collar," that signifies increasing ownership and autonomous devotion. Finally, a "formal" or "slave collar" signifies a complete, autonomous and committed relationship between the master and slave, or dominant and submissive partner.

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Jeremy Justus

TIAMAT

The Babylonian goddess Tiamat appears as one of the primal female forces in the cosmogony of the creation epic *Enuma Elish* (c. 1100 BCE). Tiamat, the primordial saltwater, commingles with the male Apsu, the freshwater ocean, to form new generations of gods. After her consort Apsu is murdered by the new generations of gods, angry Tiamat turns to revenge. *Enuma Elish* represents Tiamat's revenge as the source of disorder and chaos that needs to be subdued by powerful male gods. Specifically, Tiamat is personified as a monster who resorts to lies, black magic, and animal speech. She "illegally" creates several monsters to assist her in her fight, including giant snakes full of venom and sharp teeth, great lions, mad dogs, furious dragons, bison, and the hydra, scorpion-man, and merman. These terrible beings are clothed in the divine splendor in Tiamat's effort to lift them to the status of gods. Tiamat revolts still further in taking on a chief monster, Kingu, as her new husband. All these actions are viewed as illegal because they did not result from a consensus with other gods. Thus, Tiamat transgresses the divine order and introduces chaos into the world.

Tiamat is severely punished for her "disorderly" behavior by a powerful male god, Marduk, and by his supporters. In contrast to Tiamat's illegitimate ways of warring, Marduk resorts to the rightful means that are appropriate for noble deities: thunder, lightning, subduing the winds and floods, and a bow and arrow. Not only is Tiamat killed, but the very means of capturing her symbolize punishment for her actions. She is caught in a net, which suggests that she no longer deserves to be perceived as a goddess who is a primordial mother. Instead, she is portrayed as a savage female being who deserves to be hunted, caught in a net, and killed in a manner reserved for wild animals. The gruesome detail of the cutting of Tiamat's body communicates further the outrage at the goddess's transgression. Her skull is split, her veins cut open, she is disemboweled, her bones crushed. After cutting open her stomach, Marduk stands on her dead body as a sign of final victory. The "disorderly" body of Tiamat becomes a source of order only in her death; the female chaos can be conquered only with the final silencing of death. To this end, Tiamat's corpse is divided, piece by piece, to form the new universe: sky and earth.

While Tiamat is conquered, Marduk is elevated to a supreme role of a sovereign god. He assigns roles to gods, divides heaven and earth, and fixes the universe according to his will.

The story suggests that the primordial female goddess was deservedly punished for introducing chaos into the universe. Only by eliminating the disorderly female passion (or chaos) can the male rational order return. The vanquished body of Tiamat gives rise to the new hierarchy: heaven over earth and male power over female power.

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Wioleta Polinska

Emmett Till. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

TILL, EMMETT LOUIS
1941–1955

Emmett Louis Till, born in Chicago, Illinois, was the fourteen-year-old victim of a lynching in Mississippi that became a catalyst for the burgeoning civil rights movement in the United States. The two white men who beat and murdered Till were hastily acquitted by a jury of local white males. People across the United States and in Europe were horrified by the brutal crime and this instance of condoned killing in the South. The circumstances of the case address the sexual mythologies that bolster racist ideology, the interlocking social mechanisms of racism and sexism, and the social threat of physical violence for minorities.

THE CRIME AND TRIALS

Till traveled from Chicago to the small delta town of Money, Mississippi, to visit relatives during his summer vacation. One week into his visit, he accompanied a group of black teenagers to the Bryant Grocery and Meat Market, a white-owned store that largely catered to black field hands in the region. Congregating with other teens outside the store, Till flaunted a picture of a white girl that he claimed was his girlfriend. His bragging, and his unfamiliarity with the South's racial codes and deep-seated bigotry, led to a dare to flirt with the store owner's twenty-one-year-old wife, Carolyn Bryant. Although there are conflicting accounts of what actually went on inside the store, Till allegedly wolf-whistled at Bryant on his way outside.

Bryant and her sister-in-law decided to keep the events of that night a secret from their husbands, who were away, but gossip quickly spread through the local black community. When Roy Bryant, Carolyn's husband, heard the rumors four days later, he enlisted his half brother and brother-in-law, J.W. Milam, and at 2:00 a.m. on August 28 they took Milam's truck and a pistol to the house of Moses "Preacher" Wright, Till's great-uncle. Bryant and Milam kidnapped Till at gunpoint, planning to "teach him a lesson." When their ruthless beating of Till failed to elicit either apology or cry, Milam and Bryant's plan changed course. They drove to a nearby cotton gin, where they ordered Till to move a seventy-five pound fan into the truck. From there, they drove to the Tallahatchie River near Glendora, Mississippi. Till was ordered to strip, and the two men continued to harass and beat him before Milam fired one shot into his head. They dumped Till's body into the river with the fan tied around his neck.

Three days later, the body rose to the surface. The mutilated corpse was chiefly identified by a ring Till wore that had belonged to his father. Bryant and Milam were quickly apprehended and indicted on kidnapping and murder charges. Disregarding edicts by Mississippi authorities for immediate burial, Till's mother, Mamie

Till Bradley, ordered the body back to Chicago. Bradley breached further orders that the casket remain closed. After witnessing the severity of the injuries, she defiantly declared an open-casket funeral. Some 50,000 mourners viewed the body at a church in Chicago's south side. Photographs of Till's body that showed an eye out of its socket, a fractured skull, and a swollen face that resembled a child's clay sculpture were printed in *Jet* magazine.

A high-profile trial ensued but lasted just five days. The town swarmed with reporters, many of whom helped the short-staffed prosecution search for witnesses, while the hefty pro bono defense team argued for exoneration on the thin claim that the body could not rightly be identified. The most dramatic moment of the trial occurred when Wright extended his arm to point out the murderers in front of the all-white court. With just two words, "Thar he," he overtly challenged an entire system of black silence and subjugation in the South. The jury deliberated for sixty-seven minutes, stopping for soda to stretch out the time, and acquitted the men on September 23, 1955. Protests erupted in cities across the United States, including Chicago, Los Angeles, and Baltimore.

LYNCH LAW, SEXUALITY, AND SEXISM

With the injustices of slavery still rife in Southern consciousness and on the heels of the recent decision against segregation in *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the events of the Till case struck a raw nerve with Southern whites and blacks. It confirmed that Jim Crow etiquette was still the order and that Southern white vigilante violence against blacks persisted in the face of social change. Predicated on the protection of chaste, white women, lynch law was fueled by racist stereotypes about black male sexuality and sexist beliefs about women. It insisted on white male supremacy by deeming women possessions and black men sexual predators. Obsessively monitoring interactions between black men and white women in the South also served to reinforce myths of black men's hypersexuality and to insist on normative white heterosexuality and its correlative objectification of women. As such, lynching maintained the social order (strict segregation) and all of its mythologies when the law no longer would. Many scholars and writers have explored the combined racial and sexual complications of the case, for example, James Baldwin's 1964 *Blues for Mister Charlie* and Toni Morrison's 1986 *Dreaming Emmett*.

AFTERMATH OF EMMETT TILL

In 1956, *Look* magazine published interviews conducted by journalist William Bradford Huie with Milam and Bryant. The men were paid $4,000 for the interview and confessed to the murder. Suspicion that others were involved in Till's murder persist but have never been confirmed. Till's body was exhumed and autopsied in 2005 as part of a renewed effort by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to re-examine civil rights era crimes. The case was closed in 2006.

The events united the experiences of Northern and Southern African-Americans and laid the foundation for organized resistance against racial oppression. Just 100 days after the lynching and four days after attending a lecture on the Till case, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to white passengers on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus. Both figures laid explosive groundwork for the civil rights movement and for federal legislation like the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

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TIRESIAS

The blind prophet of Greek myth, Tiresias appears in all of the Greek tragedies that take place in Thebes—*Oedipus Rex*, *Antigone*, and *The Phoenician Women*—as well as in Euripides' *The Bacchae* and in Homer's *The Odyssey*. Tiresias's insight comes not only from his blindness, but also from his having been transformed into a woman for seven years, and hence being able to see life from all perspectives. His role is to predict the future, unearth the true past, and give correct advice, all of which he does. In addition, he has been granted a long life by Zeus, so his life spans Theban history from Cadmus to Oedipus's children.

Tiresias was born in Thebes, son of Eueres and Chariclo, who was himself descended from Udaeus, one of the Sparti. There are several different accounts of how Tiresias became blind. One is that he came upon the goddess Athena in her bath. Angry, she threw water on him and blinded him. His mother then begged Athena to give him his sight, but unable to do so, Athena instead gave him a walking staff that enabled him to walk as if he could see and also enabled him to understand what birds say.

Another legend, recorded by Ovid in *The Metamorphosis*, was that both Tiresias's blindness and his sojourn as a woman came from his involvement with copulating snakes and the gods Hera and Zeus. One day coming upon two snakes in the throes of passion, Tiresias hit them with his staff. This angered Hera, who was a sensuous woman, and she punished him by transforming him into a woman. After a substantial period, the female Tiresias again came upon copulating snakes, only this time he/she left them alone and Hera returned her/him to masculinity. But Tiresias was then asked to arbitrate an argument between Hera and Zeus about which partner, the man or the woman, enjoyed sex more. Because Tiresias had lived as both, they presumed he might be able to settle the dispute, even though Hera, who had been fooling Zeus into believing that he had the best time, did not want her pleasure exposed. Tiresias honestly answered that the female gets the most pleasure, and an angry Hera struck him blind. Zeus, who could not stop the blinding, gave Tiresias the gift of prophecy and insight.

As a blind seer, Tiresias advised Theban leaders during Thebes crises, telling Oedipus a truth he did not want to hear, in *Oedipus Rex;* advising Creon to unbury the living before burying the dead, in *Antigone;* and telling Creon that Thebes can withstand its attackers only if he sacrifices his son, in the *Phoenician Women*. Only in Euripides' *The Bacchae* does Tiresias appear as a fool along with Cadmus.

Tiresias lived 175 years. Near the end of his life, he and his daughter Manto were captured and put in the service of Apollo at Delphi. At his death, Persephone permitted Tiresias to keep his memory and mind, which Tiresias used from the underworld to advise Odysseus about how to get back home in *The Odyssey*.

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Judith Roof

TOILETS, PUBLIC

Public toilets are cultural artifacts whose design embodies the biological, sexual, and gender values and tensions within society. Municipal public toilets were introduced in the latter part of the nineteenth century in response to growing urban population needs; for example, under the 1875 Public Health Act in Britain. Public toilets were built as manifestations of civic pride, reform, and modernity, but women's needs were given a lower priority than men's. In London, the Leicester Square toilets, built in 1900, provided twenty-seven urinals and thirteen cubicles (stalls) for men, but only seven cubicles for women (Robinson 2001, p. 5). Male street urinals were extensively installed across Paris, but little provision was made for women, for "only males are privileged to overflow on the public highway" (Chevalier 1993, p. 97). Lack of female toilet provision controlled women and resulted in their exclusion from the public realm (Gershenson and Penner 2007). Public toilets were often located down steps, preventing access for those with baby carriages (Cavanagh and Ware 2001). One objective of the suffrage movement was to improve toilet provision for women, as promoted by the Ladies Sanitary Association (LSA) (Greed 2003). A century later, men still had twice as many places to relieve themselves as women. Even if there were equal numbers of cubicles (stalls), men had urinal provision too. While women are the majority of public toilet users, men are the providers, designers, and managers of toilets, although they possess little understanding of women's toilet needs (Anthony 2001). Many women consider unisex toilets, especially automatic public toilets, impractical and dangerous installations.

Toilets are sexually contested spaces. Because of antisocial behavior in the men's toilets (cruising or cottaging), local authorities may close down both the women's and the men's toilets leaving women with nothing. Alternatively, fortress-like public toilets may be installed, with barriers and surveillance to deter misuse. While many men imagine toilets to be places of dirt, sex, and danger, many women see toilets as sociable and caring refuges that should be based on the principles of inclusive and accessible design (women chat while they urinate: men remain silent). In spite of years of feminism and equality, one may measure the true position of women by the length of the line for the toilets (Asano 2002). Demands for women's public toilets are generally seen as a joke by policy makers. If governments want to create sustainable, equal, and accessible cities, to get people out of their cars and back on to public transport, then public toilets are the missing link. People's freedom to travel, shop, and work is constrained by the bladder's leash (Bichard et al. 2004). In contrast, public toilet provision is recognized as an important component of city planning in China (Xu 2005). Ratios of 2:1 or even 3:1 female/male toilet provision exist in Japan (Miyanishi 1996). Moves towards "potty parity" in Europe and North America must be treated with caution, as the standards mainly relate to rare new toilet construction, while closures continue (Kwon 2005).

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Clara H. Greed

TOKLAS, ALICE

SEE *Stein, Gertrude and Alice B. Toklas.*

TOMBOY

The word *tomboy* originated in the mid-sixteenth century and referred both to a boisterous boy or girl and to an unchaste or immodest woman. From the seventeenth century on, the term has referred solely to girls whose behavior is considered boylike, being especially active, spirited, outspoken, and indelicate. In all applications, it has been used to censure a person considered deviant. As a stage of sexual and psychological development, tomboyism occurs between childhood and puberty and is an explicitly temporary stage during which it is more or less socially acceptable for a girl to behave contrary to the norms of stereotypical femininity. Tomboys often wear

Tomboy Playing Football. *A girl playing football with two boys. Girls who enjoy traditionally male activities, such as sports, are often stereotyped as tomboys.* © ARIEL SKELLEY/CORBIS.

boys' clothes, prefer boys' games (such as sports instead of dolls), prefer boys as playmates, have a stronger relationship with their fathers than mothers, and may also identify themselves as boys. Tomboys also typically desire to be outside as much as possible, where they can run about, explore, and meet people instead of remaining in an isolated and passive domestic space typically reserved for women.

Many sociological studies and fictional representations of tomboys portray these girls as experiencing a typical and temporary period of gender disidentification, assuming that the onset of puberty will bring with it an awareness of adult responsibility and conformance to typical feminine traits and attitudes. This view, however, ignores the fact that many childhood tomboys possess genders and sexual identities that fall outside the heterosexual norm and which will remain fundamental to the grown women's identities. Although prepubescent children are sexually active psychically, if not physically, most representations of children fail to acknowledge their complex sexual identification and desires. Thus, tomboys may not only act like boys, they may also identify with boys and feel sexual attraction for girls. The traditional understanding of tomboys assumes they will be feminine and heterosexual adults, whereas the alternative acknowledges active masculinity and queerness in both girls and the women they will become.

According to several surveys in the 1970s and 1980s, as many as 50 percent of adult women identified themselves as childhood tomboys. Although it is quite common for young girls to be physically active and opinionated, the act of labeling such girls as tomboys makes them seem hypermasculine and abnormal in relation to heterosexual gender norms. Likewise, the assumed temporariness of this phase of development indicates that girls may play at creating an identity relatively free from gender stereotypes, but women must leave such play behind them. Because tomboys appropriate traits of masculinity that are generally reserved for men, they represent a potential threat to patriarchal societies that depend on fixed and binary definitions of gender and sexuality that privilege masculinity over femininity. By refusing to allow tomboyism to continue past adolescence, society perpetuates the illusion of gender binaries. Cultural representations and explanations of tomboys thus represent both the potential freedom from stereotypical genders and sexualities that girls can enact as well as the limitations of such subversive identities.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme.*

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Michelle Veenstra

TONGUE

The tongue is the strongest muscle in the human body for its size. It is used in open-mouthed kissing, in which one person places the tongue in the mouth of another. The level of penetration indicates the level of sexual intensity of the kiss. Tongue kissing is also called deep kissing or French kissing. Some cultures, such as those of the South Pacific, consider kissing in general and deep kissing in particular to be European practices.

When sex researcher Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956) surveyed male sexual behavior in the United States in the 1940s, he noted that French kissing was more common among upper-class men than among men of the lower-classes, and that it was not uncommon for upper-class men to have French-kissed many women but not necessarily have had sex with them; while lower-class men might have had sex with many women but kissed relatively few of them. Kinsey attributed this to a fear of germs and disease among lower-class men. French kissing and the use of the tongue in sexual behavior was more widespread after the sexual revolution of the 1960s, and in the early twenty-first century intimate encounters commonly include French kissing. Prostitutes, however, often refuse to kiss customers during transactional sex, reserving French kissing for the emotional intimacy of other and more genuine relationships.

Other kinds of tongue kissing include French-kissing the ear, and licking and biting the throat and shoulders. If the ear becomes too wet from saliva, people often find the kiss to be annoying rather than erotic, and sometimes refer to it as a *wet willy*.

People also kiss and lick other parts of the bodies of their sex partners. Kinsey found that it was common for men to kiss and lick female breasts; conversely he found that women seldom kissed or licked male breasts. As with French kissing, he found the highest incidence of tongue contact with breasts to be among men from the upper social, educational, and economic levels of U. S. society. In the early twenty-first century women do not kiss the male breast with anything approaching the frequency of male attention to the female breast and nipple, although this behavior is increasing as more couples explore a wider range of sexual activity.

Gay men lick and suck their partners' nipples with much greater frequency than women do their male partners; lesbians also engage in this practice. Body piercing, especially nipple and genital piercing, visually accentuates these regions and makes them more sensitive to biting, licking, and tugging, and encourages oral activity. Tongue jewelry gives the wearer the ability to massage larger areas of the body, creating a more pleasurable sensation for both men and women during oral sex and promoting more licking and kissing behaviors.

The tongue is vital during oral sex, where people caress and stimulate the genitals of their partners. During fellatio, stimulating the penis by licking the shaft, head, and scrotum is considered as important as sucking or stroking. During cunnilingus, the tongue stimulates the clitoris and labia, and may also penetrate the vagina. The tongue is central to the practice of *rimming*, in which one person uses the tongue to lick and penetrate the anus of another.

Indeed the tongue is so central to kissing and to all types of sexual behavior that many people consider it to be a symbol of lasciviousness more generally. In *Ladies Almanack* (1928) by Djuna Barnes, a renowned lesbian named Dame Musset dies and is cremated, but her tongue remains both present and active, signifying that her sexual prowess is immortal. In the 1960s Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones often stuck his tongue out and simulated the rapid movements of cunnilingus during concerts—an act considered shocking at the time. In 1971 the Rolling Stones used the cartoon logo of a pair of lips and protruding tongue on their *Sticky Fingers* album to suggest the sex part of sex, drugs, and rock and roll, and the tongue image has been associated with the band ever since. Gene Simmons of Kiss—a 1970s rock band—was famous for the bizarre impression he created by sticking his unusually long tongue out of his mouth and waggling it suggestively at audience members while wearing full kabuki-style face makeup. In the early twenty-first century, wagging one's tongue, or sticking it out of the mouth and moving it quickly back and forth, is generally understood to signify cunnilingus, and is therefore considered a lewd and comic gesture.

SEE ALSO *Kiss, Modern; Oral Sex.*

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TOP/BOTTOM

The terms *top* and *bottom* emerged as descriptors of a sexual binary in the gay leather culture of the 1950s and the bondage and sadomasochism (BDSM) culture of the 1960s. Originally, the top-bottom binary signified both sexual positions and power relationships in which a top was a sexual aggressor and penetrator who often acted as the more forceful and dominant partner; the bottom represented the more submissive, typically penetrated, and often "punished" partner.

DEFINITION AND USE OF THE TERMS

In the BDSM community the term *top* indicates the dominant partner who inflicts pain on, enacts control over, or otherwise subjects his or her partner to acts associated with bondage, discipline, and sadomasochism. The term *bottom* indicates the receiver of such treatment. In these cases the terms are not gender-specific: A male or a female may act as a top or a bottom. Although the top is the dominant partner, the bottom often still has control. For example, a top who takes direction from the bottom's explicitly expressed wishes often is called a service top.

These terms evolved in the 1970s and 1980s as they were adapted by the gay community. In that community they are used most often among gay men as indicators of preferences for sexual position; however, the terms also have been adapted by the lesbian community. A top acts as a sexual penetrator, or the inserter during sexual (vaginal or anal) intercourse, and a bottom acts as the penetrated partner, or the receiver. The term *versatile* is used commonly to indicate a preference to act as either top or bottom.

During the 1970s and 1980s various methods of signifying top and bottom preferences emerged, ranging from tattoos to body piercing to color-coded handkerchiefs. A visual signifier of sexual practice, whether a tattoo, piercing, or another signifier, denotes the top-bottom or dominant-submissive preference through its placement on either side of the body. In this bilateral signification system a tattoo or piercing on the left side of the body indicates that the wearer identifies as a top, whereas a visual cue worn on the right side of the body indicates that the wearer prefers to act as a bottom. For example, a gay man with a tattooed armband on his left arm or a piercing in his left ear or nipple visually signifies his preference to act as a sexual penetrator or top, whereas a man wearing similar visual cues on the right side signifies a preference to be sexually penetrated, or to bottom.

The terms *top* and *bottom* still are used among both gay and straight men and women, particularly as transitive verbs that indicate the performance of sexual penetration or dominance-submission. A homosexual male who prefers to penetrate his partner during anal intercourse "tops" his partner. In the case of a heterosexual couple in which the male partner acts as the submissive partner the male "bottoms" during sexual activity. Common slang terms that are used primarily among gay men are *pitcher* (top), *catcher* (bottom), and *switch hitter* (versatile).

RECENT VARIATIONS

The top-bottom binary has been criticized for imitating the heterosexual binary. Although there continue to be large factions of gay men who identify as either top or bottom, more and more are starting to claim a more versatile status. Moreover, phrases such as *versatile top* and *versatile bottom* are being used to indicate a greater range of sexual adaptability. On the surface the top-bottom dynamic would seem to indicate a power relationship that spills over into a couple's extrasexual relationship; however, this is not always the case. New York City, for example, often is cited as a bottom city, and the popular assumption is that because most New Yorkers lead fast paced, high-stress lives, they prefer to balance their aggressive public life with a more submissive sexual one. Whether or not this is the case, it is becoming evident that the top-bottom binary parallels neither a masculine-feminine binary nor an aggressive-submissive binary.

Even among heterosexual couples the top-bottom dynamic is being destabilized. The practice of "pegging," for example, exemplifies the ways in which that dynamic is being challenged. Pegging often is viewed as a heterosexual activity (although it may occur between two women) in which a woman anally penetrates a male partner by using a strap-on dildo, a double-ended dildo (for simultaneous anal and vaginal penetration), or some form of penile prosthetic. This practice is becoming increasingly common.

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TOYS

The role of toys in the construction of gender ideals and identities is best understood within the context of cultural notions about childhood (girlhood and boyhood) as well as the social realities of children as girls and boys. Though the meanings and uses of toys are commonly assumed to be unchangeable, their social meanings and the roles toys have played in children's lives are historically contingent. While toys have ancient origins, the more recent historical forces that gave rise to the notion that toys had masculine-making or feminine-formulating potential include:

1. the decline of orthodox Christian precepts that associated play with sin;
2. the shift from a subsistence economy to an industrializing one;
3. the spread of Enlightenment notions about children among the emergent middle class;
4. increasing social equality for women and girls;
5. egalitarianism within the family; and
6. the development of a global consumer culture.

Though it is not clear which of the toylike artifacts archaeologists have unearthed at ancient sites figured in rituals and which were meant for recreation, adults have long produced and promoted toys encoded with dominant ideals that fostered normative gender roles in children. Since at least the eighteenth century, when toys entered the domain of children in the West, play with particular kinds of toys has been assumed to promote socially specific gender characteristics. "Boys' toys"—those that emphasize technology, science, transportation, combat, construction, and hunting—have been understood to foster such "masculine" attributes as assertiveness, dominance, heroism, and competition. "Girls' toys"—centered on homemaking and child rearing—have been thought to instill such "feminine" qualities as compassion, affection, adornment, and nurturance. The expectations of adults, however, have been known to conflict with the activities of children, who sometimes play in less socially prescribed and more "gender-inappropriate" ways.

METHODS OF GENDER CODING

For centuries, adults have used a variety of prescriptive, proscriptive, and punitive methods of transmitting information to children about which toys were gender appropriate and which were not. But since the emergence of toy advertisements during the early twentieth century and the advent of TV commercials aimed at children in the 1950s, the preferences of young consumers have been shaped by the prevalence of coded images of girls or boys at play with gender-specific toys. While the color pink signified boys at various times in the past (blood = bravery), color-coded toys and packaging since the 1950s have served to inform youngsters—too young to read but old enough to link color with gender—that pink (and pastel-colored) toys are for girls. This categorizing of merchandise by color has led to the gendering of toy store spaces, where color-coded layouts attract girls to eye-catching pink-colored aisles that repel boys fearing contamination and recrimination. While pink has long predominated as a girls' color in the West, it is a boys' color in South Korea where primary colors are associated with girls. Comparisons across time and place reveal that toys and their presentation have had very different cultural meanings. In North America, little girls of the Woodland Indians played with sticks in preparation for their role as the tribe's key agriculturalists (farmers).

TOYS FOR BOYS

Western toys designated as boys' toys: (1) contain distinctive themes drawn from the activities of men (e.g., war, transportation, construction, athleticism); (2) correlate with the skills and sensibilities associated with masculinity (e.g., aggression, courage, competition, strategy, mobility, agility); and (3) foster a wide variety of physical and intellectual developmental abilities. Though toy soldiers have been found in ancient Egypt, eighteenth-century emperors and kings bestowed upon their sons miniature armies made by high-end producers in Nuremberg, Germany, and later on in France. Toy soldiers served to instill imperial ambitions in royal and aristocratic sons and patriotic alliances in boys who played with uniformed soldiers, artillery, and transportation during the major wars of the twentieth century. Though plastic toy soldiers were poor imitations of those that had marched off production lines before them, their affordability made infantry men far more accessible to middle-class and poor children in whom they were to cultivate masculine nationalism.

Also having ancient origins that served more practical functions in times past, toy weapons (swords and guns) lead the boy toy market as symbols of adventure and heroism in their material variety and in virtual reality. While generations of parents have given boys toy guns in an effort to build sons' manly identities, adults' distaste of war and violence in the twentieth century also exposed the powerful social forces that shape the desires of boys for toys. Prevented by his parents from playing with toy guns, one determined four-year-old used a plastic "chip clip" he found in a kitchen drawer as a substitute for the gun he preferred.

Along with war toys, toy trains assumed a unique place in the lives of boys over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries because of technological innovation, improved production, expanded market distribution, and the power of advertising. Especially after the application of electricity in the mid-1920s, these machines inspired fantasies of mobility and taught boys about other scientific principles—both beyond the scope of what was considered important for girls to acquire and imagine for themselves. Making boys into builders of civilizations led to the commercialization of construction toys. By the early twentieth century, toy pioneers marketed toy trains to boys perceived to be in need of modern engineering and construction skills during the new "machine age." In addition to other products, LEGO sets of the post–World War II period were marketed to boys in gender-coded advertisements in which little sister, bewildered by her enterprising brother the junior engineer, stood outside the LEGO metropolis he alone constructed.

Such athletic equipment as balls, bats, hoops, and nets have long been targeted at boys for the masculine attributes—the spirit of competition and the skills of achievement—they are thought to instill. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century portraits, boys from well-to-do families posed with athletic props while their sisters dressed in floor-length gowns clutching dolls, flowers, or little animals. Throughout the nineteenth century, fears that activity would precipitate sexual desire in girls led experts to discourage girls from riding hobbyhorse toys and to recommend limiting them to wand-waving callisthenic exercises as demonstrated in prescriptive manuals.

TOYS FOR GIRLS

Among the toys designated as for girls only, those playthings with obvious domestic purposes and maternal themes have enjoyed unchallenged dominance. Whether the purposes of ancient human figures were spiritual or secular, it is certain that as symbols of fertility, dolls have had an indomitable place in the history of girls. Cultivating the fabled maternal "instinct" by instilling the skills and sensibilities of mothering (caring and grooming) and instructing girls in homemaking, dolls and symbols of domesticity have long dominated as a cultural priority over time, across periods, and from one society to another. Expected to take their place within the home and not outside of it, to adorn the body, and to cultivate the heart and not the mind, girls' toys—including dolls, dollhouses, and household utensils and technology—have been intentionally attractive, diminutive, intended for indoor passive play, and purposely unscientific, unmechanical, unintellectual, unadventurous, and unathletic.

While adults have promoted and produced girls' toys, male and female producers have not always shared the same gendered values nor used the same materials, methods, and models. In the late-nineteenth-century United States, Germany, and England, women doll producers had more in common with each other than they did with their commercial countrymen. Women doll producers across national borders were more likely to make realistic-looking, portable, pliant, and useful cloth-bodied dolls modeled after real babies for girls *and* for boys. Similarly on both sides of the Atlantic, businessmen who drew upon more masculine skills and sensibilities were more likely to make hard-bodied dolls (wood or metal) with fragile China heads and limbs that reflected prevailing Victorian feminine ideals of delicacy, domesticity, submission, purity, piety, and leisure. In the twentieth century, women doll designers and producers mounted significant challenges to gender stereotyping with dolls. Though the Barbie doll, pioneered by Ruth Handler, cofounder of Mattel, emphasized adornment and consumption as much as had Victorian French fashion dolls, the exalted femininity of the postwar teenage fashion model nevertheless embodied autonomy, empowerment, and sexual agency. Girls have received more than one billion Barbie dolls since Barbie's debut in 1959. Since the end of the twentieth century, feminist ideals have been represented as sexual agency in female dolls, while antifeminist fears have led to the embodiment of hypermasculinity in male action figures. A 1998 study (Harrison G. Pope Jr., et. al.) revealed that between the 1960s and late 1990s, G.I. Joe's bulging biceps doubled in size.

CHILDREN'S RESISTANCE TO PRESCRIPTIVE NORMS

While many children play with toys in ways that meet with adult approval, girls who ditch dolls for trucks and boys who swap whips for wigs traverse accepted boundaries of gendered play. Although many girls demonstrating domestically useful sewing skills contented their mothers, even Catherine Beecher, the nineteenth-century architect of domesticity, detested sewing stints. Beecher was not unlike other girls in rural and small-town America who preferred active outdoor activities to sedate indoor ones and playing with toys and games that required power not propriety. While many girls loved dolls, others loathed the ones that were forced into their arms by adults committed to the dominant gender ideology. In the late-nineteenth-century United States, girls' extensive funereal play (as opposed to wedding play) generated pleasure among embryonic feminists who broke and buried dolls.

While some boys preferred dolls to soldiers and dressing up to standing down, "gender-inappropriate" behavior historically has been met with disapproval and discouragement from parents and peers. Few toys, including stuffed animals—principally the iconic teddy bear—have inhabited a "gender-neutral" terrain. As representations of domesticated nature and childhood innocence, stuffed animals have been as acceptable for baby boys as for girls, but brothers are expected to outgrow their affections and attachments long before their sisters.

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Miriam Forman-Brunell

TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN

Trafficking of women is an international commercial activity in which force, coercion, and fraud are used to transport women and children across international boundaries for economic gain. As a complex organized criminal activity, human trafficking is comparable to the trafficking of drugs and weapons, but it is more profitable and less risky because many forms of the trade appear legitimate. Within the global practice of human trafficking, 70 percent of the victims are women and 50 percent are children under age eighteen. Estimates of the number of women and children trafficked each year range from 700,000 to four million, and annual profits are estimated at $7 billion. Demand for human trafficking is driven by a need for cheap labor in factories, households, agricultural industries, and the sex industry. Globalization has facilitated business between traders in and consumers of trafficked humans.

Trafficked women come from less wealthy countries in Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. In some of those areas, such as the Philippines and Thailand, the sex tourism industry has increased demand for women and thus the amount of trafficking to meet the needs of men who travel from Europe, North America, and Australia. In the United States an estimated 50,000 women are trafficked in each year, coming mostly from the former Soviet Union and southeast Asia. Many women leave the Ukraine because of difficult socioeconomic conditions that predominantly affect women, who constitute 75 percent of the unemployed there. In Asia, Japan is the largest market for trafficked women. In China the one-child rule and a preference for male children have resulted in an imbalanced ratio of males to females. As of 2000 males outnumbered females born between 1980 and 2000 by 8.5 million. Those men create a demand for wives and sex industry workers that often is filled by national and international trafficking of women from nearby countries such as Vietnam.

MOTIVATIONS AND RECRUITMENT OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

Women are lured from countries that are impoverished, war-torn, strongly patriarchal, or lacking in adequate police forces. Most are disadvantaged in their home countries, where women face severe social and economic disadvantages. If they can find work in struggling economies, they often are paid much less than are men and are easily lured by promises of high-paying jobs in other countries. For instance, in Russia women's earnings are only 50 percent of men's. Because many societies still value sons more highly than daughters, some families sell their daughters to brothels or traffickers to get quick money and eliminate the need to pay a daughter's marriage dowry. Dowries are especially problematic in India, where campaigns were begun in the 1990s to inform citizens of the many problems, including trafficking, that can result from the tradition of dowry giving.

In light of the desperation many impoverished women feel, they can be swayed easily to leave their home countries with promises of better lives. Some women believe they are hiring an agency to provide them with passports and other paperwork and help them cross international borders in the face of increasingly restrictive immigration policies. Once they are in the new country, all documentation is taken from them and they are put to work, often forced to repay the high costs of transportation in addition to lodging and other expenses. Other women are recruited in bars, cafés, or clubs, where men offer them seemingly legitimate jobs in other countries.

Women who actively seek employment in foreign countries may answer false job advertisements in magazines or newspapers for positions such as nannies or factory workers. They also may visit an agency where recruiters may marry or become engaged to them in a chivalrous gesture of protection in order to transport them out of the country more easily. Some women are sold by friends, family, or acquaintances, and others may be kidnapped. Still others may be refugees and victims of wartime violence and abduction by soldiers. In countries in Africa and in Mexico women recruiters negotiate with lower-class families to provide jobs and education for their daughters, later transporting those these girls for forced labor outside their native country.

The business of mail-order brides moves both willing and unwilling women and girls to foreign countries, where they may be forced into unpaid domestic labor, prostitution, pornography, or other work by their husbands. Many of those brides come from countries such as the Philippines, Africa, China, Russia, the Ukraine, and Latvia. Websites advertising those women emphasize that unlike Western women, they are not difficult to please and will occupy a subservient position in the household. As of 1999 approximately six thousand mail-order brides arrived in the United States each year, coming predominantly from the Philippines and Russia.

LAWS GOVERNING TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN

Because trafficking of women is an international business, individual countries are challenged to create legislation to deter and punish that trade. In 2000 the United States passed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, which specified actions to punish traffickers and assist victims within the United States and to urge foreign countries to eliminate trafficking, address the economic conditions that lead to trafficking, and assist victims who are repatriated. The United Nations (UN) has several protocols aimed at halting human trafficking. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child from 1989 focuses particularly on guaranteeing human rights to children, and the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons from 2000 defines trafficking, outlines punishments for traffickers, and requires states that ratify it to protect and assist trafficked persons. In 2002 the United States implemented a special "T" visa that allows victims to remain in the country if they testify against their traffickers and face likely danger in their home countries.

Many countries have no laws against trafficking; one is South Africa, a popular source and destination for trafficked persons from at least ten other countries, including Mozambique, Thailand, and China. In addition to legal action some governments and nongovernmental organizations have launched educational campaigns both to inform women from popular source countries about the dangers of trafficking and to encourage citizens of destination countries to be watchful for immigrants who may be victims of that industry.

SEE ALSO *Prostitution.*

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TRANNIE WHORE

Trannie whore is a slang formation that refers to a transsexual sex worker. Also popularly known as *she males*, trannie whores are most often in the preoperative stage of male to female (MTF) transsexuality, but living as women. Thus they appear to be women in most respects, but retain male genitalia.

Transsexuality, particularly in the preoperative stage, often leads to social ostracism, including employment discrimination. Additionally transsexuals (particularly MTF) are the object of sexual fantasy for many, thus making them particularly marketable in the sex industry. These factors lead many transsexuals to become sex workers. Others may choose to conceal their transsexual status and work as female prostitutes. Depending on the success with which they can pass as women, this can be effective in circumstances where the client does not wish to engage in intercourse. Because of the social pressures on transsexuals, many postoperative individuals continue as sex workers, but function as women, not as trannie whores.

Some transsexuals choose to remain in the preoperative stage in order to retain their marketability as trannie whores. They feature prominently in the adult video industry, and some have acquired a kind of fame in that arena. In general trannie whores who appear in film appeal to an idealized hermaphrodite fantasy; they have fully developed breasts and feminine features, while retaining fully functioning male genitalia. This physical appearance is often accomplished through a series of cosmetic surgeries, most often breast and cheek implants and removal of the Adam's apple.

SEE ALSO *Prostitution.*

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TRANSGENDER

Transgender is an umbrella term used to refer to a diverse group of individuals who challenge socially and culturally constructed gender norms. Historically the term was used to refer to cross-dressers or transvestites (those who desire to wear clothing associated with another sex). In contemporary context the term has broadened to include a number of gender variant groups: male-to-female transsexuals (MTF); female-to-male transsexuals (FTM); transgenderists (those who live in the gender role associated with another sex without sex reassignment surgery); *bigender* persons (those who identify as both man and woman); drag queens and kings (typically gay men and lesbian women, respectively, who dress in women's and men's clothing); and intersexed persons (those born with ambiguous genitalia). Though commonalities among these groups exist, there are several characteristics that make them distinct gender identities.

TRANSGENDER IDENTITIES

Transgender refers to an identity that does not adhere to the strict binary categories of man and woman. The term transsexual refers to persons whose physical body is considered to be incongruent with their self-perception as man or woman, and who desire or have undergone hormonal and/or surgical interventions to alter their physical presentation (specifically secondary sex characteristics) to better align their internal (gender) with their external appearance, male or female (sex). In contrast, individuals who identify or associate as transgender often do not seek such interventions; however, they may make suggestive changes in presentation to express their internal perception of self.

Transgender identity differs from biological conditions that produce ambiguous physical characteristics often associated with gender. The terms *hermaphrodite* and *pseudohermaphrodite* were first introduced in the nineteenth century to describe individuals with ambiguous genitalia or secondary sex characteristics. In the early twenty-first century the term *intersexed* is used to describe people born with congenital conditions (e.g., chromosomal, gonadal) that result in ambiguous genitalia. Through genetic and chromosomal testing (karyotyping), typically an individual's biological sex is determined to be either female or male. A differentiation between sex and gender must be understood to grasp the complexity of these variations.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Though the term transgender as defined in the contemporary context is a predominately European and North American concept, the idea of a liminal category that lies outside of the binary of male/man and female/woman has existed since ancient times. However, descriptions and interpretations differ by culture and historical period. Some of the earliest references to a third gender category derive from Native American culture and are set in a spiritual framework that is not bound to the physical body. For example, in Navajo culture the term *nádleeh* is used to describe persons thought to have a masculine and feminine spirit living in the same body. *Winkte*, a Lakota word, is a name given to an individual who is thought to have two-spirits or two-souls, one man and one woman. Often the term is used to describe homosexual men, but it also is used to describe a person who is transgender. Within the Native American culture, two-spirited people are valued members of society and are considered to fill social roles that others cannot.

References to a third gender can also be found in Asian and Middle Eastern cultures. In Thai culture, the word *kathoey* has a similar definition to the word transgender; however, it is applied in a broader context that can include effeminate gay men. In some Southeast Asian cultures, the term *hijra*, or the traditional term *kinnar*, is used to describe intersexed individuals or those who have been assigned a male sex at birth but later choose to live a religious life dedicated to Bahuchara Mata (the Hindu mother goddess), singing and dancing at birth ceremonies and weddings. Though these traditional roles have had great cultural significance, the influence of European and North American ideologies has greatly decreased cultural reverence.

THEORY

Since the early twentieth century a number of theories have been proposed in an effort to understand and explain gender variant identities. Early theories proposed by John Money, Harry Benjamin, and Richard Green tended to view gender identity as resulting from pathology deeply rooted in the psyche. However, the introduction of feminist and queer theories, which challenged the traditional gender binary, created an interest in understanding alternative gender identities, including transgender.

The term transgender derives from relatively new concepts surrounding gender identity theory. Though there is no specific author cited for the original use of the term, Virginia Prince was one of the first researchers to use the term in an academic context in the early 1960s. Later, transgender gained use among the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual community as a distinct identity category independent of sex/gender role and sexual orientation. This identity category served as a contrast to transsexual, differentiating between individuals who sought surgical and hormonal interventions and those who did not.

Conventionally, gender identity theories view gender development as a process that begins at conception and ends at death. Though each theory differentiates between the influence of biological maturation, psychological development, the progression through socially defined stages (e.g., childhood, adolescence, and adulthood), and the individual's interactions with others, researchers agree that these forces collectively shape an individual's gender identity.

ETIOLOGY AND TREATMENT

A number of biological and psychological theories have been proposed in an attempt to explain the cause of transgender identity and behavior; however, none of these has been widely agreed upon. Although medical and psychological efforts to treat and cure transgendered feelings and behaviors date back to the mid-nineteenth century, there is no evidence that treatments or cures are ethical or efficacious. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV* (1994), published by the American Psychiatric Association (APA), is the most widely used set of diagnostic criteria for mental disorders in the United States. The *DSM-IV* has two diagnostic categories relating to gender: *Gender Identity Disorder* and *Gender Identity Disorder Not Otherwise Specified* (*NOS*). A diagnosis of Gender Identity Disorder is applied to a person when they meet the following five criteria: (1) evidence of strong and persistent cross-gender identification; (2) this cross-gender identification must not merely be a desire for any perceived cultural advantages of being the other sex; (3) evidence of persistent discomfort about one's assigned sex or a sense of inappropriateness in the gender role of that sex; (4) the individual must not have a concurrent physical intersex; and (5) evidence of clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning. Gender Identity NOS can be applied to intersex conditions, transient cross-dressing behavior that results from stress, or a persistent preoccupation with castration or penectomy (removal of the penis) that is not accompanied by the desire to change one's secondary sex characteristics.

There is a great deal of controversy surrounding the notion of transgender as a psychological disorder. Many people argue that the DSM-IV classification system is merely an attempt to pathologize and marginalize individuals who do not adhere to the stereotypical gender norms dictated by society and reject the idea that any form of psychological treatment is necessary. Indeed, some psychological interventions are potentially harmful and are not supported by the majority of mainstream medical and psychological organizations. A controversial but well-known psychological approach to treating gender nonconformists, including gay men and lesbian women, is conversion therapy. Conversion therapy includes a number of techniques aimed at altering gender identity or sexual orientation. Other types of psychological treatment include individual and group therapy aimed at diminishing distress that may be associated with living as a transgendered person.

CONTEMPORARY TRANSGENDER

With the availability of information via the Internet, a number of Web sites for people identifying as transgender have emerged. The function of such sites ranges from providing broad educational information about the meaning of transgender to very specific and targeted information, such as techniques for vocal feminization. There are also a number of chat rooms and online support groups that provide peer education and encouragement.

Since the mid-1980s there has been a noticeable rise in activism by transgender communities both at the social and political level. In 2006 the State of New Jersey passed a bill that extended civil rights protection to transgender individuals and nondiscrimination laws protecting gender identity and expression have been enacted in several states. The increased visibility and activism of transgender communities has challenged traditional constructions of gender and created a space for alternative gender identities within society.

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TRANSSEXUAL F TO M

Female-to-male (F2M, F-M, or FTM) transsexuals (sometimes called "female-toward-male" or "male-to-male") are female-born persons who suffer from intense, often painful feelings that their assigned sex does not match their actual gender (a condition called gender dysphoria and clinically diagnosed as gender identity disorder). As opposed to transvestites who habitually cross-dress, transsexuals live full-time as men or women and may undergo sex-reassignment surgery (SRS) in order to transition from one sex to another. Transsexuals may also identify as transgender (an umbrella term coined in the 1970s to refer to multiple gender-bending identities). Some reserve the term *transsexual* for those who have had hormone therapy or some form of SRS.

FTM is an expansive category that encompasses a range of experiences, identities, and gender expressions. FTMs identify along a spectrum of masculinity and may describe themselves as men, transmen, butch trans-masculine, genderqueer, or transgender. Some FTMs may self-consciously differentiate themselves from non-transsexual members of the male sex, or "biomen" (biological men). Once their transition is complete, other FTMs discard their trans status and are "stealth"—living as men without reference to their former identity. The acronym *MTM* (male-to-male) is used by those who have always identified as males and who disagree with the "sex change" implied by *FTM*.

Because of the social and economic marginalization of transsexual people, the instability of trans support services, and discrepancies in research, the prevalence as well as the origin of transsexuality are unknown. There are likely as many FTM transsexuals as there are male-to-female (MTF), although in the past it was generally assumed that there were fewer FTMs than MTFs. With data that spans four decades in a country accepting of trans people, a 1997 study from the Amsterdam Gender Dysphoria Clinic puts the prevalence of MTFs at 1 in 10,000 and FTMs at 1 in 30,000. Available reports, however, do not account for the political and cultural biases that taint these numbers, or for the dramatic rise in FTMs at the start of the twenty-first century.

As assigned women, FTMs may have less recourse or resources to seek help for their problem. As many scholars have noted, assigned men who identify as women are immediately viewed as deviant and ill in patriarchal cultures that privilege maleness and manliness above all else. In stark contrast, the motivations of assigned women who identify as men have been explained away as feminist strategies against female oppression. Assigned women who identify as men, rather than being recognized as trans, may be wrongly classified as failed heterosexual women or as butch lesbians who are uncomfortable with their homosexuality.

HISTORY OF MALE IDENTIFICATION IN "WOMEN"

The history of female-to-male transsexuals overlaps with histories of lesbianism, the pathologizing classification of early sexology, and the mapping of deviant female genders across place and time. Some of these overlaps are produced through similarities in terminology, mirroring physical presentations, and aesthetics and affects culled from a shared masculine/butch cultural iconography

(Rubin 2006). On the other hand, these overlaps may also be blamed on cultural assumptions and oversights.

For example, in his *Dialogue of the Courtesans*, the Greek satirist and rhetorician Lucian (c. 120–after 180 CE) describes a woman named Megilla who renames herself Megillus, seduces women, uses dildos, and has a "face like a man." Megilla has traditionally been claimed in lesbian histories, although arguments can be made for her as an early FTM figure. The seventeenth-century case of Catalina de Erauso (c. 1592–c. 1650), a Basque sailor who escaped from a convent at a young age and sailed for the Americas dressed as a man, has likewise confounded scholars.

Similar cases abound in ages that predate the current terms used to describe sexuality and gender and appear to increase in the West after 1850. The historian Jason Cromwell (1999) has written of three major motivations for "women" who lived their lives as men: (1) economic necessity or for adventure; (2) to explore their desire for and love of women; and (3) to live as the men they felt themselves to be. A list of these early figures includes the Civil War soldier Loreta Janeta Velazquez (1842–1897), the New York City politician Murray Hall (c. 1831–1901), and the San Francisco writer and curiosity Babe Bean (1869–1936). Many of these women who lived as men (sometimes referred to as "passing women") were not discovered to have female anatomy until they died.

Instances such as these reveal the extent to which lesbian history has appropriated trans figures of the past. As soldiers, pirates, doctors, authors, musicians, and laborers, these figures have provided examples of support and pride to more contemporary FTMs. Yet, there are significant factors that differentiate contemporary FTMs from these ancestors—namely, that of technology. The lack of the very technologies that currently define FTM experience—testosterone hormones and surgical operations—make women who had gender dysphoria or strong "male identifications" in the past clash with their current cultural manifestation. Nevertheless, many FTMs of the past devised tools to accent their manhoods. In fact, as Cromwell notes, the Irish sailor Christian Davies (1667–1739) inherited a urinary device from an older female-bodied soldier who was a friend of his father. Erauso was said to have found a remedy that reduced the size of the breasts. The first FTM transition was completed sometime around 1917 on Dr. Alan Hart.

More modern FTMs include the American jazz pianist and saxophonist Billy Tipton (1914–1989); the millionaire entrepreneur and philanthropist Reed Erickson (1917–1992); the author and activist Leslie Feinberg (b. 1949); the author, activist, and FTM International founding president Lou Sullivan (1951–1991); and the author Patrick Califia (b. 1954). Erickson's philanthropy offers an inspiring case of gay/trans activism. In the 1960s and 1970s, through his Erickson Educational Foundation, Erickson donated millions of dollars to homophile and trans organizations, including ONE, Inc., the Johns Hopkins Gender Identity Clinic, and the Harry Benjamin Foundation.

In 1977 an FTM teacher in northern California named Steve Dain received national media attention when he lost his job as a result of his outing. This blip of media exposure and visibility for FTMs is remembered as instrumental to many FTMs coming-of-age in the era—especially because of Bain's composure and strength and his successful fight to retain his teaching credentials. Nearly twenty years later, a young Nebraskan named Brandon Teena (1971–1993) was raped and murdered by two friends who had discovered his trans status. Widespread media reports, the documentary *The Brandon Teena Story* (1998), and the award-winning film *Boys Don't Cry* (1999), starring Hilary Swank, brought FTM trans issues to greater visibility.

The feminist movement of the 1970s was a galvanizing force in the formation of contemporary FTM identity. As women discussed their identities and realities in gendered terms and lesbians critiqued butch and femme genders, fierce arguments about masculinity and male identification in women erupted, resulting in the marginalization of butches, FTMs, and their lovers within the feminist movement. Despite transsexuality's evidence for feminism's thesis about the social construction of gender, FTMs have been ruthlessly stereotyped and degraded within women's communities. Understood as "not lesbians" and "not women," FTMs and trans butches continue to endure a queer backlash that claims FTMs "steal their women" and encroach on lesbian butch territory. Nevertheless, lesbians, tomboys, and FTMs share similar histories in terms of childhood play, resenting the limitations put on girls in a male-dominated world, or fantasizing about escaping the femininity one was born into, even if these similarities have yet to serve as platforms for solidarity. Henry Rubin (2003) posits the invert as the original deviant identity that developed—through sexological, feminist, and other twentieth-century discourses—into multiple deviant identities, including the lesbian, the butch, the tomboy, the FTM transsexual, and the gay male FTM—as FTM identity evolves, no doubt the boundaries of "appropriate" FTM transgenderism will continue to shift.

FTMs across the globe face varying, and in some case more critical, circumstances. Nevertheless, many countries have made surgeries more accessible to FTMs. For instance, despite the stigma attached to homosexuality and transsexuality (which are conflated in this case), in Iran fatwas have been issued by clerics of multiple levels (including Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini) that insist on the rights of transsexuals—both male and female—to access sex-reassignment surgery. Although a strident homophobia seems to be the motivation for this type of national recognition, the state actually helps to finance these surgeries.

FTM TRANSITIONS

Most FTMs report experiencing gender dysphoria from a young age, or at the onset of puberty when bodily changes make the dissonance between their felt gender (male) and their assigned sex (female) all the more apparent. Transitions for FTMs begin with the individual coming out to herself, and later to others, about her status. Upon recognizing this imperative for transsexual self-realization, FTMs will begin to alter their physical presentations as they begin to live as men. Strategies include binding the breasts, packing a dildo, using the men's restroom, and adopting a new name. A critical step for many FTMs is hormone replacement therapy—taking injections of testosterone (known as "T") to produce "male" secondary sex characteristics (such as body hair and a deeper voice). FTMs experience side effects with the administration of testosterone, including the cessation of menstruation, increased libido, acne, mood swings, and increased aggressiveness.

From here, many FTMs seek further medical attention, but the next phase of transition varies depending on the individual's financial situation. If an FTM is affluent enough, he will progress through the accepted medical route for the "correction" of his problem (i.e., be diagnosed with gender identity disorder and be treated accordingly). Although many transsexuals do not think they need psychological counseling and therapy, they must submit to this treatment in order to have their FTM status authenticated by a medical authority for legal recognition, name changes on government identification, and access to the next steps of transition (including hormones as well as surgery). This system of "certification" has been heavily criticized for requiring trans people to enact and confess their "abnormality," self-loathing, and pathology to a paternalistic medical power. Other scholars, such as Judith Butler (2004), argue that this process is not necessarily an obstruction to transsexual and transgender self-determination and agency.

Whereas some FTMs will not take hormones or desire any physical changes, others will proceed with sex-reassignment surgery. For FTMs, this may include "top" or chest surgery (removal of the breasts and reconstruction of the chest) and/or "bottom" surgery, which may consist of a hysterectomy and/or any number of genital-focused surgeries (including phalloplasty, metoidioplasty, genitoplasty, and scrotoplasty).

Many men in the trans community consider genital surgeries rudimentary and unsatisfactory and are waiting for technological advances in these surgeries before they will have them. Genital surgeries are also very expensive, ranging from $15,000 to $85,000 depending on their complexity, as opposed to the cost of chest surgery, which may cost up to $9,000. Because insurance companies, as yet, do not typically cover sex-reassignment surgery, FTMs, especially those in urban communities who are connected to supportive queer networks, may host benefit events to raise money for their surgeries.

Other transsexuals do not identify with the queer community. Some FTMs transition outside of the queer community or, upon transitioning, leave the queer community and are not "out" about their trans status. A report on FTMs of color (FTMOCs) commissioned by FTM International suggests that this is more common in communities of color—in part because FTMOCs feel alienated from the mostly white organized FTM communities (such as FTM International).

SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDERED MEMORY

The category FTM represents a diversity of experience. In terms of race, class, ethnicity, and genders, FTMs come in every shape and size. Like people of any gender, FTMs may be heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, queer, or pansexual, or may express their sexualities in shifting terms.

Years of suffering from body dysporia may have damaged if not demolished the sex lives of FTMs prior to their transition. Many FTMs may not have had satisfactory or comfortable sex prior to their coming out and/or transitioning. New bodies and identifications, sometimes coupled with an increased sex drive triggered by testosterone injections, may liberate FTMs to explore new sexualities. In fact, studies have shown that some FTMs change their sexual orientation or develop new sexual interests (such as sadomasochism) as they transition. Many FTMs identify as gay men and sleep with non-transsexual as well as transsexual men.

Most FTMs were socialized as females (even if this socialization was rejected or undesired), but FTMs relate to their gendered pasts with a range of styles. Although FTMs may not have ever identified as girls or women, they likely have intimate knowledge of the struggles, values, and pressures specific to women in their cultures. FTMs may believe that this prior knowledge differentiates them from sexist men in a patriarchal culture, whereas others view such notions as pretentious or irrelevant and focus instead on being "normal" guys. Within such debates, the academic Jean Bobby Noble (2006) has argued adamantly against FTMs adopting hegemonic masculinities, while the activist and educator Jamison Green (1999) has written on the politics of outing and FTM/trans visibility.

CLASS, RACE, AND EXCLUSION

Class distinctions within the FTM community often spark conflict in a world in which gendered authenticity relies on an expensive transition. Aggressive territorial disputes and cliquish behavior occur within communities where a hierarchy of maleness often determines which transmen are accepted as "real men" (hormones and top surgery represent the standard). The meaning of "gendered passing" differs across class backgrounds as do the strategies of passing within different class contexts. There have been contentious rifts between FTM/butch transgenders and FTM transsexuals largely because of class conflict that is euphemized, for instance, in stereotypes that FTM transsexuals are "old-fashioned" and FTM butch-trans are overprivileged and self-absorbed. There are many more intersectional axes that have yet to be analyzed alongside FTM identity, including disability, fatness, and age.

Arguments about male privilege between FTMs hinge on race, class, and sexual orientation and further reveal how transitioning or passing as a man can have an array of cultural meanings. For example, many white FTMs are self-conscious about transitioning into their new life as white men. For an FTMOC, however, settling into life as a black or brown man represents a completely different association to male privilege. The white transitioning FTM may be seen as a "gender traitor" who will benefit from male privilege, whereas the FTMOC will actually experience a decline in social status, as he becomes more suspect and more dangerous in the eyes of white, Western culture. Unfortunately, discourse around FTM issues such as these is dominated by the white perspective, resulting in FTMOCs feeling that their voices and struggles are not heard or attended to in FTM groups or beyond. Narrow definitions of FTM (especially those that fetishize expensive surgeries and trajectories of self-realization that value sameness over difference) exclude transmen of color and working-class transmen and deny the huge range of powerful differences that actually define and shape FTM experience.

SEE ALSO *Transgender; Transsexual M to F.*

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TRANSSEXUAL M TO F

Male-to-female (MTF) *transsexual* refers to biologically born males who identify as female or as a woman and who may seek to undergo or have undergone hormonal and/or surgical intervention(s) to align their external physical sex with their internal female gender identity. Conversely, *female-to-male* (FTM) *transsexual* refers to biologically born females who identify as males or as a man and seek to undergo or have undergone hormonal and/or surgical interventions to align their physical characteristics with their male gender identity. According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV*, the prevalence of MTF is approximately 1 in 30,000 whereas the prevalence of FTM is reported to be 1 in 100,000.

Whereas transsexuals may identify as transgender, not all transgendered individuals are transsexual, the distinguishing characteristics being that the individual's gender identity does not align with the gender assigned at birth and that medical intervention(s) may be sought to alter external physical presentation to match internal gender identity. Common interventions for MTF transsexuals include feminizing hormones (e.g., estradiol, antiandrogens, gonadotropin suppressors) that modify secondary sex characteristics, cosmetic surgery (e.g., facial feminization, electrolysis, breast augmentation), and *sex reassignment surgery* (altering sex genitalia).

THEORY AND ETIOLOGY (CAUSES)

Though a number of theories have been proposed in attempts to understand and explain the developmental processes that relate to transsexuality, the etiology remains under debate. Historically, models have conceptualized transsexuality as a psychological disease or disorder that contradicts typical development. A large body of psychological literature exists around the notion that transsexuality can be defined as *gender identity disorder* or *gender dysphoria*. The *DSM-IV* lists five criteria that must be met in order for a diagnosis of gender identity disorder to be applied: (1) there must be evidence of a strong and persistent cross-gender identification, (2) this cross-gender identification must not merely be a desire for any perceived cultural advantages of being the other sex, (3) there must also be evidence of persistent discomfort about one's assigned sex or a sense of inappropriateness in the gender role of that sex, (4) the individual must not have a concurrent physical intersex condition (e.g., androgen insensitivity syndrome or congenital adrenal hyperplasia), and (5) there must be evidence of clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

A number of researchers (i.e., Kurt Freund, Gunter Dorner, J. Michael Bailey, Ray Blanchard, Anne Lawrence) have proposed biological explanations for transsexuality, including that it represents a neurological form of intersexuality. In these theories transsexuality is thought to result from prenatal exposure to hormones that alter the brain in ways that affect the formation of gender identity. However, the majority of evidence for such assertions comes from behavioral research conducted with animals that have been exposed to varied hormonal levels during neonatal development. Even within these studies the results are inconsistent at best. Although further research may one day establish a link between prenatal hormonal exposure and transsexuality, in the early twenty-first century, such explanations should be viewed with caution.

DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESSES

Though the majority of transsexual individuals do not begin to live in the social role that represents their internal gender identity or seek medical intervention until they reach adulthood, some may begin to express their desire to live in the opposite gender role in childhood or adolescence. However, it is not uncommon for individuals to acknowledge, retrospectively, feeling that their internal gender identity and external biological sex were discrepant from an early age. Regardless of when an individual begins to identify as transsexual, most suffer from emotional and psychological distress due to the inconsistencies of internal gender identity and external anatomy coupled with social disapproval.

The process of *transitioning* refers to the period of time when the individual moves from living in one gender role to living in the other. Often this period begins with subtle changes in appearance, such as changes in hair style and clothing, and ends after the individual has fully moved into the desired gender role (with or without hormonal and/or surgical intervention), living full time as that gender. The process of transitioning may include hormonal and/or surgical intervention to bring external physical characteristics in line with gender identity. Transitioning may be a time of significant psychological and emotional distress as the individual seeks acceptance in his or her new role.

SEX REASSIGNMENT

Not all transsexuals seek or undergo sex reassignment therapies. Such interventions can be extremely costly and are usually not covered by standard health insurance. For those who do, sex reassignment interventions can include hormone therapies aimed at altering the appearance of the secondary sex characteristics and sex reassignment surgery that alters the primary sex characteristics (e.g., genitalia).

HORMONES

The requirements for hormonal and surgical interventions vary widely. Some physicians require that patients live in their desired gender role for a specific period of time, perhaps up to one year, prior to beginning hormonal treatment. This period is usually referred to as the real-life test (RLT) or real-life experience (RLE). However, this is not always possible for some individuals because they require hormone treatments in order to adequately *pass* (be perceived as the opposite gender by others) in society. Many MTFs require facial hair removal, facial feminization surgery, and vocal training or surgery in addition to hormonal treatments in order to pass as women. As a result the most recent version of the Standards of Care (SOC) set forth by the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (formerly the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association) suggests that a person may also be approved for hormonal treatment after a period of psychotherapeutic assessment and diagnosis.

Though some physicians are willing to prescribe hormones to patients upon request, many are hesitant to do so without the RLT or proof of psychological treatment because hormonally induced changes can become quickly irreversible, particularly in men. Some transsexual individuals choose to bypass the requirements of the medical community by purchasing their hormones on the black market, often via the Internet. However, substances purchased through the black market may not be safe or effective.

SURGERY

Sex reassignment surgery, also referred to as genital reassignment surgery, is performed to align an individual's external genitals with their internal gender identity. Specific types of genital surgery include vaginoplasty (constructing female genitalia) and phalloplasty (constructing male genitalia). These surgeries can be very risky and do not always result in the desired outcomes. Potential side effects can include problems with urinary and bowel functioning, loss of orgasmic ability, postoperative infections, and persistent genital pain.

Because sex reassignment surgery is permanent and risky, most physicians in North America and Europe require that the individual live as the desired gender for a specified period of time (RLE), usually one year, and undergo psychological evaluation prior to being approved for surgery. However, requirements are often less stringent and less costly in other countries, particularly in Asia; therefore, some individuals bypass requirements by traveling for surgery.

CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Transsexuality has been observed across cultures and is accepted to varying degrees. The first MTF transsexual to gain notoriety in the United States was Christine Jorgensen (formerly George William Jorgensen, Jr.), a U.S. citizen and World War II veteran who underwent hormonal treatments and sex reassignment surgery in Copenhagen, Denmark in 1952. Whereas Jorgensen is responsible for the early visibility of transsexuality in the United States, transsexuals have played an important role in non-European and non-North American cultures for centuries. For example, in India *hijras* undergo sex and gender change, adopting feminine styles of appearance and dress. *Hijras* serve an important role in Indian culture, performing at various ceremonies that celebrate the life cycle (e.g., weddings and the celebration of male births). In Thailand the *kathoey* are considered an intermediate or third sex/gender category that exists alongside the male/man and female/woman categories of gender. *Kathoey* are highly visible and many perform in transvestite revues and theaters and participate in beauty contests. *Kathoey* are often viewed as entertaining and humorous, making them popular among men and women. The Philippines also has a long tradition of transgendered roles that are highly valued. Depending on the region these individuals may be referred to as *bakla*, *bantut*, or *bayot*. *Bakla* are biological males believed to have a feminine heart. The largely positive social attitudes that surround *bakla* are primarily based on their ability to transform themselves into glamorous women, often competing in beauty pageants or contests that earn them a great deal of social prestige.

Christine Jorgensen. *Christine Jorgensen underwent surgery to become a woman in 1952. She was one of the first people to undergo sex reassignment surgery.* AP IMAGES.

CONTEMPORARY TRANSSEXUAL MOVEMENT

Since the mid-1990s there has been a notable rise in activism among a number of gender variant groups, including transsexuals. The Internet has provided a forum for transsexuals to share experiences and provide support and advice. Further, many European and North American societies in the early twenty-first century have policies and procedures that allow transsexuals to change birth records and other documents to reflect their gender identity. Though many countries are enacting laws to protect transsexuals from discrimination in the workplace and elsewhere, these laws are not always fully enforced.

SEE ALSO *Transgender; Transsexual F to M.*

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TRANSVESTISM

Magnus Hirschfeld, the early twentieth-century German sex researcher and homosexual rights advocate, coined the term transvestite—as well as the term transsexual—in his book *Die Transvestiten* (The Transvestites), published in 1910. As its Latin roots suggest, a transvestite is a cross-dresser, or someone who wears the clothes of the other gender. Transvestism is mainly associated with men who dress as women, in large part because clothing standards for women have become so relaxed as to make male attire on women hardly worth a second glance. Women from previous eras who dressed as men and were taken for men are usually termed *passing women* rather than *transvestites*.

Confusion about the sexual categories *transvestite*, *transsexual*, and *homosexual* in the popular media began in the late nineteenth century and continued through the late twentieth century. Even in the twenty-first century, few people realize that many transvestites are heterosexual men with no sexual interest in other men and no desire to become women. Differences between sex, gender, and sexuality must be clear and unambiguous in order to make distinctions between categories such as *homosexuality*, which is understood as choosing a person of the same biological sex for one's sexual partners; *transsexuality*, also known as *transgender identification*, which has nothing to do with object choice but is understood rather as the desire to transform one's own body into that of the other sex; and *transvestism*, which has nothing to do with either object choice or body modification but only concerns cross-dressing.

Even Hirschfeld conflated transvestites with transsexuals, believing that cross-dressers wanted to change their sex. Published accounts from the 1950s of America's first celebrity transsexual, Christine Jorgensen (1926–1989), described her as a transvestite. Films such as *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991) collapse transvestite, transsexual, and woman-hating behaviors together in one murderous serial killer; a 2004 British reality television show, "There's Something About Miriam," similarly collapsed cultural notions of transsexuality, transvestism, and homosexuality together in the person of Miriam, a twenty-two-year-old male-to-female pre-operative transsexual who wooed six male contestants, none of whom were aware she had been born a man and still had male genitals. The contestants sued to have the show cancelled, but clearly the show's creators were hoping to create shock value by presenting all these problematic sexual and gender categories together in the figure of one ambiguously-gendered woman.

Hirschfeld, a transvestite, believed in three genders: male, female, and the "third sex." The last encompassed subjects who were neither heterosexual nor normatively gendered, including homosexuals, transvestites, and transsexuals. The Nazis destroyed Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Research in 1933, and after World War II the notion of a third sex disappeared. Transvestism was seen until the 1960s as a sign of homosexuality, but in the 1960s cross-dressing became a sign of transsexual tendencies. Many in the gay and lesbian rights movement disassociated themselves from transvestism, except in the self-consciously theatrical spectacle of drag, or female impersonation. Drag, which was always a performance of gender meant to be read as theater, separated itself from the kind of transvestism associated with sexual arousal, which gradually became known as *transvestic fetishism*, and which is listed as a paraphilia in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*, Fourth Edition (*DSM IV*, 1994).

Gradually, many heterosexual males who liked to dress as women distanced themselves from the pathology of transvestic fetishism, as well as from homosexuals and transsexuals. These men are known mostly as cross-dressers, but when the term transvestite is used to describe them, it is understood to be something quite different from transvestic fetishism, something that is not necessarily about sexual arousal or mental distress.

HISTORY OF TRANSVESTISM

Transvestism as an expression of religious devotion and sexual and gender variance has been present all over the world for thousands of years. Castrated and cross-dressed priestesses of the Great Mother may date back to the Stone Age, have been recorded in Mesopotamian temple records as early as 3000 BCE, and are also present in the records of Babylonia, Assyria, and Akkadia. Astarte, Dea Syria, Artemis, Atargatis, Ashtoreth or Ishtar, Cybele, Hecate, and Diana at Ephesus were all served by transsexual priestesses. The Egyptian ruler Hatshepsut (1540–1481 BCE) made herself pharoah of Upper and Lower Egypt and ruled for twenty years wearing a ceremonial beard, male headdress, and male kilt. Cross-dressing and transsexualism were part of ancient religious ceremonies in China and Japan. Ashurbanipal (r. 668–c. 627 BCE), the last Assyrian king, dressed in women's clothing some 2700 years ago. The biblical books of Deuteronomy and Leviticus prohibit cross-dressing, probably in part to distinguish the Hebrews from their goddess-worshipping contemporaries. In ancient Greece, the cult of Dionysus had both male and female cross-dressed followers.

In North America, the Crow, Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, Lakota, and nations from the western Great Lakes and Canada to the Pacific Northwest, Louisiana, and Florida honored "two-spirit" people who cross-dressed and lived as a gender other than the one in which they were born. The Europeans who colonized North America enacted and encouraged the persecution of two-spirit people in their own communities, and coined the derogatory term *berdache*, from the French word for male prostitute, to describe them. Two-spirit people were most often males living as females, perhaps because downward gender mobility was easier to achieve than upward transformation, though some tribes reported women who hunted and fought as men, such as the Crow warrior and chief Barcheeampe. Native American women who became warrior men were known as "manly-hearts," though sometimes they, too, were known as berdache. Cross-dressing and gendered work were both crucial to cross-gender male-to-female identity, whereas fewer examples of female-to-male cross-dressing are available. Two-spirit male-to-female people usually married, served as powerful and respected religious figures, and were accepted as women. They performed certain ceremonial functions such as handling the dead, tending to the sick, cutting ritual lodgepoles, and carrying provisions for war parties. Manly-heartedness was most common among postmenopausal women, as the combination of menstrual blood and reproductive fertility among younger women seems to have linked them more forcefully to female status than males were linked to male gender identity and roles through male biology.

Medieval and Renaissance sumptuary laws restricted the wearing of certain fabrics, furs, and clothing styles to members of particular genders, classes, and ranks. Sumptuary legislation in England during the reign of the Tudor kings enforced legibility and hierarchy, and Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) appears to have issued more proclamations having to do with dress than in any time in English history. Jacobean England prohibited excessiveness in dress, and James I (r. 1603–1625) instructed the clergy to express disapproval at women wearing clothing resembling male attire. In France, Joan of Arc was burned at the stake in 1431 for refusing to stop dressing as a man. Cross-dressing was a vital part of carnival celebrations throughout Europe into the sixteenth century, and peasant rebellions such as the 1631 anti-enclosure riots in England seemed to favor cross-dressing as well. On the other end of the social scale, the French Chevalier d'Eon (1728–1810) became the eighteenth century's most celebrated and well-known male-to-female cross-dresser, and the Jacobite Pretender Bonnie Prince Charlie (Charles Edward, 1720–1788) seems to have cross-dressed as well.

Though sumptuary laws prohibited cross-dressing on the street, transvestism was a theatrical convention in Europe during the Renaissance because many laws prohibited women on the stage through the seventeenth century. Shakespeare's Juliet was played by a boy actor, as were Desdemona and Ophelia. In church music, women's vocal ranges were traditionally appropriated by boys and castrati (castrated male singers), constituting a kind of auditory—and sometimes visible—theatrical transvestism. Castrati such as Farinelli (1705–1782) became superstars in their day, with their extraordinary soprano voices in demand throughout Europe. The baroque castrati and the Victorian operatic "trouser role," where women played male characters ranging from Mozart's baroque Cherubino to Strauss's modern Octavian, carried the long-established theatrical tradition of *en travesti* into the twentieth century, and this tradition helps explain why theatrical drag, or transvestism staged as theater, is generally more tolerated than public street transvestism.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century insurgents in Scotland, Ireland, and England featured men dressed as women. In the United States, women dressed as men fought in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, some as decorated officers. Two nightclubs in Chicago, the Roselle Club and the Twelve-thirty Club, were closed down by police in the 1930s because they contained too many women in men's clothes. Famous twentieth-century passing women include Billy Tipton, a well-known jazz pianist and saxophonist who began passing as a man in 1933 and was only revealed to be biologically female at his death in 1989.

CONTEMPORARY TRANSVESTISM

Transvestites are tolerated in liberal urban areas in most of the world, or wherever gender-variant people are allowed to express themselves. Outside of this, cross-dressers flourish where a religious or cultural tradition of cross-dressing retains a strong influence. Transvestite presence in religious ceremonies is still evident in western Africa, and cross-dressing features in religions derived from west-African religions in Brazil and Haiti. Male-to-female shamans are reported in Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Columbia, and transgendered figures still perform religious ceremonies in Indonesia, India, Korea, and Vietnam. Female-to-male crossdressers also serve as priests among the Zulu in Africa and among the native peoples of the Arctic Basin, including the Inuit, Chukchi, Kamchadal, and Koryak.

In India and Pakistan, castrated and uncastrated transvestites known as *hijras* make their living begging, dancing at weddings, serving as prostitutes, and participating in religious festivals. *Hijra* is a third sex category that collapses hermaphrodite, eunuch, impotent man, male-to-female cross-dresser, and, in some cases, homosexual, into one category. While *hijras* remain on the lowest rungs of society, their cultural intelligibility secures them a role and a measure of tolerance in both Hindu and Muslim Indian and Pakistani cultures. Not all *hijras* undergo castration, but those that do are sometimes said to enjoy greater status in *hijra* society.

In Brazil, *travestis* are males who adopt female clothing and hairstyles, names, and linguistic pronouns, sometimes from a very young age. They take black market female hormones, and inject industrial silicone into their bodies to create prominent breasts, hips, thighs, and buttocks. Despite this, virtually no travesti identifies himself as a woman, and look upon any male who does so as mentally unstable.

In the twenty-first century, films such as *Beautiful Boxer* (2003), the true story of transsexual Thai kickboxer Parinya Charoenphol (Nong Toom), have purportedly helped create a greater tolerance for transvestism and gender variance in Thai culture. The film's tag line is "He fights like a man so he can become a woman." Nong Toom was famous for wearing makeup in the ring to enrage his opponents, and his transvestism was considered a publicity stunt until he made public his desire for a sex-change operation.

In Europe and the United States, transvestism is tolerated wherever sex-variant behavior is accepted, which usually means large urban centers. However, a lively network of private transvestite social clubs exists all over the world, which is especially advantageous to the many heterosexual transvestites who do not live near a large city. Cross-dressing conventions, outings, and holidays take place all through the year and can be accessed on the bulletin boards of many cross-dressing societies on the Internet. In the United States, drag balls have a history going back to early plantation society, and drag balls have been held in major U.S. cities for most of the twentieth century. The drag balls and voguing houses of Harlem received special attention with the distribution of Jennie Livingston's film *Paris is Burning* in 1990, but drag balls continue to be held all over the United States, Canada, and Mexico as independent productions and under the aegis of the Imperial Court System, an organization founded in San Francisco in 1965 that now has more than sixty chapters and sponsors drag ball fundraisers all over North America.

Some cross-dressers have attained lasting mainstream celebrity status, and drag events such as New York City's Wigstock have become yearly extravaganzas. The vocal performer and actor RuPaul Charles, who appears as both a man and a woman in film acting roles and television guest spots, exploits the theatrical aspect of female impersonation and is widely accepted across the country as a media star in drag in a way he might not be in person in a small town. Wigstock, a summer drag festival started in 1985 as an impromptu performance in Tompkins Square Park by several revelers from the nearby Pyramid Club, grew so big it had to be moved first to Union Square Park, then to the Christopher Street piers. Originally a drag tribute to the original Woodstock music festival, the event has gotten bigger, glitzier, and more commercial every year, with upwards of 50,000 revelers gathering for what is billed as the largest transvestite festival in the world. Wigstock was immortalized in 1987 in a film by Tom Rubnitz and again in a much bigger 1995 documentary of the same name directed by Barry Shils, and now has its own website. Its best known performers include drag personalities and performance artists Leigh Bowery, the Lady Bunny, Ethyl Eichelberger, RuPaul, Lypsinka, Boy George, Dorian Corey, and Varla Jean Merman.

SEE ALSO *Transgender.*

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TRIBADISM, HISTORICAL

Tribadism in contemporary terminology designates female same-sex practices involving genital rubbing or penetration. The term entered English through the French *tribade*, derived from the Latin *tribas*, a direct transliteration of Greek τριβάς, from Greek τρίβειν, "to rub." In a parallel development to the Greek source, the French term *fricatrice* derived from the Latin *fricatrix*. Colloquial English in the Renaissance often used the term *rubster* for tribade.

Early constructions of tribadism, for example in ancient Greek society, linked the act to a masculinized woman who penetrated a woman or a man using a dildo, or who herself had an enlarged clitoris. Romans often attributed such behavior back to the Greeks, beginning a tradition that would construct the tribade as Other. In an epigram, the first-century-BCE Latin poet Martial categorizes the courtesan Philaenis as "*tribadum tribas*" (famous among all tribades) and refers to her penetrating both females and males. Later antiquity would narrow the scope and limit tribadism to female homoerotic relations.

Any attempt to understand the construction of female same-sex relations in Western culture must look closely at the Renaissance. With the revival of classical literature and discovery of lost texts during that period, the practice of tribadism became more widely known to those men who could read Latin. In his *Apologie d'Hérodote* (1566), the celebrated humanist printer Henri Estienne (1531–1598) first used the term in a contrastive paradigm: a cross-dressed woman who lived as a man and married was not the same as those "shameful creatures" earlier known as tribades. Estienne thus establishes a model that foregrounds the distinction ultimately based on women who usurp male social roles and women who also usurp male sexual roles. The intention of simulating a male sexual role becomes linked to tribadism, distinguishing it from the neutral etymological meaning of rubbing. Thus, although Brantôme (c. 1540–1614) in his *Vie des dames galantes* (Fair and gallant ladies, 1665–1666) may exhibit some ambiguity in his definitions, his description of the *tribade* or *fricatrice* reinforces a specific gender role. Tribades are the active "male" gendered partner. The problematic, at least in terms of a French linguistic context, is that *tribade* becomes linked to a sexual practice that focuses on only one half of the female couple. Frequently sixteenth-century sources also associated tribadism with the non-Christian Other, locating the most widespread occurrences of the practice in the Middle East or Africa.

The question of the clitoris and its role in tribadism preoccupies medical texts. This is evident first through the 1573 treatise *Des monstres et prodiges* (On monsters and marvels) of French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–1590), and in English through, for example, Helkiah Crooke's *Microcosmographia* (1615), which stated that an enlarged clitoris would cause unnatural desires and designated those women as tribades. The anatomical feature that assimilated them to male-sexual practices (penetration), then, defined tribades. Unlike Egyptian and Ethiopian women who were cited as all having an enlarged clitoris, European women only rarely suffered from this disorder. Tribadism then became rooted in a specific anatomical attribute that engendered same-sex desire. Despite its close association with anatomy, tribadism did not exclude the use of a dildo for penetration. Thus, a parallel existed between those women whose anatomy made them tribades and those women who supplemented the "defect of their sex," to use the description of essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). Tribadism, then, centered on the woman acting the sexual role of a man.

As tribadism became more widely known, the tribade became a figure signifying uncontrollable female desire and a threat to the stable order of society. Legal proceedings multiplied. The crime of female sodomy privileged the hypertrophic clitoris as the locus of presumed guilt. The discourse constructing the tribade marked her out anatomically from other women. Although linked with a specific attribute throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the term *tribade* was often also used interchangeably with other terms. Anatomical variance and gender variance were subsumed into *hermaphrodite* (which could also indicate a male with homoerotic desires). Other terms such as "female husband" highlighted an early vision of the "mannish" woman. As medical science continued to develop in the eighteenth century, the insistence on an enlarged clitoris as the source for same-sex desire began to diminish. Further, distinctions between hermaphrodism and hypertrophy of the clitoris, built upon earlier definitions, began to be more clearly delineated. Tribadism then was categorized as a particular erotic practice—genital rubbing—and not an identity linked to an anatomical type.

Tribadism persisted as a term used in legal proceedings and medical texts, as well as pornography. In the well-known Scottish libel case of 1811, Jane Pirie and Marianne Woods were accused of tribadism. Denis Diderot (1713–1784) denounced the corruption of the Catholic Church, incarnated in the figure of the tribade mother superior in *La religieuse* (The nun, 1760). In the years preceding the French Revolution of 1789, political satire distributed in salacious pamphlets accused Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) of tribadism. By the mid-nineteenth century, partially as a result of changes brought about in society through the industrial revolution, tribadism was frequently associated with women of the lower class, prostitutes, and criminals. Colonialism also reintroduced the notion of tribadism as a non-Western practice.

In the late nineteenth century, the definition of female homoeroticism espoused by sexologists, psychologists, and criminologists drifted away from one of a woman with an enlarged clitoris toward a reconfiguration involving psychosexual sources. An earlier notion of anatomical destiny was discarded and replaced by the modern psychological discourse that constructs the clitoris as the lack of a penis. *Tribade* was supplanted by terms such as "invert," "sapphist," or "(mannish) lesbian." The "mannish lesbian," embodied by author Radclyffe Hall (1880–1943), may have shared a gender role with the tribade, but the tribade's origin was rooted in a distinct vision of the female anatomy. The uneasy relation of the tribade to the modern lesbian points to questions of lesbian identity, raised in Judith Halberstam's *Female Masculinity* (1998).

The linkage between anatomy and tribadism was no longer in place in twentieth- and twenty-first-century lesbian culture. Rather, *tribadism* refers to the act of genital rubbing and clitoral stimulation. A range of English colloquial terms from "scissoring" to "bumping donuts" to "making tortillas" all denote the act of tribadism.

SEE ALSO *Lesbianism.*

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TRIBADISM, MODERN

Tribadism is an archaic term for lesbianism or female homosexuality, and describes sexual activity between women. Tribade used to be a synonym for lesbian. The word comes from and is spelled the same in French, and the French word derives from the Latin *tribas*, which is a translation of a nearly identical Greek word meaning *to rub*. In ancient Greek the term described a woman using a dildo on herself or someone—anyone—else. The fact that her partner could be male or female suggests that tribadism described a phallic sexuality on the part of a woman, and that several practices could fall under this category.

In English the word appears in Ben Johnson's poem *The Forest* (1601), and describes a type of sexual being, a tribade, that the speaker suggests can furnish new sexual experiences. The fascination with tribades included the myth that lesbians had enlarged clitorises that could penetrate other women. Tribades were often described as beings with a female *member*, thus giving them a kinship to hermaphrodites. Tribade in French eighteenth-century texts is translated for English readers as *woman-lover*, and William King defines *tribad* in his 1732 satire *The Toast* as a woman who loved women. This description is telling because it suggests that the term was doing the work of making lesbian sex intelligible by defining it as some kind of imitation of heterosexual intercourse. Marie Antoinette was accused of tribadism, among other things, with other aristocratic ladies of her circle, as a way of discrediting her. Tribadism was also sometimes referred to as female sodomy.

In the twentieth century the definition of tribadism narrowed from describing general lesbian practices not confined to penetration with clitorises or dildos to the specific practice of rubbing the clitoris against another woman's genitals or thighs as a way of receiving, and giving, sexual stimulation. This practice was called *dyking*, *friction*, and *banging* by lesbians in the 1950s. It was once the only form of sexuality many lesbians practiced. Since 1965 tribadism has referred almost exclusively to women rubbing their genitals together, and the practice was sometimes frowned on by lesbian-feminists in the

1960s and 1970s as an imitation of heterosexuality. The popularity of oral sex among lesbians and heterosexual women from the 1960s onward, and the surge in dildo and vibrator use in the 1990s among all women, relegated tribadism to the shadows as an old-fashioned or even immature form of sexual stimulation. Tribadism in the early twenty-first century is known as *humping* or *scissoring*, and is enjoying a resurgence among lesbians and heterosexual women alike, largely because of increased interest in female sexual pleasure in the wake of the Sexual Revolution, the women's movement, and 1990s sex radicalisms. It is often mentioned in sex manuals, and is sustained as a concept in popular cultural consciousness by the success of bands such as Scissor Sisters. The term can also be used as a verb—*tribbing*—that refers to clitoral stimulation with any partner by rubbing.

SEE ALSO *Lesbianism.*

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TRICHOMONAS

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

TROJAN WOMEN

The Trojan Women, in mythology, are the royal women of Troy (Hecuba/Hekabe, Andromache, Cassandra/Alexandra, Polyxena) and their female subjects—all of whom are devastated by the sack of their city and loss of their men in the Trojan War. They become innocent victims of a war fought over another woman, Menelaus's wife, Helen, who was abducted by Hecuba's son Paris/Alexandros. Homer's *Iliad* foreshadows their fate when Nestor exhorts each Greek to return home only after "he beds down with a faithful Trojan wife, payment in full for the groans and shocks of war … borne for Helen" (2.355–356); later, Agamemnon tells Menelaus to leave no Trojan male alive, not even the "baby boy still in his mother's belly" (Fagles's translation, 6.58–59).

During the Peloponnesian War, Euripides dramatized the enslavement of Troy's remaining population in his tragedies *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba*, which together inspired Seneca's *Trojan Women* (mid-first century CE). From victims of slaughter and rape to advocates, seers, denouncers, and enactors of revenge, the women, especially Hecuba, paint a complex picture of gender roles and scripts within the narrative of devastation and loss. Hecuba stands at the center of Euripides's *Trojan Women* (415 BCE). Troy's queen, wife of Priam, and mother of numerous ill-fated children, Hecuba not only lost her sons Hector and Paris in the ten-year siege but saw Priam butchered during Troy's capture (cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.506–558). In *Trojan Women*, she learns that her daughter Polyxena was sacrificed at Achilles's tomb; that her grandson Astyanax, Hector's child by Andromache, will be thrown from the walls of Troy; and that she herself has become slave to the despicable Odysseus. Despite her losses, however, Hecuba consoles and counsels family and subjects. Though shamed by the ravings of her daughter Cassandra, priestess and accursed prophet of Apollo, Hecuba attempts to soothe her as Cassandra correctly predicts that her enforced "marriage" to Agamemnon will ensure his death at the cost of her own (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1072–1447). Hecuba urges her daughter-in-law Andromache to win the affection of Neoptolemus, who chose her as concubine, by retaining her celebrated "wifely" virtues in hope of a brighter future. (In Euripides's *Andromache* [c. 426 BCE], Andromache later bears him a son. After Neoptolemus's death, she marries Hector's brother Helenus; then, according to Pausanias [1.11.1–2], returns to Asia Minor with Pergamus, founder of Pergamum and her son by Neoptolemus.) In front of Menelaus, Hecuba challenges her daughter-in-law Helen to debate the cause of the war. Helen blames everyone but herself, even Hecuba, who while pregnant with Paris had dreamt she would bear the firebrand igniting Troy (see Euripides's fragmentary *Alexandros*, 415 BCE). In response, Hecuba demonstrates Helen's lust and greed so successfully that Menelaus promises to execute her (but cannot). Hecuba buries Astyanax, laments as Troy is set afire, and courageously boards the Greek ships with the other Trojan women.

In Euripides's *Hecuba* (c. 424 BCE), Hecuba never reaches Ithaca. On the Thracian coast, the ghost of Hecuba's youngest son, Polydorus, informs her that he was slain by Troy's former ally, Polymestor, in whose care both he and treasure had been entrusted. After Polydorus's corpse is discovered, Agamemnon lets Hecyva meet privately with the treacherous king: she and her Trojan women murder Polymestor's sons, then blind him. Euripides ends his (apparently invented) tale of crime and revenge by predicting Hecuba's transformation into a howling bitch drowned at sea (1259–1273). Whether Euripides's innovation or not, her metamorphosis

A Fresco Painting Depicting the Rape of Cassandra. © MIMMO JODICE/CORBIS.

emphasizes both a savage defense of her young and the dehumanizing effects of war. The association between Hecuba's grave and Cynossema ("Dog's Tomb"), a sailors' landmark opposite Troy, suggests some relationship between Hecuba/Hekabe and Hekate—the dreaded Anatolian goddess linked with dogs, fish, ghosts, and the protection of children.

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Adele J. Haft

U

UMOJA

Umoja, which means unity in Swahili, has historically inspired cultural nationalism, political protest, and local women organizing for social change. Contemporary Umoja is an all-women-run village in Samburu, a remote area in northern Kenya that was established in 1990 by fifteen women chased away by their husbands. These men claimed that their wives' rape by British soldiers stationed in nearby Archer's Post had dishonored them, their families, and their communities.

Led by the assertive Rebecca Lolosoli, the women settled on an abandoned plot of dry grassland where they built dung-and-mud plaster huts in a circle, symbolizing solidarity and empowerment. They declared their community a Violence-Against-Women-Free Zone and engaged in income-generating projects, including a traditional beadwork business, a cultural center, and a camping site for tourists visiting the adjacent Samburu National Reserve. Umoja village gradually expanded, as more women escaping patriarchal abuses found refuge there, took control of their lives, and sent their children to school. Their leader proudly notes, "We've seen so many changes in these women. They're healthier and happier. They dress well. They used to have to beg. Now, they're the ones giving out food to others" (Lacey 2004).

Since Umoja women only admit into their safe haven the select men who will follow their rules, local elders established a men-only village nearby to spy on the women and monitor their activities. The men also started a tourist center that was unsuccessful. Disgruntled, they have resorted to physical attacks and violent attempts to steal the women's cows, filed a court case seeking to shut down Umoja village, and even sent death threats to the female leader. The male village chief charged: "She's questioning our very culture. . . . The man is the head; the lady is the neck. A man cannot take let's call it advice, from his neck" (Wax 2005).

The Umoja story highlights the persistent and pervasive violence against women, from local cultural patriarchy to global militarism. Faced with an inaccessible state legal system, the multiply abused women mobilized to reclaim their right to a life free of poverty, discrimination, and violence. They have relentlessly fought back for their dignity and integrity, bringing a case against the British military for raping more than 1,400 Samburu women during the 1980s and 1990s. Umoja leaders offer human rights education to combat HIV/AIDS; female circumcision; forced marriage; and sexual, domestic, and other forms of violence. The Umoja Uaso Women's Group, a member of the Indigenous Information Network in Kenya, is part of a national movement working towards women's human rights. Draft legislation introduced in Parliament would grant women the right to refuse forced marriage proposals, to fight sexual harassment, to reject genital cuttings, and to prosecute rape. The Umoja women's innovative model is being replicated in other communities and has resonated beyond the continent.

The Umoja institution is rooted in traditions of indigenous African women organizing for collective action, such as woman-woman marriage (Njambi and O'Brien 2005), women's secret societies (Steady 2006), the Igbo *Inyom Nnobi* (the collective of all adult Nnobi women and also the name for the women's council)(Amadiume 1987), and the Basaa *Yum* (indigenous women mobilizing and organizing rooted in ancestral cultures of solidarity) (Ngo-Ngijol Banoum 2005). Women-centered grassroots organizations that fought local patriarchy became vehicles for nationalist struggles against colonial powers, as illustrated by the Igbo Women's War in 1929, the Kom women's rebellion of 1958–1961 (Van Allen 1976), the Basaa women's uprising in 1958, and others.

Umoja women have transformed female consciousness through their survival spirit, resourcefulness, and networking, thereby creating new avenues for public expression, political participation, and feminist leadership. They reclaim indigenous feminist cultures and global feminist practice grounded in the specificities of rural and other localized women. Umoja offers a feminist model that connects local knowledge bases, grassroots-global networking, national and international laws, to effectively protect women's human rights.

SEE ALSO *Africa: I. History; Colonialism; Feminism: I. African (Sub-Saharan); Rape; Violence.*

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Bertrade Ngo-Ngijol Banoum

URANIANS

Uranian refers to those who belong to an intermediate or "third sex," a gender somewhere between male and female. *Uranism* means homosexuality. Coined by the German lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in 1862, these terms referred to nearly all of those groups considered gay or queer in the early twenty-first century: male homosexuals, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered persons. The root of the word refers to Aphrodite Urania, a Greek goddess who, in Plato's *Symposium*, is argued to inspire a more heavenly love in which men are attracted to one another. Ulrichs thought that gayness was natural and that homosexuality was therefore neither pathological nor criminal. His ideas formed the basis for Magnus Hirschfeld's later attempts to establish that homosexuality is an innate predisposition. The term was also borrowed by a contemporaneous school of poets writing about idealized homosexual love.

Ulrichs was likely the first modern-day defender of homosexuality. Forced out of the German civil service for his open homosexuality, he began to write and publicly argue for the social acceptance of homosexuals in German culture. Ulrichs came out to his family in a letter, and in the early 1860s, he published several volumes under the pseudonym Numa Numantius, including *Vindex* (Vindicator) and *Vindicta* (Rod of freedom), that treated homosexuality openly and positively. His books were banned, first in Saxony, where a temporary lifting of the ban was seen by Ulrichs as the first gay victory, then in all of Prussia. Ulrichs got into increasing difficulties as the Prussian government took over; he was imprisoned several times and finally left Prussia altogether.

Hirschfeld, a German Jewish homosexual medical doctor, took up Ulrichs's idea of the Uranian third sex, trying, through his writings and research, to depathologize homosexuality, which was then considered a mental disease, and to make it an acceptable part of mainstream society. Hirschfeld was most interested in respectability. To that end, then, he wanted to show to the public at large how homosexual citizens were very much like everyone else—moral, patriotic, and industrious. Describing homosexual culture in Berlin, Hirschfeld's *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* (1904; Berlin's third sex), written for the general public, tries to show that homosexuals, like everyone else, enjoy triumphs, weather sorrows, and have committed relationships. Hirschfeld also published case studies of transvestites. Contemporary theorists Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Sigmund Freud both read and generally agreed with Hirschfeld's ideas, though others thought that Hirschfeld's psychologizing of homosexuals was only a first step in a larger liberation as fully normal.

The name "Uranian" was also adopted by a group of late-Victorian British and American poets, including John Barford, Edwin Bradford, John Nicholson, William Alexander Percy, and Charles Sayle, whose work celebrated the love of men for boys. Platonic and restrained, the love celebrated by this poetry was less erotic than idealized.

The term Uranian came to stand for the ideas both of homosexuals as differently gendered than others and of the condition of homosexuality as congenital. Later gay rights activists sometimes saw these characterizations as irrelevant or even demeaning. The term fell out of use with the coming of more aggressive forms of gay activism after the Stonewall riots of 1969.

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UTERUS

The uterus, or womb, is situated in the female pelvic cavity in front of the colon and behind the bladder. It is a pear-shaped organ that is linked to the vagina by the cervix. Its upper part has a tube on each side, the Fallopian tubes, through which eggs released from the ovaries travel to the uterus. The function of the uterus is to provide a place within which a fertilized egg (zygote) can develop safely into a child.

A hollow but muscular structure about three to four inches in length, the uterus has a lining of tissue, the endometrium, that changes in response to the monthly hormonal cycles of menstruation. These cycles have three stages. During the first part of the cycle, the proliferative stage, the uterus is affected by ovarian hormones such as estrogen, which effect an increase of blood flow to the uterus, causing the uterine lining to build up in preparation for a potential zygote. The second stage, the secretory stage, occurs during ovulation when the ovary releases its egg. During this stage the uterus is affected by secretions of the hormone progesterone, which stimulates the secretion of material that nourishes sperm and aids a potential pregnancy. If a zygote is not implanted, the third stage, the menstrual stage, begins. The ovaries cease their hormone production, blood flow lessens, and the uterine lining breaks down and is shed with the unfertilized egg as the material that constitutes a menstrual period.

If a fertilized egg becomes embedded in the uterus, a pregnancy ensues. The uterus begins to change to accommodate the growing fetus. It stretches continuously to make room for the developing child, increasing from a weight of about three ounces to two pounds. The fetus is linked to the uterus through an umbilical cord. At birth the strong musculature of the uterus contracts, forcing the infant out through the cervix and vagina. After the birth the uterus shrinks back to its normal size in about a month.

The uterus is less exposed to infection or injury than is the vagina or cervix, but inserting foreign objects into the uterus, as occasionally happens in attempts to induce an abortion, can cause serious tears, infections, and scarring. A method of birth control called an intrauterine device (IUD) consists of a piece of copper or plastic inserted into the uterus to prevent pregnancies. IUDs prevent pregnancy by interfering with the circulation of sperm.

The uterus may be affected by noncancerous growths called fibroid tumors, which grow on uterine walls, or by cysts. Occasionally the uterine lining begins to grow in places other than inside the uterus. This condition, which is called endometriosis, can cause pain, internal bleeding, and adhesions. The uterus may be affected by infections that begin in the vagina as a part of pelvic inflammatory disease.

Although the presence of the uterus has long been known, for many centuries it was believed that the womb migrates through the body, causing odd behaviors and strange symptoms. Called hysteria, based on the Greek word for womb, *hyster*, the disease, which was thought to be exclusively suffered by women, occupied psychiatrists in the nineteenth century. Hysteria was one of the conditions first addressed by psychoanalysis.

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V

VAGINA

In human beings the vagina links the external female genitals (the vulva and labia) to the internal reproductive organs. Extending approximately four inches from the vulva to the cervix, the vagina is a muscular canal that extends both upward and back toward the spine when a woman is standing. The opening of the vagina is at the back end of the vulva, behind the urethral opening and in front of the anus. The vagina is lined with mucous membranes and is wrinkled and pink. It expands to accommodate objects larger than itself, such as a penis, a tampon, or a baby. The mucous membranes that line the vagina are slippery because they are lubricated by glands called Bartholin's glands, which are near the vaginal opening and the cervix. Lubrication makes it easier for objects to move in and out of the vagina. The entrance to the vagina also has many nerve endings, which provide pleasurable sensations when touched. There is another sensitive area inside the vagina, called the G-spot or Grafenburg spot, that sometimes can be reached by fingers pressing upward inside the vagina. The vaginas of some women are partially covered by a membrane called the hymen, which can be ruptured during sexual intercourse or by medical examinations, some kinds of strenuous exercise, or the insertion of objects.

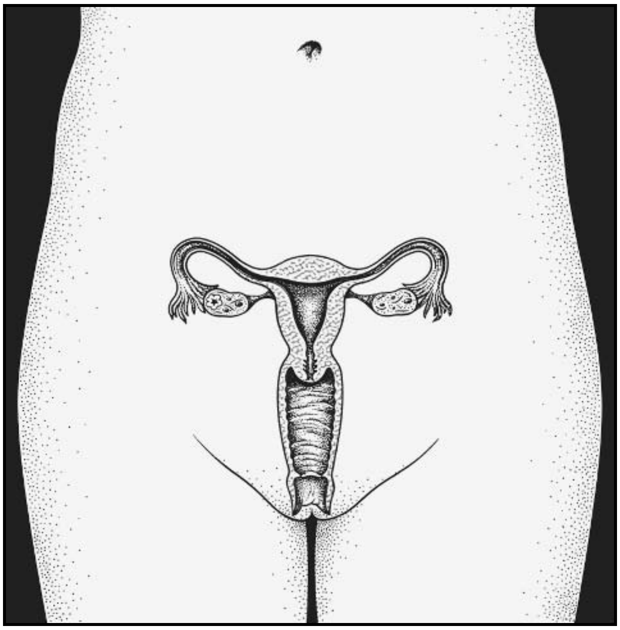
The vagina has several functions. It serves as the channel through which menstrual fluids leave the uterus each month. It is the orifice through which babies are born unless the mother has the child by means of a cesarean section (surgery that opens the uterus through the stomach). Babies born through the vagina experience a "vaginal birth." It is a site of sexual pleasure for many women because of stimulation of the nerve endings near the vaginal opening and the G-spot. Some women experience pleasure from the sensation of having the vagina filled.

The vagina usually keeps itself clean through the balanced environment of the microorganisms that typically inhabit it. If the balance of the vagina's environment is upset, it can be infected with yeasts and other microorganisms that produce discharge, itching, and irritation called vaginitis. Doctors examine the vagina during a pelvic examination, taking a smear of cells called a Pap smear that tests for unusual cells from the cervix and other tissue that might indicate cancer.

Culturally, the term *vagina* often is used to refer to female genitalia in general even though the vagina constitutes only a part of the genitalia. Often considered merely a complement to the penis, the vagina is depicted as both desiring and unaccommodating or "frigid." Unlike the penis, the vagina rarely figures as anything more than a hole or receptacle. Jokes circulate about the desirability of small or tight vaginas. Recently, plastic surgeons have developed procedures for tightening the vagina, with the idea that such tightening will increase the pleasure of heterosexual intercourse.

In response to the denigration of the vagina, the feminist playwright Eve Ensler composed a play, *The Vagina Monologues* (1996), that features women talking about their sexual experiences and vaginal pleasures.

SEE ALSO *Genitals, Female.*



Female Reproductive Organs. *An illustration of female reproductive organs. The vagina (lower center) is a muscular canal leading up to the uterus (center).* JOHN BAVOSI/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

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VAGINITUS

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases.*

VAMPIRES

In encountering the vampire, we experience the fullest range of feeling expressed in any literary text or cultural production that deals with sexuality and gender. Desire, fear, denial, and criminality all are evoked. The vampire of folklore was a corpse that crawled from the grave to feed on the living, an expression of our fear of death and the dead; it could be male or female and was devoid of sexual charge.

THE LITERARY BACKGROUND

It was only when an obscure doctor named John Polidori met the famous bisexual poet Lord Byron and the two entered into a horror-story competition with Mary Shelley (the author of *Frankenstein*) in 1816 in the context of a literary tradition—the Gothic—that was saturated in sexual dread, the vampire as it is understood in the modern era came into being. Polidori's "The Vampire" (1819) initiated a nineteenth-century literary tradition that included both the subpornographic penny dreadful *Varney the Vampire* (1847) and Sheridan Le Fanu's haunting "Carmilla" (1872), a lesbian vampire love story, before reaching its peak in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897).

THE STORY

Dracula opens with the journey of the lawyer's clerk Jonathan Harker to Transylvania to handle Count Dracula's purchase of an estate near London. Trapped and terrified, Harker realizes the count's (homosexual) interest in sucking his blood and then his own "wicked desire" that Dracula's three monstrous "brides" will "kiss" him with their "red lips" (Stoker 1977, p. 42). After escaping he immediately marries his fiancée, a competent, typewriting trainee teacher named Mina, as if to wipe himself clean of sexually incriminating experience.

Shortly before these developments Mina's friend Lucy Westenra—spoiled, rich, and flirtatious—reports her own betrothal to the aristocrat Arthur Holmwood. He proposed, Lucy reveals, on the same day as two other suitors: the asylum director Dr. Seward and the Texan adventurer Quincey Morris. Mina accompanies Lucy to the seaside, where—shortly after Dracula, in the form of a wolf, leaps ashore from a derelict foreign ship—Lucy falls into an unaccountable pattern of nightly sleepwalking.

After returning home, Lucy wastes away, voluptuously. Dr. Seward sends for his old mentor, Professor Van Helsing, who orders immediate blood transfusions from Arthur, then Seward, then Morris, and finally Van Helsing himself until "the blood of four strong men" is in her veins (Stoker 1997, p. 138). Yet every night it is drained away by Dracula, who comes to her window in the form of a bat.

Lucy dies—apparently. However, shortly afterward a beautiful lady is reported abducting and biting children. It is Lucy: She is undead, a vampire. The four men track her to her tomb, where they drive "a round wooden stake, some two and a half or three inches thick and about three feet long" (Stoker 1997, p. 190) into her body and decapitate her, thus "set[ting] her free" (Stoker 1997, p. 191).

The hunt is on to save London—and civilization—from Dracula. Combining forces with Harker and Mina, the four men force the vampire to flee, but not before he enacts an obscene ritual of union with Mina that is strongly reminiscent of breast-feeding, opening a vein in his chest and forcing her to drink. They track the vampire across Europe and decapitate him just before he returns to the safety of Castle Dracula. That act of symbolic castration restores the "unclean" Mina to purity.

Interview with the Vampire. *Tom Cruise as the vampire Lestat.* © FRANÇOIS DUHAMEL/SYGMA/CORBIS.

MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

Although Stoker disclaimed all interest in "sex impulses" (Farson 1976), his novel has rightly been described as "a vast polymorphic perverse bisexual oral-anal genital sado-masochistic timeless orgy" (Maurice Richardson, quoted in Farson 1976, p. 211). Its suggestive fecundity has spawned a proliferating family of literary, theatrical, and filmic productions that range from F. W. Murnau's German expressionist silent film *Nosferatu* (1922), the ancestor of all horror movies, to Anne Rice's best-selling forays into ersatz New Orleans decadence. Together these texts constitute a modern mythology of perverse, queer, and sadistic sexuality.

Dracula's inexhaustibility has also depended on repression, both Stoker's and his culture: It talks about sex without talking about it, depending heavily on what Freud, who was formulating his theories of sexuality as Stoker was writing, called displacement: biting teeth for penetrating penis, neck for breast, mouth for vagina, vampire contagion for incest and masturbation (the count, Harker notices, has hairy palms like the textbook Victorian self-abuser), and so on. Supernaturalism has a further sanitizing effect, but death is the greatest alibi of the story, allowing entry into the bedroom and emphasis on the body. The novel also participates in the ancient association of sexual climax and death (in French, an orgasm is termed *le petit mort*, "the little death").

Vampiric eternal life—undead persistence—depends not only on a fatal act of (sexual) penetration but on blood, in a blasphemous parody of the Christian Eucharist. However, the vampire's blood dependence is also animal, producing, like the count's ability to take animal shape, a strong suggestion of bestiality. As Judith Halberstam (1995) notes, Dracula embodies a monstrous, threatening sexuality. And the blood the vampire craves is alternately figured as female and male.

In *Dracula* as in Victorian pornography generally, female sexual experience is imagined as a bitterly painful "ordeal" (Stoker 1997, p. 191): a rape and a defloration. A defloration demands blood, both as proof of the woman's virginity (and thus of exclusive male possession) and as the visible mark of sadistic pleasure. Most disturbingly, in this novel, revealing the depth of its misogyny and sexual sadism, female blood flows most freely not when Dracula bites but when Lucy's fiancé, Arthur, drives his three-foot stake, the monstrous penis of male fantasy, through her body, which "shook and quivered and twisted in wild contortions, . . . whilst the blood . . . spurted up around it" (Stoker 1997, p. 192) to the accompaniment of her screams.

Stoker may or may not have been inspired by lurid historical accounts of Elizabeth Bathory, a fifteenth-century countess who bathed in the blood of her female servants, though he was aware of her distant relation, the sadistic Vlad Tepes, the "Impaler," a model for Dracula. Stoker certainly knew about a recent scandalous exposé of the London sex trade that revealed not only that a man could buy a virgin for the purposes of bloody defloration but also that he could rent a soundproofed room in which to enjoy her screams safely. Sadism is the prevailing mood and rape is the paradigmatic action of the vampire myth; both are inherited from Victorian culture. Both are also critical to the "slasher" and horror genres generally, showing how large and dark a shadow *Dracula* has thrown over the modern sexual imagination. The twentieth-century tabloid press certainly recognized this heritage in dubbing the 1920s German serial killer Fritz Haarmann, who sometimes ate his victims, the "Hanover Vampire" and John Haigh, who admitted to drinking his victims' blood in the 1940s, the "London Vampire."

Blood, however, is coded male as well as female. The scene of Mina at Dracula's breast not only stages infantile sexuality but resembles oral sex. As Freud's disciple Ernest Jones wrote: "In the unconscious mind blood is commonly an equivalent for semen" (Barreca 1990, p. 55); Mina is being forced to swallow the vampire's ejaculate. The transfusion of blood into Lucy's exhausted body thus also is revealed as a sex act: "no man knows till he experiences it," as Dr Seward says, "what it is to feel his own life-blood drawn away into the veins of the woman he loves" (Stoker 1997, p. 119).

The Lucy who is raped, the text posits, is not the real Lucy but an undead "Thing" (Stoker 1997, p. 192). Or one might say that there are two Lucys in *Dracula*: the pure virgin "Angel in the house" of Victorian gender ideology and her opposite, the whore. The novel lies about this, of course Lucy feels desire long before she encounters Dracula, and her pity for her disappointed suitors expresses itself as nymphomania: "Why can't they let a girl marry three men?" (Stoker 1997, p. 60). The novel also is deceptive about the desirability of the dependent domestic "Angel": Hostile images of woman as vampire, sapping man's vitality (economic as well as sexual), abounded at the end of the nineteenth century. A bitter poem by Kipling, for example, inspired the Hollywood "vamp" of the 1910s.

In Lucy's vampire/whore state her white gown is stained with blood, not only symbolically the blood of sexual experience but also the blood of the children on whom she has preyed. Thus, in *Dracula* murderous rape becomes necessary to social health, because, Victorians believed, sexual women are necessarily monstrous mothers. Moreover, in focusing on the feminine Lucy and the more masculine Mina, who strongly resembles the "New Woman" of the end of that century to the detriment of the supposed central character, *Dracula* both participates in the backlash that followed women's emergence into the public sphere and admits a more primal fear of female sexuality and the female body: The vampire mouth is a *vagina dentata*, a female orifice with teeth.

FEMALE FANTASIES

The mythology Stoker and his predecessors precipitated has allowed some space for female fantasy. Some of that fantasy is lesbian and/or bisexual and intermittently liberatory: Le Fanu's Carmilla is a desired lover as well as a feared monster. She is also, it turns out, the heroine, Laura's, maternal ancestor; for Le Fanu vampire contagion has an exclusively matrilineal descent. In Hammer Production's unabashedly sapphic *Vampire Lovers* (1970) lingering shots of the nude Carmilla (alluringly embodied by Ingrid Pitt) enable her seduction not of her nubile innocent victim but of the viewer. The horror specialist Hammer had moved from a merely luridly colorful to an overtly soft-core aesthetic with *The Countess Dracula* (also 1970, with Pitt as a vampiric version of Countess Bathory). Regardless of orientation, the Hammer vampire is a welcoming threat.

Some of the fantasy is masochistic or driven by cultural repression: vamping as a rape fantasy. There were traces of the vampire as a desired male seducer in Polidori's Lord Ruthven (based on Byron), but he was essentially the creation of Hamilton Deane, whose 1924 *Dracula: The Vampire Play* transformed Stoker's story into a drawing-room mystery melodrama and thus created the count of Halloween tradition, swathed in his impeccable evening cape (the cape was originally a stage prop; behind its folds and upright collar the count could "disappear"). The Hungarian immigrant Bela Lugosi's exotic good looks and stilted phonetic delivery gave the role a frisson of foreign eroticism; he repeated it in Tod Browning's 1931 Universal film production, the overheated publicity for which flamboyantly fetishized Lugosi/Dracula's sexually hypnotic gaze. The film unleashed a torrent of fan mail. That is one reason why, though Lugosi resented his eventual entrapment in camp self-parody, he was buried in 1956 in cape and full Dracula makeup. Frank Langella's Dracula as seducer (stage 1977, film 1979)—sophisticated, fangless, and never seen with blood on his face—was the antithesis of Max Schreck's Count in Murnau's terrifying *Nosferatu* (1922): stick-thin and rat-like, an alien phallus with teeth.

HOMOSEXUAL ELEMENTS

The product of a gay director and a "decadent" culture, the German Weimar Republic, for fifty years *Nosferatu* stood alone in confronting the male homosexual implications of the original text. Although Stoker was a classic Victorian prude, he was also a man of the equally "decadent" 1890s who was well acquainted with Oscar Wilde, whose trial for "gross indecency," it has been argued, gives *Dracula* its conflicted atmosphere of mingled homophobia and homoeroticism. Moreover, long before the Wilde scandal broke, in his working notes for the novel Stoker had written over and over the key line the count speaks to the brides who want to "kiss" Harker: "THIS MAN BELONGS TO ME" (Frayling 1991, p. 297). *Dracula* is a triangulated and displaced homosexual seduction story: By penetrating Lucy, Dracula actually drains the blood (i.e., semen) of "four strong men." Only homosexual panic can explain the peculiar intensity of Harker's vision of Dracula crawling headfirst down the castle wall. The period term for a homosexual was an *invert*, that is, a man upside down.

Nosferatu also engages the disease imagery of Stoker's novel. However, the disease Stoker had in mind as he created vampire sexuality was not plague (as in *Nosferatu*) but syphilis. That disease was epidemic in Britain at that time and was blamed on women, who were the exclusive targets of the Contagious Diseases Acts, subjected to forced examination and incarceration in "lock" hospitals. The same fury against "corrupting" women is said to have motivated Jack the Ripper's murders of London prostitutes in that period.

This hostility against women may have had a biographical motive. According to Stoker's granddaughter, his wife, Florence, a celebrated beauty whom he won from Wilde, refused to have sex with him after the birth of their only child in 1879. Frustration drove him to London's streetwalkers, whom Lucy, the sleep*walker*, startlingly resembles. Stoker died of syphilis in 1912, and it is possible that as he wrote *Dracula*, he knew he had contracted the disease. *Dracula* the novel and the modern vampire myth it generated, then, are not only about sexuality but about sexual disease, or sexuality as a disease. In the age of AIDS that is another reason for the persistence of the vampire in the popular imagination.

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VAMPIRISM

The word *vampire* came into use in English in 1732, although vampire myths date back to the baby-killing blood-drinking female demons (Akhkharu) of ancient Sumerian mythology. Many cultures around the world think of blood in connection with the concept of a life force and thus include tales of creatures (human and sometimes animal) that feed on that force. Furthermore, vampires feed on the human fascination with death, and their myths, like death itself, are surrounded by superstition and ritual. The most famous vampire tale in Western literature, Bram Stoker's 1897 novel *Dracula*, generally is cited as the vampire's first transition from myth to popular reality and perhaps even into the realm of the sexual.

Several medical conditions may cause a person to resemble or behave like a vampire. Hematodipsia (or hematomania) is a psychological fixation on blood drinking for erotic satisfaction. Porphyria is an extremely rare group of metabolic disorders whose symptoms include intense photosensitivity, pale skin, and red teeth and eyes. Xeroderma pigmentosum is a very rare condition that may cause severe sensitivity to sunlight.

As in many subcultures, participants in vampire culture and their activities vary widely; although most participate only occasionally, some identify with a full-time lifestyle. *Vampyre* is an alternative term used to connote a "real" vampire. Vampirism (the practice of draining and/or consuming someone's life energy or blood) is practiced by some members of vampire culture, often (though not always) in a sexual context, but this is only one in an extremely wide range of practices associated with vampire culture. According to Katherine Ramsland, the author of *Piercing the Darkness* (1998), vampire culture includes "vampires, donors, victims, experts, chroniclers, hunters, readers, writers, musicians, magicians, strippers, squatters, dominatrixes, role-players, criminals, divas, entrepreneurs, fetishists, [and] conventioneers," and estimates suggest that "vampire culture is now in the tens of thousands for hard-core participants, and ten times that number for people with a mild or part-time interest" (Ramsland 1998, pp. 28, 24).

In this culture the vampire is employed as a form of sexual and/or social identity that is characterized mainly by freedom from social constraints, including gender and sexual norms. Anne Rice's best-selling novels, particularly *The Vampire Chronicles*, which began with *Interview with the Vampire* in 1976, have had an important influence on the vampire community as well as mainstream culture. Rice transformed the vampire into a seductive and sexy being, and her books opened the door for vampires to span both gender and sexuality continua. Rice's four-volume *Beauty* series, which began in 1983, published under the pseudonym A. N. Roquelaure, brought themes of dominance and submission further into the mainstream.

Vampire culture may overlap with various subcultures and sexual fetish practices, including the Gothic subculture (Goth) and bondage and discipline, domination and submission, sadism and masochism (BDSM), but those communities are not synonymous. Numerous vampire clubs and balls can be found in Australia, the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, usually in major cities. Vampire club culture is connected to any number of fashion styles, from Victorian romantic to fetish wear. Black clothing predominates, and common vampire accessories include decorative contacts and/or temporary or permanent fangs.

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Whitney Jones Olson

VAN GULIK, ROBERT
1910–1967

Robert Hans van Gulik was a highly educated orientalist, diplomat, musician (he played the guqin), and writer. Van Gulik studied law and oriental language at Leiden University in Holland and received his doctorate degree for a dissertation on the horse cult in Northeast Asia. He served as a diplomat in the Dutch Foreign Service and was stationed in Tokyo and in Chongqing and Nanjing, China, among other places; his last job was the ambassador to Japan. He loved Chinese culture and translated a well-known Chinese ancient detective novel, *Judge Dee at Work*.

Van Gulik's book *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca.1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D.* marks the starting point of the research on ancient Chinese sex culture and issues. Not only did van Gulik study the characteristics of Chinese ancient sex culture from historical, sociological, and anthropological aspects, he also compared Chinese culture with the cultures of India and Japan. His book covers the institutions of concubinage and prostitution. Gulik considered the ancient Chinese to have a highly developed culture and attitude about sex. He wrote: "The ancient Chinese had indeed no reason for hiding their sexual life. Their handbooks of sex prove clearly that their sexual habits were healthy and normal-at any rate by the norms of the polygamic system that has prevailed in China from the oldest known times till recent years" (1990, p. xii). In order to write *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, van Gulik collected enormous amounts of literature and information and cited many articles. The book remains the best study of ancient Chinese sex culture.

Van Gulik also wrote a book entitled *Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period: With an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch'ing dynasty, B.C. 206–A.D. 1644*, based on a set of erotic paintings from the Ming dynasty. Published in three volumes in 1951, only fifty copies of the work were produced in a hand-painting method on wax paper. It was not for sale, but was donated to renowned university libraries, museums, and research institutes worldwide for research purposes. Volume 1 (*Mi Xi Tu Kao*) is the main body written in English, Volume 2 (*Mi Shu Shi Zhong*) is written in Chinese and is a collection of nine ancient Chinese works of sex literature, and Volume 3 (*Hua Ying Jin Zhen*) is the erotic paintings from the Ming dynasty that van Gulik collected.

Sexual Life in Ancient China was translated to Chinese by professor Li Ling at Peking University in 1986 and published by Shanghai People's Press in mainland China in 1990.

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Xiaonian Ma

VARGAS, ALBERTO
1896–1982

Alberto Vargas was born to a famous photographer in Arequipa, Peru, in February 1896 and went on to become one of the most famous pin-up artists and painters in the world. He died in Los Angeles in December 1982.

Vargas was trained by his father to use an airbrush, something he would employ to great effect in his pin-ups. As a young man Vargas traveled to Europe where he studied in Zurich and Geneva and became enamored of French neoclassical painter Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's (1780–1867) paintings in Paris. It would be the women of New York, however, who would attract Vargas by their self-confidence, and he later married one of the women from the Greenwich Village Follies, Anna Mae Clift (m. 1930–d. 1974), who became a model for some of his illustrations.

Vasgas's name is still associated with the "Varga Girl," a pin-up who was born in *Esquire* magazine, directly following George Petty's (1894–1975) "Petty Girl." The first Varga Girl, copyrighted as such by *Esquire*, appeared in the October 1940 issue of that magazine. The Varga Girl, followed by the Varga Girl calendar, became legendary during World War II. The U.S. Coast Guard wrote Vargas in 1942, acknowledging the help of the Varga Girl in its recruitment work. She appeared in provocative military uniforms, carrying medals and encouraging the purchase of G.I. bonds, and even cross-dressed as George Washington. Sometimes soldiers made special requests to Vargas to produce mascots for them. Many a pin-up lived on the side of a military tank or airplane. An image from December 1943 made the woman a kind of airplane in flight as a piece of her clothing trailing behind her sports U.S. Air Force insignia. The relationship between Vargas and *Esquire* came to an end in 1946. In 1960 Vargas began doing paintings for *Playboy*. Despite the fact that his work was signed Vargas, readers of the highly successful men's magazine still informally labeled his female drawings the Varga Girl.

Critics think that much of the appeal of the Vargas Girls lay in their expressive eyes. When Vargas was under pressure to produce an illustration in a hurry, he would paint a back shot of the model. He painted with the clear sharp lines and demarcations of the nineteenth-century European academic tradition. The anatomically clear and relatively vigorous musculature may have reflected the European classical tradition but almost certainly was influenced as well by the physique of Vargas's wife and his early model, who was a dancer. The proportions of the Varga Girl reflected the preferences of 1940s and 1950s America: ample breasts, narrow waist, full but not fleshy thighs, and long legs. Also in keeping with the strictures of those times, Vargas avoided full frontal nudity, sometimes draping his models in diaphanous materials reminiscent of classical European painting.

After his wife died in 1974, Vargas lost interest in his pin-up paintings, though he at times did record-album covers. He died in Los Angeles in 1982.

SEE ALSO *Pin-Ups.*

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

VEILING

Veiling, the use of fabric coverings to signal limitation of access, has been practiced in a variety of cultures during much of recorded history while remaining virtually unknown in others. Where practiced, veiling is always part of complex and multidimensional systems of signification bound up with gender, sexuality, ethnicity, literary culture, religion, politics, architecture, morality, and economic and other class distinctions. From earliest accounts of the practice up to the early twenty-first century, veiling has been deeply involved in the expression and contestation of privilege, identity, and control.

VEILING IN ANCIENT TIMES

Some of the earliest textual accounts of veiling associate it with marriage, but also with prostitution and deception. In Genesis, the first book of the Bible, Rebekah veils herself when she first catches sight of her intended husband Isaac. Years later she covers her son Jacob with animal skins in order to trick his blind father into blessing him. In the same biblical book, Tamar, twice-widowed daughter-in-law of Judah, veils herself to pass as a prostitute in order to conceive the children wrongfully denied her by the father of her two deceased husbands. In both story cycles, vulnerable women attain power through deception in a kind of veiled manipulation of patriarchal authority.

Other biblical stories recount how Moses, after intimate contact with the Divine, veiled his face when he returned to his people. In Islamic iconography the face of the Prophet Muhammad is customarily veiled in the rare instances in which his image appears. According to the Qur'an the Divine communicates with mortals only through revelation or "from behind a veil (*hijab*)." Similarly, the Israelites were commanded to veil the place of the Divine Presence in the wilderness tabernacle and, later, in the Jerusalem Temple's Holy of Holies. Early Christian stories portray the supernatural unveiling of this same divine sanctuary at the moment of Jesus's death.

In earliest Greek and Roman culture veiling and unveiling were most closely associated with weddings and sacrifice. Classical tragedies such as the stories of Iphigenia and Andromeda express the psychosocial relationship between these two rituals. Everyday veiling in ancient Rome was associated almost exclusively with professional priests and priestesses. The first-century Greek writer Saint Paul demanded that Christian women of Corinth veil their heads during public ritual but that the men never do so. Following this injunction most Roman Catholic celibate nuns wore veils for many centuries; a mid-twentieth-century change in Church rules rendered the practice optional for many communities.

Ancient rabbinic Jewish texts prescribed some kind of hair or head binding for married women when they were away from home and for male priests serving in the Temple sanctuary (destroyed in 70 CE). In some Jewish communities married women continue to cover or cap their hair when they leave the house, and males wear a skullcap at all times.

VEILING AND ISLAM

The veiling of brides and of women participating in public religious rituals continues in many societies and cultures around the globe in the early twenty-first century. Women's veiling as a constant, everyday practice, however—and as an expressly politicized practice—is most commonly associated with Islam.

There is much evidence, both textual and artifactual, for the veiling of women (and some men) in pre-Islamic Persia, Assyria, Arabia, and parts of Africa. The practice was hardly universal, however, and was most likely a contrivance of the elite classes. Ancient Persian kings and queens, for example, veiled themselves as a mark of separation and distinction from commoners. Imperial images on Sassanian coins depict a royal veil raised above the crown to show the monarch's face on the obverse. With the rise of Islam in the seventh century, proponents of veiling began to draw on the vocabulary and ideology of the new movement to imbue the practice of veiling with divine and prophetic significance. The Qur'anic revelation most often cited in relation to the veiling of Muslim women is reported to have been uttered at the close of a wedding feast celebrating Muhammad's marriage to his cousin Zaynab. It calls upon the followers of the Prophet to respect his privacy and that of his household, to remain behind a curtain when bringing a question or petition to any of the Prophet's wives, and not to seek to marry any of the Prophet's widows after his death. The elements of wedding/marriage and elite status, familiar from other cultures' veiling traditions, are present in this instance as well. The manner by which the curtain (*hijab*) specified in this verse comes to be applied to the bodies of all women—and not merely to rooms where believers sought audience with the Prophet's wives—is a matter of widely divergent opinion and interpretation. Other scriptural verses invoked to authorize the veiling of Muslim women include those that call for male and female modesty—specifying, in particular, that women cover their *beauty*, *ornaments*, and breasts—as well as those that instruct the wives of the Prophet and other female believers to distinguish themselves from nonbelievers by how they wear their cloaks.

Veiling of women has not been customary or compulsory in all Muslim societies. It has not, for example, been the common practice among Muslim women in

A Traditionally Dressed Omani Woman. *Oman, though a traditional Gulf Arab society where most of the adult women are veiled, has a progressive attitude towards women's participation in society.* © MIKE NELSON/EPA/CORBIS.

Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim country. With the advent of Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism in the wake of European colonialism, however, veiling emerged as a major symbol in battles over public identity and self-determination in individual, communal, and global contexts. Many Muslim women have found themselves caught amidst competing claims and obligations in struggles involving veiling wherein the stakes could be, at times, quite high.

During the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, different locales, states, and entire countries have required the wearing of veils by women, on one hand, or outlawed or restricted the practice, on the other. Banning, fines, corporal punishment, and imprisonment have been among the penalties inflicted for violation of such laws, and their enforcement has been carried out by police, courts, family members, and self-appointed vigilantes. Even in the absence of formal laws prohibiting or requiring veiling, communities or individuals have regularly attempted to enforce a preferred practice or interpretation through pressure, public harassment, beating, attacks with burning acid, and, occasionally, murder of noncompliant women. Hence, many Muslim women veil or unveil as a matter of conformity to prevailing social constraints, whereas others exercise some degree of active choice in the matter.

Muslim women who engage in veiling often express the conviction that the practice is an act of faith and of submission to the will of Allah, as well as an act of fidelity to the *Umma* (Muslim community). Some Muslim women choose—or are compelled—to veil as a show of solidarity with one or more Islamic political movements, particularly in contexts of war, military occupation, colonization, postcolonial revolution, or anti-imperialist resistance. Many Muslims reject the gender asymmetry of veiling practices and critique them as fundamentally misogynistic in nature; others claim that women are, in fact, inferior to men and should signal their subordination through veiling; still others assert that gender equality is unaffected or somehow enhanced by female veiling.

VARIETY AND PARADOX

Within and across cultures, veiling has taken differing forms—from the pinning of small lace *mantillas* or snoods to the hair; to the donning of diminutive kerchiefs, large headscarves, head-and-shoulder-covering wraps, and/or small face or nose-and-mouth covers (*niqabs*); to the wearing of full-body-and-head-covering *chadors* or *abayas*, or shroudlike *burqas*, which also cover the face and eyes; to the use of curtained litters, curtained room partitions, latticed windows, or separated living quarters. Veils worn on the head and body are, in some cases, of prescribed color and shape, but in other cases their design affords a means of ethnic or individual expression.

As a cultural phenomenon, veiling is inescapably laden with paradox. As a prerogative of the Divine or of the human elite, it can enhance power and high status; when imposed upon those without active voice or authority in human society, it can signify oppression, degradation, lack of volition, or chattel status. Veiling is an explicitly public act, a visible display of fidelity to a particular ideological system; but veiling simultaneously signals an assertion of privacy, forbidden access, invisibility, even anonymity. For women, veiling may be experienced as liberation from sexual objectification; nonetheless, as a highly gendered practice, it further entrenches the association of women—and not men—with sex, sexuality, and sexual objectification. Veiling has often functioned to enforce the confinement, seclusion, and exclusion of women, yet at times it has served as the condition for their inclusion and integration into civil society.

SEE ALSO *Islam.*

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Cynthia M. Baker

VENUS

Venus was an ancient native Italic goddess who originally was associated with flourishing vegetation and whose sphere of influence quickly expanded—perhaps through her association with the Semitic goddess Astarte, the Etruscan Turan, and the Greek Aphrodite—to include erotic relations of all types. She was concerned with both prostitution and marriage. From almost her earliest appearance, Venus has been the symbol par excellence of sexual love in Western culture. The most important elements of the iconography of the goddess (the female nude, winged cupids, roses, and doves) are immediately recognizable today and still carry erotic overtones. The standard poses in which Venus appears in ancient art, such as the nude rising from the sea while standing on a shell (Venus Anadyomene) and the naked goddess shielding her modesty from the prying eyes of the viewer (Venus Pudica), have been depicted frequently by artists from the Renaissance to the present.

THE WORSHIP AND INFLUENCE OF VENUS IN ANCIENT ROME

Though not part of the original ancient Roman pantheon, Venus was worshiped in that city from an early period in several different incarnations, including Venus Obsequens ("favorable" or "gracious"), who received a temple in 295 BCE, and Venus Verticordia ("turner of hearts"), who was worshiped at the annual festival of the Veneralia on April 1 by women of respectable status; women of lesser rank (perhaps prostitutes) worshiped another goddess, Fortuna Virilis. She also was connected with two wine festivals, the Vinalia Priora and Vinalia Rustica, observed on April 23 and August 19, respectively, though they actually were festivals of the god Jupiter. The nature of her association with those two celebrations is not clear.

In addition to her influence in private erotic matters, Venus was relevant to Roman political life. During the Second Punic War the Romans built a temple on the Capitoline hill, the most sacred place in the city, to Venus Erycina (the goddess worshiped at Eryx in Sicily). That undertaking was part of efforts to appease the gods after they had manifested their anger with the

Romans by allowing Hannibal and his Carthaginian forces to defeat the Roman army at Lake Trasimene in 217 BCE. Venus Erycina was famous in the ancient world for the sacred prostitution practiced at her temple in Eryx. There is no certain evidence that that practice came to Rome along with the goddess, though sources indicate that Roman magistrates and generals were happy to participate in such activities when visiting the goddess's sanctuary in Sicily.

In the first century BCE, Venus was taken up by the dictator Sulla as his personal protective deity: He adopted the nickname Epaphroditus, meaning "favored by Aphrodite/Venus." Her political value continued to be recognized after Sulla's death in 79 BCE. She was taken up by the dictator's younger ally, Pompey the Great, who built a temple to Venus Victrix ("the conqueror") in the year 55. The most lasting association of the goddess, however, was with Pompey's sometime friend and later rival Julius Caesar, whose family claimed descent directly from her. Caesar reinforced awareness of his divine lineage by dedicating a temple to Venus Genetrix ("the ancestor") in 46 BCE in his new Forum in Rome. The remains of that temple still can be seen. Venus maintained her political prominence in later centuries under the emperors of Rome. For example, around 121 CE the emperor Hadrian dedicated the largest temple ever built in the city to a pair of goddesses: Venus and the deified city of Rome.

VENUS IN ROMAN LITERATURE

Venus appears frequently in Roman literature, most famously in two epic poems of the first century BCE. The earlier of the two poems is Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* [On the nature of the universe], which was completed in the first half of the century. In that poem the goddess appears in an opening hymn as the embodiment of the procreative aspect of nature. Venus has the power to calm the violent forces of the universe, and the poet asks the goddess to persuade her lover, Mars, the god of war, to bestow peace on the Roman people.

Venus also plays a prominent role in Vergil's *Aeneid*, an epic poem in twelve books that was published posthumously in 19 BCE at the behest of the emperor Augustus, the great-nephew and adoptive son of Julius Caesar. The *Aeneid* tells the tale of Aeneas, Venus's mortal son fathered by the Trojan Anchises, and his long and difficult journey to establish the remnants of the Trojan people in Italy after the conclusion of the Trojan War. Once settled in Italy, the Trojans were destined to merge with the native Latins to become a single people, the Romans. It is through Aeneas and his son, Iulus, that the Roman people generally, and Julius Caesar and his successor Augustus specifically, claimed descent from Venus. Throughout the *Aeneid*, Venus appears both as a national deity and as a love goddess, especially in the poem's fourth book, in which she and Aeneas's half brother Cupid are responsible for the tragic love affair between Aeneas and Dido, the queen of Carthage.

VENUS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In the late antique and medieval periods Venus appeared commonly in mythographies: collections of classical myths provided with allegorical and metaphorical interpretations that generally were in keeping with Church teachings. The association of Venus with sexual love made her a difficult subject for Christian authors, but mythographers attempted to extract moral lessons from stories about her by finding deeper meaning in the traditional tales. For instance, in the *Mythologies* of Fulgentius (late fifth to early sixth centuries CE) the story of the birth of Venus from the severed testicles of the god Saturn becomes a lesson in the way overindulgence leads to lustful behavior: It is presented as an allegory for how crops are grown, harvested, and consumed and then produce wantonness. Elsewhere in the same text Venus also stands for devotion to pleasure in the story of the judgment of Paris, for lust in the tale of Cupid and Psyche, and for the corruption of manly virtue in the tale of her adultery with Mars. The last episode was particularly popular among medieval authors, who were consistent in their accounts of the details of the story. There is greater variation in medieval depictions of the relationship of Venus to Cupid: She is sometimes his mother (as in ancient texts), sometimes his wife, and sometimes his companion.

Venus also appears in literary contexts other than the traditional myths associated with her. In the thirteenth-century *Romance of Rose*, which was begun by Guillaume de Loris and continued by Jean de Meun, Venus is a character in the tale of a young man's adventures in the Garden of Love; she stands as an allegory for unbridled female desire. Elsewhere she is associated with the voluptuous life, that is, a life shamefully spent in the pursuit of pleasure and idleness, as in several of the *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (for example, the "Knight's Tale" and the "Wife of Bath's Tale") and his *House of Fame*, John Ridewall's *Fulgentius Metaphored*, and Christine de Pizan's *Epistle of Othea*.

In addition to her association with illicit desire, Venus could be linked to a more chaste love and with nature's bounty by later authors, as she was by the Romans in the classical period. For example, in Boccaccio's influential *Genealogie Deorum Gentilicium*, published in the late fourteenth century, two Venuses are identified: one who is "the mother of all fornications" and another who is synonymous with the harmony of the world.

Venus and Mars ***by Sandro Botticelli.*** © NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS.

VENUS IN THE RENAISSANCE

The goddess's more positive associations come to the fore during the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The perfection of her physical appearance and the preeminence of her beauty linked her closely with artistic creation in that period. In art and literature Venus was invoked most often as the embodiment of a higher love that inspires the lover to virtue and victory. After nearly disappearing from European art in the medieval period, Venus is such a recurrent motif in painting and sculpture of the Renaissance that her nude form sometimes is identified as a symbol of the Renaissance itself.

Two of the most famous paintings of her were produced by Sandro Botticelli in the mid-1480s: *The Birth of Venus*, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy, and *Venus and Mars*, which hangs in the National Gallery in London. Both works are thought to have been inspired by portions of the *Stanze* written by Angelo Poliziano (Politian) in 1475–1476. That incomplete poem in two books celebrates the chaste and improving love of Julio (Giuliano de' Medici) for the married nymph Simonetta (Simonetta Cattaneo), a love brought about by the workings of Cupid and Venus. The goddess was also the subject of numerous paintings by Titian in the first half of the sixteenth century, including *The Venus of Urbino, Venus Anadyomene, The Worship of Venus*, and *Sacred and Profane Love*.

SEE ALSO *Aphrodite; Eros, Cupid; Erotic Art; Greco-Roman Art; Literature: I. Overview; Magic.*

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VENUS DE MILO

The *Venus de Milo* is an ancient Greek statue of the goddess Aphrodite, famous both for her missing arms and as a symbol of female beauty. The *Venus de Milo* is perhaps one of the best-known works of art in the world; in popular culture, frequent reference is made both to her beauty and—often humorously—to her armlessness.

The name *Venus de Milo* comes from Venus, the Roman name for Aphrodite, and Milos, the Greek island

The Venus de Milo. © COREL CORPORATION.

where the statue was discovered in 1820 and purchased for the French government. The *Venus de Milo*'s 1821 arrival in Paris sparked a scholarly controversy that raged for almost a century. National pride caused many French scholars to argue—against all evidence—that the statue dated from the Classical era, which was considered the apex of Greek art, while others insisted that the statue had been carved much later. The most damning evidence that the *Venus de Milo* was not of the Classical period was a detached segment of the base that attributed the statue to a sculptor named Alexandros. Alexandros, according to the inscription, came from the city of Antioch, which had not been founded until 270 BCE, well after the end of the Classical period. Although this piece fit perfectly with the pedestal of the *Venus de Milo,* the director of the Louvre and other scholars argued that it could not possibly be part of the statue. The base disappeared from the Louvre during the initial reconstruction process and was never seen by the public.

By the 1950s, Alexandros had been widely accepted as the Venus's sculptor; the statue is now believed to date from roughly 80 BCE. Evidence suggests that the Venus once occupied a niche in the wall of a gymnasium; one hand most likely held the drapery about her waist, while the other held an apple out in front of her for contemplation. The apple was both a reference to the apple-shaped island of Milos, whose name derives from the Greek for "apple," and to the myth of Aphrodite, who was judged by Paris to be the most beautiful of three goddesses and received in reward a golden apple.

The *Venus*'s long-term European and North American associations with beauty are hardly accidental. Aphrodite was the Greek goddess of love and sexual desire; the apple that she likely contemplated, as Gregory Curtis (2003) suggests, is the very symbol of her physical perfection. The controversy over the statue's origins, moreover, speaks loudly to the notions of beauty that were held by nineteenth century European society. Classical Greek art was believed by scholars and philosophers to represent the pinnacle of aesthetics, and all good art and standards of beauty were thought to refer back to that period. Upon her arrival in Paris, the *Venus de Milo* was loudly and persistently proclaimed to be a stunning example of female beauty; her grace and beauty alone convinced many that the *Venus* was of Classical origin. The statue is one of the most popular exhibits in the Louvre (and has been since it was first installed there), and even to the layperson its loveliness and power are easily appreciated. The establishment of the *Venus* as a standard for female beauty, however, has become problematic for many, as it rests on a set of aesthetic assumptions that are both racially and culturally Western European in origin. Some scholars have begun to dispute that the *Venus* is beautiful, citing in particular her blank expression, while others have begun to examine the implications of her pose, location, and attire in terms of gender and sexuality. In the popular imagination, however, the *Venus de Milo* has been an exemplar of female beauty since its discovery.

SEE ALSO *Greco-Roman Art.*

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Maureen Lauder

VERNIOLLE, ARNAUD DE

Fourteenth century

Arnaud de Verniolle (also known as Vernhole) may be one of the earliest examples in Western history of a man who, under interrogation, acknowledged himself as a practicing lover of males, and to have tried to articulate his sexuality during his trial. He was a fourteenth-century cleric from the southern French Sabarthès village of Montaillou, mentioned in the Inquisition records of Jacques Fournier, bishop of Pamiers, who was sent to ferret out the last remnants of Albigense heretical sympathy in the region. The records were subsequently mined by historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie to uncover the texture of daily life and its interface with class and faith in this strongly male-centered yet morally unorthodox culture. Le Roy Ladurie's identification of Arnaud as an individual "condemned" to be a homosexual and ridden with remorse (1979, p. 145) elicited criticism from various quarters of the scholarly world; some found this comment frankly homophobic (Camille 2001), while others, from a strict constructionist perspective, objected to the term *homosexual* being applied to Arnaud's time.

According to the trial proceedings, Arnaud, who had relations with women as well as men, was primarily attracted to young men and adolescents in the clerical milieu and entertained troubled physical relations with them, combining consent and violence, attraction and bribery, curiosity and revulsion. He refused to concede that he was any more sinful than those engaged in normative sex. While he did admit to having sinned, and at once denounced sodomy and denied practicing it, he made no bones about his attraction to men. He denounced his interrogatory as an unjust double standard that made short shrift of the sexual violence routinely exercised against young women and girls, and he maintained that his same-sex experiences were consensual (Duvernoy 1965).

It is surprising that these documents have drawn such intense criticism from strict constructionist historians. No doubt, all modern words designating same-sex activity in Arnaud's time are anachronisms and thus questionable. But it would be no more accurate to refer to him as a "sodomite" than a "homosexual" because he himself refused the term, or at least the association between the term—the only one available at the time—and the acts it purported to designate.

The general reliability of Inquisition records has also been questioned, because they are obtained under duress. Further, the linguistic gaps that occur when the original Latin is translated into Occitan to interrogate local witnesses and then transcribed back into Latin make these records even less trustworthy (Davis 1979).

In Arnaud's case, however, Latin would not have been a barrier to communicating with the inquisitors. And rather than merely dismissing the records and Arnaud's testimony, if one engages in a close reading of the confession, one has to suspect that extracting it in this form would do little to enhance Church dogma and teachings by eliciting, and recording, such a confrontational confession. In effect, concern with the appropriateness of the "homosexual" label is a modern one: Arnaud was not tried principally for his alleged sodomitical acts, but for exercising without license the spiritual functions of the priesthood, in particular, confession and absolution. Sodomy was thrown in as an aggravating circumstance, and in spite of his recorded defiance, he was not condemned to death, but to life incarceration. Examined with all the necessary prudence, this remains a remarkable case in which the combination of the charges, their weight in the proceedings, and the inscription of sodomy into the interrogation and onto the body of the accused render a complex account of the construction, representation, and punishment of sexualities in fourteenth-century France (Sautman 2001).

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Homosexuality, Male, History of; Inquisition, Spanish; Sodomy, Repression of.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

VESTAL VIRGIN

The Vestal virgins were members of the most important female priesthood and the only public female priesthood in ancient Rome. That group of six virginal priestesses who were dedicated to the worship of Vesta, goddess of the hearth, was thought by the Romans to have its origins in the city's mythical past and was maintained by them until the Christian emperor Theodosius I disbanded all

A Roman Vestal Virgin Tending the Sacred Fire. **THE ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHEQUE DES ARTS DECORATIFS/DAGLI ORTI.**

pagan cults in 394 CE. The priestesses were selected by lot from among a group of girls between ages of six and ten who belonged to the most prominent families in Roman society. Candidates were required to have no physical defects and no speech impediments or hearing loss and to have both parents still alive. They were selected by the pontifex maximus, the chief public priest in Rome, under whose guardianship they remained for the thirty years of their service to the goddess and the state. At the end of their tenure Vestals were free to marry, though according to the sources, many chose to retain their office until death.

The chief responsibilities of the Vestals were to maintain the sacred fire in Vesta's temple in the Roman Forum, next to which was the Atrium Vestae where the priestesses lived at public expense, and to prepare and maintain supplies of certain items necessary for the performance of rituals throughout the Roman religious calendar, especially the *mola salsa*, a salt and grain mixture used in public sacrifices. Vestals also took leading roles in celebrations in honor of deities other than Vesta, including rites for the Bona Dea at which they offered blood sacrifice. Failure to perform their duties entailed severe punishment. Allowing Vesta's fire to go out resulted in a beating by the pontifex maximus. Violation of the strict virginal chastity that was the hallmark of the office resulted in burial alive, the last known instance of which occurred in 89 CE during the reign of the emperor Domitian.

A Vestal enjoyed a degree of independence and prestige not available to other women. Perhaps most significant, she was able to administer her own affairs without the oversight of a male relative. A Vestal also was permitted to write a will and dispose of her property, including a vast sum given to her by the state, as she chose. However, because she was technically removed from the legal control of her father upon entering the priesthood, a Vestal could not inherit from him if he died intestate, and her property would not pass to her family if she died before making a will. She could give testimony in court and was not required to swear an oath before testifying. A Vestal received special seating at public entertainments and traveled through the city proceeded by a lictor, an attendant otherwise assigned only to high-ranking public magistrates. If her entourage met with a condemned criminal on his way to execution, the criminal was set free.

So strongly have those priestesses been associated with virginity that in modern parlance the phrase *Vestal virgin* has come to mean someone who lives a chaste and abstemious life. In that capacity Vestals have continued to appear in popular culture, perhaps most famously in Mel Brooks's 1981 film *History of the World Part I* and Procol Harum's 1967 hit song "Whiter Shade of Pale," in which they are incorrectly numbered at sixteen.

SEE ALSO *Chastity; Virginity.*

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VETULA, OLD WHORE

The "Old Whore" is a conventional literary figure that the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period inherited from antiquity. She can be described briefly as the procuress who, after having sold her own charms, now sells those of others. Her main characteristics—her ugliness, her bawdiness, and her multiple talents of healer, specialist in women's bodies, and organizer of love affairs—remained more or less constant right up until the eighteenth century.

Such women, known individually as a *vetula* or collectively as *vetulae*, were frequently depicted in Latin literature. The most influential and popular example of this type is certainly the old bawd Dipsas, a central figure in Ovid's *Art of Love* (c. 3 BCE). An expert in magical arts and aphrodisiac charms, Dipsas is one of the models of the famous "Old Woman" in Jean de Meun's *Romance of the Rose*, the thirteenth-century French poem about a Lover's quest for the Rose. De Meun's character becomes herself an inspiration for both the Prioress in the "General Prologue" and the Wife of Bath in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The *Rose*'s Old Woman is a repentant whore who invokes her past experience as a prostitute to teach young ladies how to behave with men. In his *Testament*, the fifteenth-century poet François Villon places a "pretty armourer" (*Belle Heaulmière*) in the same situation, lamenting her lost beauty and advising the young generation to strip men out of their possessions while they are still in the prime of life and beautiful. Another archetypal figure of the procuress is Celestina in the *Book of Calisto, Melibea, and the Old Whore Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas, published at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Like many of her counterparts, she does her business under the cover of respectable trades, for instance selling herbs, ointments, makeup, sewing articles, or practicing crafts like embroidering or dressmaking.

Such more or less legitimate activities allowed these matrons to gain access to the privacy of the woman they wanted to introduce to a potential lover in spite of her parent's vigilance or her husband's jealousy. Under this cover, they could also take young women in their house as apprentices or workers who then sold themselves as courtesans or simple whores. Among the skills of the "old whore" are those typical of the traditional "wise woman," the healer and specialist in the human body. She knows how to cure diseases with the help of various herbs, especially ailments related to love and the difficult situations in which sexually active women can find themselves. She concocts aphrodisiac philters and is familiar with contraceptive or abortive practices. As a midwife, she is an expert not only in pregnancy and childbirth, but also in restoring lost virginities. Since magic charms or spells could be involved in the success of her interventions, she could be depicted as a sorceress and even as a witch who signed a pact with the devil. The most complete image of the old matron character in the diversity of her representations can be found in the anonymous fifteenth-century *Gospel Distaffs*, in which six such matrons meet with their neighbors in order to transmit the fruits of their experience. In a spirit of mockery, the combination of their respective characteristics highlights their love of food, wine, and lust, their irregular relationships (procuress, several times widowed and now married to a young man, concubine of a priest), and their suspicious knowledge of midwifery, healing recipes, and heretical doctrines.

Like the other literary depictions of the old bawd, their portrait corresponds to that of the marginal woman in judicial records. In his account of the margins of society in late fifteenth-century Paris, Bronislaw Geremek exposes the cases of procuresses tried at the Châtelet who provided love philters to men and women, used a variety of spells, and even appealed to the devil (1987, p. 228).

The vetula can also be related to the role ascribed to elderly women in many traditional societies. On the one hand, in a context in which traditions are mainly transmitted orally, vetulae are respected as the Repositary of domestic knowledge. Freed from the burden of fertility by menopause, old women enjoy a status they did not have before. As the example of voodoo priestesses shows, they can even be admitted to the sphere of the sacred normally reserved to men. This new access to a sort of authority is accompanied, however, with a representation of the old woman as aggressive, domineering, and lustful. This last characteristic provides an occasion for holding her up to ridicule, an attitude which is clearly conveyed by the literary tradition of the vetula.

SEE ALSO *Courtesans; Prostitution.*

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Madeleine Jeay

VIAGRA

SEE *Performance Enhancers.*

VIBRATOR

SEE *Sex Aids.*

VIOLENCE

The issues of violence cut across national, racial, and ethnic boundaries and thus are international. They include abuse, armament, battery, capital punishment, crime, femicide, infanticide, militarization, pornography, imprisonment, rape, refugees, murder, sexual slavery, sexual harassment, sexual mutilation, street harassment, terrorism, torture, and war. Peace is the alternative to these various forms of violence—more specifically, peace that takes the form of nonviolence and social change, conflict resolution (mediation and negotiation), disarmament, peace activism, peace education, women's human rights, international peace organizations, and resistance and peace movements.

Sexuality and sexual relations are central to an analysis of political and national struggles worldwide. Recent sociological, anthropological, and political studies dealing with aggression, violence, war, and the role of women clearly indicate this connection. Aspects of nationalism and the ways in which they relate to sexuality and to women's traditional roles in society are also part of this complex.

GENDER AND EXPLOITATION OF NATURE

The problems associated with masculinity include aggressiveness and violence, which are linked directly with the political and personal exploitation of nature and women. Exploitation takes various forms, from exhausting and misusing the world's resources; to oppressing people of other races, sexes, and ages; to invading and/or dominating other countries or continents; to conducting an arms race. The consequences of that exploitation are death, destruction, and violence. It is a vicious circle that keeps repeating itself, as if human beings were incapable of breaking the chain of war creating valorizing codes of heroism and masculinity and then masculinity creating war. Only a different vision, different values, and a change in power relationships and in the social construction of identities so that they would be grounded not in dominance and submission but in a harmonized acceptance of differences could bring about harmony and a future of life and hope instead of wars and a nuclear holocaust.

GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

Many studies have found a link between sexuality and national and international conflicts. Jean-William Lapierre and Anne-Marie de Vilaine (1981) see a connection between masculine predominance and the importance of war. According to those authors most civilizations are based on conquest and war. They explain how in so-called modern societies, politics, industry, and business constitute a kind of war in which men and sometimes women imitating men's behavior must be energetic and aggressive to have power. Miranda Davies (1983–1987) demonstrates how many women in the third world realize that although women may join guerrilla movements, participate in the economy, enter politics, and organize trade unions, they still are seen as second-class citizens, bearers of children, and domestic servants. Zarana Papic (1992) and Helke Sander (1992) remark that women's condition drastically worsened in the former Yugoslavia because of the civil war there. This holds true for most places that have experienced similar postmodern wars.

GENDER AND NATIONALISM

In Asia and Europe and North America, in old and new concepts of the term, nationalism is a complex component of revolutionary discourse. It can move among all the facets of political power. For example, nationalism in an extreme form can be fascism. Maria-Antonietta Macciocchi (1976) analyzed fascist ideology in Italy from a feminine perspective. The collective irrational is at work in all human groups. Conscious and unconscious forces brought the masses to fascism, leading them from a transcendence of the individual ego into total allegiance to the Italian nation. The first victims of that racism, women adhered to it through a form of masochism that prepared them to make all possible sacrifices

Although nationalism has been necessary in young Arab states that gained autonomy from colonialism, as with fascism, nationalism has reclaimed many of the most patriarchal values of Islamic traditionalism. Lebanese writer, artist, and activist Mai Ghoussoub (1952–2007) analyzed how the political rights of women, although nominally granted by national states, are in practice a dead letter in military dictatorships in which suffrage has no meaning.

Sander (1992) noted how in the former Yugoslavia the strongest and most dominant parties express extreme forms of nationalistic ideology so that their nationalism rejects the national identities of others. Civil society is the first victim of this totalitarian, domineering, nationalistic ideology. The former Yugoslavia, which used to be, as did Lebanon, a country in which various ethnic, cultural, and religious groups lived in tolerance and relative autonomy and harmony, became a place in which human rights and especially women's rights were threatened because women were looked at almost exclusively as reproductive bodies whose purpose was to bring into the world bodies to kill and be killed. Sander explained how that irrationality is actually a rational manipulation aimed at leading people to accept the dominant, exclusive, nationalistic ideology with its cruelty and hatred for the other.

Croatian philosopher and writer Rada Ivekovic (b. 1945) has shown how radical nationalism is a mechanism of binary oppositions that in the long term invariably leads to war. Because women are less anguished about their internal frontiers and the limits of their bodies, they are more peaceful in regard to outside (political) frontiers; this involves identity and the way the subject (the one who acts) is constructed. Women are biologically and socially more open to the acceptance of the other in themselves, as is seen in the sexual act and pregnancy.

VIOLENCE AND MACHISMO

In societies that take pride in the leader, chief, or hero, the macho man embodies all the masculine values. Those values of conquest, domination, competition, fighting, and boasting, which allow one to get what one wants through lying and perfidy, transform the hero into the man with the gun—the militiaman. The man with the gun has a military role and an economic and social function. He uses the weapons of war to destroy and seize control of a region or another group. He participates in looting to benefit his clientele of family members and extend the range of his influence. Through the extension of his influence, he builds a system of wealth distribution and gains even more power. Material goods and gains are obtained through the gun and other weapons. It is a *primitive* system and a vicious destructive cycle rather than a self-preserving one. The more men desire omnipotence and control of others, the more weapons are used. The means of conquest are valued in proportion to their success.

The gun, the machine gun, and the cannon—masculine sexual symbols that are extensions of the phallus—are used to conquer and destroy. Some authors indicate that for some men there is a kind of *jouissance*—pleasure in a sexual sense—in war. It is for men the closest thing to what childbirth is for women: an initiation into the power of life and death. Elisabeth Badinter (1986) makes a connection between the experience of childbirth and war. However, there is a fundamental difference between creating life in the act of childbirth and destroying it in war. Even if the two experiences could be brought together, they would divide rather than unite man and woman.

The meaning and importance given to a military weapon and to the sexual weapon are equal. Man uses his penis the way he uses his gun: to conquer, control, and possess. In a macho society one tries to obtain material goods and territory not to enjoy them or out of need but to enlarge one's domain and authority. Similarly, sexual relations often are built not on pleasure, tenderness, or love but on reproduction, the preservation of girls' virginity (the *honor* of the family), the confinement and control of women to increase male prestige, and overestimation of the penis. Lapierre and de Vilaine (1981) have shown that this phenomenon exists in almost all civilizations, with hunting followed by war lying at the root of women's oppression. Bob Connell (2001) sees a relationship between masculinity, violence, and war, saying that it is not by chance that the great majority of soldiers are men. However, that connection should not be attributed to biology, which would absolve masculine responsibility, but to social and cultural factors.

GENDER AND RAPE

Susan Brownmiller (1975) has shown how rape is a conscious tactic of warfare. Michel Foucault (1926–1984) wrote about the connection between death, sex, violence, and male sexuality. Wilhelm Reich (1972) analyzed how repressed sexuality based on authoritarian family patterns is at the root of sadistic murders, perversions, psychological problems, and social and political conflicts. René Girard (1972) analyzed the relationship between violence and religion, tracing it back to sexuality, as it is expressed in human groups that often need a scapegoat to avoid violence that would lead to annihilation. Issa Makhlouf (1988), in an analysis of the Lebanese tragedy, which he sees as a collective fascination with death and destruction, described Lebanese males as having gone mad and becoming drunk from killing.

Through the ages men have been fascinated with war. At a deep level it has been a way to prove their existence, an expression of *male desire*. Desire closely linked to sexuality and the death instinct has been written about extensively by scholars from Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) to Jacques Lacan (1901–1981). Sexuality connected with war, oppression, power, and aggressiveness has been analyzed by authors ranging from Reich, Georges Bataille (1897–1962), Foucault, Henri Laborit (1971), and Girard, along with more recent works by men who have pointed to the connection between masculinity and war (Connell and Poole [1985], among others). Those themes also have informed the entire body of feminist writing. How these issues can be articulated in contemporary societies and what avenues can be found for nonviolence and peace as a positive force are topics that have informed the work of a great many other writers.

VIOLENCE AND MALE THEORISTS

The difference between male theorists and feminist theorists is that the connection between sexuality and violence in men does not lead male scholars to want to change men, women, objectification, or dominant/submissive sexuality;

in fact they celebrate it. In contrast the women scholars and a group of Australian male theorists want to change these conditions of female oppression and male domination.

Aggression and submission are at the core of the basic relations between men and women. Many theorists insist that these basic relations must change because they are the primary cause of forceful exploitation and account for perhaps the most significant common characteristic of sexism and the war system: rape.

Ivekovic notes that rape is a way for a rapist to capture what constitutes strength and power in women: mixity. She says that in the Balkan wars at the end of the twentieth century, as in many other wars, women exercised less violence, expressed more compassion, and felt a desire to help and understand the other side. The notion of mixity, hybridity, and creolization is developed by Ivekovic, who says that symbolically, women, more than men, represent a space of mixity, meeting, and mixing. It is the feminine principal that women create through mixing that is attacked by those who want to purify their origins, *liberate* themselves from the other, and negate the other. She shows how for men identification means exclusion of the other; for women it implies a paradox because women have to identify with the different or the other. For women nationalism does not signify exclusion of the other (sex) but, rather, coexistence, because identification with the father figure itself entails mixing and inclusion. Nationalism for women does not mean (symbolic) self-breeding, because identification is with the father figure, not with the mother figure. It entails symbolic breeding in and with the other.

Nationalism needs founding myths, and those myths usually say something about *the birth of a nation* and declare that one culture is more ancient, better, male, and heroic. The sexual dimension allows and structures a very important form of thought and one of the mechanisms for the symbolic construction of power: The dominant group has the power to represent God the father or the father of the nation. She says that Belgian feminist and cultural theorist Luce Irigaray's (b. 1930) research, particularly that on syntax, shows that generally, women do not place themselves at the center of the space opened up by their speech. They tend to ask questions more than they state affirmations. Their subject is hesitant, open to interaction with the other, oriented toward the other, and waiting for it (him).

GENDER, PLURALITY, VIOLENCE, AND SOME NATIONAL DIFFERENCES

The idea of mixing and blending leading to hybridity, plurality, and creolization is at the center of action and theory for peace. It allows one to see problems from many angles and to identify or distance oneself when necessary. Multiculturality can be viewed as a positive factor in these contexts. It allows one to be assertive and autonomous, rejecting traditional as well as neocolonialist values, and to struggle in the world for human values. Violence against women still happens in most cultures to different degrees and in different manners. Women in the Middle East are victims of forced marriage, required virginity, honor crimes, sexual mutilation, beatings, lack of freedom of choice, claustration, and veiling. One of three women in the United States will be raped during her lifetime; women will experience discrimination in the workplace and earn one-third less than what men earn with the same qualifications and in the same jobs.

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Evelyne Accad

VIRGINITY

Virginity is a state of sexual inexperience, and the term most often is used to denote the status of a person—male or female—who has not had penetrative vaginal intercourse. Historically, many cultures and religions have prized premarital virginity, particularly for women, and others have placed little value on it. In some cultures female virginity is a condition of marriageability and thus is guarded closely. Although there is no physiological means by which the virginity of a man or woman can be determined, some cultures have equated female virginity with the presence of the hymen, a small flap of tissue that partially occludes the vaginal opening. Medically, however, the hymen is not a reliable marker of virginity.

DEFINITION

In contemporary North American society, among other societies, the precise definition of virginity is a vexed issue. Opponents of the most common traditional definition, which hinges on male-female vaginal intercourse, have argued that that definition ignores the possibility of same-sex intercourse. Moreover, because most young people in the United States engage in some form of sexual activity before penetrative intercourse, the connotations of sexual innocence, purity, and inexperience in the term *virginity* place inordinate value on vaginal penetration as the only form of behavior that counts as truly sexual. As a result there is often a great deal of confusion among young people about what constitutes virginity. Although some people still argue for a rigid definition of virginity, many now believe that one's virginal status must be defined and determined personally.

Although cultural and historical attitudes toward virginity have varied widely, female virginity is much more likely to be prized and regulated. A man's loss of virginity usually is attended with pride and excitement. For girls and women, even in cultures in which premarital virginity is rare and adolescent sexual activity is common, personal and social reaction to the loss of virginity is much more likely to be ambivalent, if not negative.

PHYSIOLOGY

Male virginity has no physiological marker. Only the testimony of the man in question and his sexual partners can provide evidence of virginity or its lack, and that evidence is thus necessarily controvertible. The same is true of female virginity, but in many cultures there is or has been a widespread belief that female virginity can be determined by the presence of the hymen.

The hymen is a thin membrane that partially blocks the vaginal opening. The size and elasticity of the hymen vary from woman to woman, but penile penetration often will tear it; penetration by other objects, including tampons and fingers, is somewhat less likely to damage the hymen. Determining from the shape and tearing of the hymen that intercourse has taken place is difficult at best. Although in rare cases the hymen completely occludes the vagina, in most women the hyphen already is perforated. Penetration may widen the opening in the hymen or make its edges ragged, but because the size and shape of women's hymens vary so widely, it is impossible to tell whether the shape of a woman's hymen is due to penetration. Moreover, a hymen may be so narrow that it is all but invisible, so thick or elastic that it withstands penetration without noticeable damage, or so thin or inelastic that vigorous exercise, tampon use, or masturbation may tear or erode its edges.

Thus, the hymen is a highly unreliable indicator of sexual experience: A virgin may not have a visible hymen, whereas a woman who has had multiple sexual partners can have an intact hymen. Nonetheless, some cultures still use examination of the hymen as a means of verifying virginity. In the United States the hymens of young girls sometimes are examined for abnormalities suggestive of sexual abuse. In this instance, however, only the presence of sperm is considered to provide definitive evidence of sexual abuse.

In very rare cases a woman is born with no hymen or with an imperforate hymen that completely covers the vaginal opening. In the latter instance, if the condition persists to adolescence, a gynecologist often will perform a hymenotomy: a surgical procedure that removes or opens the hymen to permit menstrual flow and normal sexual intercourse.

Rupture of the hymen at the time of first intercourse often is associated with pain and bleeding. Although some women experience those effects the first time they have intercourse, many more do not. Though the hymen may bleed when torn, any bleeding or pain experienced by the woman is just as likely to stem from insufficient lubrication or damage to the surrounding tissues.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF VIRGINITY

Virginity has long been important in many cultures. Anthropologists speculate that the social significance of female virginity, which seems to be most important in patriarchal authoritarian cultures, comes from the need to guarantee the continuation the husband's bloodline. In many of those societies wedding a virgin helps ensure the husband's family against illegitimate births, and the relocation of the bride—whose virginity often increases both her own worth and the value of her dowry—to her husband's family helps create interfamily or international alliances.

Historically, this system, in which the bride and her virginity are viewed as commodities that increase the possibility for a profitable and prestigious marriage, has been common throughout the world. Societies in Africa and the Middle East, for example, often place a high value on the virginity of brides, and the honor of a family often is measured by the chastity of its women. In Chinese society for most of the twentieth century a bride's virginity was seen as a valuable commodity, something owed to her husband and demanded by men as their right. In the Kanuri society of Africa marriage to virginal girls—though more expensive and less sexually satisfying than secondary marriages to older divorced women—is deemed more prestigious by men, who value virgins because they are thought to be more obedient and have not been "used" by another man. In traditional societies that place a heavy weight on female virginity this rhetoric of ownership is common: A virgin bride is preferred because she has been forbidden to other men and is more likely to be submissive to her husband. Such possession and submission were made literal in the marriage rituals of the Amhara society in Africa, which regarded the wedding night as a battle in which the husband had to overpower his new bride, who was expected to resist to the best of her ability.

In societies that place a high value on virginity, methods of safeguarding and verifying virginity are common. In medieval and Renaissance Europe young women sometimes were required to wear a chastity belt, a locked undergarment that prevented sexual intercourse. Many societies have practiced some form of female circumcision to inhibit female desire and prevent premarital sexual activity, though in the early twenty-first century it is common only in some African and Middle Eastern societies.

In many other cultures throughout the world the virginity of a woman is verified on or before her wedding night, sometimes by physical examination, sometimes by the taking of a vow, and sometimes by display of hymenal blood after the wedding night. Bedouin men tested their brides' virginity with togas wrapped around their forefingers; the toga then was displayed. Some native North American tribes required a ritual vow as proof of virginity, and a passage in the Old Testament dictates that the garments of a Jewish bride be displayed after her wedding night. Kurdish brides were required to present evidence of their virginity on white bedsheets, as were Bulgarian Gypsies. In some cultures a bride who failed to prove her virginity was subject to punishment, sometimes by death. In other cultures gifts were bestowed on the bride's family after she proved her virginity to the satisfaction of her husband and his family. Though such rituals of virginity verification are rare in North American and European societies and are disappearing in other areas of the world, some cultures, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, continue to practice them.

Although the men in some cultures were eager to be the first to share a bed with a virgin, other societies considered defloration dangerous. In some indigenous South American societies a surrogate was hired to deflower a virgin to protect the husband from danger. In one Mexican tribe priests used their fingers to rupture the hymens of female babies; their mothers repeated the procedure when the girls were six years old.

Many pre-Christian European societies, including the Irish Celts, appear to have placed little value on virginity. With the rise of Christianity and its veneration of the virgin birth of Christ, the preservation of virginity—both male and female—became an increasingly important facet of social life. For early Christians, the body was stained by Original Sin and desire was a sign of impurity; the Church thus came to regard physical virginity as a sign of spiritual purity. Christians were encouraged to be chaste and, failing that, to restrict their sexual activity to reproductive sex within the confines of marriage. The Church encouraged lifelong virginity in both men and women and required celibacy of its priests. Virginal women were considered the brides of Christ, and some women discovered a certain power in their virginity as the possibility of a fulfilling life in a convent allowed them to avoid the dependence and subservience entailed by marriage.

In the sixteenth century the leaders of the Protestant Reformation refuted much Catholic theology, including the tenet of lifelong virginity. Martin Luther believed that marriage was a natural human institution and that virginity was therefore not particularly desirable. Calvinism forbade the adoration of the Virgin Mary; the prohibition was extended to virginity in general and to the cloistering of nuns and other women. Rather than being conceived as a religious or spiritual state, virginity commonly was thought of as a temporary state that preceded rather than replaced marriage. Though female virginity still was valued and guarded by the families of young women, there was much less concern with male virginity.

VIRGINITY IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States predominant social attitudes toward virginity have long stemmed from the Protestant traditions of the first colonists, which generally mandated premarital virginity. Early American colonists held a strict moral view of sexual activity: Both men and women were expected to remain virgins until marriage, and nonreproductive sexual activity within or outside marriage was forbidden. There is some evidence of premarital pregnancies, which typically were resolved by marriage. In the middle to late eighteenth century, in part because of changing philosophies of individual responsibility and the social and economic upheaval of the Revolutionary War, the rate of premarital pregnancy rose. Those pregnancies, however, were less likely to result in marriage, leading to an increase in the abandonment of women, who were still economically dependent on men and stigmatized by illegitimate births.

The dramatic rise in premarital pregnancy and the increasing number of unmarried women abandoned by their lovers helped usher in the backlash that characterized Victorian morality. Virginity for women became paramount, and chastity and sexual continence were considered the hallmark of a properly Victorian masculinity. In spite of that social pressure prostitution and pornography were common features of nineteenth-century urban spaces, and a double standard for male and female sexuality flourished. Any indiscretion, however minor, might damage a woman's chastity, and she was always held responsible for any failure to protect her virtuous reputation.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century white sexual conservatism usually was conceived as being in opposition to the perceived immorality of other ethnic groups. Native Americans and people of African descent had long been considered licentious and promiscuous because of their more relaxed attitudes toward sex and nudity. Though they generally promoted monogamous relationships and long-term cohabitation, African Americans both before and after the Civil War placed much less value on either marriage or virginity largely because the slave owners' power to control marital unions had rendered marriage an insecure institution and because white men's sexual exploitation of black women made illegitimate children all but inevitable. Though the "innocence" and virginity of white women in the Reconstruction South was controlled strictly, it was understood that a white male's first sexual experience would be with a black woman.

In the late nineteenth century dating became a common practice among working-class urban youths, affording them more privacy and opportunity for sexual exploration. Though women still were expected to be virgins on the wedding day, sexual experience increasingly was linked to masculine strength and virility, encouraging more sexual activity among young men and leading to a rise in the number of illegitimate births. After the turn of the twentieth century the practice of dating spread to the middle classes. Sexual experience in a man became increasingly desirable, and men were less likely to want to be virgins at marriage. Although women still were more likely than men to remain virgins, many more women engaged in premarital sex. Additionally, social disapproval of unmarried nonvirgins began to be relaxed: Although a sexually active unmarried woman ran the risk of having a questionable reputation, she was no longer by definition unmarriageable or impure. Men and women both were increasingly likely to have significant sexual experience before marriage even if they retained their virginity.

In the years before World War II the popular view of virginity underwent a marked shift among adolescents and young adults. American culture increasingly linked love and sexual expression, and a good marriage was thought to incorporate sexual union and pleasure. The loss of virginity increasingly was seen as a rite of passage, one step in the process of becoming an adult, and was more likely to be undertaken before marriage. In place of earlier notions of virginity as a commodity that could help broker a marriage, women began to regard their virginity as a gift to be given to someone they loved, usually but not always in the context of marriage. Moreover, women were less likely to expect—or even want—their husbands to be virgins at marriage. By 1945 the majority of men and close to half of all women lost their virginity before marriage, though they often did so with a sexual partner whom they later would marry.

With the drop in marriage age after World War II, adolescents began dating earlier and the practice of "going steady" became a common means of expressing a commitment to a relationship. Premarital sex was thus more common, though the prevailing belief remained that women should retain their virginity as a gift for their future husbands. Despite the outwardly respectable morality of the 1950s, however, an undercurrent of sexual liberation was perceptible in the culture: *Playboy* was launched in 1953, advertising and films were beginning to commercialize sexuality, the publication of the Kinsey reports indicated that the nation was more sexually liberal than it seemed, and in the 1960s, second-wave feminists began to argue against the social emphasis on premarital virginity and denounce the division of women into good girls and bad girls on the basis of their virginity.

In the 1960s one outgrowth of the youth counterculture was its rejection of the sexual morality of the earlier generation. The baby boom generation was more willing to talk about and admit to having premarital sex. Men and women were more likely than their parents to have sex with partners they did not expect to marry, and they had sex at earlier ages. Casual sex for men became accepted, though women still were expected to have sex only in the context of an affectionate, if not long-term, relationship. The prevalence of premarital sexual activity in the 1970s led to increased pressure on men to lose their virginity at an earlier age as well as the new phenomenon of women losing their virginity to "get it over with." By the 1980s the vast majority of men and women were losing their virginity before marriage. In spite of the growth of the conservative Christian movement, which espouses virginity until marriage, this trend has continued.

VIRGINITY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

The loss of virginity traditionally has been defined as a physical action and most commonly is considered to consist of vaginal penetration. Even in the 1980s, when public awareness of oral sex had become common, many young heterosexuals believed that engaging in oral sex did not entail a loss of virginity. Into the 1970s and 1980s this also was the case among homosexuals, who were likely to have begun their sexual activity with a partner of the opposite sex and often did not consider the notion of virginity to be relevant to homosexual practice.

As a result of increased awareness of gay and lesbian sexuality in mainstream culture, however, contemporary definitions of virginity loss have begun to broaden. Though most heterosexuals still tend to think of virginity loss, at least initially, in terms of vaginal penetration, there is greater debate about what kinds of sexual activity might constitute a loss of virginity, with many arguing that participation in anal or oral sex compromises virginity. Young homosexuals—who, in contrast to earlier generations, are more likely to experience their first sexual activity with a person of the same sex—tend to consider their first experience with anal or oral sex to constitute virginity loss (Carpenter 2005).

In spite of the broadening definitions of what constitutes a loss of virginity and the evolution of American culture to one in which premarital virginity is uncommon, virginity is still of great social and personal importance. Laura Carpenter's 2005 study of virginity loss suggests that regardless of how an individual perceives his or her virginity—whether it is viewed as a gift to be granted in the context of a significant, loving relationship; a stigma to be shed as quickly as possible (a view more common among men but held by a significant minority of women); or a natural step or rite of passage in becoming an adult—the notion of losing one's virginity is deeply significant to most people.

Contemporary attitudes toward virginity tend to be complex and often contradictory for both men and women, as is evidenced by the juxtaposition of overt sexuality in mainstream American marketing and entertainment with the prevalence of abstinence-only sexual education in American schools. References to virginity and virginity loss are almost ubiquitous in popular American culture: Movies such as *American Pie* (1999) and *The 40 Year Old Virgin* (2005) dealt with social pressures to lose one's virginity in a timely fashion, and films from *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (1982) to *Kids* (1995) featured virginity and its loss as a prime feature of teen sexuality. Madonna's 1984 hit "Like a Virgin" was about sexual experience even as it invoked the innocence of virginity. Donna Martin (Tori Spelling) of *Beverly Hills 90210*, who remained a virgin years longer than her peers, was a prominent emblem of teen virginity in the 1990s, though that virginal status rendered her oddly out of step with her sexually experienced friends. When the pop singer Britney Spears, already shedding her girl-next-door image in favor a blatantly sexual persona, declared her intention to remain a virgin until she was married, the media and fan reaction—which ranged from applause to disbelief to titillation—highlighted the United States' contradictory attitudes toward virginity.

SEE ALSO *Chastity; Mary, Mother of Jesus.*

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Maureen Lauder

VIRGIN MARY

SEE *Mary, Mother of Jesus.*

VOYEURISM

DEFINING VOYEURISM

The concept of voyeurism has multiple meanings that have changed over time. Some definitions focus on or suggest deviance in looking, while others do not. Examining the shifting meanings of voyeurism from 1950 through 2004, psychiatrist Jonathan Metzl (2004b) observes that "in present-day America, popular definitions of voyeurism are as broad as psychiatric definitions are narrow" (p. 127). On the one hand, voyeurism may be considered a type of paraphilia—an inappropriate sexual desire or sexual disorder. Viewed in this light and from the perspective of the fields of psychiatry and psychology, voyeurism takes on a negative connotation. It is defined "as the act of becoming sexually aroused by watching some form of nudity or sexual activity of unsuspecting, unconsenting individuals, either adult or children, male or female" (Adams 2000, p. 216). For instance, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, Text Revision* (2000) provides that "the paraphilic focus of voyeurism involves the act of observing unsuspecting individuals, usually strangers, who are naked, in the process of disrobing, or engaging in sexual activity" and occurs "for the purposes of achieving sexual excitement" (p. 575). There is not, however, a large body of literature that concentrates exclusively on either voyeurism as a sexual disorder or on its treatment. Thus "the extent to which voyeurism exists in the general population is unknown." (Kaplan and Krueger 1997, p. 298).

Beyond psycho-medical definitions of voyeurism as a pathology or sexual disorder, the term is used much more loosely, in a non-sexual and pop-cultural context, to describe reality television. In 2000, when the television shows *Survivor* and *Big Brother* debuted in the United States, the terms voyeur television, voyeur TV, and other variations on the theme were use by many in the popular press to describe the shows. Along these lines, communications and law professor Clay Calvert (2000, p. 2–3) employed the term "mediated voyeurism" to describe "the consumption of revealing images of and information about others' apparently real and unguarded lives, often yet not always for purposes of entertainment but frequently at the expense of privacy and discourse, through the means of the mass media and Internet." This definition is further distinguished from that of voyeurism "as a sexual disorder or form of sexual deviance" (p. 23). Yet others contend there is still something subversive with some forms of voyeuristic television fare. Author Neal Gabler (2000, p. 1) writes that "watching these programs is a way of safely exercising mischievousness in a society that allows few opportunities to do so. They allow us to be moral outlaws."

Ultimately, then, there is a definitional divide between abnormal, pathological voyeurism and popular culture's conception of a more normal, acceptable, and non-deviant form of looking for purposes of entertainment. The term voyeurism thus takes on different meanings depending upon the context in which is used.

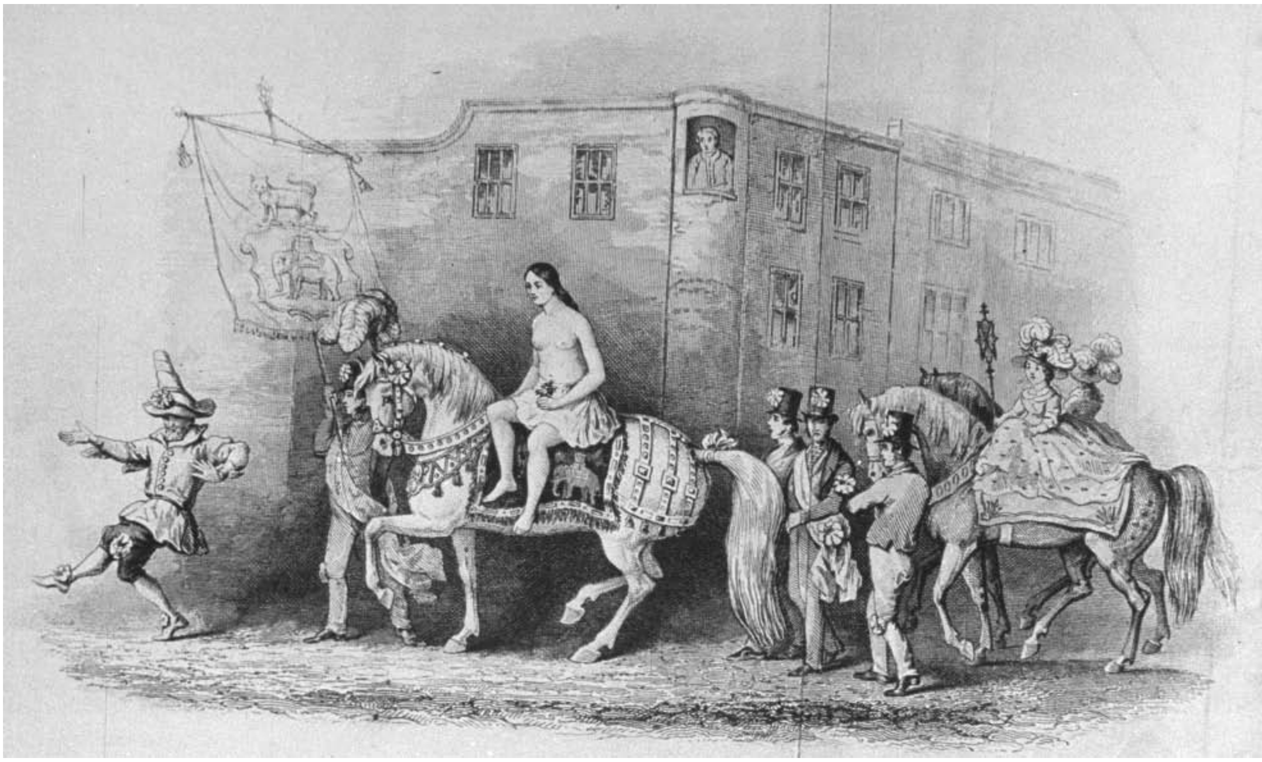
THE MOST FAMOUS VOYEUR: PEEPING TOM

Perhaps the most famous voyeur in history is a character, found in later versions of the legend of Lady Godiva, who goes by a name instantly recognizable in the early twenty-first century—Peeping Tom. Daniel Donoghue (2003, p. 69) writes that "over the years 'Peeping Tom' has become such a familiar expression that many people are surprised to learn it arose as a by-product of the Godiva legend." Tom is the voyeur who, hidden away, engages in a forbidden and transgressive gaze as he stares at Lady Godiva as she rides naked on the back of a horse through the streets of Coventry in England to protest taxes. The townspeople had been asked to stay inside their homes and not look at Lady Godiva. For such deviant looking, Tom is either blinded or killed, depending on the particular telling of the legend. As Donoghue observes, the instantaneous punishment of Tom became "established as an essential part of the legend" (2000, p. 71) by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The lesson is that some forms of looking are improper and deserve punishment. As discussed later, there are indeed laws against voyeurism, some of which incorporate the name Peeping Tom in their text.

VIDEO VOYEURISM

Of particular concern at the beginning of the twenty-first century is the concept of video voyeurism. As its name suggests, this high-technology voyeurism involves individuals who use tiny cameras—increasingly, cell phone cameras—and other video recording devices such as palm-sized camcorders to capture images of people in various stages of undress. For instance, hidden cameras have been found recording unsuspecting women in store dressing rooms, tanning booths, locker rooms, and public toilets. In addition, specialized cameras that use infrared filter technology can capture images through some types of fabrics, compounding the problem of video voyeurism by actually seeing through clothes and facilitating night-vision peeping in the dark.



Peeping Tom and Lady Godiva. *Lady Godiva riding through town nude while Peeping Tom watches from a window. This story is the source of the term "Peeping Tom."* MARK KAUFMAN/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

One pernicious form of video voyeurism is known as *upskirt voyeurism*. As the name suggests, this kind of voyeurism often involves the placement of camera-carrying backpacks and book bags at the feet of women, with the cameras pointing and shooting up underneath the women's skirts or dresses. Sometimes the voyeur places a miniature camera in his shoe and then positions his feet near those of the victim to point up under the skirt. Such upskirting may also involve the use of camera phones. For instance, in 2005 a man was arrested at a shopping center in North Attleborough, Massachusetts, for allegedly using a cell phone camera to look up the skirt of a seventeen-year-old girl as she rode an escalator. That same year an Ohio man was placed on three years of probation and made to undergo sex-addition counseling after he was caught in the act of using a camera phone held at his side to take pictures underneath the skirt of a fourteen-year-old girl at a grocery store. The flipside of upskirt voyeurism is known as *downblouse voyeurism*. As the name implies, it involves using a recording device positioned above the unsuspecting victim to capture images down a woman's blouse or shirt.

The targets of video voyeurism often are harmed in two different ways. First, their sense of privacy is invaded when the video voyeur captures the images. Second, the images themselves may end up on the growing number of sexually explicit Websites featuring voyeuristic images. If the victim finds out about such a posting, the victim suffers further emotional trauma as an object of pornography.

LAWS TARGETING VOYEURISM

Voyeurism raises important legal questions about invasion of privacy. All states in the United States have some form of statute targeting traditional Peeping Toms who physically trespass and peer into windows and secluded places. For instance, Delaware Criminal Code at Section 820 (2005) provides in relevant part that:

> A person is guilty of trespassing with intent to peer or peep into a window or door of another when the person knowingly enters upon the occupied property or premises of another utilized as a dwelling, with intent to peer or peep into the window or door of such property or premises and who, while on such property or premises, otherwise acts in a manner commonly referred to as "Peeping Tom."

Such traditional laws against voyeurism fail to address video voyeurism and high-tech peeping practices involving hidden cameras and other recording devices. By the mid-1990s, technology had outstripped the law in this area and there was little statutory authority on the books to stop video voyeurism. It was at that time and through the early years of the twenty-first century when states began to adopt new laws specifically targeting video voyeurism. For instance, on July 1, 2004, Florida Statute Section 810.145 (2005) went into effect, making video voyeurism a criminal offense. Among the various forms of prohibited video voyeurism, the Florida law makes it a crime when a person:

> for his or her own amusement, entertainment, sexual arousal, gratification, or profit, or for the purpose of degrading or abusing another person, intentionally uses or installs an imaging device to secretly view, broadcast, or record a person, without that person's knowledge and consent, who is dressing, undressing, or privately exposing the body, at a place and time when that person has a reasonable expectation of privacy.

Louisiana was one of the first states to adopt a video voyeurism law. Louisiana Revised Statute 14:283 (2005) defines the crime of video voyeurism to include "the use of any camera, videotape, photo-optical, photo-electric, or any other image recording device for the purpose of observing, viewing, photographing, filming, or videotaping a person where that person has not consented to the observing, viewing, photographing, filming, or videotaping and it is for a lewd or lascivious purpose." The United States Congress also became concerned with video voyeurism, and President George W. Bush signed into law in December 2004 the Video Voyeurism Prevention Act of 2004. Section 1801 of Title 18 of the United States Code (2005) provides that a person in the "territorial jurisdiction of the United States, [who] has the intent to capture an image of a private area of an individual without their consent, and knowingly does so under circumstances in which the individual has a reasonable expectation of privacy, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both." The "private area of an individual" under this statute "means the naked or undergarment clad genitals, pubic area, buttocks, or female breast of that individual" (18 U.S.C. § 1801, 2005).

SEE ALSO *Exhibitionism; Pornography.*

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Clay Calvert

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WAR

The differences between biological sex identity and learned gender identity are probably nowhere so clear as in wartime cultures, which direct males and females toward their respective roles as fighting men and nurturing women. At the same time, war opens space within this categorical framework. For instance, Rosie the Riveter of American World War II propaganda as a muscular factory worker is an unconventional mother, but still a mother. The link between sex and gender is simultaneously destabilized and reinforced during wartime.

WARTIME ROLES

Since ancient times and across the globe, males have performed combat. However, many scholars agree that no compelling evidence actually proves males to be biologically predisposed to soldiering. Hormones, even size and strength, have been said to play a minimal role in successful combat. Instead, soldiering, like gender, is a learned performance. The well-documented existence of both successful female warriors and unsuccessful male combatants testifies to this understanding of soldiering and gender performance. Regardless of how the occupation itself and the definitions of masculinity and femininity have varied among cultures, soldiering is seen as a masculine performance. Entrance into the military, as a basic form of civic duty or citizenship, has provided a masculine rite of passage in many cultures. Becoming a warrior, the young man leaves the private, maternal space of the home and enters the realm of public service to the paternal state. Courage, physical strength, skilled handling of weapons, endurance of hardship and pain, and the "no guts, no glory" attitude associated with warriors have typically been celebrated as masculine traits in military and civilian life. Such a model of militant masculinity at its extreme appears in the warrior hero in Homeric epics and American *Rambo* films. Such masculine soldiering belongs to a gendered dichotomy between protector and protected, strong and weak, war and peace, public and private.

Warfare is often positioned as a masculine defense of the feminine, as men defend their homes, homelands, and the women in them. In fact, popular ways of speaking about war often conflate the bodies of individual women with the nation. Invading soldiers' raping of individual women becomes symbolic of the invasion itself. In turn, the rapes of individual women often represent the humiliation of entire nations and serve as a call to arms for men to defend their women and country. Not only is the homeland needing protection feminized, but often the enemy is too: They are depicted as feminine or as effeminately homosexual, as waiting and willing to be conquered.

The essentialist formulation claiming to be rooted in nature assigning masculine and feminine work during wartime is simply that women are to give birth and men to fight and kill. However, both are recognized as duties to the state, and together they constitute necessary components of any war system. In ancient Sparta (950–192 BCE), only men who fell in battle and women who died during childbirth received marked gravestones. During wartime, womanhood is delegated to a sphere of peace, a refuge from war, where women undo war's damage. Men kill and get killed, whereas women replenish the population. Men wound and women bandage, men get dirty and women launder. Conceptions of war have depended on such a dichotomy between men and women, battlefield and home front. Yet scholars have noted that nurses appearing to act as peaceful and life-preserving mothers are nonetheless integral components of a war system that could not continue without them. During war, medical workers' fundamental purpose is to render men able to return to battle, where they will kill or be killed. In this sense, life-preserving women's war labor actually perpetuates a life-destroying cause, and at closer inspection, the dichotomy between the two collapses.

During wartime, the home front (if one can be distinguished from the battle zone) becomes militarized along with those who work and live there. Although motherhood is commonly thought of as antithetical to war, particularly by pacifist feminists, motherhood has been constructed as a feminine version of military service during wartime from ancient Sparta to twentieth-century Europe. This mother figure brings honor to herself as a national symbol of sacrifice by pressuring males to "be men" and fight. She functions as a cheerleader and witness of masculine performance. As early as the Second Crusade, the French Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204) and other women handed out phallic-shaped weaving spindles to men they suspected of neglecting their duty as soldiers. British women did the same with white feathers during World War I.

Some have questioned the masculine nature of soldiering by noting many of the ideals in a soldier are actually stereotypically feminine. Equal-opportunity feminists in favor of female combatants in the military argue militaries are not built upon essentialized masculinity. Rather, females and males with feminine traits belong there too. If military science is concerned with training numbers of individuals to act as one body, or corps, then a successful military unit depends on its soldiers' strict discipline and submission to authority, their willingness to work with others and cohere into a group, and their senses of duty, loyalty, and self-sacrifice. These are all stereotypical feminine characteristics. In contrast to the popular Rambo image, combatants must be as willing to die as to kill. Not courage or blood-thirst, but devotion to the group and an unwillingness to abandon it may compel soldiers to fight rather than flee from combat. The question remains, however, whether such feminine traits are protected and framed within a culture of masculinity and articulated within the context of a tightly bound brotherhood. Some hold that women introduced into this brotherhood threaten its cohesion and masculine character, and make such carefully framed feminine traits difficult to sustain. Scientific studies of group cohesion among mixed sex military units in the United States have been inconclusive, and are complicated by women's official designation as noncombatants, which might interfere with group cohesion more than gender or sex.

Since the 1990s, women comprise up to 15 percent of modern industrial militaries. Despite formal distinctions banning women from combat, male and female soldiers are difficult to classify simply as combatants or noncombatants during wartime. In the U.S. military, noncombatants are still trained for combat and carry guns. Females in support positions in the military often come under fire, they are taken as prisoners of war, and they are wounded or killed just as male combat soldiers might be.

Certainly, females' performance as combat soldiers has been constant throughout human history, though historical records of female warriors have emphasized the cultural anomaly of their performance, and they constitute a minority of all warriors historically. Accounts of women who have fought as soldiers disguised as men are innumerable, particularly because many never revealed their disguise. But female leaders from ancient times also fought in battle openly as women. Cleopatra of Egypt (69 BCE–30 BCE), Zenobia of Palmyra (r. 268–272 CE), and Matilda, Countess of Tuscany (1046–1115) were all political leaders who led their armies into battle and fought side-by-side with men. The Assyrian queen Sammuramat (r. 811–808 BCE), who conquered Babylon, emphasized the gendered performance of her combat on the memorial she erected in honor of herself: "Nature made me a woman, yet I have raised myself to rival the greatest man" (De Pauw 1998, p. 41).

Examples of all-female military units also exist. Though reports of ancient communities of female warriors or Amazons in ancient Libya, Scythia, and Sarmatia are widely contested, it is well-documented that the Amazons of the Kingdom of Dahomey in West Africa (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) served in their own units in a mixed military. Like Sammuramat, they reportedly saw their occupations as masculine: "We are men, not women" (De Pauw 1998, p. 181). Women around the world have always participated in combat with men in guerilla operations, terrorist attacks, and civil wars. Women have also been reserved as last lines of defense in particularly critical or bleak situations. For example, Czarist Russia and the Soviet Union formed all-female units during World War I and World War II. Women always defended town walls by throwing rocks or boiling liquid at invaders when their men were absent or short-numbered. Particularly celebrated are accounts of women, like Molly Pitcher (the historical figure based on Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley) of the American Revolutionary War, who, supporting and supplying soldiers with water and supplies, took over their husbands' posts when they were wounded or killed. These last examples point to the proximity between "combatant" and "noncombatant" roles. Except in the case of wars fought far away from home or at sea, women are rarely as isolated from combat as is typically represented.

In practice, an exclusively masculine or male space where war is waged has been only an imagined ideal. Throughout history, wherever men were soldiers, women were camp-followers or victims of invasion. Camp followers provided food to soldiers, laundered, and sold supplies. They provided medical care, dug ditches, and loaded weapons. Though some were married to soldiers, as a group they were negatively characterized as prostitutes with low morals and poor hygiene, who slowed the mobility of military units. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), German camp followers were subject to military law and were regulated by their own male military administrator. But beginning in the eighteenth century, European and North American militaries began to limit and eventually abolish camp followers. Instead they sought to provide such services within the military organization itself. This arrangement was quickly supplemented by the formation of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations during the Crimean War (1853–1856) and American Civil War (1861–1865). These groups strictly regulated the types of females they employed and their behavior to avoid "camp follower" or "prostitute" status. Women had to be celibate and unmarried, and were often framed as "sisters" or "daughters" to the soldiers. In contrast to the traditional camp follower, whose relationship with the military was chiefly economic, Red Cross women were generally unpaid volunteers who could afford to give their time and labor.

At the same time, by World War I most militaries also began providing their soldiers with regulated brothels. Feminists have offered the criticism that militaries not only encourage the sexual and economic exploitation of women, but also promote the belief that sexual exploitation of women is manly and that sexual virility is related to successful combat performance. Though feminists do not form a uniform position on prostitution, some feminists have identified a link between military policy sanctioning prostitution and violence against women. They argue that rape does not have an inherent place in war as a facet of natural male aggression but it is institutionalized through direct policy or lack thereof. For instance, the Japanese government enslaved foreign women to provide sexual services to their troops during World War II, which amounted to institutionalized rape. The wars in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s also demonstrated that rape can belong to systematic military policy; rape became an official war crime according to the United Nations in 1998.

WAR'S LONG-TERM IMPACT

Particularly in the twentieth century, mass mobilization of men into the military has necessitated women's entrance into the public sphere. In turn, new career opportunities for women made possible by war have been praised as a step forward for women's rights. But feminist scholars have pointed out that leaving the home for the factory or office did not automatically translate into gender equality. Women's status remained subordinate to the status of male workers and male soldiers especially. Women's work in factories and other sectors was repeatedly highlighted by policymakers as a temporary arrangement and framed within a context of traditional gender roles. Once men returned home, so did women, a movement enforced by public policy and postwar propaganda. In other words, while men's and women's roles changed, their positions in relation to one another did not.

It has been argued that women proved themselves worthy of full citizenship through their patriotic wartime service to the state. Whether voting rights were a direct consequence of wartime activity has, however, been disputed. It is difficult to imagine voting rights would have been granted without the suffrage movement. Regardless, after World War I, women gained the vote in Canada, Estonia, Great Britain, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden, the Soviet Union, the United States, and the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. After World War II, French and Italian women also won suffrage rights. Still, voting equality, though an important step, should not be mistaken for social, political, and economic equality.

Wars in which men fight away from home and women stay at home have also often alienated male combatants and female civilians from one another. The traumatic experience of battle has left combatants emotionally and physically damaged. Though war has been represented as a test of manhood, in which men have the opportunity to be "real men," it has also always threatened to unman soldiers. Men under fire often behave in "unmanly" or "cowardly" ways (such as crying, hiding, or failing to fire back), and physical and psychological wounds are often symbolically recognized as castrations. The castrated soldier stands in symbolic opposition to the woman who seems to have gained economic and political power during the war. Integration back into civilian and family life is often difficult if not impossible. The American experience of the Vietnam War and the German experience of World War I have involved a soldier class that felt betrayed by the home front, widely perceived as women who did not adequately support their men and the war effort. In other words, when a nation suffers a humiliating defeat and the soldiers as a group fail the "test of manhood" posed by the war, women may be blamed.

FEMINIST RESPONSES TO WAR

Feminists have been unable to form a uniform position on war. The World War I division of the women's movement into supporters of their respective governments and opponents, who formed international alliances of women against war, remains emblematic of the two camps. Many suffragists believed that if they rallied behind their governments and subordinated their own needs to that of their governments, they might eventually win the vote. Women have also been mobilized into supporting war in the name of defending other women. British and American women responded to reports of German atrocities against Belgian women, just as American and European women supported the 2002 invasion of Afghanistan as a means of liberating women from the repressive Taliban government. Northern feminists supported the American Civil War because they believed the fight to abolish slavery was a just cause. Feminists in support of a war often appeal to just-war theory. In the twenty-first century, it is clear that women have not only supported war, but have directed its policy. Condoleezza Rice of the George W. Bush administration and Pat Schroeder of the Senate Arms Committee have been powerful government and military policymakers. Just as they have proposed elsewhere, many equal-opportunity feminists also advocate the full integration of women into all sectors of the military, including combat positions, so that they might also eventually constitute a higher percentage of military and political policymakers.

Pacifist feminists have sometimes designated women as fundamentally different from men. As mothers, they hold women have a particular and natural duty to oppose war and to protect life. They hold that only women can end war, since men are either naturally predisposed or socially encouraged towards it. For this reason pacifist feminists question whether military careers are a step forward or a step backward for women, insofar as their careers support and advance a patriarchal institution that may perpetuate sexism and dichotomous and sometimes destructive gender roles. Pacifist feminists often form international coalitions and recognize women across the world as victims of war.

SEE ALSO *Rosie the Riveter.*

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Susan L. Solomon

WARHOL, ANDY
1928–1987

Andy Warhol, American icon and pop artist par excellence, began his career as a commercial and design artist in New York. A painter, a filmmaker and photographer, a writer and poet, and a practicing Catholic, he captured the essence of American culture in his brief and dramatic life. A leading figure in the arts, he also challenged conventions by boldly exploring his own homosexuality.

Warhol was born Andrew Warhola in Forest City, Pennsylvania, on August 6, 1928, to Czechoslovakian immigrants. He changed his name to Andy Warhol when he moved to New York where, in 1952, his mother joined him. She did not sit on the side but helped her son with his design production, coloring and inscribing the objects, sometimes even signing them. In this period Warhol produced a set of prints of women's dress shoes playfully titled "À la recherche du shoe perdu," an obvious allusion to French intellectual and writer Marcel Proust's (1871–1922) *À la recherche du temps perdu* (Remembrance of things past). The American *shoe* is pronounced identically to the French *chou*, which means cabbage but also refers to a puff pastry filled with cream. Such *chous*, mounted in pyramids, are a staple of French wedding receptions. But *chou* is also a common term of endearment. Gender games abound in Warhol's production.

Warhol was one of the leaders of pop art, an art movement that sought to exploit the images and motifs of popular culture, especially advertisements and mass media. Warhol had wanted to focus on comics but felt

Andy Warhol. *A 1966 Self-Portrait of Andy Warhol.* THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSĆED 'ART ETD' INDUSTRIE SAINT-ETIENNE/DAGL: ORTI.

that this area had become the property of another prominent American pop artist Roy Lichtenstein (1923–1997).

Instead, Warhol turned his attention to consumer products such as Campbell's soup cans, Coca-Cola, cartons of Brillo soap pads, Del Monte peach halves, and Heinz tomato ketchup. The soup cans are most often lined up like soldiers in an endless series, displayed as they would be in a grocery store. But food was not always so appealing in Warhol's paintings. In *Tunafish Disaster*, Warhol interlaces rows of seized, potentially lethal, cans of tuna with rows of female faces. Critics agree that his corpus comments on American consumer society. Yet all these products are female gendered, representing objects that are either prepared as food (e.g., the soup cans) or objects used to clean dirty dishes and pans (e.g., Brillo soap pads). Warhol's consumerism has a predilection for the domestic, female-coded space of the kitchen. This can be seen in Warhol's works in which S&H Green Stamps fill the canvas. S&H Green Stamps were commonly given out in grocery stores. Housewives or children glued them into booklets redeemable for purchases.

Warhol loved series—cows, flowers, dollar bills. After the death of Marilyn Monroe, he created series of the actress in strikingly bright psychedelic colors that highlighted her face, as well as a series of Jackie Kennedy after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. These works form part of Warhol's death corpus that includes car crashes repeated in series.

But it was not simply consumerism/domesticity and the morbid that attracted Warhol. His series Piss & Sex Paintings and Drawings features overtly sexual pieces, with eroticized male sexual organs in various degrees of erection. For Warhol, "homosexuality, like sex in general, was . . . natural" (Warhol 2002, p 6). He called his painted male torsos *landscapes*.

Warhol's photography, which he took up later in his career, is as powerfully gendered as his other works. His series Self-Portrait in Drag shows Warhol's ability to play gender games. In the series Bananas, a clearly phallic meaning is intended. In viewing this series one watches Warhol as he inserts an enormous, partly peeled banana into his mouth.

Gender imbued Warhol's work in different ways. His cinematic production included *Ladies and Gentlemen* (1975), which, according to Claudia Bauer, involved a reworking "of photographs of homosexuals and transvestites" (2004, p. 50). Bauer further mentions that "in recognition for his contribution to the understanding of homosexuality, he [Warhol] received an award from the New York Popular Cultural Association, but the series was not exhibited in the USA" (2004, p. 50). When an attempt was made on his life in 1968, Warhol was forced to undergo medical operations. "His upper torso was covered in long scars and required the constant support of a medical corset: 'I looked like a dress designed by Dior—no, by Yves Saint Laurent. Seams everywhere'" (2004, pp. 41–42). In this statement, the male envisions his body as a female garment.

Inspired by the great Renaissance artist Leonardo da Vinci's (1452–1519) *Annunciation*, Warhol, three years before his death, painted an *Annunciation*, striking by its absence of the two traditional characters: the handsome male angel and the chastely beautiful Virgin Mary. Warhol's interpretation (copied from a detail in da Vinci's original) includes two hands, one on each side of the painting stretched toward one another, against a landscape with a building on the side. Warhol's renditions of the same artist's *The Last Supper*, completed one year before his death, attracted more attention. Other Renaissance artists, including Sandro Botticelli (1445–1510) and Paolo Uccello (1397–1475), also inspired Warhol.

Warhol, no fan of hospitals—having already experienced them after the attempt on his life—had to undergo a gall bladder operation in 1987. In fact, he never uttered the word *hospital*, referring to it as *the place*. Complications from the operation led to his demise on February 22 of that year. A mass held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at the Holy Ghost Byzantine Catholic Church was followed by a funeral procession to St. John the Baptist Byzantine Catholic Cemetery, located in the suburb of Bethel Park. A memorial service at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York drew more than two thousand people, including some of the world's most famous artists, such as Lichtenstein, Claes Oldenburg (b. 1929), and David Hockney (b. 1937), and television personalities such as Don Johnson (b. 1949) of *Miami Vice*. Catholicism was important to Warhol. He attended church regularly and had an audience with Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) in 1980.

Warhol was the artist of mass consumption. But there can be seen in his obsession with series a fear of loss. It is said that he named all his male cats Sam, a repetition that could be seen as an urgent need to secure the future against death. In Warhol's case the future has ratified his position as one of America's most influential figures, whose artistic devices and witty aphorisms have become part of the American visual and cultural landscape.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

WATERSPORTS

Watersports is a slang term for sexual play with urine. Activities can include urination on or in front of a partner, wetting one's clothes (either in public or private), and drinking urine. Often referred to as *golden showers*, the practice is more technically known as *urolagnia* or *urophilia.* Watersports is practiced by fetishists, by those involved in domination and submission, and by couples who find that it increases emotional intimacy and sexual satisfaction.

Sexual excitement induced by the idea of or participation in watersports has both psychological and physical roots. The ache of a full bladder can enhance sexual pleasure, and, for some women, urinating at the height of pleasure can cause or intensify orgasm. Many men and women find that the sensation of a warm steam of urine on their genitals causes immediate orgasm. For some couples, participation in urine play also enhances intimacy.

Although urine itself is relatively sterile, watersports nonetheless violates a primary social taboo establishing certain bodily fluids and excretions as unhygienic. (It should be noted, however, that the cleanliness of urine does not guarantee the prevention of sexually transmitted disease or other infections.) The violation of such a taboo can itself cause sexual excitement, often coupled with shame. For some, this balance of shame and excitement is a primary attraction of watersports. For dominants and submissives, the humiliation of public urination, of urination in sexually stimulating places or positions, of wetting oneself, of drinking urine, or of holding own's urine to the point of discomfort can provide an opportunity for erotic power exchange.

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Maureen Lauder

WELFARE

In the United States, *welfare* most commonly refers to assistance provided by government to poor people to enable them to survive at a basic level of living. In Europe the government sector is larger, and public welfare programs are more developed and provide assistance to more people than only the poor. The phrase *welfare state* refers to a nation that has substantial apparatus to provide services and security to most of its citizens in a variety of domains, such as health care, education, recreation, and transportation, as well as the necessities of daily life, such as food, clothing, and housing. In the United States public policy is less extensive in the welfare area and the public sector guards against fewer risks. Most families are on their own, earning their living in a relatively unregulated marketplace; the public services that are provided are generally available only to those who meet income and asset eligibility standards and are targeted to the poor rather than being made more widely available to the working and middle classes. An inordinate fear of making people dependent on the state seems to motivate much of the relative stinginess of the U.S. welfare system. Put another way, the deserving poor, such as the elderly or the blind, or the disabled, can safely be taken care of, whereas the able bodied must be forced to work lest they should become an expensive burden. Mothers without husbands, able bodied or not, have generally been given assistance to care for their children, whereas able-bodied fathers have often been excluded because they ought to be able to work and earn enough to support a family on their own.

Even though most observers seem to agree that a highly industrial and urbanized economy requires the public provision of basic aid through the tax system, the extent of aid that is provided varies among countries, and the amount, type, and proper recipients of aid are often matters of considerable debate in all countries. And in most rich countries in Europe and North America, the extent to which aid is offered to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered (GLBT) persons is not known. Few countries explicitly allow such aid, although it is likely that nonheterosexual individuals can get some aid in many countries. Who requires aid or who is deserving of aid or is viewed as able bodied also changes over time.

DEVELOPMENT OF WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES

When welfare was first forming along with the new professional field of social work (which grew largely out of private charitable organizations in the nineteenth century), destitute mothers of young children, it was thought, should be able to stay at home with their children rather than have to earn their own living and place their children in orphanages because their low earnings would not enable them to maintain a household for them. The United States was actually the first country to develop mothers' pensions, first at the local and state levels, and then at the national level as part of the 1935 Social Security Act. From 1935 to 1996 basic aid to poor children living in families was, at least in theory, a basic right, an entitlement, although the benefit amounts were set by the states and were never generous enough to raise assisted families even up to the official federal poverty line let alone above it. Nevertheless, given the benefit levels set by the states, sufficient funds to meet the needs of each state population were automatically transferred from the federal government to the state governments and agencies that administered the welfare program locally. During the civil rights era of the 1960s, access to the program expanded so that African-American women in the South, who had been excluded at first so they would be available to work in the fields and as maids, began to join the rolls and claim the benefits that were theoretically available to all.

The population receiving welfare also changed from mostly widows in the early years to increasing numbers of divorced and then never-married mothers. During the same time period other parts of the Social Security system addressing the needs of the disabled and poor elderly were expanded, and poor mothers became isolated in a separate system, which came to be known as welfare and so carried a high degree of stigmatization.

Beginning in the 1970s, as mothers everywhere increased their participation in the labor force, the federal and state governments encouraged single mothers receiving welfare to work. The government also took a growing interest in tracking down the fathers of the children and obtaining child support payments from them. Finally, with the passage of the 1996 welfare reform law, the federal government ended the entitlement and placed a life-time limit of five years on the receipt of benefits; funds were transferred to the states as a fixed sum, and states could now set their own eligibility standards as well as benefit levels. The result is that there is no longer a national guarantee of assistance to poor women and children in the United States. Rather, it is expected that poor mothers will work outside the home, hopefully earning enough, with limited public support, to maintain a home for themselves and their children. Since passage of the 1996 law, the welfare rolls have fallen, and although some families are now better off, others have fallen further into poverty.

Moreover, the 1996 law established several goals of federal policy, including to encourage two-parent families, to reduce nonmarital child bearing, and to increase financial support of their children by absent fathers. The law allows states to refuse benefits to a child who is conceived and born while her or his mother is receiving welfare, and more than half of the states now do so. Mothers are required to assist the government in finding the fathers of their children and to receive aid must often reveal even the most intimate details of their intimate relationships. The law also promotes misinformation about reproductive health. It provides funding to the states for promoting abstinence in everyone who is not married and requires that states teach "that sexual activity outside of the context of marriage is likely to have harmful psychological and physical effects" [P.L. 104-193, section 510(b)(2)]. Thus, the 1996 reform moved the goals of restricting the reproductive activity of all poor women squarely into the mainstream of public policy and, furthermore, established heterosexual marriage as the foundation of modern society for the nonpoor and poor alike. The fertility of poor women has always been a target of state policy; for example, in some states, Native-American, Hispanic-American, or African-American women especially were forced to undergo sterilization to receive benefits. In the late twentieth century, times, poor women were encouraged to have long-acting contraceptives inserted under their skin.

Although abuses such as these have been eliminated, the new emphasis on two-parent heterosexual families as the nationally legislated norm certainly creates barriers for many families to receive welfare benefits in the United States. Although several states and localities offer recognition of same-sex relationships, only one state, Massachusetts, offers marriage to gay and lesbian couples, but, through the federal Defense of Marriage Act of 1996, those marriages are explicitly not recognized by the federal government in any of its benefit programs.

EUROPEAN WELFARE POLICIES

In Europe welfare benefits are generally more generous and less restrictive. Assistance with child-rearing is not limited only to poor people; many middle class families receive child allowances, subsidized child care, paid parental leaves, and other forms of income support. Although the European Union (EU) does not yet have a union-wide policy of recognizing marriage between same-sex couples, several member countries do recognize such marriages and many recognize various forms of registered partnerships for same-sex couples that convey many of the benefits of marriage. The EU has also established some rights for transgendered persons and, in theory, protects the rights of all children, regardless of their parents' or their own sexual identity. In most of those countries welfare and other family-related benefits are available to same-sex couples and children of same-sex couples or GLBT individuals on the same basis as they are to heterosexual couples. For example, in Sweden both members of a lesbian couple would be eligible to receive paid parental leave to care for their child. Medical services are also universally available in most European countries, and access to abortion has been provided in most. In the United States, in contrast, states may not use federal funds to provide abortions for poor women except in instances of rape, incest, or protecting the woman's life, and the new abstinence-only policies discourage even teaching about contraception.

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Heidi Hartmann

WEST, MAE
1893–1980

Known for her clever quips, sexual innuendo, and buxom figure, Mae West was a vaudeville, Hollywood, and Broadway performer who became a part of American legend and folklore. Born August 17, 1893, in Brooklyn, New York, West became a child performer in vaudeville where she early learned many tricks of the performing trade. Even as a younger star, West performed in brash, vulgar bits portraying an assertive woman who frankly liked sex. As she became older, she performed often as a sexual predator, reversing the polite roles of Western mating practices with such lines as "It takes two to get one in trouble," or "Between two evils, I always pick the one I never tried before," or the most famous, "Is that a gun in your pocket or are you just happy to see me?" and "Why don't you come on up and see me sometime?" In 1926, her first play, *Sex*, began its brief run in New York. West was arrested for breaking obscenity laws and spent six days in jail. Between 1926 and the early 1930s when she finally moved to Hollywood to make films, West wrote six more plays, one of which, *The Constant Sinner*, was adapted from a novel she had written. Like her first play, West's theater portrayed bawdy, lascivious women with a certain amount of power.

In the 1930s West moved to Hollywood to make films for Paramount. She starred with George Raft in *Night After Night* (1932), where she reportedly upstaged him in an "auspicious start," according to the reviewer in Variety. Her second film, 1933's *She Done Him Wrong*, in which she costarred with Cary Grant, was based on her own hit play *Diamond Lil*. Basing its appeal only on the star power of its two leads, *She Done Him Wrong* excites the *Variety* reviewer's comments that "Folks in the sticks seeing Mae West for the first time in this flicker, without having heard of her before, are likely to inquire as to what reform school Mae was brought up in." Continuing her act as a bawdy, frankly sexual woman, West's character quickly became a persona reflecting a humorous, healthily salacious reversal of conservative norms. For that reason and at the urging of the Hays Committee, the self-policing branch of the film industry, West toned down her later films. From 1932 until 1943 when she returned to Broadway, West made ten films for Paramount, helping them emerge as a competitor in film production. Perhaps her most famous part was with W.C. Fields in the 1940 film *My Little Chickadee*.

West's frank and open attitude about sexual pleasure often ran counter to the repressive representations made especially in film, where conservative production codes prevented showing even married couples in the same bed. Her open desire, joy, and even calculating attitude about sex turned the tables on mythologies of male dominance and drew attention to the idea that women might

Mae West. *A publicity handout of Mae West standing next to a white radio in an elaborate fur-sleeved gown with a train which is swirled to the front.* © UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD/CORBIS.

also enjoy sexual pleasure. One song from *She Done Him Wrong*, "I Like a Man Who Takes His Time," accomplished a commentary on sexual relations from the point of view of a woman for whom sex was anything but a duty. Many of her famous one-liners—"Some men are all right in their place—if only they knew the right places," "Every man wants to protect me. I can't figure out from what," or "When I'm good I'm very very good, but when I'm bad I'm better"—make visible a sexual relation in which women are willing and desirous partners.

West's aggressive sexuality was accompanied by an aggressively sexy physique. Only five feet, four inches tall, West had an exaggerated figure with a large bosom and hips. She wore platform shoes to make her taller and sexy clothes and jewelry to complete the image of a woman out for pleasure. There have been rumors that West was possibly a man in drag, produced in part by the way West's performance of clever femininity provided an attractive model later followed by drag queen performers. It is unlikely, however, that West was anything but a short woman with a lot of assets.

After the 1940s West became a caricature of herself, performing nostalgic versions of her earlier roles. She was reportedly offered the part of Norma Desmond in *Sunset*

Boulevard by Billy Wilder himself, but she turned the role down. She returned to movies in 1970 in a part in Gore Vidal's *Myra Breckenridge*, and made her last film, *Sextette*, in 1977. She died of natural causes in 1980.

SEE ALSO *Transvestism.*

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Judith Roof

WET DREAM

Wet dream is a slang term used to describe an involuntary orgasm that occurs during sleep, and which is caused by psychosexual stimuli or erotic dreams. It is a particular type of involuntary orgasm called *nocturnal emissions*. The term wet dream describes any ejaculation that occurs while asleep, regardless of the cause. Because the majority of nocturnal emissions are wet dreams, and because no single accepted clinical term exists to describe wet dreams, the two are used almost completely synonymously in popular culture.

Some debate exists about whether wet dreams occur solely in males, or if they also occur in females. There is clear evidence of nocturnal orgasm among women (some studies show it to be even more frequent than among males), but because the physiology of orgasm is so different between the sexes, no consensus exists about the applicability of the term bilaterally. One of the earliest studies to examine wet dreams is *The Sexual Life of the Child* (1912) by psychiatrist Albert Moll. He argued against the then-common term *pollution*, claiming that it unfortunately "connotes the ideas of physical uncleanness and moral defilement" (Moll 1929, p. 3). Moll recognized the possibility of both heterosexual and homosexual desire as causes for "involuntary sexual orgasms," but described them primarily as a function of sexual frustration: "[T]hese occur chiefly in persons without opportunities for sexual intercourse, who do not practice masturbation" (Moll 1929, p. 94). His concern about wet dreams in females is tied to ejaculation; while this is the primary evidence for wet dreams in males, no corresponding secretions are common to women. Also while males in his study tended to report involuntary ejaculation in response to erotic dreams about specific sexual acts or involving specific partners, females reported orgasm arising from dreams of a more generally sexual nature leading to a "voluptuous sensation," but without the specificity of male dreams (Moll 1929, p. 94). Although this differentiation might easily be seen as a product of a kind of sexual stereotyping, the difficulties in studying orgasm based in erotic dreams of females became largely accepted, and the term wet dream became almost exclusively used to describe male sexual function.

Alfred Kinsey's landmark study *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) provided the first large-scale picture of wet dreams among American males. He reported that the incidence of wet dreams appeared to be quite high. Eighty-seven percent of men had reported experiencing at least one wet dream, and a substantial majority had experienced them more than once. Unlike Moll, Kinsey's study did not confine itself to adolescent behavior, and found that, while most frequently occurring in puberty, "in the male, nocturnal emissions or wet dreams are generally accepted as a usual part of the sexual picture" (Kinsey 1948, p. 518). He also found that while sexual frustration may lead to a higher incidence of wet dreams, they also occurred in males who led otherwise active sexual lives. Subsequent studies have largely reinforced these figures, although most researchers admit some difficulty in getting accurate data. The population in which wet dreams most often occur (adolescence through the late teens) is likely to resist open discussion of sexual activity. Additionally people sometimes feel that wet dreams are shameful (either because, as Moll pointed out, they indicate impurity, or conversely because they are a product of insufficient sexual activity), and thus are reluctant to discuss the experience. Even with these difficulties in collecting data, the statistics are relatively standard in studies throughout the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO *Ejaculation.*

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WET NURSES

A wet nurse is a woman who breastfeeds a baby that is not her own. As early as the fourteenth century BCE there is documented evidence of wet nurses. The wet nurse to the Egyptian king Tutankhamen (1361–1352 BCE) had a high social status and played an important role in the raising of the royal children. In England during the Victorian era, wet nurses were seen by the upper-class as fallen women who were immoral and often unmarried mothers. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, wet nursing was an employment option for young women in low socioeconomic groups. Often, wealthy upper-class families would hire live-in wet nurses to breastfeed their babies because they felt that it was beneath them to suckle a baby, or that it was spiritually wrong to do so. Some wet nurses replaced mothers who had died or were too ill to breastfeed. To ensure that there was sufficient milk for the upper-class infant, the wet nurse's own baby would be sent away to be nursed elsewhere. Many of these babies died because of neglect and malnutrition, which reflected poorly on the image of wet nurses.

Historically the wet nurse's duties often expanded to include caring for the baby. In recognition of this expanded role they were given the title of either nursemaids or nurses. The different job titles make the numbers of women employed as wet nurses in the past difficult to determine with any accuracy.

In England during the late nineteenth century women were told it was their duty to breastfeed their baby and not to employ a wet nurse. There were concerns about the baby's ability to bond with the maternal mother if a wet nurse was used and what effects this might have on the child later in life. It was also thought that wet nurses were more likely to have infections that could be transmitted to babies, endangering their lives. These concerns, coupled with the growing negative stigma of wet nurses and the increasing availability of artificial milk formulas, led to a decline in the employment of wet nurses.

In the twenty-first century wet nurses are uncommon in first-world countries. Attempts to reintroduce them have been rejected by the public. Wet nursing still exists in developing countries where formula milk is less accessible and maternal illness, injury, and death occur at higher rates because of inadequate maternal health care services. In some instances, without wet nurses, who are often family members or friends, babies would die from dehydration and malnutrition at greater rates than are already reported in developing countries.

Breast milk is the ideal feeding option for newborn babies up to the age of at least six months. In the twenty-first century milk banks (a place where donated breast milk is stored) provide women with access to breast milk without the negative social stigma that is associated with wet nursing. Where this option is not available and the mother wishes to use breast milk, the use of a wet nurse is a viable option.

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Nichole Harvey

WHITE SLAVERY

SEE *Trafficking of Women.*

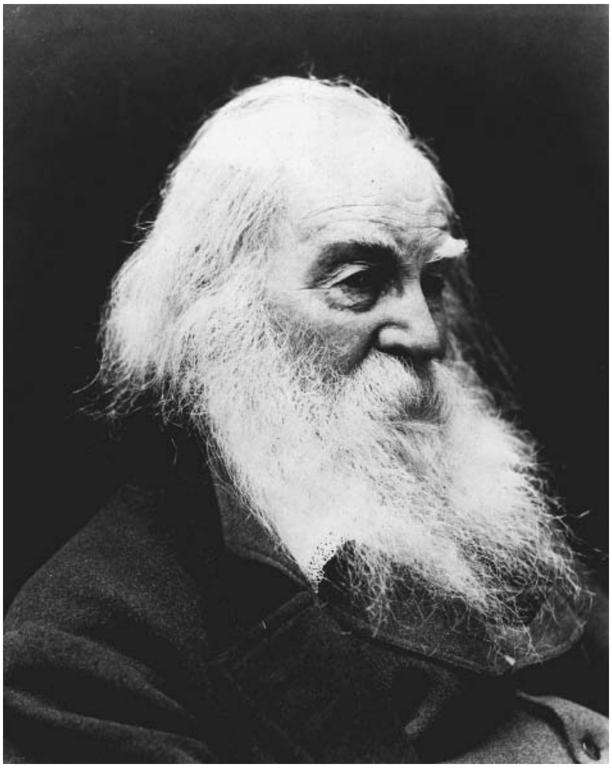
WHITMAN, WALT
1819–1892

Walt Whitman was born near Huntington, Long Island, New York, on May 31 and lived primarily in the northeastern United States except for a few years in Washington, DC, and a brief period in New Orleans. He died in Camden, New Jersey, on March 26. The Walt Whitman Bridge connecting Camden with Philadelphia is named in his honor.

Whitman had many occupations, usually in publishing and education, but is most famous as a poet. His subject matter is distinctly American, and many of his poems celebrate the United States and mourn the losses of the Civil War. He also is known for his innovative use of free verse, a poetic form that rejects strict rhyme or meter, and he often is credited with developing a poetic form that was new, forward-looking, and removed from European tradition, making his poetry an analog for the United States itself. Whitman's poetry also is recognized for its overt homoeroticism. His homosexuality is well documented; his notebooks mention at least 150 anonymous sexual encounters with men. Many critics have refused to accept this, uncomfortable with having the quintessentially American poetic form tied to homosexuality.

THE EARLY YEARS

In his early years Whitman preferred to dress as a dandy, or fop. He was a well-known figure in his native Brooklyn for his unique fashion sense. Although associated with homosexuality in Europe, that mode of dress was new to the United States, bringing Whitman a great deal of attention but not causing opinions to be formed about his sexuality. Despite his extravagant taste in dress,



Walt Whitman. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

he preferred the company of working-class men and spent a great deal of time on the Brooklyn docks watching and talking to the stevedores.

He also rode the ferry between Brooklyn and Manhattan with the dockworkers; that experience became the inspiration for his poem "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" (1856). The poem describes the anonymity of the crowd on the ferry and the feel of the bodies pressing against him. It often is understood as an expression of unexpressed sexual desire. In 1848 Whitman moved to New Orleans to work for the *Crescent* as a reporter, but he returned to Brooklyn three months later. He then adopted the rough clothing of dockworkers. His sex life focused on the working-class men he encountered, leading to his adoption of their mode of dress and possibly inspiring his devotion to the working people of America in his poetry.

LEAVES OF GRASS

Whitman's major poetic work was a volume titled *Leaves of Grass*, first published in 1855. It was edited, expanded, and rewritten over the course of Whitman's life, with the ninth and final version issued in 1892, just months before his death. The first edition consisted of twelve poems, and the final edition had grown to 383 poems.

The preface to the first edition includes several statements of Whitman's philosophy that apply equally to poetry, nationhood, and sexuality. "Men and women and the earth and all upon it are simply to be taken as they are" and "Every man shall be his own priest" express his fundamental egalitarianism and belief in the sacred status of each individual as well as the tenet that each person's desires and values should be respected. His own values are expressed quite directly. The final sentence of the preface states, "The proof of a poet is that his country absorbs him as affectionately as he has absorbed it."

Whitman not only loved his country and its people passionately, he wished to be loved and respected in turn. His overt desire to be a popular poet, a poet of the people as much as a person who writes poems about the people, led him to revise and edit his work over time. The earliest versions are often explicit in their expression of same-sex desire, but the later versions are more ambiguous and thus more palatable to a public ready for a new poetic form but not for a new vision of American sexuality.

The "Calamus" poems of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass* are considered the most overtly homoerotic. The entire sequence celebrates a lost lover, whom many scholars think is Fred Vaughan (b. 1837), a younger man with whom Whitman had a relationship for many years. The two kept in touch after Vaughan married, a pattern that was to be repeated by Whitman and later lovers. The poems, including ones with evocative titles such as "We Two Boys Together Clinging" and "Sometimes to One I Love," were not shocking to contemporary readers who had little experience with such material and thus did not recognize its content. Whitman is credited with helping to formulate a gay aesthetic, a language that could be used to convey same-sex desire.

Some of Whitman's most famous poems are "Song of Myself" and "I Sing the Body Electric" from the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* and "I Hear America Singing" from the 1860 edition. In those poems Whitman created his mythology of America and of himself as its priest. To Whitman America often was represented by the strong, virile bodies of its working men, and "at night the party of young fellows, robust, friendly, / Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs" ("I Hear America Singing"). The communality of men, as well as the juxtaposition of their bodies and mouths, demonstrates Whitman's social, political, and sexual interests. His later fame derives largely from his postwar poems, including "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" and "O Captain! My Captain!" both from 1865 and 1866, which mourn Abraham Lincoln and American innocence, both of which were lost in the Civil War.

WHITMAN'S PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Although most of Whitman's sexual life consisted of accounts of encounters with unnamed working-class men, he also had long-term relationships. Peter Doyle (1843–1907) was a bus conductor in Washington, DC, whom Whitman befriended in 1865. Although Whitman was in his late forties, he and the nineteen-year-old Doyle formed a bond that lasted until 1873, when Whitman returned to Camden. They visited and corresponded throughout Whitman's life, and Doyle seems to have been jealous of Whitman's later relationship with Henry Stafford, a young man who became Whitman's companion in Camden. Whitman and Stafford often traveled together, with Whitman requesting a single room and bed for himself and his *nephew* to share. They were together for ten years until Stafford married.

Whitman also carried on a relationship via correspondence with Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), the homosexual Irish poet and playwright. They met in 1882 when Wilde was on a lecture tour of the United States. "The kiss of Walt Whitman is still on my lips," he wrote, and there has been much speculation about the nature of their meeting. Whitman was in his sixties and recovering from a stroke, whereas Wilde was twenty-seven, and so the likelihood of a physical encounter is slight. However, there is no doubt that Wilde felt artistically indebted to Whitman and thought it important to meet "the good gray poet."

INFLUENCE ON LATER POETS

Whitman's formal innovations were influential on a great number of later poets, although few achieved the degree of freedom that he did in his verse. Christina (1830–1894) and William (1829–1919) Rossetti, T. E. Brown (1830–1897), J. A. Symonds (1840–1893), and Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894) emulated Whitman by abandoning strict meter but usually wrote rhymed poetry. Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891) used free verse in some of his symbolist poetry, and T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) and Ezra Pound (1885–1972) both utilized the form, although they claimed only minimal influence from Whitman.

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WHORE

A *whore* is a woman prostitute or any woman or man who engages in sexual activity that is deemed immoral or culturally unacceptable. Throughout much of modern history, the term has been used negatively, to condemn or chastise and to indicate wrongdoing. However, historical evidence suggests that, prior to the advent of Christianity, some women acted as sacred whores in the service of religions that revered such sexual service instead of condemning it. In such societies, the term *whore* was a label of respect.

In ancient cultures such as Israel, India, and Babylonia, temples dedicated to certain goddesses included temple prostitutes, sacred women whose sexual service functioned as both a self-sacrifice to the goddess and a means for men to commune with the goddess through spiritualized sex. In ancient Babylonia, Ishtar was worshipped as a major goddess, superior even to the sun god. Within her temples, young women willingly lost their virginity as temple prostitutes. In ancient Greece, the name for such women was *horae*, a term that also refers to the three goddesses who represented both the hours and the three seasons of growth (spring/fertility, summer/growth, and fall/harvest). The similarity between the Greek *horae* and the English *whore* (originally spelled *hore*) suggest that the English term has linguistic connections with an ancient title designating divine qualities.

When Christianity's belief in a single masculine god replaced many pagan belief systems in Europe and Asia, sex became vilified as unholy and too worldly. The term *whore*, much like the women themselves, acquired a negative connotation often linked with religious condemnation. In addition to chastising individuals, the term has also been used in a biblical sense to refer to sinful communities or organizations that willfully go against the teachings of the church. In particular, the phrase "the whore of Babylon," first used in the book of Revelation, refers to idolatrous or corrupt communities such as the Church of Rome, when used by its opponents.

Literary evidence shows that whores were a particular concern in Renaissance Europe. Many literary works published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries focus on whores as signs of sinfulness, witchcraft, and threats to marriage and childbearing, religion, and morality. Since the Christian church judged sexual desire as sinful, many women were branded as whores and witches, especially since women were thought to be more prone to the sin of carnal lust than men. The publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* (The witch hammer) in 1486 linked heretical behavior with witchcraft, and its use as part of the Inquisition led to the deaths of between 600,000 and 9,000,000 people, most of whom were women. This religious fervor accounts for one motivation for persecuting whores. Another motivation was their potential economic power in a society that was becoming increasingly capitalistic. Now offering their services for money instead of for prestige, whores presented an economic danger via their accumulation of wealth in a system in which men presumably controlled the flow of money.

Although "whore" referred primarily to women prior to 1900 (with the exception of phrases such as "he-whore" and "masculine whore"), more recent usage also applies to men. Slang usage of the term condemns an individual as sexually promiscuous or otherwise willing to compromise his or her morals in order to gain monetary or other compensation (for example, a "corporate whore").

SEE ALSO *Prostitution.*

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Michelle Veenstra

WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS

The Latin term for widow, *vidua*, is related to a root meaning *to place apart*. There is no Latin or Greek masculine form to match the term widow. In the Anglo-Saxon language, a masculine form only appeared in the late fourteenth century. This reflects not only a higher mortality rate among men married to younger wives, but also points to women's stronger dependency on husbands for their identity than vice versa.

Consequently widowerhood tends to affect men less strongly than widowhood affects women. Except for matrilineal communities such as the LoDaaga in Cote d'Ivoire where widowerhood is the focus of much ritual attention, in most African societies, for example, widowerhood is seen as a transient phase, whereas widowhood becomes a more permanent aspect in the life of a woman.

Widows are generally defined in terms of no longer living under male guardianship. Since marriage was historically seen as the exclusive domain for sexual relations and as a venue for male control over female sexuality, widows have generally been subjected to strong sexual stereotyping and are treated as anomalies.

Widows may be represented as exemplary chaste women, like the Hindu ideal of a *sati* who joins her deceased husband on his funeral pyre, and Israel's Judith, who "feared God with great devotion" (Judith 8:8) and saved her people by using her charms to enter the enemy's camp and behead the general Holofernes. Judith is more a literary than historical figure, unlike two famous Muslim widows. Khadija, first wife of the prophet Muhammad and his first convert to Islam, was a rich and powerful widow when she proposed to him, while Muhammad's later widow Aisha played an important role in the transmission of religious knowledge.

Upholding an image of the chaste widow may be an expression of class difference. The Roman female ideal of the *univira*, a woman who only married once, was a typical upper-class phenomenon.

No longer under male control, a widow's presumably unfettered sexual longing and the fact that she had outlived her husband often caused cultural anxiety. Hence societies conjured the image of the widow as a dangerous seductress, a powerful symbol of disorder and destructive potential. Ritual exclusion of widows, as occurs in certain Hindu castes, is one way to deal with such anxiety. Defeminizing widows also works to reduce the community's fear of such women in the community. This explains why widows may be expected not to wear jewelry or make-up (Muslin and Christian societies), shave their hair (Hindu societies), or wear mourning clothes considered unfeminine (early Christian societies).

Generally widowers' sexual needs are far less problematic to society. The remarriage of widowers was and is more common and accepted, although some societies expect elderly widowers to forgo a sex life.

The position of widows is less anomalous in societies where marriage plays no crucial role in the social organization, or where gender relations are more symmetrical. In many Polynesian cultures, one's spouse is often not the only legitimate sexual partner and widows are not set apart from other women. Also, in Western Europe, where gender relations are rapidly developing towards a more balanced distribution of power, the symbolism connected with widowhood has lost most of its meaning, as is illustrated by the disappearance, in most communities, of mourning dress.

In societies characterized by asymmetrical gender relations and where women's identities are closely associated with their husbands, widows sometimes replace their husbands in powerful positions and may be reluctant to relinquish their freedom by remarrying. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France and England, widows sometimes took over their deceased husbands' businesses and became, more or less, honorary men. Eva Peron, Corazon Aquino, and Sonia Gandhi are twentieth century examples of powerful political widows. For widowers in patriarchal societies, remarriage is not associated with loss of power in the public sphere, although their domestic and emotional dependency on women may also explain why more widowers than widows remarry.

SEE ALSO *Death; Marriage.*

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Marjo W. Buitelaar

WILDE, OSCAR
1854–1900

Considered one of the first publicly verified homosexuals of the modern era, Oscar Wilde was a poet, novelist, critic, essayist, and playwright whose theatrical manners, love of beauty, and sarcastic wit came to serve as a template for modern gay male style and comportment. He was born Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills Wilde on October 16 in Dublin to Sir William Wilde, a well-known ear and eye surgeon, and Jane Elgee Wilde, an Irish nationalist poet who wrote under the pen name Speranza. Wilde's family was unconventional and sexually tolerant by Victorian standards: Sir William had had three illegitimate children by three different women before his marriage, his brother adopted the two girls, and the son was looked after financially by Sir William. Sir William and Lady Jane also had three children from their marriage: William, the oldest; Oscar; and a younger sister, Isola, who died at age nine. Oscar died in Paris on November 30. 1900.

EDUCATION AND EARLY CAREER

Oscar and his brother attended Portora Royal School in Enniskillen, where Oscar's talents won him a scholarship to Trinity College, Dublin. There Wilde became an aesthete, learned about classical Greek civilization and Greek pederasty, and won the Berkeley gold medal for Greek. He then won a scholarship in classics to Magdalen College at Oxford, which he attended from 1874 to 1878. There he discovered the writing of John Ruskin and Walter Pater, began collecting blue china and elaborate clothing, and decided to become an art critic.

After leaving Oxford, Wilde moved to London and lived with the artist Frank Miles; this is considered Wilde's first important sexual relationship. In London, Wilde decided to create a buzz around his name through his flamboyant dress and bearing. He published a volume of poems, spent more money than he had or could make, and adopted the velvet coat and knee breeches that made him famous as the apostle of aestheticism. When Gilbert and Sullivan's 1881 operetta *Patience*, which satirized aestheticism, was a huge hit on both sides of the Atlantic, Wilde was offered a lecture tour of America to promote the movement. He jumped at the chance to make money and test his effect on audiences, setting sail in December 1881 for a year-long tour of the United States and Canada. Upon arriving, he is said to have told a customs agent: "I have nothing to declare except my genius."

On his tour Wilde lectured on Pre-Raphaelite painting, the handicraft movement, costume, and home decorating. Reporters expecting an effeminate fop were stunned by his six-foot three-inch stature and masculine

Oscar Wilde. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

voice, and he managed to impress a rough gathering of miners with his appetite for liquor and cigars so strongly that they are said to have cheered him. Hundreds came to see him in every city he visited, and his lectures helped spark public attendance at art museums nationwide.

Wilde's knee breeches, ties, smoking jackets, and hats disturbed those who sensed something sensual and unrestrained about his gender and sexuality. Though Wilde greatly admired his writing, the closeted Henry James took an immediate dislike to Wilde and said that Wilde's nature was that of an "unclean beast."

Wilde's tour helped him shape his personality as one of the chief arts he presented to his public. He had witty things to say about local attractions, commented on Irish politics when he discovered a sympathetic Irish-American audience, and claimed to appreciate the advertising when the humorist Eugene Field rode around Denver in an open carriage dressed as Wilde, holding a lily and gazing rapturously at a book. By the time Wilde arrived back in London in 1882 he was a celebrity.

FAMILY LIFE AND LITERARY SUCCESS

Wilde married Constance Lloyd in May 1884, designing her dress and the dresses of her bridesmaids. They had two boys, Cyril and Vyvyan, in quick succession. As Constance grew less slender and more womanly because of her pregnancies, Wilde lost interest in her, though he is said to have adored his children. Oscar and Constance never resumed sexual relations after the birth of Vyvyan in 1886. Wilde had had close relationships with other men before his marriage, but his affair with Robert Ross, whom he met in 1886, was a turning point in his life. Robbie proved a lifelong friend, and their relationship encouraged Wilde to explore his sexuality and led to the flowering of his literary and dramatic gifts.

Between 1887 and 1889 Wilde served as the editor of *Women's World* and wrote a book of fairy tales, *The Happy Prince and Other Stories* (1888); two long stories, "The Canterville Ghost" (1887) and "Lord Arthur Savile's Crime" (1887); two important essays, "The Decay of Lying" (1889) and "Pen, Pencil, and Poison" (1889); and an unusual short story, "The Portrait of Mr. W.H." (1889). A year later he published his only novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), which first appeared in *Lippincott's Magazine*.

The two stories about portraits contain Wilde's most overt homosexual themes. "The Portrait of Mr. W.H." concerns several literary enthusiasts who come to believe that the "W.H." of Shakespeare's sonnets is his boy love Willie Hughes, and one of them produces a portrait to prove the existence of such a boy; however, the real story is how the love of literature helps men recognize their love and desire for one another. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* is also the story of a beautiful young man, one whose portrait ages in his place, allowing him to commit terrible crimes and indulge in forbidden pleasures while remaining young and innocent-looking. Many critics considered it a dangerous book, and it was used against Wilde during his prosecution for sodomy.

Wilde then found his true calling as the greatest British dramatist of manners since Richard Brinsley Sheridan, writing *Salome* in 1891; *Lady Windemere's Fan* and *A Woman of No Importance*, both of which were produced in 1892; and *An Ideal Husband* and *The Importance of Being Earnest*, which were produced in 1895. The last play is considered his masterpiece. In 1891 Wilde began a relationship with Lord Alfred Douglas, nicknamed Bosie, a son of the Marquess of Queensberry. Bosie's father did not approve of Wilde, and in 1895, at the height of Wilde's fame, left a calling card for Wilde that accused him of "posing as a (sic) Somdomite." Encouraged by Bosie, who hated his father, Wilde sued the marquess for libel but lost when the defense called in newsboys and valets who had had sex with Wilde to testify against him.

THE DOWNFALL

Presented with clear evidence of homosexuality, the state arrested Wilde for sodomy, which was a felony, and he was found guilty and sentenced to two years at hard labor, first at Pentonville and then at Reading Prison. During his trial Wilde passionately defended "the love that dare not speak its name" as the love of David for Jonathan, the love expressed in the work of Plato, Michelangelo, and Shakespeare. At Reading Prison Wilde wrote the long, sad letter to Bosie that would become *De Profundis*, which he later gave to Robbie Ross.

Constance remained legally married to Oscar until her death in 1898, though she changed her name and that of her sons to Holland, unable to get lodging under her married name. Wilde was forced to sleep on boards, eat gruel, and pick oakum in prison, and his health broke; he lived only three years after his release in 1897. He died in Paris in 1900 at the age of forty-six and is buried at Pere Lachaise cemetery under a monument commissioned by Robbie Ross that also contains Ross's ashes. Though as an aesthete Wilde demonstrated little overt interest in politics, his life and writing spawned a cult of imitators in the years after his death, and he is considered a founding icon, martyr, and hero of the modern gay movement.

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Jaime Hovey

WITCH TRIALS, EUROPE

As Jared Diamond notes in his bestselling *Collapse* (2005), the last preserved European report about the doomed Norse colony in Greenland indicates that a man named Kolgrim was burned at the stake in 1407 for using witchcraft to seduce the married daughter of a local notable; the woman soon went insane and died. Besides illustrating that European colonists executed people for witchcraft in North America almost three centuries before the Salem outbreak, the episode also suggests that the peculiarly western phenomenon of witch trials was sex-linked but never sex-specific.

In the early twenty-first century there is considerable scholarly consensus that witches invariably were considered to possess magical powers that they used for nefarious purposes, but before the late fifteenth century they were not identified predominantly as women. Greenland's Kolgrim was no isolated incident: men were well-represented in Europe's earliest known witch hunts, forming 28 percent of the 250-plus witches tried in the Alpine valleys of Dauphiné between 1424 and 1448.

However, by the time Europe's worst witch-hunts began in the late sixteenth century, an essentially sex-linked view of witches dominated official (and invariably male) discourse about witchcraft. Although large numbers of men were still accused of this crime, witches now became coded as female—a phenomenon vividly exemplified in the title of Europe's single best-known treatise about witchcraft, the *Malleus maleficarum* (The witch hammer), first printed in 1486 and reprinted (always in Latin) approximately two dozen times by the mid-seventeenth century. This seminal work was a transitional document in gendering discourse on witchcraft; although the *Malleus* insisted vigorously that witches were almost invariably women, the (probably forged) papal bull that introduced it specified that men and women alike were guilty of witchcraft.

A century later, when witch-hunting increased dramatically throughout much of western Europe, witches were seen as overwhelmingly female. During the period of most intense witch-hunts between 1570 and 1660, women usually comprised between 71 and 92 percent of those tried and executed, including about 80 percent in present-day Germany, where more than half of all deaths occurred. Most historians agree that old, poor, widowed, and/or single women were most likely to be accused of witchcraft, although younger women charged with sexual crimes (fornication, adultery, abortion, infanticide) were also accused, particularly if they had female relatives accused of witchcraft.

Witches purportedly practiced various socially harmful forms of magic, directed primarily against young children but also raising storms that damaged crops. Witches supposedly congregated at so-called "Sabbaths" where they worshipped the Devil, feasted on bland foods, engaged in diabolical sexuality, and occasionally ate children. The Witches' Sabbath was an invention of early modern demonologists, which some historians claim reflected a prurient fascination with female sexuality. If historians generally agree that the publicity accompanying Europe's mushrooming numbers of witch trials spread this new stereotype, they disagree about the extent to which ordinary (and illiterate) rural Europeans accepted this new, learned stereotype of the witch. Popular culture continued to see witches primarily as people performing certain kinds of harmful actions called *maleficia*. Envy lay behind much *maleficia*, and envy is not sex-linked: Although women were much more likely than men to use diabolical magic in order to harm other women's young children, men were equally inclined to resort to harmful magic (as well as non-magical techniques) in order to harm their neighbor's property. Killing livestock—the second most frequent accusation in European witch trials after killing babies—was practiced by both women and men.

Despite the strong theoretical bias toward coding witchcraft as quintessentially female, thousands of men were also tried for witchcraft during the peak of European witch-hunting. Statistically, men were more likely to be burned as witches in early modern Europe than executed for heresy (an overwhelmingly male crime) during the Protestant Reformation. Research shows a very uneven geographical distribution of men tried as witches. Greenland's Kolgrim came from a colony settled from Iceland—perhaps the only part of Europe where women comprised barely 10 percent of accused witches. In a few other places—for example, seventeenth-century Muscovy and Normandy in northwestern France—men comprised a clear majority of accused witches; in Finland and Estonia, along Muscovy's western borders, and in northern France around Normandy, men represented approximately half of accused witches. Most people arrested for witchcraft in two Austrian provinces, Styria and Carinthia, were also male.

Although the kinds of men accused of witchcraft seem at first very different in Muscovy (where most were vagrants, recent immigrants, fugitive serfs, or even non-Christian Finns or Turks) and Normandy (where witches were primarily shepherds, with sizable numbers of priests and blacksmiths), they shared one important characteristic: in both places, many suspected male witches were also magical healers. Men comprised half or even more of Europe's numerous "white" witches who specialized in countering the effects of harmful witchcraft (so-called "cunning folk," *curadores*, *Hexenbanner*, *Benandanti*, etc.) were often male. They were arrested for witchcraft according to the widely believed notion that "whoever knows how to heal also knows how to harm."

Although the fully developed crime of witchcraft, including Sabbaths, emerged in fifteenth-century Europe, the vast majority of Europe's witch trials occurred long after the Protestant Reformation. Particularly in Germany, Protestant and Catholic scholars have waged a long and inconclusive struggle over which religious group prosecuted witches more ferociously. Germany's Protestant rulers conducted most of the early witch-hunts, but Germany's Catholic prince-bishops committed the worst witch-hunting excesses. However, extremely few witches were condemned to death in regions populated by Orthodox Christians, and none in Balkan regions controlled by the Ottoman Empire.

In the twenty-first century, most scholars would argue that types of legal systems mattered more than confessional allegiance in determining the outcome of witch trials. Most witches were tried in Roman-law courts of continental Europe by legal systems that featured public accusers, used professional judges instead of juries to decide criminal cases, and permitted torture. In northern Europe (with the partial exception of Scotland), witchcraft, like other kinds of criminal trials, required private accusers and prohibited torture. Historians have shown that, outside of panics, most people tried for witchcraft were not executed; in fact, most European women or men who reputedly practiced witchcraft were probably never even brought to trial.

For such reasons, estimates of the number of people executed for witchcraft have been vastly reduced from a still-repeated number of nine million, an early nineteenth-century estimate originally based on erroneous extrapolation from misread data. Because many judicial records have been destroyed or lost across much of Europe, we will never know exact figures. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the epicenter of European witch-hunting lay in the Germanic core of the Holy Roman Empire. Wolfgang Behringer, the leading expert in the field, estimates that more than twenty thousand executions occurred in what is present-day Germany, more than in all other parts of Europe combined. Extrapolating from this estimate, it seems likely that three out of every four witches executed between 1560 and 1660 spoke some dialect of German, and that almost five out of six lived within the boundaries of the pre-1648 Holy Roman Empire (including Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Luxemburg). About 3,500 witches were executed throughout northern Europe, including a few hundred in England (the separate kingdom of Scotland also saw many executions of witches). The kingdom of France (excluding Alsace and Lorraine) executed even fewer witches per thousand inhabitants than England or Scandinavia. Other places executed only a handful of witches, for instance only eleven in Portugal and an equal number in present-day Ukraine, and only two in Ireland. As the example of Portugal suggests, the great Mediterranean inquisitions in Spain and Italy also proved reluctant to execute witches. On the basis of such admittedly imperfect statistics, a reasonable estimate might be approximately forty thousand people executed for witchcraft within both Protestant and Catholic regions of Latin Christendom.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Folk Healers and Healing; Folklore; Inquisition, Spanish; Sex, Race and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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William Monter

WITCHCRAFT

Witchcraft embraces a range of phenomena whose meanings vary according to historical and cultural context. It encompasses a belief system described by anthropologists and common to many cultures; a historical phenomenon responsible for the execution of tens of thousands of women and men in early modern Europe and its colonies; and a modern religious movement that seeks to reclaim the worship of the divine feminine. This entry treats each of these separately, emphasizing the differences as well as the relationships among them.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF WITCHCRAFT

At the most basic level, a witch is a person who is believed to have the ability to harm others through supernatural (i.e., nonphysical) means, either through magic, or simply by wishing them ill. Witches are typically thought to work within their own societies: They harm neighbors and kin, and are thus imagined as a particularly terrifying threat. Their motivation is seldom rational; rather, they work from sheer malice or envy, and are sometimes believed to be under the control of an evil force they cannot resist. Witchcraft is never an isolated phenomenon; it is usually thought to be part of a tradition, whether inherited or learned, that includes other witches. Wherever there is a belief in witchcraft, humans also believe that it can be fought, either through countermagic, by depriving witches of their powers, or by destroying the witches altogether. Most societies with witchcraft belief also have *unwitchers*, individuals who specialize in finding and eliminating the magical harm caused by witches.

Belief in witchcraft is extremely widespread in human societies, occurring on every continent; but it is not universal. It occurs most frequently in small-scale agricultural societies with a stable settlement pattern, where neighbors have intimate knowledge of one another and social relationships are intense and multilayered. Each society with witchcraft belief has its own unique set of cultural variables and parameters that specify the gender of alleged witches, their activities, physical characteristics, and relationships to factors such as age, sexual activity, and social class. In European cultures, witches were commonly assumed to be women, but this assumption is by no means universal. Similar cultures may differ greatly in the gender attributed to witches. The South Pacific islands of Trobriand, Dobu, and Fergusson are all within sight of one another off the northeastern New Guinea coast. Their inhabitants are genetically and culturally similar, and have frequent contact with one another through maritime systems of exchange. All share a belief in witchcraft, but on Trobriand witches are always male; on Fergusson, they are mostly female; and on Dobu they might be of either sex, though women are feared more.

Cultures with a belief in witchcraft often imagine witches as the very opposite of everything considered right in society. A witch is someone who disregards social rules, flouting even the most basic conventions regarded as standards of decency. Because the basic rules that maintain social order are similar cross-culturally, witches tend to be imagined in similar ways. Often, the most heinous crimes imaginable are projected onto witches; they are said to commit murder and incest, to engage in cannibalism and indiscriminate orgies, to have the ability to transform into animals, and to eat or otherwise abuse corpses.

It follows that individuals who flout other kinds of social rules, or who appear anomalous in other ways, stand a chance of being accused of witchcraft. For example, among the Azande of southern Sudan, those who did not behave as good neighbors, who had many quarrels within the village, or who had a history of violent behavior were more frequently accused of witchcraft. Among the Navajo of the American Southwest, those who appeared greedy and refused to share with their families were vulnerable to witchcraft accusations. Belief in witchcraft thus serves as a form of social control, reinforcing sanctioned behaviors and creating a threat against those who violate social norms.

According to anthropologists, witchcraft beliefs can serve a number of important functions. They delineate the boundaries of acceptable behavior, allow for the expression of taboo thoughts and fantasies, maintain positive social relationships by discouraging the open expression of hostility, and attempt to explain the reasons behind otherwise unexplained negative events: illness, calamities, natural disasters, and death.

Witchcraft beliefs may also serve to explain the unexplainable. In all human cultures there are some experiences that are difficult to understand; these include experiences as diverse as sleep paralysis, near-death experiences, and dissociative states that produce very strong physical sensations, leading believers to interpret them as signs of a spiritual reality. Such experiences figure prominently in folklore about witches and witchcraft. In Newfoundland, for example, people often attributed the experience of sleep paralysis to being "hagged" or "hag-ridden," believing that a malevolent witch sent her spirit out to torment them in their sleep. The belief that witches cause this phenomenon may have arisen as an attempt to explain certain symptoms of sleep paralysis: a physical sensation of a weight on the chest or a presence pressing down on the sleeper.

Witchcraft beliefs become dysfunctional and deleterious when they divide communities, heighten fears, and fuel existing hostilities. This sometimes occurs during moments of great social transformation, when ordinary witchcraft beliefs may erupt into full-scale panics, leading to an escalation in the number of accusations, trials, and executions of alleged witches. This was the case in the early modern European witch craze.

WITCHCRAFT IN WESTERN CULTURES

In the West, the witch stereotype has been associated with women since ancient times. It is unclear how this association developed, or at what point in prehistory it emerged; but nearly all the portrayals of witches from classical literature are women. Men associated with magic in classical texts are sorcerers, individuals who acquire the power to manipulate reality through ritual. Some scholars have suggested this reflects a division of gender roles in early Indo-European societies in which men specialized in the public, communal, and political aspects of religion, while women concentrated on domestic magic. Because of their childbearing abilities, women were looked upon as repositories of powerful natural forces. These forces could be harnessed for positive ends such as healing and prophecy, but they could also be used for evil purposes.

Witchcraft and sex have been linked in European folklore from the earliest times. The witches of classical myth and literature were primarily concerned with acquiring love, or obtaining vengeance after a love had gone bad, a stereotype that persisted into the Middle Ages and early modern period. Yet this may represent an instance of projection on the part of the men who were writing these tales, rather than a reflection of social reality. The archaeological record has left hundreds of *defixionum tabellae*, or curse tablets, that petition deities to bind the objects of the author's erotic affection or to punish lost loves for their faithlessness. Of those for which the gender of the writers can be determined, there are more than four times as many curse tablets written by men as by women. This may simply indicate that men, by virtue of their privilege, had greater access to literacy, money to pay someone to write a tablet for them, or both; but it presents a provocative example of the gap between cultural fantasies of women as magic workers and social reality.

Roman law, like the laws of other early European societies, strictly forbade the practice of magic for harmful ends. But everyday magic for protection, healing, and good luck was practiced throughout the empire by a variety of people. Women practiced certain types of magic as an extension of their domestic responsibilities. Thus mothers would protect their children by hanging *bullae*, small pouches filled with amulets to bring good luck and keep away evil, around their necks. Women also used their practical knowledge of herbs to make medicines for their families. Some specialized in midwifery, using plants to induce or prevent miscarriages, ease labor pains, and prevent conception. Because the pre-Christian worldview did not separate the natural world from the supernatural, healers also invoked the help of gods and spirits to assist in their work. With the advent of Christianity, many of these practices acquired a Christian veneer, substituting the names of saints for those of earlier deities. While these folk practices changed over time, they continued to be a part of women's household responsibilities and acquired wisdom until quite recently.

Folk magic and beliefs about witchcraft persisted into the Middle Ages, but early Christianity regarded them as merely superstitious and did not take great pains to punish or persecute those who held them. This began to change during the late medieval period, as numerous factors came together to make religious and civil courts take cases of witchcraft more seriously.

The first factor was the continued existence of a belief in witchcraft accompanied by the practice of folk magic and unwitching. The second, related aspect was the survival of elements from pagan religions in the folklore of Christian Europe. In some parts of Europe, women believed that they participated in nighttime spiritual journeys led by the goddess Diana or other supernatural female figures. These nighttime spiritual assemblies would dance, feast, and occasionally enter the homes of neighbors, rewarding the hospitable and punishing the slovenly. During the Middle Ages, the Christian view of these beliefs changed; while early in the period, they were seen as merely superstitious and mistaken, toward the tenth and eleventh centuries, they began to be considered heretical. The Canon Episcopi, a legal document of the Frankish kingdom issued about 900 CE, condemns "wicked women . . . who believe that they ride out at night on beasts with Diana, the pagan goddess.. . . Such fantasies are thrust into the minds of faithless people not by God but by the Devil." Gradually, the folk concept of the games of Diana was transformed into the diabolical sabbat, a nocturnal assembly of witches under the direction of the devil where horrible acts took place.

A third element was the emergence of a dualist cosmology. According to this worldview, two principles, one evil, personified by Satan, and one good, personified by God, struggled for control of the cosmos. As various Christian heresies arose to challenge aspects of church teachings, ecclesiastical courts were established to find them and root them out. Heresy became the link between witchcraft, the devil, and fears of a conspiracy to overthrow Christianity. Accusations first leveled at heretics, such as calling up evil spirits, indulging in orgiastic sex, killing and cremating children conceived at previous orgies and use their ashes in blasphemous parody of the Eucharist, renouncing Christ and desecrating the crucifix, and paying homage to the devil, became standard elements in witchcraft accusations. By the fifteenth century, the classical formulation of diabolical witchcraft had been established. Its chief elements were (1) pact with the devil, (2) formal repudiation of Christ, (3) the secret, nocturnal meeting, (4) the night flight, (5) the desecration of the Eucharist and the crucifix, (6) orgy, (7) sacrificial infanticide, and (8) cannibalism.

The final element was the Inquisition. Initially organized by the church to identify and eradicate heretics, the Inquisition was never well organized or particularly effective; in fact, most cases of witchcraft were tried before the secular courts. Nonetheless the Inquisition provided one essential ingredient of the witch craze: the inquisitors' manuals. These manuals told inquisitors what signs of Satanism to look for, what questions to ask, and what answers to expect. The best known of these was the *Malleus maleficarum* (The witch hammer), by two Dominican inquisitors. Published in 1486, the *Malleus* went into many editions in many languages, outselling any other book except the Bible. Deeply misogynistic, the *Malleus* colorfully detailed the diabolical, orgiastic activities of witches and helped persuade public opinion that women were at the center of a cosmic plot directed by Satan that threatened all Christian society.

THE WITCH CRAZE

Between 1450 and 1700, as many as 100,000 may have perished in what has been called the European witch craze. In most of northern and central Europe, between 75 and 80 percent of its victims were women. There was no "typical" witch. The accused and imprisoned ranged from children as young as eight or nine to elderly women; from the very poor to those who possessed lands; from healers and midwives to farmers and craftspeople to beggars. There are a number of reasons why the witch craze focused specifically on women.

First and foremost was the dominant worldview combining ancient beliefs about witches as women with the Biblical narrative blaming Eve for the fall from Eden. Because of Eve's sin, all women were thought to be more susceptible to temptation by the devil. Social and economic factors also contributed to women's victimization. Women had little recourse to social power or economic resources of their own, and depended on husbands, fathers, and male relatives for support. Women without male relatives to support them became economically

Coven of Witches. *A sixteenth-centruy woodcut depicting the gathering of a coven of witches.* TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/ TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

marginal, often resorting to begging in order to survive. These women were vulnerable to charges of witchcraft, and lacked relatives to defend them if they were brought to trial; they became easy targets for a community's fears and resentments. Many "crimes" of witchcraft took place in the domestic sphere: They involved causing illness in animals or children, disrupting the making of butter, luring away husbands and lovers, and other domestic troubles, reflecting tensions between women. Healers and midwives were most often women; when something went wrong with their patients, they could be accused of having caused it through malevolent spells. Women were also more inclined than men to use words in disputes with neighbors, where men might resort to physical violence; in a culture that ascribed magical power to words, this led to suspicions of witchcraft being leveled more often against women. Accusations could be useful in pressuring nonconformist women into more subservient behavior. Finally, the construction of the myth of diabolical witchcraft itself represented an inversion of the social world. As men dominated the everyday world, so women were imagined to hold power in the devil's dystopia, where they engaged in a perversion of women's proper domestic roles: Instead of life-sustaining activities such as food preparation, child care, and nursing, they cooked and consumed babies, brewed poisons, and caused illness. Instead of monogamous sexual relations with their husbands, they engaged in intercourse with the devil and indiscriminate orgies with demons and other participants in the sabbat.

Not all victims of the witch craze were women. Often male relatives of accused witches were also caught up in the net. In Spain and Italy, where the Inquisition was strongest, men were more frequently executed for heresy, whereas women accused of witchcraft were often given the opportunity to repent. In Finland and Iceland, however, men outnumbered women as accused. This may have reflected local male-dominated shamanistic practices in which men were more likely to be associated with magic than women.

During the witch panic, tens of thousands of innocent people were persecuted and hundreds of thousands terrified and intimidated. Ordinary people often invoked the discourse of diabolical witchcraft to prosecute neighbors for petty jealousies and resentments characteristic of small-scale societies. The panic migrated from Europe to its colonies; both North and Latin America suffered witchcraft persecutions of their own as a result of the importation of Christianity. There as in Europe suspicion fell more often on women, whether indigenous practitioners of folk magic in areas dominated by Spain and Portugal, or ordinary village women who fell afoul of local political tensions, as in Salem, Massachusetts. The Salem incident began with several young girls suffering from unexplained illness, or "fits," as they were described. While the cause of the illness is unclear, some scholars have theorized that it may have been caused by ergot poisoning. Ergot is a fungus that may have been growing on the settler's rye during what was an unusually wet summer. In contrast, others have argued that the girls' play with folk divination was threatening to the male-dominated Puritan society, and that their accusations were an attempt to exonerate themselves. In either case, it is clear that the young girls were in a subdominant social position, and their accusations gave them a temporary form of authority.

By the mid-eighteenth century, increasing urbanization and the influence of the Enlightenment made witchcraft accusations a thing of the past. Belief in witchcraft and the practice of unwitching persisted in some rural areas of Europe and its colonies, in some cases into the early twenty-first century.

MODERN NEOPAGAN WITCHCRAFT

Romanticism, an intellectual movement that arose in Europe at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, laid the groundwork for a new permutation of witchcraft: neopaganism. Romanticism located authenticity in the folklore of European peasants, which was presumed to contain elements of ancient pagan religions. This led to a renewed interest in both folklore and paganism, reflected in the art and literature of the time, and to a revisionist interpretation of the witch. The French historian Jules Michelet (1798–1874) and other writers of the mid-nineteenth century suggested that European witchcraft was really a widespread fertility cult surviving from pre-Christian paganism. Such arguments influenced anthropologists and folklorists at the turn of the century, such as James Frazer (1854–1941) and Margaret Murray (1863–1963). In 1899 amateur folklorist Charles Leland (1824–1903) published *Aradia: The Gospel of the Witches*, a text claiming to present evidence that witchcraft was the survival of a pagan cult of Diana. *Aradia* influenced Murray to write *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921), in which she argued that witchcraft was the survival of a pre-Christian pan-European fertility cult centered on the worship of a great goddess and her horned consort, later misunderstood as devil worship. While the evidence Murray presented in favor of her argument was scanty, her work became very influential in popular circles.

In 1954, only three years after England repealed the last of its anti-witchcraft laws, Gerald B. Gardner (1884–1964) published *Witchcraft Today*, in which he claimed to have discovered the last surviving witch coven in England. In fact, Gardner probably cobbled together elements of revival witchcraft from his experiences with various occult and theatrical groups. Gardner's claims of having discovered an ancient religion were spurious, but he launched a legitimate new religious movement that has gained many adherents throughout the world. In the 1960s, Gardnerian witchcraft, also known as Wicca and the Craft, combined with emerging feminist and environmentalist movements to create a feminist, goddess-centered brand of New Age spirituality. Spurring interest in this movement, the feminist artist and author Merlin Stone published *When God Was a Woman* (1976), arguing that Hebrew monotheism had supplanted earlier pagan worship of a great mother goddess in which women had central and powerful roles. The feminist writers Z Budapest (b. 1940) and Starhawk (Miriam Simos; b. 1951) began women's covens in Los Angeles and San Francisco, respectively, reclaiming the idea of the witch as empowering to women. Z Budapest's women-only Dianic tradition focuses on the worship of the goddess Diana, imagined as a single creatrix who is called by various names in different cultures. Starhawk is credited with the development of Reclaiming witchcraft, which mixes elements of feminism with environmentalism and political activism, and includes men in its groups. Rituals, which coincide with full moons and eight sabbats, or holy days, focus on self-realization and empowerment, healing the earth from environmental degradation, political consciousness-raising, and other positive ends. Women have central roles as priestesses and authors of liturgy.

The overall number of revival witches is difficult to estimate, but scholars calculate that it is one of the fastest-growing new religious movements, with at least 500,000 adherents in North America alone, approximately 60 percent of them women. Neopagan witchcraft offers a sense of the feminine principle in the divine, a principle almost entirely forgotten in the masculine symbolism of the great monotheistic religions. And its eclectic paganism promotes a sense of the variety and diversity of the sacred.

SEE ALSO *Magic; Shamanism; Witch Trials, Europe.*

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WITHDRAWAL

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

WOLLSTONECRAFT, MARY

1759–1797

Mary Wollstonecraft, who was born in London on April 27, 1759, is famous as the author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), in which she argued that women are "rendered weak and wretched" by "a false system of education" and "mistaken notions of female excellence" pervasive in society. Her strong polemic against gender inequality is no longer easy reading, but the author herself continues to stir the imagination. Violently opposed to "the preposterous distinction of rank," Wollstonecraft was a person of unwavering moral seriousness and commitment. A child of the Enlightenment, she was also a Romantic, and believed that all women "who have acted like rational creatures, or shewn any vigour of intellect, have accidentally been allowed to run wild." She was influenced by the ideas that informed the French Revolution, especially those of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, with whom she argues in the *Vindication*. After her death—she died in London on September 10, 1797, of puerperal fever, a consequence of her biological life as a woman and of bad (male) doctoring—Wollstonecraft was vilified by enemies as an "unsex'd female," and eulogized by friends for her "ardent, ingenuous, and unconquerable spirit." She has figured ever since then in discussions of sex and gender, most often as a figure—a woman who experimented sexually, a rejected lover, and an unmarried mother who died after giving birth to the child who would become the author of *Frankenstein*, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley.

INFLUENCES AND SHAPING EXPERIENCES

The life and character of Wollstonecraft have been the subject of many biographies, most recently three (Flexner 1972, Tomalin 1974, Sunstein 1975) written at the crest of the second wave of feminism, and two more big books (Todd 2000, Gordon 2005) published in the early twenty-first century. Raised on the edges of gentility by quarreling parents, Wollstonecraft had painful early experience of inequality and poverty, envy and injustice. Her complex and conflicted work experiences—caring for her mother, sisters, and friends, and working in traditional ladies' occupations as a teacher, companion, and governess, and later, less conventionally, as a journalist—shaped her scorn for conventional gender roles. Her intellectual development was also affected by the influence of the Dissenters, Nonconformists, and radical thinkers she met, and of course by reading the works of those, such as Edmund Burke, with whom she disagreed. It was strongly colored by her tumultuous responses to the women and men, older and younger than she, with whom she became emotionally entangled.

Her idealism and her sense of being different sometimes seem to have been intrinsic to her person, her woman's body and face. "O why was I born with a different Face," cries "Mary" in a poem by William Blake, who knew Wollstonecraft and deplored the envy she aroused in those who saw her as different. Conventional assumptions about gender roles were important in shaping Wollstonecraft's sense of her relations to others, and therefore of herself. At fourteen, defending her "romantic notions of friendship" in a letter to another girl, she wrote, "I have a heart that scorns disguise, and a countenance which will not dissemble." The American anthropologist Ruth Benedict recalled being inspired by the portrait of Wollstonecraft in the National Gallery in London, the image of a woman who "had saved her soul alive." Her life and work seem to illustrate the fact that soul and body and mind are mutually constitutive.

SIGNIFICANT WORKS

A self-portrait of the passionate writer and teacher is implicit in Wollstonecraft's combative famous (second) *Vindication*, as it is in her other books. In addition to private letters, these include two short works about and for children written in the 1780s, a tract and a fiction; the *Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790); prose describing her experiences in France and later in Scandinavia; and two novels. The latter are remarkable for their critique of the conventional woman's novel. *Mary: A Fiction* (1788) confronts head-on with its title the challenge of a woman writing, and a reader interpreting, a fictional story as her own. The author's preface announces her intention "to develop a character different from those generally portrayed," and to exhibit "the soul of the author" and "the mind of a woman, who has thinking powers." But "I cannot live without loving—and love leads to madness," Mary exclaims. In *The Wrongs of Woman; or, Maria* (1798), Wollstonecraft focuses from another angle on the issue of autobiographical fiction by giving her tale the title of a polemic. Maria is the victim of a cruel husband and ends up in prison. There, for the instruction of her daughter, she writes down her own story, and the even more appalling story of Jemima, a poor woman and fellow prisoner. The alternative endings of the story that Wollstonecraft left were assembled and published after she died by her widower, the radical thinker and novelist William Godwin, who loved Wollstonecraft and married her, although it was against his principles, after she became pregnant.

Mary Wollstonecraft. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

It was as a business agent for an earlier lover, the American Gilbert Imlay, whom she had met and lived with in Paris, that Wollstonecraft traveled with only her infant daughter, Fanny, and Marguerite, her maid, to Scandinavia. It is unclear whether Imlay sent her away or she went with the aim of getting him back. Her letters to him, edited in the service of discretion, were published, in 1796, as *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark*. It is a reticent yet personal and poetic travel book. "If ever there was a book calculated to make a man in love with its author, this appears to me to be the book," Godwin wrote about it. Wollstonecraft describes the scenery and salty meals of Scandinavia, and experiences such as being rocked to sleep on a bed of sails at the bottom of a boat, then being awakened to her solitude by "a discourteous wave." Her energy, curiosity, and lively imagination, her sensitivity and responsiveness, her respect for plain people and her nostalgic longing for love, are all there; for the reader of the early twenty-first century, her literary gifts are most apparent in this book. It remains preoccupied with the different lots of the sexes. "Still harping on the same subject, you will exclaim—," she catches herself, self-reflexively. "How can I avoid it, when most of the struggles of an eventful life have been occasioned by the oppressed state of my sex: we reason deeply, when we forcibly feel" (Letter 19). The relations between feeling and reasoning, self and society, and sex and gender preoccupied Wollstonecraft: Her work and her story illuminate the connections among them.

SEE ALSO *Canon, Revising the; Literature: I. Overview.*

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WOMEN WRITERS, EMERGENCE

Although one of the main topics of world literature has been romantic relations between women and men, until the last few centuries there were not many women authors. That fact reflects the status of women in most societies. Until the nineteenth century most women lacked sufficient education and leisure time to write. The concept of the artist defined the role as masculine. As cultures became industrialized and women increasingly were educated and as printing technologies were used to produce cheaper books and enlarge reading audiences, it became more possible for women to write. Women then produced some of the most popular novels in England, France, and the United States and became more visible as poets and playwrights.

THE ANCIENT WORLD AND THE EARLY MODERN ERA

There had been women writers in earlier cultures, but they were few and far between. Ancient Greece celebrated the poetess Sappho (sixth century BCE) and her followers. The Romans had only a few women writers, including Sulpicia, who wrote at the time of the emperor Augustus. The German nun Hrosvitha (935–1032?) wrote plays in Latin in the Middle Ages, and in fourteenth-century Japan there were female court poets and diarists, including Gofukakusa in Nijo, who wrote *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*. The prominent role of noble women in the courtly discussions of the arts in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries initiated a tradition of French women writers, beginning with Marie de France, who wrote poetic *lais*, or verses. In the fourteenth century Christine de Pisan, the widow of a court secretary, became the first woman to make a living as a writer, authoring much lyric poetry and *The Book of the City of Ladies*, which recounts women's heroic deeds. In Italy noblewomen wrote religious verse in that era. At the same time in England the religious mystic Margery Kempe wrote her autobiography and another mystic, Julian of Norwich, wrote *Revelations of Divine Love*.

Only in the seventeenth century did women authors begin to become more prominent, developing the new literary form of the novel, though many still published their works anonymously. The first historical novel was written in France by Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la

Vergne, Comtesse de la Fayette (1634–1693). Her novel, *La Princesse de Clèves*, was published in 1678. Seventeenth-century England saw the emergence of female writers such as Aphra Behn (1640–1689), who wrote the novel *Oroonoko* (1688) and the play *The Rover* (1677), and the poet Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea (1661–1720). The American colonies produced the poet Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672).

THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

In the eighteenth century the English writer Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797) wrote the prose pamphlet *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), which made the question of women's rights part of public discussion. Wollstonecraft died giving birth to Mary Wollstonecraft (1797–1851), who married the poet Percy Shelley and wrote *Frankenstein* (1818). Other English women novelists began writing in the early nineteenth century, including Fannie Burney (1752–1840) and Jane Austen (1775–1817). Like many female authors Austen published her works anonymously. Studying the social behavior and psychology of English middle-class characters, Austen wrote about their faults, foibles, and strengths, presenting a picture of English middle-class existence but also satirizing self-deception, pride, and false humility. Austen's first complete novel, *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), argued for psychological balance among its well-off denizens. Her most successful and highly praised novel was *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), which examined the error of first impressions and the play between appearance and reality.

Women have excelled at writing novels from the nineteenth century to the present, and many have been poets as well. The Brontë sisters, Charlotte (1816–1855), who wrote *Jane Eyre* (1847), and Emily (1818–1848), who wrote *Wuthering Heights* (1848) and *Villette* (1853), wrote poetry before penning novels. Like Austen, the Brontës wrote at home and published their novels anonymously, and like Austen's, their novels were successful. *Jane Eyre*, the story of an orphan girl who becomes a governess and eventually marries her mysterious employer, showed the vulnerability and good sense of single women. *Wuthering Heights* is a novel about passion and the irreconcilable differences between natural and civilized beings. Their contemporary, George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans, 1819–1880), was an influential novelist whose work, which focused on humble characters and the ebb and flow of history, inspired many later novelists. Eliot's works include *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), *Silas Marner* (1861), and *Middlemarch* (1871–1872). The United States had influential women novelists, including Harriett Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), whose *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) sold more than 500,000 copies and was a catalyst in the antislavery movement. Her contemporary Louisa May Alcott (1832–1888) wrote the children's novel *Little Women* (1868–1869).

Nineteenth-century Author Jane Austen. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Women authors of the nineteenth century also became important poets, including Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861), who wrote the collection of love poems *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1850) and a long poem in blank verse, *Aurora Leigh* (1856), in which she considers the rights and virtues of women artists. Christina Rossetti (1830–1894) wrote lively, often sensuous poems that explored the meaning of life, such as "Goblin Market" (1862). In the United States, Emily Dickinson (1830–1886), wrote more than two thousand poems, though she published only ten during her lifetime. Dickinson's poems were simple, intense, and witty treatments of issues such as passion, death, war, and the role of art.

Women authors began to emerge as acknowledged artists by the end of the nineteenth century and took their place alongside male authors as important, innovative creators and visionaries. The American story writers Sarah Orne Jewett (1849–1909), Kate Chopin (1851–1904), and Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935) contributed to the development of the short story genre and to an increasing interest in female characters as the focus of fiction. Gilman was also a social visionary, examining the problems of gender relations and arguing for increased political rights for women. The American novelist Edith Wharton (1862–1937) explored the ethical problems of middle-class Americans in novels such as *Ethan Frome* (1911) and *Age of Innocence* (1920), and Willa Cather (1873–1947), the author of *O Pioneers!* (1913) and *My Ántonia* (1918), discussed the problems of expansion into the west. The French novelist Colette (1873–1954) wrote novels about the experiences of a rebellious teenager (*Claudine Goes to School*) as well as sensitive portraits of the difficulties of love in novels such as *Gigi* (1945). The South African novelist Olive Schreiner (1855–1920), the Danish novelist Isak Dinesen (1885–1962), and the West Indian writer Jean Rhys (1890–1979) focused on colonial existence and race relations in Africa and the Caribbean. Rhys's novel *The Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) recounts the experiences of a character, Bertha, from Emily Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.

THE MODERN ERA

With the advent of literary modernism women authors came into their own as innovators. As they traditionally had, women writers tended to focus on the experiences and insights of female characters, domestic difficulties, and the social tragedy caused by wasting the will and talent of women. With modernist aesthetic experiments women authors could begin to develop their own lyrical modes of expression. Using imagery and subjective perspectives, modernist authors inscribed a different experience of the world through a lyrical language of the senses. Virginia Woolf (1882–1941), who with her husband, Leonard, operated the Hogarth Press, wrote many novels whose style and insight made fiction into more than a description of characters and events. Both *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) and *To the Lighthouse* (1927) present the lives of women protagonists as they experience the changes in life and times around them. Woolf also wrote important meditations on the status of women, including *A Room of One's Own* (1929) and *Three Guineas* (1938).

The experimentalist Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) produced novels and plays that used repetition, fractured grammar, and unusual word choices to convey the feeling of experience as well as its changes through time. She is best known for *Three Lives* (1909), which consists of elaborate verbal portraits of three women, and *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933), in which she writes her own autobiography under the guise of her partner, Alice. Other modernist women writers include the Irish novelist Elizabeth Bowen (1899–1973), the English novelists Rebecca West (1892–1983), Radclyffe Hall (1886–1943), and Vita Sackville-West (1892–1962); the American novelists Djuna Barnes (1892–1982), the author of *Nightwood* (1937), and Zora Neale Hurston (1901–1960), the author of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937); and the Norwegian novelist Sigrid Undset (1882–1949), whose 1922 novel *Kristen Lavransdatter* won the Nobel Prize. Short story writers include the American humorist Dorothy Parker (1893–1867) and the New Zealand writer Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923).

Modernism enabled women poets to become more prominent as literary cultures expanded to include women as active artists and literary theorists. Edna St. Vincent Millay (1892–1950) wrote more traditional verse, poets such as Amy Lowell (1874–1925) and H.D. (Hilda Doolittle) (1886–1961) developed the imagist style, and Edith Sitwell (1887–1964), Marianne Moore (1887–1972), and Louise Bogan (1897–1970) worked through more personal visions of language. Sitwell's poetry tended to be satirical, Moore's was wide-ranging, and Bogan's was tragic and personal. Although women had not begun to write many plays, Susan Glaspell (1882–1948) wrote *Trifles* (1916) and other plays for the Provincetown Players, winning the Pulitzer Prize for her play *Alison's House* (1930). Another American playwright, Sophie Treadwell (1885–1970), wrote *Machinal* (1928), a play about a young woman's destruction.

The emergence of women authors as full-fledged members of literary communities continued in the twentieth century. The middle of that century saw the emergence of writers such as the satirical novelist Muriel Spark (1918–2006) and the Irish novelist and philosopher Iris Murdoch (1919–1999). In France women authors became important contributors to the literary scene. Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986), a student of philosophy, wrote an analysis of the status of women, *The Second Sex* (1949), and also wrote novels and an autobiography. Nathalie Sarraute (1900–1999) and Marguerite Duras (1914–1996) contributed to the formulation of the *nouveau roman*, a French avant-garde form of the novel that dispensed with realistic plot and character in favor of subjective impression and the flow of events. Anaïs Nin (1903–1977) wrote surrealistic novels, and Lillian Hellman (1907–1984) wrote plays that showcased the human capacity for petty evil. Women short story writers also became prominent, including Eudora Welty (1909–2001), Tillie Olsen (b. 1913), and Flannery O'Connor (1925–1964).

Women poets came into their own in the second half of the twentieth century as Maya Angelou (b. 1928) became the American poet laureate, following a long line of innovative, accomplished poets. Those writers include the British poet Stevie Smith (1902–1971) and the Americans Elizabeth Bishop (1911–1979), Muriel

Rukeyser (1913–1980), Gwendolyn Brooks (1917–2000), Anne Sexton (1928–1974), and Sylvia Plath (1932–1963).

CONTEMPORARY WOMEN WRITERS

The women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s encouraged a new generation of women writers to become more political and begin paying attention to the work of women of color. Mixing cultural analysis with lyrical verse, poets such as Adrienne Rich (b. 1929), Audre Lorde (1934–1992), and Judy Grahn (b. 1940) presented the pulse of feminist struggle. Novelists such as Alice Walker (b. 1944) and Toni Morrison (b. 1931) made central the experiences of black women. Maxine Hong Kingston (b. 1940) and Amy Tan (b. 1952) focused on the loves of immigrant Chinese women. The novelist and short story writer Sandra Cisneros (b. 1954) and the playwright Cherrie Moraga (b. 1952) produced innovative writing detailing the experiences of Chicanas. The Canadian Margaret Atwood (b. 1939) considered the problems of impersonal societies, and writers from more recently postcolonial nations such as India, including Bharati Mukherjee (b. 1940) and Anita Desai (b. 1937), wrote about the experiences of Eastern immigrants to Western countries.

In the second half of the twentieth century women writers such as the American Kathy Acker (1947–1997), the Canadian Nicole Brossard (b. 1943), the German Christa Wolf (b. 1929), and the Brazilian Clarice Lispector (1920–1977) contributed to cutting-edge experimental forms of writing in works that were often political.

Women writers in the contemporary period produce everything from experimental and high art novels to bestsellers. The character of their work has changed conceptions of literature not only insofar as literature has become an integral part of the women's movement and has represented a different point of view but also as women's writing has broadened and enriched cultural possibilities for all people.

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Judith Roof

WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

"The human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights . . ." Article 18, Vienna Declaration

The slogan "Women's Rights Are Human Rights" may seem redundant, yet it highlights the long-standing neglect of women's rights and speaks to the need to acknowledge an evident truth that women are irrefutably human and accordingly entitled to whatever belongs to humans. Human rights are rooted in the dignity and worth of the human person and are essential to the well-being of every man, woman, and child. They include civil, political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, and other rights and freedoms. They are universal, inalienable, and indivisible and inscribed in international, regional, and national legal frameworks. This entry offers an overview of the implications of the international human rights standards for women and the expanding global movement to reclaim human rights for women by addressing critical issues and major achievements as well as changes and challenges.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The concept of human rights gained prominence in the modern world with the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 in response to the horrors of the Second World War. Under the UN Charter the international community recognizes that all human beings have equal, inalienable rights. It is the first international instrument to articulate specifically the importance of gender equity in human rights. Its Preamble sets as one of the central goals of the organization the reaffirmation of "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women." The Commission on Human Rights, established in 1946, took up the job of defining basic rights and fundamental freedoms, and its work culminated in the UN General Assembly's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on December 10, 1948.

The UDHR proclaims the entitlement of everyone to equality before the law and to the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It remains the pillar of modern-era human rights and the cornerstone of the global human rights movement. It has since become the most universally recognized, yet the most widely violated, treaty. The broader UN human rights agreements, adopted in 1966—the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)—take the UDHR a step further by making provisions legally binding. These three instruments constitute the International Bill of

Rights, which has generated numerous human rights conventions and laws, including the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) (1965), the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) (1984), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989), and the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (2001).

HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK: RHETORIC AND REALITY

The human rights delineated in the foregoing instruments are held to apply to all, including women. However, marginalization of women in the human rights process started from the outset, with the discriminatory opening of an earlier draft of the UDHR, "all men are brothers" (Tomasevski 1993). Only four women were involved in the process and had to fight fiercely for the inclusion of women in the human rights vision through gender-inclusive language. The final version thus reaffirms the UN Charter's provision of equal rights for men and women under international law, and Article 1 states, "All *human beings* are born free and equal in dignity and rights," and Article 2 states, "*Everyone* is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth ..., without distinction of any kind such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." This explicit inclusion of women was clearly articulated to address the issue of women's subordination. However, there has been a great disparity between international human rights rhetoric and women's reality worldwide.

Women have been marginalized or excluded based on cultural, traditional, social, and religious prejudices compounded by political and economic inequalities. This gender discrimination by the mainstream human rights framework has violated its own *universality*, *interdependency*, and *indivisibility* tenets. As former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, stresses, "Universality is, in fact, the essence of human rights: all people are entitled to them, all governments are bound to observe them, all state and civil actors should defend them. The goal is nothing less than all human rights" (United Nations Development Program 2000, p. 113). Historically, human rights thought and praxis have viewed the male as the norm and impeded the protection and promotion of women's human rights. This gender bias has established a dichotomy between the public and private spheres: Violations are taken into consideration only if a state party to human rights conventions can be held accountable for them. This reservation is highly detrimental to women's enjoyment of their human rights, as most abuses against women are perpetrated by private individuals and in the private sphere. The international human rights framework has contributed to a definition of the family as a social, rather than a political, entity. Yet the family is a political unit *par excellence* and the stage for most violations against women in the name of religion, tradition, and culture. Cultural relativism, with claims that there are no universal human rights, still poses a formidable and corrosive challenge to women's rights to equality and dignity in all facets and all stages of their lives.

The importance of human rights indivisibility and interdependence articulated in the UDHR and reaffirmed in the Declaration of the Second World Conference on Human Rights stipulates that "the international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis" (United Nations Department of Public Information 1993, par. 5). There has been a gap between this rhetoric and the reality: The international human rights community has established a clear hierarchy. It has privileged civil and political rights, often considered first-generation human rights, *the* human rights, at the expense of economic, social, and cultural rights considered second-generation human rights, third-generation group rights, and fourth-generation women's rights. This separation of public and private responsibility, compounded with fragmentation and subordination of certain human rights, has exacerbated oppression of women and violated their human dignity. Human rights reality thus lags far behind human rights rhetoric for a vast majority of women and girls, and there is an urgent need for redress.

RECLAIMING A WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK

Putting women's rights on the agenda has been a tremendous achievement by the international community and human rights activists. However, the fact of women's humanity has proved insufficient to guarantee them the enjoyment of their internationally agreed-upon rights. There has thus been the need for a gender-balancing act, an elaboration of important declarations and conventions: the 1952 Convention on the Political Rights of Women, the 1957 Convention on the Nationality of Married Women, and the 1962 and 1965 Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages. Each of these treaties aimed to protect and promote the rights of women in areas where they were considered particularly vulnerable. These women-specific instruments soon proved fragmentary, as they failed to deal with discrimination against women in a comprehensive fashion. The Commission for the Status of Women thus initiated a process that culminated in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted by the General Assembly in 1979, bringing to fruition the UN efforts to comprehensively codify international legal standards to secure women's human rights.

CEDAW: A MILESTONE FOR WOMEN'S HUMAN'S RIGHTS

The CEDAW is often described as an international bill of rights for women. It is the most comprehensive UN treaty aimed at safeguarding the rights of women in family life, education, health care, employment, politics, economics, and beyond. CEDAW comprises a preamble and thirty articles that define what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end it. The Convention defines discrimination against women as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field" (Article 1). The Commission on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women monitors implementation of the Convention and continues to play a dynamic role in ensuring that this issue is a priority for the international community. The Optional Protocol of the Convention gives women and groups of women the right to petition and has the potential to become a highly effective tool for addressing gender-based violence and other violations of women's human rights. It is noteworthy that CEDAW has received more reservations from signatory states than any other human rights instrument. These reservations must be removed to allow this useful document to be effectively implemented at all levels everywhere.

BEST PRACTICES TO STOP VIOLATIONS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The First World Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975 set in motion the global women's human rights movement by bringing together for the first time women from all over the world, a process that continued in Copenhagen and Nairobi in 1980 and 1985. Putting governments on notice with regard to their obligations toward the women of the world, the movement gathered momentum through the 1990s global conferences and the resulting plans of action. The World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna 1993), the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo 1994), the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen 1995), and the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995) were notable for the advances they made in women's human rights theory and practice (Bunch and Reilly 1994). The recognition that human rights can be, and are, violated in gender-specific ways and that violence against women is itself a human rights violation mirrors the significant slogan "Women's Rights are Human Rights."

In the wake of Vienna, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women in 1967, an international consensus on government obligations to end violence against women. The Declaration defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life" (Article 1). It applies to violence by nongovernmental actors, including violence within the family; Article 2 states that violence against women includes, but is not limited to, violence in the family, violence in the general community, and violence perpetrated or condoned by the State. The Declaration directs states not to "invoke any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations" regarding violence against women. It spells out specific legislative, educational, administrative, and other measures to be taken by states. Many of these provisions are reiterated and expanded in the *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action* (United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996) and in UN resolutions on violence against women. In 1994 the Commission on Human Rights appointed a Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women with a mandate to collect information on the causes and consequences of violence against women and to recommend measures for its eradication.

Combating violence against women has been central to the agenda of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). Since 1997 the UNIFEM Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence Against Women has provided more than 2 million dollars to innovative projects around the world that work to eliminate all forms of gender-based violence. On March 8, 1999, the last International Women's Day of the millennium, UNIFEM coordinated an interagency global videoconference, "A World Free of Violence Against Women," linking the UN General Assembly in New York to sites across the globe and also broadcasting by satellite to audiences worldwide. In 1999, the UN General Assembly adopted November 25 as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. The UN Security Council Resolution 1325, passed in October 2000, affirms the principle that women should be involved in peace-building processes at all levels and that the rights of women and girls need to be respected in times of war and conflict.

GENDER-BASED VIOLATIONS OF WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

Millions of women throughout the world live in conditions of abject deprivation of, and attacks against, their fundamental human rights for no other reason than that they are women. There are glaring cases of human rights abuses against women that are obstacles and setbacks in campaigns to redress them. The years from 1997 to 2006 were declared the International Decade for the Elimination of Poverty. Yet data and statistics available in many studies indicate that women's poverty, in fact, increased during that decade. Structural social inequalities, gender discrimination, unequal access to resources, and other factors fuel poverty, which affects all human rights. For example, people with low income often do not have access to health or education (economic and social rights); this, in turn, impedes their participation in public life and their ability to influence policies impacting their lives (civil and political rights). Extreme poverty forecloses other choices and hinders human development. Human poverty thus needs to be viewed both as a cause and a consequence of human rights violations.

The correlation between poverty and human rights abuse is well reflected in women's everyday lives around the world. Violations of women's economic rights have worsened and resulted in the feminization of poverty. At the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing, governments committed to remedy some of the ways in which macroeconomic policies impact women negatively and disproportionately. World leaders also committed to "free all men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty" by overwhelmingly accepting a number of human rights treaties and, in 2000, signing the international consensus, through the Millennium Declaration, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), eight targets formulated to curb poverty by 2015 (United Nations Millennium Development Declaration, 2000). Women's economic justice advocates continue to formulate and demand alternative policies that are key to guaranteeing women's economic rights.

Paradoxically, policy makers have expanded deregulation of manufacturing and investment, boosting profits at the expense of poor women and their families. International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Word Bank's Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) have shifted more of the burden for meeting people's basic needs from governments to women in households. Strategies aimed at enhancing women's economic empowerment, such as microcredit have shown their limits; also, gender budgeting has failed to transform macroeconomic frameworks and the impact of international trade policies on women. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbour, laments the prevalence of poverty as being the gravest human rights challenge in the world, with the worst affected populations being women and their children. Tackling poverty as a matter of human rights obligation is imperative to achieve its eradication and promote women's human rights.

Gender-based violence is one of the most shameful human rights violations of the early twenty-first century. Silenced for centuries, violence against women has reached pandemic proportions and constitutes a clear breach of international and national law. Violence against women is relentless, systematic, and widely tolerated, if not explicitly condoned. Women are targeted for violent attacks because they are women, "punished for being female." It is a "permanent world war—the war against women all over the planet" (Herbert 2006), as documented in a UN Secretary General's report titled *In-Depth Study on All Forms of Violence against Women* released in October 2006. Violence against women is global in reach and takes place in all societies and cultures, affecting women regardless of their birth, ethnicity, or other social status; education, age, or other circumstances.

Violence against women takes diverse forms through their life cycles: from selective abortion of female fetuses and female infanticide due to male-child preference, female genital cutting, virginity testing, girl-child marriage, forced marriage, bride battering, bride burning, honor killing, widow rituals, forced prostitution, and sex slavery, to the growing violence against women and girls in armed conflicts where they are not only victims of warfare and displacement but increasingly targets of mass rape and many other hideous forms of sexual violence used as weapons of war. The trafficking in women and girls is one of the fastest-growing organized crimes in the twenty-first century. Violence against women is also increasingly linked to HIV/AIDS infection; these women do not have basic control over what happens to their bodies.

According to the 2006 UN report, it is estimated that prenatal sex selection and infanticide in India accounted for half a million missing girls per year during the two decades prior to the study. Each year thousands of wives in India are maimed or murdered, many of them doused with kerosene and set ablaze by husbands dissatisfied by their spouses' behaviors or the sizes of their dowries. In Ethiopia the abduction and rape of girls is a customary way to acquire a bride, as most parents agree to the marriage on the grounds that the raped child is no longer fit to marry anyone else. In Pakistan a woman cannot legally prove that she was raped unless four *virtuous* Muslim men testify that they witnessed the sexual attack. Without those four witnesses the woman victim of rape is revictimized by prosecution for fornication or

Pakistani Women Stage a Rally. *Pakistani women stage a rally in Multan, Pakistan protesting against domestic violence and sexual harassment as well as demanding greater economic opportunities.* AP IMAGES.

adultery. In some cases sexual violence occurs in horrendous waves, as has been the case in Darfur-Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Kosovo, and the former Yugoslavia. Sometimes men beat, torture, rape and kill women with impunity, as in Ciudad Juarez, a Mexican city on the Texan border where 300 to 400 women were murdered in during the past decade, some after being raped and mutilated. More than 130 million girls and women are living with the consequences of genital mutilation, and many others have died from the brutal practice in some parts of Africa and the Middle East. A key factor to the protracted occurrence of these crimes is the continued impunity of the perpetrators.

As documented in a landmark World Health Organization (WHO) study on domestic violence published in November 2005, intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence in women's and girls' lives around the globe—much more so than assault or rape by strangers. Intimate partner violence is widespread and has a serious impact on the health and well-being of women around the world. Paradoxically, by its very nature, partner violence is still largely hidden and silenced and is the most difficult to prosecute; it is a social, public health, and human rights threat. According to the UN Secretary General's 2006 report, even in such developed countries as the United States, Canada, Israel, and Australia, the overwhelming majority of female murder victims are killed by current or former husbands or boyfriends. A study of young female murder victims in the United States found that homicide was the second leading cause of death for girls aged fifteen to eighteen, and that 78 percent of all the homicide victims in the study had been killed by an acquaintance or intimate partner. The global statistics are alarming and call for concerted action.

LOOKING AHEAD

A major catalyst in reclaiming, protecting, and promoting women's rights has been the networking of women human rights activists locally, nationally, regionally, and globally. Some of these organizations are the women's rights divisions of Amnesty International and of Human Rights Watch, the Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL), Equality Now, Isis Internacional, MADRE, WOMANKIND, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), Women's Environment and Development Organization

(WEDO), Women's Rights Network, and Women's Watch. Activists believe that reclaiming women's rights is a global struggle based on universal human rights and the rule of law. The struggle must be about making women's lives matter everywhere all the time, and it requires everyone to work in solidarity to stop discrimination and violence against women.

Despite the very real progress of the international women's human rights movement in identifying, raising awareness about, and challenging impunity for women's human rights violations, poverty, violence, and discrimination against women remain global social epidemics. The vast body of international human rights instruments alone will not be enough; they need to be implemented. The struggle for the rights of women involves more than state and global intervention; it requires synergy with civil society local action. As aptly charged by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, "Intervention is not just a matter for states. Every person—whether as a worker in government, in intergovernmental or non-governmental organizations, in business, in the media, or simply as a human being—has an obligation to do whatever he or she can do to defend the human rights of our fellow men and women when they are threatened. Each of us has a duty to halt—or, better, to prevent—the infliction of suffering" (United Nations Development Program 2000, p. 31). Society must examine the gender structure that moulds violence against women as the expression of male domination. Society must also confront the culture of violence, particularly through education, identifying and addressing the bases for hegemonic beliefs in male supremacy, formulating and enforcing appropriate legal frameworks, and designing relevant academic curricula and pedagogical materials. Ultimately, society must rethink the culture of violence that permeates domestic, economic, social, civil, political, and religious relationships.

SEE ALSO *Female Genital Mutilation; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Gender Stereotype; Nationalism; War.*

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WOMEN'S STUDIES

Like the field of black/African-American studies with which it is often compared, women's studies is in the rather uncommon position of an academic subject whose existence resulted from a political movement. While most scholars attribute the first women's studies program to San Diego State University in 1970, all the programs/departments of the early twenty-first century, no matter what their date of origin, credit feminism and the women's movement for their birth. Allison Kimmich, the director of the National Women's Studies Association, told Alison Neumer Lara in 2005, "Women's studies is an outgrowth of the feminist movement. It is the academic arm." Campus activism was widespread in 1960s, and forever changed the way knowledge and the political implications of intellectual work are viewed. The founding of Students for a Democratic Society and campus antiwar and civil rights movements set the stage for this new field of research, which "reconstruc(t)ed the traditionally fashioned *women* and *men*, denaturalized *sex* and *sexuality*, formulated subjective and social *gender*, modeled *sex-gender systems*, multiplied *identities* and *oppressions*, and problematized all such *categories*" (Davidow 2002, p. 166). Of course, this origin in political activism means that women's studies has had a somewhat vexed place at the academic table, as Jacky Coates, Michelle Dodds, and Jodi Jensen (1998) note, stating "the point is to change the world, not just to study it" (p. 333), and later asking rhetorically, "[i]f confined solely to the world of texts, does the work of feminist academics contribute any more than the work of other academics to concrete social change?" (p. 338). Certainly "theory" versus "activism" is a binary near and dear to many laboring inside and outside of academia, each believing that their work contributes more to the feminist (or other political) project. Yet, as Mary Evans echoes in her 1997 essay, "In Praise of Theory: The Case for Women's Studies," "belief and ideology . . . have critical effects on the lives of millions of people" and the "production of counter-ideologies may, therefore, be as much part of a struggle of the oppressed as any other" (p. 20).

Despite these debates, however, the growth of women's studies as a discipline has been swift. By 1969 the Modern Language Association had formed their Commission on the Status of Women, and by 1971 the journals *PMLA* and *College English* had published their first all-feminist issues. The growth of classes in the field (although a name was not yet decided, many were calling it "female studies") also moved rapidly from a barely institutionalized 100 or so courses in 1970 to more than 395 programs in the United States alone and more than 700 worldwide by the early twenty-first century. Though the field has not been free from its share of threats stemming from rising tides of conservatism and university budget slashing, this level of growth over the course of more than thirty-five years remains notable. And though most programs' goal at the outset included a desire to fuse activist concerns with academic knowledge, how each women's studies program actually worked then and in the early twenty-first century has everything to do with the individual institutions themselves. They range from freestanding departments with their own tenure lines to the far more common (and some would argue disenfranchised) "programs" with a few core requirements and the bulk of their courses offered through interdepartmental cross-listing.

In other words, women's studies (this term will be used until discussing the rise of gender studies specifically) can mean anything from the addition of women to course syllabi to a completely reconceptualized methodology and pedagogical practice. According to Marilyn Jacoby Boxer (1998), most women's studies programs began via a demand for topics, courses, and terminology that included women (a request that in the early twenty-first century seems quite modest—a testament to the field's growth). Soon though, she argues, "traveling beyond rediscovered foremothers and asking what women had done in the male-defined world they began to formulate new questions," wondering if they wanted only to "join the [higher education] parade or also to change its route and objective" (p. 52). Changing the route and objective could mean that those involved would engage in "radical attacks on the epistemological presuppositions, bodies of knowledge, and methodologies of the fields in which they were trained" (p. 56) as well as a questioning (and possible reformation) of the disciplines altogether.

INTERDISCIPLINARITY AND THE ESSENTIALIST DEBATES

Such reformations across institutions led to a reinvigoration of the project of interdisciplinarity as key to the women's studies project, calling as it does for "an integration of disciplines to create a new epistemology" (Allen and Kitch 1998, p. 276). The influence of interdisciplinarity remains, in a variety of forms, despite the fact that the 1980s and 1990s witnessed much fragmentation and debate over whether the field should view itself as an "interdisciplinary discipline, with theories, methods, and professional regimes of its own" or identify chiefly as a field that makes "strategic forays that disrupt and reconfigure the disciplines" (Hewitt and Lancer 1998, p. 236). Historically, these questions of inter/transdisciplinarity have a basis in the earliest discussions within feminist theory over notions of essentialism, that is, the question of whether or not women as a gender share some kind of intrinsic "essence." Just as advocates of inter/transdisciplinarity might argue that an analysis of gender requires more than one disciplinary inclination, "nonessentialist" feminists at the outset advocated moving beyond the singular lens of gender to get at what it means to identify as "woman" in a particular culture. Though much of the "essentialism debates" are overstated (no one seriously argues that women are all born with an identical kernel of "womanness"), feminism and women's studies *do* have to answer (as do most academic disciplines) for an early overemphasis on white (women's) experiences as exemplar. Theorists such as Gerda Lerner, Audre Lorde, Cherrie Moraga, Gloria Anzaldúa, Barbara Hull, Barbara Smith, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, and bell hooks have issued wide-ranging correctives to such a perspective, leading the authors of the introduction to Oxford University Press's *Feminisms* to state (some might say overly optimistically) that in women's studies "monocausal and totalizing theories of patriarchy have been replaced by multifaceted explorations of the contingencies of identity" (Kemp and Squires 1997, p. 6).

Of course, moving beyond such totalizing theories means moving beyond simply the issue of race, class, and so on within national borders, giving rise to feminist postcolonial theory that aims to question western feminists' monolithic conceptions of "third world" women. In challenging hegemonic white, Western, and urban feminism, as well as a sexist "extremely selective rejection of Westernization" on the part of the colonized (Narayan 2005, p. 546), theorists such as Mohanty, Arjun Appadurai, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Uma Narayan, and Vandana Shiva have contributed to one of the most theoretically rich and engaging strains of feminist theory in women's studies of the early twenty-first century.

POSTSTRUCTURALIST EPISTEMOLOGIES

The "post" in "postcoloniality" relates to another oft-cited "post" in women's studies from the 1980s, that of "postmodern" and/or "poststructuralist" feminist theory, a wide-ranging intellectual realignment that has reshaped the field in profound (if contentious) ways. Although some have derided this development in the field as a "shift from things to words" (Kemp and Squires 1997, p. 8), others have argued that what is sometimes colloquially referred to simply as "theory" and includes "Derridian deconstructive readings, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and Foucauldian discourses of power and corporeality … [has] prove[n an] invaluable tool to feminist theorists across the disciplines" (p. 8). Incorporated under the somewhat vague "theory" rubric is what is similarly casually referred to as "French feminism," which includes the work of Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, and Julia Kristeva, as well as their Anglo-American counterparts such as Jane Gallop and Juliet Mitchell and journals such as *Signs*, *Feminist Studies*, and *Yale French Studies*. French feminist theories ground deconstruction in psychoanalysis and the female body and have gained much (academic) currency, despite a backlash against what is perceived to be not only their theoretical blind spots but also their difficulty. Theorists have pointed out, however, that philosophical writing of all kinds are too-easily labeled "difficult" and removed from "real" life when "real life" means an anti-intellectual culture without equal education for all, especially at the higher levels. In speaking of this backlash in their introduction to *Feminisms,* the editors argue that "To assume that work which is difficult is elitist is to confuse the form with the context" (Kemp and Squires 1997, p. 5). Nevertheless, what might be a more valid critique of academic/French/poststructuralist feminist theory, also discussed in this anthology, is its continuing domination (with the exception of work explicitly labeled "third world" or "postcolonialist") by (white) Anglo-American and French writers.

QUEER IS TO GAY AS GENDER IS TO WOMEN: QUEER THEORY AND THE GENDER STUDIES DEBATE(S)

While gay and lesbian studies was born around twenty years after women's studies, its issues, like its course offerings, often coalesce around similar questions, in particular "essentialism," that is, whether too much difference (of race and class for example) gets subsumed, this time under the rubric of sexuality. In response to both this critique and the influence of poststructuralism, queer theory emerged as a "contestation of social norms" and a "voluntarism of identity" (Auslander 1997, p. 11) that moved beyond the binaries of hetero- or homo-identity with an emphasis on the fluidity of (sexual) identity. Queer theory looks at sex and gender (and by implication, sexuality) as "ideal construct[s]" whose "materialization is compelled" (Judith Butler quoted in Davidow 2002, p. 177). Some theorists, such as Lisa Duggan (1992), argue for its superiority to traditional gay and lesbian theory and politics, which locates itself, like second-wave feminism, in a liberal politics that posits a unified gay identity implicitly coded as white and male. In contrast, she argues that queer theory and the queer community "[are] unified only by a shared dissent from the dominant organization of sex and gender altogether" (p. 20). Other feminist theorists such as Sheila Jeffreys (1994) have argued the exact opposite, that queer theory's emphasis on gender performativity and its invocation of endlessly floating gender signifiers is "feminism free." Similarly, Jacquelyn Zita (1994) claims that theorizing gender and sexuality from the perspective of postmodern performativity (a common rhetorical move) is a theoretical luxury that neglects the very real cultural and political repercussions that come from resisting sex and gender norms. While these debates continue, the profound influence of queer theory on women's studies cannot be denied, and not only at the level of knowledge formation but also in the term *women's studies* itself.

GENDER AND MASCULINITY STUDIES

Clearly, the postmodern critique of identity categorization has thrown a wrench into all sorts of academic discourse. But for a field such as women's studies, itself a result of a political movement (feminism) originating in a politics of (gendered) identity, the effects are particularly apposite. Theorists such as Wendy Brown (1997), for instance, taking off from queer theory and poststructuralism, have gone as far as to prophesize the "impossibility of women's studies," while writers as diverse as Eve K. Sedgwick, Judith Butler, and Judith Halberstam have pushed the field into looking at how gender and sexuality manifest themselves outside of a binary male/female framework. Exploring such topics as female masculinity, transsexuality, and intersexuality and their relationship to differences between women (or even whether a term such as *woman* has any intrinsic meaning at all) has led women's studies, in Robyn Wiegman's terms (2002), to more complicated analyses around "multiple axes of power and difference" (p. 32) beyond a simple oppressor/oppressed model. From this current have arisen such programs as the University of Chicago's Center for Gender Studies (not Women's Studies), whose stated mission is to "coordinate research and teaching in the field of women's feminist, *gender*, gay and lesbian, and queer studies as well as the study of *masculinity*" (my emphasis; Auslander 1997, p. 3). While many applaud this change as an evolution in scholarship that pushes one to consider *both* how "freedom from scrutiny has enabled the white middle class masculine norm to remain invisible" (Robinson 2002, p. 147) *and* to "account for the possibility of conditions under which men might productively fail to live up to phallic expectations" (Thomas 2002, p. 66), like the debates around queer theory and postmodernism, both the emerging field of "masculinity studies" and the name change to gender studies have occasioned critique and alarm within women's studies.

One of the most eloquent critics of the embrace of gender/masculinity studies is Tania Modleski, who, in *Feminism without Women* (1991), wonders why theorists would want to change a name that honors the field's roots in a political movement, especially because "the experiences of women are rarely studied in isolation" anyway (p. 47). Further, because, theoretically at least, gender studies does not necessarily have to focus on women at all, this potential erasure comes at a time when "those [i.e., women] who have fairly recently found a place in the discourse" are in threat of being erased (p. 49). Similarly, Rosi Braidotti (1994) argues that gender studies defuses feminism and "market[s] masculinity and gay male identity instead" (pp. 43–44). On the other hand, explicitly aiming to study masculinity might be the best way to get at a thorough understanding of the myriad ways in which "the repression of the abject vulnerability of the male body—a repression necessary for the construction of heteronormative masculinity—depends on a displacement of that vulnerability … onto the feminine" (Thomas 2002, p. 63). Nevertheless, despite a growing acceptance of the need to study both masculinity and femininity, the only

PhD program calling itself "gender studies" as of 2006 is at Indiana University, Bloomington. While there are two officially titled gender studies doctoral programs in Europe (Central European University in Budapest and the London School of Economics and Political Science), the vast majority of programs, including undergraduate majors, minors, and certificates, and MA- and PhD-granting institutions continue to use the term women's studies, with some elaborating on it—"women's and gender studies" being the most common form of this expansion.

All in all, if the most general goal of women's studies (or gender studies) has been to bring gender as a key aspect of knowledge to the forefront of a range of disciplines, it has inarguably been achieved. This achievement, despite all the debates and institutional roadblocks discussed here, must seem nothing less than remarkable from the perspective of its founders in 1970. Women's/gender studies has brought about nothing less than the veritable end to a casual biological determinism (beginning with Shulamith Firestone and continuing with the work of scholars such as Butler today), as well as a reconfiguring of the sex binary as not natural but a "knowledge problem." Perhaps most compelling of all, the notion that gender is a "social, subjective, and symbolic formation" (Davidow 2002, p. 171) has permeated across almost all academic disciplines, thanks in no small part to a field that itself has been devoted to an interrogation of the terms of those very disciplines. The advent of the "third wave" of feminists entering the academy, and the continued growth of women's/gender/feminist studies, suggests a long future for the vigorous debates and theoretical development of which this entry only scratches the surface.

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Jennifer Maher

WONDER WOMAN

Few popular culture icons have been identified with feminism as strongly as the comics' Wonder Woman. From the beginning, the character's originator, the psychologist William Moulton Marston (pen name, Charles Moulton), envisioned her to be a reflector of women's strong points, not just to attract girl readers, but also to expose boys to the ideals of feminism. The multitalented Marston's career itself was permeated with an interest in gender and female subjectivity. While at Harvard earning a Ph.D., he researched femininity, and later, in his criminology career (he had also earned a law degree and invented the lie detector), he worked with inmates in women's prisons and reform institutions. As a consultant for M. C. Gaines beginning in 1937, he advised the comics publisher that gender was the key for comics reform and that the medium needed a superheroine. Marston combined his knowledge of psychology and mythology (he had written scholarly and popular books and articles on these topics, as well as mysteries and screenplays) to create Princess Diana, who became Wonder Woman once she left the land of the Amazons.

Later, Wonder Woman became the semiofficial emblem of feminism when she graced the cover of the initial issue of *Ms.* magazine in July 1972, in the process becoming the magazine's mascot. *Ms.* publisher Gloria Steinem was a great admirer of Wonder Woman. In the introduction to a 1972 collection of Wonder Woman stories, Steinem recalled as a child her "toe-wriggling pleasure" while reading about this "strong, beautiful, courageous" fighter for social justice.

The feature originally appeared in the December 1941 *All Star Comics* (no. 8). The following month, Wonder Woman was the lead character of *Sensation Comics* no. 1, and by summer 1942 she had her own comic book, one of only a few characters popular enough to merit and sustain an individual title.

Veteran strip cartoonist Harry G. Peter drew Wonder Woman, and ideas came from scriptwriters such as tennis champion and associate editor Alice Marble, Joye Hummel Murchison, and Dorothy Woolfolk. Marston's two-pronged family (he lived in the same house with two women simultaneously and bore two children with each) also was helpful. His legal wife, Elizabeth Holloway Marston, was said to have urged Marston to create a superheroine; his "unofficial" wife, Olive Richard, publicized his efforts and may have been the inspiration for Wonder Woman. Marston's son Pete sent story ideas from college, receiving payment of $25 for each one used.

Wonder Woman's popularity soared during World War II as she fought social injustice and foiled the diabolical plots of Nazi spies, foreign infiltrators, and other villains, usually with a minimum of violence. Her main weapon was her magic lasso, which she used to capture men and compel them to obey her. At its peak, the *Wonder Woman* comic book sold 2.5 million copies monthly. In 1944 a newspaper comic strip was started, but it lasted only a year.

Wonder Woman came in for her share of criticism during the character's formative years. She was the disdain of boy readers perhaps because of the paucity of males; some entire sequences were completely devoid of men. Accusations were hurled at Marston and Gaines for what some believed was an overemphasis on bondage (characters were regularly tied up) and male bashing, and for including lesbian overtones. The top anti-comics crusader, Fredric Wertham, referring to the claimed bondage, called Woman Wonder "one of the most harmful characters," the lesbian counterpart to Batman. Josette Frank of the Child Study Association of America, employed to monitor the comics, chastised Gaines that the feature was "open to considerable criticism . . . partly on the basis of the woman's costume (or lack of it), and partly on the sadistic bits showing women chained, tortured, etc." Marston retaliated, saying binding and chaining were "harmless, painless" ways of subjecting the heroine to menace and that "women *enjoy* submission, being bound." Other comics consultants joined the fray, but the controversy died, and Gaines continued to support Marston until his death in 1947.

Wonder Woman's editor after Marston was Robert Kanigher, who served as the writer of the comic as well. During the twenty years that he filled both positions, substantial changes occurred. By 1960, Kanigher had deviated from Marston's original story, adding the characters Wonder Tot and Wonder Girl. At first, these characters portrayed Wonder Woman as a baby and young girl, respectively, but by 1963 all three appeared together in stories, thus defying logic. The storyline became so convoluted and confusing that in 1965 Kanigher took Wonder Woman back to the 1940s and started all over again.

The character deteriorated further when a new team in 1968 transformed her into a mortal woman and stripped her of her powers and uniform. These changes eventually led to the demise of the book with no. 329 in February 1986, and the character a month later in an issue of *Crisis on Infinite Earths.* Like most superheroes, however, she was quickly brought back from the dead. Finally, nearly fifty years after her creation, Wonder Woman was for a brief time under the domain of women cartoonists, namely, Jill Thompson, Mindy Newell, and Trina Robbins. The character has had other makeovers since the early 1980s, including a stage in the early 1990s when she was a hypersexual, barely clothed pinup.

Unlike Batman and Superman, Wonder Woman did not break into broadcasting and film early. Her first exposure outside comics was in 1966 on a 45-rpm record; her first screen appearances were in a 1972 episode of *The Brady Kids* animated television show and a Justice League of America's *Super Friends,* produced by Hanna-Barbera in 1973 for ABC. Various Saturday morning animated shows featuring Wonder Woman continued through 1986. In 1974 ABC and Warner Brothers released a made-for-TV movie, *Wonder Woman,* starring Cathy Lee Crosby, which did not draw much attention. But the popularity of a second ABC movie, *The New Original Wonder Woman,* broadcast the following year and starring Lynda Carter, led to a one-hour, weekly series that debuted in October 1976. The show moved from ABC to CBS in 1977, at the same time that the setting was changed from World War II to the 1970s.

Lynda Carter as Wonder Woman. *Actress Lynda Carter starred as Wonder Woman in the 1970s television series.* WARNER BROTHERS/GETTY IMAGES.

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John A. Lent

WOOLF, VIRGINIA

1882–1941

As a writer and publisher, Virginia Woolf was in the forefront of English literary modernism between the two world wars, and her feminist essays and treatises helped set the stage for feminism's second wave in the mid-twentieth century. She was born Adeline Virginia Stephen on January 25 in London. Her mother was Julia Duckworth, nee Jackson, the niece of photographer Julia Margaret Cameron and a beauty from a family renowned for its beautiful women. Her father was Leslie Stephen, author, critic, and editor of the venerable *Dictionary of National Biography*.

EARLY LIFE AND INFLUENCES

Both Virginia's parents had been widowed, and had four children between them from previous marriages. To these were added four new Stephen children: Toby, Vanessa, Virginia, and Adrian. Many scholars believe that Virginia and Vanessa suffered sexual abuse when they were young children at the hands of their much older Duckworth half-brothers, George and Gerald. Julia Stephen died in 1895, when Virginia was thirteen, and Virginia became manic-depressive, suffering a nervous breakdown that summer. Sir Leslie, knighted in 1902, died of cancer in 1904, when Virginia was twenty-two, and a second breakdown followed.

Virginia and her sisters were educated at home, as were many upper-middle-class young women of the time. Virginia had the use of Leslie Stephen's substantial library, which substituted for the university she was barred from because she was female. After the death of their father, Vanessa, Virginia, and Adrian moved into a house on Gordon Square in Bloomsbury. Toby, away at Cambridge University, invited his college friends to Thursday evening gatherings at his siblings' home, and the Bloomsbury circle was born. Among these first members were the biographer Lytton Strachey (1880–1932), the critic Clive Bell (1881–1964), and the writer Leonard Woolf (1880–1969); later they were joined by the artist Roger Fry (1866–1934) and the novelist E. M. Forster (1879–1970), among others. These young men brought radical sexual and social ideas to the Stephen sisters, and treated them as intellectual equals rather than as inferior sexed beings. Virginia later wrote how satisfying and strange it was to have her ideas rigorously criticized by these friends, who seemed not to notice how she was dressed or care about traditional manners and standards of decorum.

NOVELS AND FEMINIST IMPORTANCE

Virginia wrote regularly for the *Times Literary Supplement* beginning in 1905, and by 1908 had already begun writing her first novel, *The Voyage Out*. Toby died unexpectedly of typhoid fever in 1906, leaving their circle devastated. Vanessa agreed to marry Bell in 1907, and Virginia married Woolf in 1912. She published *The Voyage Out* in 1915 and *Night and Day* in 1919. She

Virginia Woolf. TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

and Woolf started the Hogarth Press in 1917, and thereafter she published her own work.

Other notable work published by Hogarth included T. S. Eliot's landmark poem *The Waste Land* in 1922, and many works of Freud in translation, including *The Ego and the Id* (1927). In 1922 Virginia published a stream-of-consciousness novel, *Jacob's Room*, about the psychic impact of Toby's loss, which she extended to encompass the loss of an entire generation in her 1925 novel *Mrs. Dalloway*, one of her most beloved and frequently taught works. *Mrs. Dalloway*, written as a response to James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), uses a woman narrator relating the experiences of a single day to tell the story of a society struggling to repress the memory of a terrible war and trying go on as if nothing had happened. The novel's heroine, Clarissa Dalloway, finds her consciousness touched, invaded, and transformed by those around her, some of whom are old intimates, some of whom she will never meet, including shell-shocked war veterans, repressed spinsters, pompous courtiers, old friends, and old flames. Central to the narrative is a lost lesbian love that might have changed everything but did not, yet still affects the whole of Clarissa's otherwise conventional bourgeois existence.

To the Lighthouse (1927), *Orlando* (1928), and *The Waves* (19 31) followed, as did one of the most famous feminist essays ever written, *A Room of One's Own* (1928). *Orlando* is a playful fantasy loosely based on her friend and lover, the poet Vita Sackville-West (1892–1962). Sackville-West's son, Nigel Nicholson, called the novel a charming love letter. *Orlando* is also a send-up of imperialism and its racial and sexual chauvinisms. Orlando, an Elizabethan aristocrat who wishes never to grow old, has a series of love affairs as both man and woman, eventually marrying a man. His transformation from male to female halfway through the novel, and from English aristocrat to gypsy and back again, allowed Woolf to write about lesbianism, cross-dressing, sexual adventuring, and class and racial fetishism in a breezier way than her contemporary Radclyffe Hall (1880–1943), whose earnest lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* was also published in 1928 and was immediately banned.

A Room of One's Own deals with feminist issues more directly, attributing the difficulty of finding a women's writing tradition to the lack of educational and professional opportunities historically open to women. Virginia argued that if William Shakespeare had had an equally talented and ambitious sister who tried to make her way in the world as a playwright and actor, her life would have ended in pregnancy and suicide.

Three Guineas (1938) continued Virginia's feminist inquiry into the relationship between nation, imperialism, and gender and sexual oppression, interweaving these more polemical themes with a fictional section she published separately as *The Years* (1937). A short work published after Virginia's death, *Between the Acts* (1941), also meditates on connections among gender, history, individual consciousness, class, and political and social forces, and the ability of art to mediate and transform those interrelationships.

In the early twenty-first century Virginia is remembered as one of the great lyrical novelists of the English language and as a groundbreaking feminist theorist and intellectual *Orlando* is one of the central texts of lesbian modernism, and much of her reputation outside of academia rests on this novel. It was also her best-selling novel to date when it came out, and her first truly popular work.

With the shadow of Nazi Germany creeping toward England, Virginia and Leonard planned how they would kill themselves with cyanide if Hitler invaded. Leonard was Jewish, and as his wife, Virginia knew she would not be spared. She began hearing voices that made her unable to work, and believed she was losing her mind. She took her own life on March 18, 1941, walking into the river with stones in her pockets. The note she left for Leonard ended with her assertion that no two people could have been happier than they had been.

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Jaime Hovey

WORKING GIRL

SEE *Prostitution.*

X

X (RATED)

In contemporary articulations of gender and sexuality, the letter *X* carries semiotic currency as a symbol of diverse yet interrelated phenomena, among them indeterminacy, anonymity, censorship, and pornography. Although the letter has been long associated with various sorts of graphic iconicity (for example, the *X* of the term *X-chair*, used for a chair with an underframe that resembles the shape of the letter *X*), the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) credits René Descartes (1596–1650) with first using the letter as a symbol for an unknown or variable quantity. Descartes's algebraic *X*, initially proposed in his *La Géométrie* (1637), appears to be the historical predecessor of more contemporary developments. By the late 1700s the symbol *X* had traveled far outside its mathematical womb, surfacing in diverse legal and literary texts as a replacement for a person's name when unknown or undetermined, such as in novelist William Makepeace Thackeray's (1811–1863) *Ballads of Policeman X* (1848) or in astronomer Percival Lowell's (1855–1916) naming of the hypothetical post-Pluto Planet X in the early 1900s. The use of *X* as a marker of anonymity reached a new level of semiotic appeal at the turn of the twentieth century, however, when the American artist John Singer Sargent (1856–1925) and the French playwright Alexandre Bisson (1848–1912) independently created portraits of a mysterious and sensual Madame X. Whereas Singer's sexually suggestive painting *Madame X* scandalized the Parisian art world when first unveiled at the Salon of 1884, the fallen and ultimately murderous mother of Bisson's play *La Femme X* captured the attention of viewers for decades to come. Performed both in Paris and on Broadway in 1910, the play was subsequently reworked into no less than eight films carrying the title *Madame X*—among them movie director Sam Wood's (1883–1949) 1937 version starring Gladys George (1904–1954), and David Lowell Rich's (b. 1920) 1966 version starring Lana Turner (1920–1995).

The letter *X* has surfaced as a marker of anonymity in a variety of nonartistic domains as well, not the least of which is its appearance in the controversial *Accouchement Sous X* (Born under the X), a French law dating from 1941 that guarantees women the right to enter hospitals and give birth anonymously. Yet the turn-of-the-century contributions of artists such as Sargent and Bisson worked to foster the idea that anonymity is sexy. This conflation no doubt precipitated the letter *X*'s semantic shift in the second half of the twentieth century to a symbol of both censorship and pornography. In 1951 the British Board of Film Censors introduced the X Certificate, a cinematic rating for films with adult-oriented themes perceived as inappropriate for viewers under the age of sixteen. Because it replaced the previous H Certificate, which was used primarily for violent horror films, the X Certificate quickly became associated with the stuff of sex instead of violence, a narrowing in sync with *X*'s parallel reputation as a cinematically sensual letter. The Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), under the direction of President Jack Valenti (b. 1921), introduced its own X-rating in 1968 when it developed a new ratings system in an effort to stave off federal censorship. One year later, director John Schlesinger's (1926–2003) *Midnight Cowboy* became the first X-rated film to win an Academy Award for best picture, in line with the film industry's desire to support the development of adult themes with controversial artistic or sociopolitical merit.

But even though the MPAA trademarked its other three ratings—*G* (general audiences), *M* (mature audiences [later changed to PG, for parental guidance]), and *R* (restricted audiences)—it failed to trademark the *X* rating. When the pornography industry co-opted the rating for its own commercial purposes, the letter *X* began to lose all trace of cinematic prestige as it became increasingly associated with low-budget porn. Although the MPAA, as with the British Board of Film Censors, had originally intended the rating to denote extreme representations of violence as well as sex, the letter *X* ultimately came to symbolize only the latter. It was not long before the reduplicative forms *XX* and *XXX* came to signify extra-hardcore pornographic content, reminiscent of the liquor industry's use of double and triple *X* to designate the relational values of medium and strong quality, a practice recorded by the OED as occurring in 1827. By the late 1980s, the letter *X* could no longer be rescued from its outlaw status as a signifier of purportedly immoral behavior. The letter's phonetic similarity to the English word *sex* also played into this development, with the European- and North American-originating pornography industry capitalizing on the rhyme in a global marketplace of (SE)X-rated paraphernalia. With newspapers refusing to advertise *X*-rated films and theaters refusing to show them, the Motion Picture Association finally abolished the *X* rating in 1990 and replaced it with *NC-17* (no one 17 and under admitted).

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the letter *X* came to be seen as indexical of censorship more generally, with Internet-revitalized youth subcultures such as *straight edge* (abbreviated as *sXe*) adopting the symbol to index a lifestyle free of tobacco, alcohol, and recreational drugs. Indeed, some Christian groups in the United States have pointed to the spelling of *Christmas* as *Xmas* as exemplary of a leftwing conspiracy to censor *Christ* from Christmas. It is largely irrelevant that this abbreviation is derived from the earlier Greek abbreviation of *Χριστός* (Christós) by its initial letter (a usage documented as early as 1485), for the letter *X* has taken on new life in the twenty-first century as a provocative, if not threatening, symbol of things requiring surveillance.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Erotic Art; Film, Gender and Eroticism: I. History of; Obscene; Pornography; Sexual Subcultures.*

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Kira Hall

Y

YIN AND YANG

Centuries prior to the appearance of terms for the complementary concepts of *yin* and *yang* or their pairing with the *wuxing* (five phases), there is clear evidence for Chinese categorical thinking. The cosmos was understood to be in continual flux, but this constant change operated in generally predictable patterns: waxing and waning, cyclical renewal, or successive displacement. These patterns came to be organized in disparate but overlapping systems. In the Shang dynasty (second millennium BCE), the temporal cycles of ten heavenly stems and twelve earthly branches informed the calendar, and the eight trigrams combined into sixty-four hexagrams to express the full range of natural phenomena, as described in the classic of divination, the *Yijing* (or *I Ching*, Book of changes). By the Spring and Autumn period (722–481 BCE), the categories of *yinyang* and *wuxing* were systematized and recognized as part of the overall worldview.

Wuxing refers to five constituent elements of all physical phenomena: wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. These elements were applied to a broad range of categories, including cardinal directions (including the center), tastes, colors, viscera, and virtues. As with the other categorical systems, these elements are patterned, interrelated, and dynamic. Each element gives way to the next (in varying orders suggested over the centuries), such that "five phases" is a more accurate description of the system than the more common but static reference to "five elements."

Yin and *yang* originated in the distinction between the shaded (*yin*) and sunlit (*yang*) slopes of a mountain, or the shaded and sunlit banks of a river. In the agrarian context of early China, the terms naturally became associated with characteristics such as dark and bright, cool and warm, moist and dry (in reference to the soil), and decay and growth (in reference to plant health). The relationship of these characteristics to each other was neither dualistic nor absolute but complementary and relative. The same infant who is *yin* in its passivity and weakness grows into an active, strong, *yang* adult, but then shifts again into passivity and weakness as he or she ages and moves toward death. Although *yang* was generally understood to be more auspicious or positive—that is, growth and life are generally preferred over decay and death—there was no essential value in the terms.

During the fourth century BCE, the *yinyang* and *wuxing* systems were aggregated to form a larger system of relationships: wood and fire (growth and heat) fall under the *yang* rubric, metal and water (coolness and passivity) are *yin*, and, intriguingly, earth (locus of these interactions) is a neutral force.

Associations of *yinyang* with female and male, women and men, and femininity and masculinity were later additions to the initial list of paired concepts. Prior to the Han dynasty (second century BCE–second century CE), the association of individuals with *yin* and *yang* was determined more by relationship and position by sex or gender. A man was simultaneously *yang* in relation to his wife and children but *yin* in relation to his parents, his ruler, and his older brothers. During the Han, an exhaustive list of characteristics ranging from musical notes to colors, foods, emotions, and cognition were incorporated; a hierarchical sense was infused into these extensive conceptual pairings; and gendered, essentialist views emerged. Women, as *yin*, were categorized as weak, less rational, and associated with inauspiciousness. Once past childbearing age, however, women are often observed in Chinese religious contexts to wield significant power and influence; with their *yin* energies dissipated, their *yang* characteristics can come to the fore and be exercised and appreciated.

From ancient times through the twentieth-century end of the imperial era, these categorical structures such as *yinyang*, *wuxing*, and the hexagrams were seen to inform and direct all natural and social processes. The *yinyang* system, falsely associated with Taoism in the popular Western imagination, was fully integrated into all the various religious and cultural traditions of China. It cannot be said to be uniquely Taoist or Confucian or folk-religious; rather, it suffused all of these traditions. When Buddhism entered China, it too incorporated the dynamic *yinyang* understanding of the cosmos into its own vision of cosmic change. Deeply enmeshed in Chinese religion, philosophy, politics, and medicine, the *yinyang* system was exported to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam as each was influenced or dominated by China.

The *yinyang-wuxing* system continues to influence socio-religious practices. Traditional Chinese medicine, for example, is predicated on the appreciation of the dynamic workings of these forces and elements in the body; cures focus on foods and other medicines to restore balance to the body's system, or on exercises and interventions that facilitate movement and appropriate change. *Feng shui*, the art of siting graves, buildings, and, more recently, interior elements, understands *yin* and *yang* influences to be moving constantly in the landscape; the goal of a successful *feng shui* practitioner is to maximize *yang* influences while minimizing inauspicious *yin* influences. In North America since the 1990s, *feng shui* has become something of an interior design trend, with people rushing to purchase fountains or rocks or other "elements" in hopes of improving the tranquility of their home.

In South Korea, a representation of the *yin-yang* mandala is incorporated into the national flag, along with the trigrams of the *Yijing*. In other contexts, the mandala is more commonly depicted in black and white, with each comma-shaped portion having a spot of the complementary color. Given this form, there is no way to evenly bisect the mandala such that only *yin* or *yang* is present; symbolically, this represents the constant latent presence of the complementary force.

In non-Asian cultures, the appreciation of *yinyang* is predominantly sexed and gendered: Male and female (in this reversed order) are the typical associated terms. This association is most likely due to a perceived connection with Taoism—the classical Chinese religious system often popularly understood to exalt women and venerate femininity. Although erroneously based on misreadings of the *Daodejing* (*Tao te ching*), these understandings of Taoism and *yinyang* have gained wide following in European and American cultures. For better or for worse, the *yinyang* mandala has become ubiquitous in popular material culture, appearing on everything from jewelry and clothing to heat-sensitive pencils that change from dark to light as one rubs them between one's fingers.

SEE ALSO *Confucianism.*

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Vivian-Lee Nyitray

YMCA/YWCA

The YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association, also known as "the Y") is an organization dedicated to putting "Christian principles into practice through programs that build healthy spirit, mind, and body for all." One of the primary ways that this three-part goal has been achieved is through building dormitories for young men in need of housing, and providing gymnasiums for their physical development. The combination of communal housing, distance from family, and the overt physicality of the setting has often been credited with positioning the YMCA as a same-sex playground. The YMCA has been popularly understood as a place where homosexual encounters were possible, although not actively encouraged. The 1970s disco hit "YMCA" by the Village People depended on this understanding, encouraging men to visit so that they could "hang out with all the boys."

The YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association) is an organization with a similar mission and early history. It was a more revolutionary concept than the YMCA, perhaps, because in the late nineteenth century the idea of providing physical education for women was unheard of. The YWCA did not become associated with homosexual activity in a general way, however. This had to do partly with its different emphasis; while the men's organization encouraged employment by providing housing for men in search of work, the YWCA actively engaged in job training. In this way, its atmosphere was more like that of a professional school than a mere dormitory. Similarly, social expectations of women dictated closer and more careful supervision than was true of men, providing fewer opportunities for illicit sexual behavior of any kind. It is notable, however, that the YWCA movement began in Boston, and that the long-term live-in relationships between unmarried women, including many YWCA members, were called *Boston marriages* in the nineteenth century.

George Williams, who had come to the city to work as a draper, founded the YMCA in London in 1844. Realizing that many men like himself were flocking to the cities in search of work, and that they were particularly susceptible to moral corruption in their new surroundings, Williams and a group of Evangelical Christians founded the organization to provide healthy, morally sound activities for young men. The movement quickly spread to other countries, and was brought to the United States in 1851 by missionary Thomas Sullivan. In the United States, the YMCA retained its primary function of providing a Christian-based home for young men who had moved to the city in search of work, and offered a social structure to protect them from the corrupting influences of the city. The first American YMCA was established in Boston, but the movement quickly spread. By 1855, there were twenty-four YMCAs, and more than, 400 by 1895.

From its beginnings, the YMCA focused on Bible study, self-help, and prayer, which required no specialized facilities. Most chapters met in rented buildings or used public buildings such as schools. Because so few chapters owned buildings, the original residential aspect was fulfilled more through coordination; they assisted young men in finding housing rather than providing it themselves. In the 1880s, the focus changed to emphasize the importance of physical fitness, which required the construction of special facilities and gymnasiums. Several sports, including basketball and volleyball, are said to have been invented in YMCA chapters, and the organization was the first to build and maintain indoor swimming pools. In the custom of the day, men swam in the nude, lending to the homoerotic atmosphere of the setting. As the YMCA local associations built gymnasium buildings and acquired property, they also built dormitories to provide on-site housing for their members. Thus, the YMCA offered men the chance to be in a very physical setting with each other, often in the nude, and to live in close quarters as well. The physical temptations that the organization originally set out to counteract seemed, in fact, to be replaced by physical temptations within the YMCA itself. There has also been speculation that the YMCA is largely responsible for a new attention paid to men's bodies in general in the United Sates in the twentieth century. The physical fitness programs made it possible to discuss the human body in public in a way that had not existed before, and men's bodies were at the center of this discussion and scrutiny. While YMCA policy rejected homosexuality, it also valued creating beautiful male bodies and keeping them in close proximity to each other.

The dormitories were very popular with members, and as expected, were inhabited by young men newly arrived in the city. Residence was open to all members, however, and in many cities unmarried men chose to move into the YMCA instead of other accommodations. It was not uncommon for men, particularly those in leadership positions (called secretaries) in local chapters to cohabit in YMCA lodgings. One such well-known couple was Richard C. Morse (whose autobiography is entitled *My Life with Young Men*) and Robert R. McBurney (for whom the chapter in Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood is now named), who lived together for five years in a YMCA in Manhattan. There is evidence that the organization's leaders were aware of the potential for homosexual activity in the dormitories, as rules governing who could serve as secretaries were changed in the early twentieth century. While not completely excluded from leadership, unmarried men were discouraged from becoming secretaries, thus making it less likely that those formulating and implementing rules governing the dormitories would also be residents. Even with these measures in place, homosexual activity continued in YMCAs across the country. Even more disturbing to organization leaders was the fact that such activity was not confined to unmarried members. The YMCA became known as a place where married men could find easy access to extramarital homosexual liaisons.

In the twentieth century, non-resident membership at YMCAs increased dramatically, as men joined primarily to use the gymnasium facilities. Because of their founding mission, YMCAs have catered to transient populations, which increased the possibility for casual, short-term relationships between members and residents. The locker rooms and showers enabled men to interact in the nude, allowing opportunities for voyeurism, exhibitionism, and sexual activity of all sorts. In this way, the YMCA is the forerunner for the sexual function of the gymnasium in general. YMCAs in certain locations became known as sexual destinations, particularly the Chelsea Y in Manhattan and the San Francisco Y.

Following World War II, San Francisco emerged as a gay metropolis; many have attributed this to its function as the disembarkation point for most of the Pacific fleet returning from war. The U.S. Navy has long been popularly understood as the most homoerotic of the armed forces (the flamboyant band the Village People recorded a hit song called "In the Navy") and the large number of naval personnel in San Francisco during and immediately following the war years has long been attributed to its transformation into the most famous gay-friendly city in the United States. Because of its military function, San Francisco also had a large population of temporary or short-term residents, many of whom made use of the YMCA facilities. From the 1950s through the 1970s, the San Francisco Y was famous for the homosexual activity on its premises. It became common for men to vacation at the Y, staying in the dormitory for a weekend of casual sexual activity. It is this function of the YMCA that the Village People popularized in their 1978 disco hit.

Ironically, the YMCA became well known as a location for illicit homosexual activity just as that function was coming to a halt. The growing gay rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s allowed for more gay clubs and bars to operate openly in communities throughout the United States, thereby eliminating the YMCA as the primary place for men to meet each other for sex. Likewise, the covert nature of homosexuality at the Y was distasteful for many; when it was the only option it had been acceptable, but most preferred gay-friendly establishments where men meeting men was sanctioned, not illicit. The rise of the AIDS epidemic in the early 1980s also made casual anonymous sex dangerous, thus leading to the decline of the YMCA (as well as other establishments such as bathhouses) as a location for sexual activity.

In the later twentieth century, the YMCA significantly changed its mission to be family-centered rather than exclusively male. Membership became open to all community members regardless of sex, and children's athletic programs became a focus of the organization. It is somewhat remarkable that the YWCA, which might seem a more likely organization to focus upon family and children, has largely retained its female-centered mission, largely tied to social justice for women, while the YMCA has significantly broadened its mission. While the YWCA has been a focus of feminist ideas and practice, which in popular culture may be associated with lesbianism, the YWCA has none of the history of actual sexual activity that the YMCA has.

SEE ALSO *Physical Culture.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

YOGA

The word yoga derives from the Sanskrit root *yuj* meaning to yoke or to harness. Broadly stated yoga refers to any of the various meditation and ascetic practices designed to train and discipline the mind and body, as well as to the goal of yoga itself called *samādhi* (or *nirodḫa* meaning cessation).

Yoga is one of the earliest known spiritual practices. Its history traces possibly as far back as the Indus Valley civilization (c. 2600–1500 BCE). Archeological evidence from Mohenjo-dharo, an ancient city in what is now Pakistan, shows a three-horned man sitting in what appears to be *mūlābāndhāsana* (e.g., seal #222), a posture described in some detail in medieval *haṭhayoga* texts. In the *Vedas* (sacred Hindu scriptures), there are numerous references to *munīs* (sages) and *yogīs* who perform ascetic and meditative practices (e.g., *tapas*), and the word yoga appears frequently in the *Upaniṣads* and in the *Mahābhārata* (c. fourth century BCE). Although there is no systematic approach to yoga until the second to third centuries of this era, yoga is a salient feature of pan-Indian religiosity, including Buddhist and Jain monastic institutions.

PATAÑJALI'S YOGA

The teachings of yoga expounded by Patañjali in the *Yogasūtra*s (c. second–third centuries CE) constitute one of the six *darśana*s (views) or classical systems of Indian philosophy. In the *Yogasūtra*s, Patañjali defines yoga as *samādhi* or the cessation of the fluctuations of the mind. To attain this state, Patañjali outlines an eight-limbed (*aṣṭāṅga*) path emphasizing: (1) *yama* (restraints or ethical practices, including nonviolence (*ahiṁsā*), truthfulness (*satya*), not stealing (*asteya*), celibacy (*brahmacarya*), and avoidance of greed (*aparigraha*); (2) *niyama* (observances, including cleanliness (*śaucha*), contentment (*saṁtoṣa*), acetic practices *(tapas*), study (*svādhyāya*), and devotion (*Īśvarpraṇidhāna*); (3) *āsana* (postures); (4) breathing techniques (*prāṇāyāma*); (5) withdrawal of the senses (*pratyāhāra*); (6) concentration (*dhāraṇā*); (7) meditation (*dhyāna*); and, (8) *samādhi*. The first five limbs (*aṇgas*) constitute the ideals and practices that progressively lead the adept to the final levels of *samādhi* (called *samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta*). In *samādhi*, also referred to as *kaivalya* (aloneness), *puruṣa* (self, pure consciousness) is isolated from its misidentification with mind and body or matter (*prakṛti*). It is important to underscore that sexual abstinence plays an integral role in this school intended primarily for male renouncers (*sannyāsīn*), and the body is typically cast in a supporting role.

HAṬHAYOGA AND TANTRA

Haṭhayoga traces its history to Nāth Siddhasin the twelfth to thirteenth centuries CE in North India. Although the term *haṭha* literally means force or exertion, it also derives significance from the Sanskrit words *ha* and *ha* meaning sun and moon respectively. The implication here is that the nature of reality is ultimately *advaita* (nondual). The dualistic principles *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* found in the orthodox brahmanical system of Patañjali are recast in *haṭhayoga* as the theistic principles *Śiva* and *Śakti*. One of the principle symbols is the androgynous form of Śiva called Ardhanārīśvara (the lord who is half woman). Ardhanārīśvara represents the absolute unity and inseparability of masculine and feminine principles conjoined in one divine body.

Haṭhayoga treatises prescribe a rigorous program of psychophysical practices (*sādhana*) that are considered necessary to prepare the *yogīn/yogīnī* for more advanced states of meditation. However, like the *tantra sastras* with which they are clearly related, *haṭhayoga* treatises are intended exclusively for the initiated. In *tantra* and *haṭhayoga*, the subtle body of the adept, comprised of *cakras*, *nāḍīs*, and other elements, constitutes the sacred space wherein the mutual penetration of male and female energies, represented by *Śiva* and *Śakti*, occurs. Unitive experiences arise in *sādhana* by awakening, harnessing, and drawing the *kuṇḍalīnī* (coiled female serpent power) that lies dormant at the base of the spine (in the *mulādhāra* or root *cakra*) to the top of the head (in the cranial vault or *sahasrārachakra*) via such practices as *vajrolī*, *sahajolī*, and *śakticālanā mudrā*.

Tantra adapted and adopted *haṭhayoga*. The *Vāmācāra* (left-handed *tantra*) ritual practice of sexual intercourse (*maithuna*) is interiorized by sublimating and retaining sexual fluids. Heterosexual sexuality constitutes a fundamental paradigm used to convey the idea of transcendence, and sexual energy is viewed as a medium or channel through which spiritual evolution and control over the body is attained.

GENDER

Most studies of yoga have not questioned the gendered nature of the esoteric cosmophysiology postulated in tantra and *haṭhayoga*. These traditions typically sanctify an elaborately constructed, gendered vision of the universe claiming complementarity and nonduality. However the polyvalent system of homologues represented often overlook the privileged maleness of their binary structures (e.g., *Śiva-Śakti*). Hence the system risks displacing its emancipatory goals of nonduality and liberation with a potentially hierarchical gender ideology that inscribes its norms through privileged male identifications.

However it also is important to bear in mind that access to tantra and *haṭhayoga* teachings and its goals of *samādhi* and *mokṣa* are not gender exclusive. Śiva revealed the emancipatory teachings of yoga to his wife Pārvatī, and she herself was considered an adept practitioner or *yogīnī*. Although, as a rule, women have not participated to the same extent in writing texts, and they often have been excluded from the male monastic organizations, women have asked fundamental questions of philosophy, and are concerned with attaining experiential knowledge through yoga. For example in the *Upaniṣads*, Maitreyī attained liberation through yoga. Kausalyī, the mother of Rāma, and Shāradā Devī, the wife of Ramakrishna, to name only a few, also practiced yoga. There is sufficient evidence to show that women were students and teachers, if not writers, of the yoga tradition. More often women were portrayed as a locus of fear to be avoided; they were celebrated in their domestic roles as wives and mothers or used in the context of ritual sex. Nevertheless although ambivalent messages exist, there is crucial precedent for female agency and women's participation in yoga from the Vedic period to the early-twenty-first century.

YOGA IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

Yoga in Europe and North America focuses mainly on *āsana*, with some attention given to *prāṇāyāma*, meditation, chanting, and mantra (e.g., repetition of the sound *oṃ*). In India, Europe, and North America, yoga has been reformulated by modernity. This process involves the medicalization of yoga into a system of health and fitness that has all but severed it from its philosophical and spiritual heritage. Although many Indian gurus (e.g., Vivekananda, B. K. S. Iyengar, and Kripalu to mention only a few) came to Europe and North America to transmit their particular understanding of yoga, the transnational image of yoga today is primarily a physical one. The commercial and corporate aspects of yoga are most evident in the marketing and sales of books, magazines, videos, and dvds, as well as clothing, health and beauty products designed specifically for yoga, and the proliferation of internet sites creating a worldwide yoga network. Yoga in Europe and North America is gender inclusive.

TANTRA IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

Many of the neo-tantric elements of European and North American representations have more do with sexuality and relationships than with the spiritual attainment of *samādhi*. New Age tantric sexuality is primarily a popular amalgam of Indian eroticism (e.g, the Kāmāsūtra), yoga postures and positions, the techniques of massage, and sexual therapies packaged for the commercial consumption of the New Age seeker. This is a unique invention and represents the appropriation of and departure from tantra's cultural context and history and, as such, has little to do with the schools of yoga mentioned earlier in this entry.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Hinduism; Tantra.*

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Ellen Goldberg

YONI WORSHIP

Yoni is a Sanskrit word for female genitals—the vulva, vagina, and uterus or womb. It can also mean a place of birth, as in the source or origin; a place of rest, as in a vessel or home; and a family or social station fixed by birth. It is most well known, however, as the female sex organ and, in India, is often linked with *lingam,* the male phallus embedded in its pedestal throne (*pīṭha*) or *yoni,* and worshipped especially in conjunction with the god Śiva.

Worship of the male phallus or *lingam* has been more extensive than worship of the *yoni*, and examples of its power as a fertility symbol can be seen throughout Indian culture. Modern *lingam* sites include the Thai shrine in Bangkok to the fertility goddess Tap-Tun, filled with phallic amulets called *palad khik*. In Indian sources, where the *yoni* may be the older of the two representations, they are often joined as Tantric symbols for the divine intercourse between Śakti and Śiva: the *yoni* standing for *śakti*, energy and immanence, and the *lingam* for consciousness or transcendence. While Śakti has the vital, active role, Śiva has the cool, passive role, and their interplay is that of all dualities—life and death, creation and destruction, movement and quiescence. In Tantric practice, adepts move among these dualities, raising consciousness from the material to the transcendent, a plane beyond all opposition.

The worship of the *yoni* is the worship of the goddess, as well as the worship of women as living expressions of the goddess. The magical powers of nudity, especially of the sexual organs, are strong and, in the case of the female, the *yoni* gives off healing and protective energies, and its display has the effect of a magical spell used to turn away evil forces. Such practices are known not only in India and Japan, but also in Europe, the ancient Near East, Africa, and Oceania. A phenomenon called the "*yoni-maṇḍala*" is an expression of the goddess within the geography of the earth, appearing, in one case, as a sacred stone shaped like a *yoni* within the Manobhavaguha cave at Mount Nila in Assam; it sends out red (arsenic) waters from its cleft, thought to be the menstrual fluid of the mother goddess. The mixture of male and female fluids in intercourse is considered a sacred essence, a *yonipuṣpa* or "vulva flower," made even more powerful when the coupling involves menstrual fluid. Drinking the mixture is thought to lead to liberation.

Indian lovemaking practices highlight qualities of the *yoni*. In the Kāmasūtra, for example, the "lotus woman" has a *yoni* like a lotus bud issuing delicately scented love waters; the *yoni* of the "woman of dance" is a gentle hill covered with fine wispy hair with juices smelling of wild honey; the "conch woman" has a deep *yoni* of thick curly hair and with a sour molasses smell; and the *yoni* of the "elephant woman" is a deep cavern lost in a thick hairy jungle smelling of elephant. The compatibility of lovers depends, in part, on the depth of the woman's *yoni* and the length of the man's penis; equal female/male partnerships are as follows: doe/hare, mare/bull, and elephant/horse. Moreover, a man's embrace of a woman is most successful when it includes touches, stabs, caresses, and squeezes of her "mound of Venus," and kissing of the *yoni* in cunnilingus involves nibbles, tickles, and tracings of the tongue. The *Kama sutra* is perhaps best known for the various sexual positions it describes and, in the treatment of the *yoni*, attention is paid to front and back entry; stretching the *yoni* opening; using *yoni* muscles to massage the penis; and arousal using the lover's fingers, tongue, or other object.

In Tantra, the *yoni* has pride of place near the first, and therefore base, *cakra* known as the *mūlādhāra.* It is a triangular space in the middle section of the body with its apex turned downwards. In Tantric texts, such as the *Mahānirvāna Tantra* and those on Kuṇḍalinī Yoga, the *mūlādhāra* is described as a red lotus with four petals situated at the base of the sexual organ and the anus. The *mūlādhāra* is the root of the central channel (*suṣumṇā*) in the body's *cakra* system through which the life force is guided, as well as the resting place of the Kuṇḍalinī serpent coiled three and a half times around.

In Tantric practice, the adept sets up a system of inner circulation and then draws energies into the yoni-triangle. Using a special contraction of muscles, energies are concentrated into a subtle form of the female serpent who, as energy (*śakti*), moves through the *cakras*, opening and closing them, and working out psycho-physical transformations. Using yogic postures, muscular actions, and sexual intercourse, Kuṇḍalinī is vitalized and driven upwards into higher *cakras* or lotuses. This guiding of the life force is also helped by the recitation of mantras, and the movement of breath. The breath that dwells in the *mūlādhāra* is the *apāna* breath ("out-breath") which naturally goes down and out the anus, but through contractions at the first *cakra* can be made to go up to meet the *prāṇa*, or "in-breath." As the Kuṇḍalinī is awakened and the breath current opens up the *mūlādhāra*, the Devī leaves the first lotus, having turned its flower upward and then closed down.

The practice involving the movement of *yoni* energies falls under *maithuna* (coition), one of the five practices making Tantric process towards enlightenment a quicker and more intense process. *Maithuna* figures are couples closely embracing or *in coitum,* and commonly decorate the exteriors of Hindu temples. They have parallel form and function in the Tibetan Buddhist *yab-yum* couple, and in the Tibetan use of the female bell (*ghanta*) and male *vajra* (also called *dorje,* diamond scepter) in meditation. Here, as in art objects from other cultures, the *yoni* expresses a basic human focus on the dynamics of life energy.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Hinduism; Phallus Worship; Tantra.*

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Ellison Banks Findly

Z

ZENOBIA
Third century

Zenobia lived in the third century CE in Palmyra (historically known as Tadmor), a city in the Syrian Desert. From about 114 CE Palmyra was part of the Roman Empire. It was located on the caravan routes running from the seaports of Phoenicia, Syria, and Egypt to Seleucia. Inscriptions allude to Zenobia as the daughter of a man named Zabbai, which means merchant, although Greek inscriptions refer to him as Antiochus. She was probably an Arab, but may also have been of Aramaean descent.

Zenobia was the second wife of Odainat, ruler of Palmyra, who aided the Romans in their struggles against the Persian Sasanians. One story tells of her riding into battle at Odainat's side against the Sasanians after their capture of Valerian in 260 CE. Zenobia had at least three sons by Odainat, and when he and his heir were assassinated, she assumed the regency on behalf of her own young son, Vallabathus, in 267 CE.

Rome did not grant Zenobia the same authority as her husband, and one of her first actions on her accession to power was to annex Egypt, where she had local support. At around the same time, she also secured most of Syria, and established a large independent kingdom, which extended as far north as the Bosphorus, and incorporated many major trade routes. Political shrewdness consequently drew many scholars to her court, including the rhetorician and philosopher Cassius Longinus and the historian Callinicus Sutorius. Historians depict Zenobia as an intelligent woman who knew the Egyptian language as well as Greek and Aramaic.

Zenobia is one of thirty so-called pretenders to the status of Roman ruler between 117–284 CE, as noted by "Trebellius Pollio" in an anecdotal work possibly written in the fourth century. She certainly invoked the image of Roman authority for herself in tetradrachms (silver coins) that depicted her likeness along with the honorific *Augusta*. She also claimed to be descended from Cleopatra, and compared herself to Dido, Queen of Carthage, and to the legendary Assyrian warrior queen Semiramis.

Zenobia's empire did not last long. Early in the sixth century, Zosimus reports that under the emperor Aurelian the Romans quickly reconquered Egypt and Ankara. Near Antioch, they defeated the Palmyrenes, whom Zenobia had commanded on horseback. Zenobia's last battle took place at Emesa in 272 CE. She escaped on a female camel, only to be captured as she boarded a boat to cross the Euphrates. Some accounts assert that she was attempting to secure aid from the Persians. In an astonishingly brazen act, considering her exploits, Zenobia claimed immunity on the grounds that she was a woman.

There are variant accounts of Zenobia's subsequent history. Zosimus claims that she committed suicide on the journey to Rome. Other historians state that, after her safe arrival in Rome, she was made to parade in golden chains in Aurelian's Triumph of 274. Aurelian then released her and she lived in a villa in Tibur (Tivoli) as a Roman matron, married to a Roman senator with whom she had children.

Zenobia fascinated ancient chroniclers, who admired her as noble and beautiful, with "the courage of a man" and the stamina of a soldier (Fraser [2004 p. 114f]). Later Arabic tales depict her as possessing similar qualities.

Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Pollio's reference to Zenobia's chastity—that she never slept with Odainat except when she was likely to conceive—was repeated as a mark of respect by subsequent male historians, such as Italian author Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), who presents Zenobia as a Diana-like virgin hunter and warrior in his *De Claris Mulieribus Claris* (c. 1361–1375, Of illustrious women).

English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1343–1400) relied on Boccaccio's description when composing Zenobia's story in *The Monk's Tale* (1386–1400). He portrays Zenobia as a wise, skilled, and daring queen of Persian descent, whose ultimate humiliation at the hand of the Romans involved replacing her regnal scepter with a distaff—an implement used for spinning, which was a more fitting tool for a woman, according to prevalent medieval mores. Zenobia subsequently appears as a divinely-inspired, helmet-clad representative of heroic virtue in English dramatist Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (1609), in which she is the ninth of the eleven queens elevated to the House of Fame.

SEE ALSO *Queens.*

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Jenny Rose

ZHANG, JINGSHENG

1888–1970

Zhang Jingsheng was born into a peasant family in Raoping County, Guangdong Province, China. During the Nationalist Period (1911–1949), Zhang gained notoriety as an author, academic, and social activist for his controversial advocacy of sexual education, freedom of thought, and sexual rights. He also made important contributions to philosophy, agronomy, logic, sociology, and literature.

From a young age, Zhang became active in Nationalist revolutionary activities. From 1912 to 1920, he studied in France, earning a bachelor's degree in liberal arts at Paris University and a PhD in philosophy at Lyons.

Zhang took professorships at Beijing and Jin'an Universities, respectively. He organized the Sexual Education Society and published numerous books, including *Aiqing Dingze* (The rules of love), *Mei de Shehui Zuzhi Fa* (How to organize a beautiful society), and *Mei de Renshengguan* (A way of life based on beauty). At Beijing University in 1926, he began publication of *Xingshi* (Sexual history), one of China's first magazines to talk openly about sexuality. In 1927–1928, he was president of the Beautiful Bookstore (Mei de Shudian) in Shanghai, which translated and published works dealing with sexuality.

In dozens of books and articles, Zhang advocated a more scientific approach to sexuality, including the then-controversial stance that youth can make the right decisions about sexuality only when given adequate sexual knowledge. He highlighted the differences between sex and pleasure books, both of which were considered taboo. His crusades against women's sexual oppression attacked conventional views on the importance of chastity and the purity of virginity.

After years of widespread fame and fending off vicious personal and professional attacks, Zhang attempted suicide by poison in 1932. Though he suffered further persecution and re-education during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and died poor and unknown in 1970, in post-Maoist China he is remembered for his influential career.

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ZOROASTRIANISM

The religion of Zoroastrianism arose from the preaching of a devotional poet named Zarathushtra (one who leads old camels), who lived around 1750 to 1500 BCE in central Asia among proto-Iranian tribal people. As these people settled on the Iranian plateau between 1500 and 800 BCE, they took their beliefs with them. In Iran, influenced by near Eastern stereotypes of holy men, Zarathushtra's image was revised posthumously to depict him as a prophet who established a faith. Contact between the Iranians and classical Greeks produced the Europeanized name of Zoroaster.

Devotees term their religion the *Zarathushti din*, or Zoroastrian religion. They refer to themselves as *Zartoshtis*, *Zardoshtis*, or *Jarthushtis*, namely, Zoroastrians. Other phrases used include one to denote the faith as *Mazdayasna daena*, or the religion of Mazda, and one to designate followers as *Mazdayasna*, or worshipers of Mazda. In the early twenty-first century Zoroastrianism has a largely hereditary global following, with estimates of adherents ranging from 137,250 to 208,000 (including anywhere from 10,800 to 17,700 in North America and approximately 6,350 in the European Union). Zoroastrian subgroups include Iranis (or Zoroastrians of Iran), Parsis (or Zoroastrians of India), immigrants from the latter groups to other countries, and a few recent converts.

Zoroaster, Founder of the Religion of the Iranian People. **© CORBIS-BETTMANN.**

IMPACT OF GENDER AND SEX ON DOCTRINE, THEOLOGY, AND MYTHOLOGY

Zoroastrian doctrine is based on two opposing concepts: *asha*, or order, which is grammatically neuter and is regarded as good, and *drug*, or confusion, which is grammatically feminine and is regarded as evil. The supreme divinity or god of Zoroastrianism is Ahura Mazda or Ohrmazd, the wise lord and creator, whose hypostasis, or principle essence, is Spenta Mainyu or Spenag Menog, the holy spirit. Ahura Mazda is believed to uphold order. The supreme demon of Zoroastrianism is Angra Mainyu or Ahriman (also called Ganag Menog), the angry spirit or destroyer. Angra Mainyu is believed to have chosen the path of confusion. The grammatical genders of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu were transformed into biological gender as male during the personification of these two spirits. So, in Zoroastrianism the primary creative and destructive spirits are male, the force of order is neuter, and the force that causes problems is female.

Zoroastrian doctrine envisions Amesha Spentas, or holy immortals (comparable to archangels), created by Ahura Mazda. Among these immortals Spenta Armaiti or Spandarmad (also Aspandarmad), representing holy devotion, was regarded as the earth spirit, the mother of life, and a granter of fertility. In ninth-century CE texts she was evoked in the corporeal "form of a woman wearing a luminous garment" who would lay in Ahura Mazda's embrace as the masculine creator's "daughter and mistress" (*Wizidagiha* [Selections] 4:4–8; *Pahlavi Rivayat Accompanying the Dadestan i Denig* [Book of religious judgments] 84). Veneration of Spenta Armaiti continues to be important for Zoroastrians of both genders and of all ages and socioeconomic levels, but she is especially dear to women, who turn to her for boons, good health, and happy family life.

Likewise, many of the *yazatas*, or worship-worthy spirits, which were created by Ahura Mazda, are either masculine or feminine in grammatical gender and male or female in biological gender. Most prominent are Mithra, or Mehr, and Aredvi Sura Anahita, or Anahid. Mithra is believed to enforce covenants and contracts between god and humans and between individuals. He is said, in scripture, to punish persons who violate contracts, while rewarding individuals who fulfill obligations with wealth, success, and happy families. He came to be associated with the sacral coronation of ancient Iranian, Zoroastrian monarchs who upheld god's laws and precepts. Not surprisingly, Mithra is still venerated by Zoroastrians as a *yazata* associated with success and wealth. Anahita, by contrast, is a more complex spirit. Her physical descriptions in prayers focus on sexuality and fertility with phrases such as "her breasts are well-shaped and prominent" (*Aban Yasht* [Hymn to Anahita] 5:126–129). Female devotees are still expected to invoke her to ensure easy childbirth and an adequate flow of breast milk. Yet, because she had been syncretized with the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar during the Achaemenian period (550–330 BCE), Anahita came to be regarded as a *yazata* who dispensed success and glory—including kingship and other leadership roles—from Ahura Mazda to worthy individuals.

The *daevas* or *divs* are believed to oppose Ahura Mazda, the Amesha Spentas, and the *yazatas*, as demonic spirits who side with Angra Mainyu. One important harmful spirit was Drukhsh Nasush, or Druz i Nasush, the female ghoul of corpses and carrion whose corporeal shape was described in Zoroastrian scripture as "a fly, disgusting, with crooked knees, protruding buttocks, [covered with] numerous spots, the most horrible, noxious creature" (*Videvdad* [Code for abjuring demons], composed around 300 BCE, 7:2, 9:26). Zoroastrians from antiquity to premodern times regarded her as preying upon humans, polluting their corpses, and spreading impurity and pollution from the dead to the living. Only after the eighteenth century did fear of Drukhsh Nasush wane as modern science replaced diabology. Another female *daeva* is Azi, or Az, who represents concupiscence and lust. Although bearing a grammatically masculine epithet *demon-spawned* in the *Avesta* [Praise] Scriptures, Azi was considered by medieval times to be the mistress of demonic hordes who ravage humanity beginning with the primeval androgyne Gayo Maretan, or Gayomard, who embodied mortal life. Again, only after the advent of modern scientific knowledge did fear of Azi diminish.

The Zoroastrian story about the first human couple, Mashya, or man, and Mashyana, or woman, who were born from Gayo Maretan's seed, reflects the tension between order and confusion, good and evil, and god and devil. The first couple experience a fall from grace, much as in the Judeo-Christian and Islamic creation story. In Zoroastrianism the fall occurs as a consequence of worshiping evil and from action in which Mashyana is said to have taken the lead: "Mashyana sprang forth, milked a cow, and offered [the milk] toward the north [the direction of hell]" (*Bundahishn* [Book of primal creation] 14:11–30). In a series of events involving infertility, sexual intercourse, and childbirth that culminate in cannibalism by the parents of their initial offspring, the effects of evil and gender are magnified. Words of admonishment by Ahura Mazda are said to have resulted, aimed at all women: "If I had found another vessel from which to produce man, I would never have created you . . . because sexual intercourse is for you like the taste of the sweetest food" (*Bundahishn* 14A:1). So, medieval and premodern Zoroastrian theologians and moralists would urge women to be "chaste, of solid faith, and modest" (*Pahlavi Texts* 117).

Even Zoroastrian notions of the afterlife were shaped by denunciations of female sexuality and glorification of female physicality. Descriptions of death, judgment, and the hereafter in Zoroastrian scriptures, such as the *Hadokht Nask* [Extracted section], have the souls of righteous Zoroastrian men led into paradise by a religious *daena* or *din* (conscience) in the form of "a beautiful girl, glorious, well-shaped, statuesque, with prominent breasts" (2:9). However, the souls of sinful Zoroastrian men are tossed into hell by a *daena* resembling the Drukhsh Nasush demoness "in the form of a naked whore . . . disgusting, with crooked knees, protruding buttocks, and [covered with] numerous spots" (*Hadokht Nask* 3:9). The faith's theology claims that beauty and sensuality are the heavenly rewards, together with gardens, pavilions, and music for those men who uphold *asha* while alive, whereas pain and suffering await those men who have committed evil. However, no premodern scriptural or exegetical passages refer to women encountering *daenas* upon death. Only in modern times, with the transformation of gender-specific notions of the afterlife into more abstract notions of spirituality, has the vision of *daenas* as sexy or ugly female spirits waned. Zoroastrian women, too, are now believed to have full access to heaven. But until the twentieth century, the image of women as prone to sin led to the feminine gender being suspected of sexual profligacy, sorcery, strife, and, as a result, religious impurity, and viewed as more likely to experience the retribution of hell.

MAJOR CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY ON SOCIETY AND RITES

All Zoroastrian boys and girls undergo initiation into the faith between the ages of seven and fifteen. The initiation ceremony, denoting a spiritual rebirth, is termed *navjote*, or new birth, and alternately termed the rite of *sedra-pushun*, or donning the holy undershirt. During the ritual, overseen by priests, initiates don a *sedra*, or *sudre*, which is a white undershirt symbolizing purity, then tie around their waist a *kusti*, or *koshti*, which is a white cord intended in part to separate the sexual portion of the body from the mental part. Upon the conclusion of the ceremony, individuals are regarded as full members of the religious community and are held accountable for their good and bad thoughts, words, and deeds. Yet, despite the seemingly equitable entry into the faith, only men from hereditary ecclesiastic families can undergo training and acceptance into the priesthood. The priests, called *mobeds*, or magi, oversee most Zoroastrian rites. The magi originally formed a priestly clan among the Medes, an ancient Iranian tribe. They adopted Zoroastrianism after the religion spread widely among the ancient Iranians. Magi entered Christian belief as the wise men from the East who journeyed to Bethlehem for the birth of Jesus. In the early twenty-first century, the office of priest still passes from father to son. A son who inherits the priesthood begins studying Zoroastrian liturgies and rituals in childhood, followed by a two-stage investiture.

Reasons for the exclusion of most men and all women from the clergy are found in the doctrine, theology, and mythology shaped by beliefs about evil, sex, and gender. One major concern among the clergy is maintenance of ritual purity. Zoroastrians believe that death occurs when a person's body is overwhelmed by evil's onslaught. Moreover, until modern times, they concluded that whenever a human died, his or her corpse was polluted by Drukhsh Nasush, whose presence caused decay (*Videvdad* 5:28, 35–38). Demons were also believed to turn impure all tissue and fluid severed, discharged, or expelled by living Zoroastrians. So skin, hair, nails, saliva, blood, semen, urine, feces, and even breath could make impure anyone else having contact with it. Contact with these substances was regarded as making a Zoroastrian unfit for rituals and making rituals lose efficacy. Additionally, impure persons could spread their ritual impurity to others through contact. Therefore, purificatory rites developed to ensure socioreligious purity for high rituals and rites of passage, and especially for the magi who conducted such rites.

Because blood discharged from bodies was regarded as unclean, the origin of menstruation was explained through diabology rather than physiology. Menstruation, it had been claimed by the clergy, began when Jahika, or Jeh, the demoness of lust, revived Angra Mainyu in hell after the devil had been initially defeated by Ahura Mazda. The devil "arose from his stupor, kissed her face, and the pollution called menstruation appeared on her" (*Bundahishn* 4:5). Using lust as a tool Jahika supposedly transferred menstruation to Mashyana and all subsequent generations of women. Consequently, menses became in religious terms a periodic sign of women's affliction by evil, one capable of polluting men who had any physical contact with a menstruating woman. Blood and afterbirth tissue expelled from a woman's body also were feared as falling under Drukhsh Nasush's control and becoming pollutants. To prevent women from having any contact with men or religious places during menstruation and after childbirth, they were isolated in separate buildings or rooms at those times and made to undergo purificatory ablutions thereafter before being reintegrated with their families and the rest of their community. These customs have largely fallen into disuse, but many Zoroastrian women still refrain from visiting fire temples and participating in religious rites during menses and after childbirth until they have undergone ritual purification.

As a result the most dramatic consequence of associating female physiology with demonology was the exclusion of women from all ranks of the magi to remove the potential for pollution of ritual sites and practitioners. The barrier against ordination into the clergy remains firm. Instead, women have been urged to perform domestic duties for parents, husbands, and children with religious fervor. Women's religiosity has been channeled into female-specific rites such as the ever-popular visiting of *pirs*, or shrines, and making of *sofres*, or votive offerings, in Iran. Among the Parsis of India, women religious leaders have emerged within mystically oriented sects such as Ilm-e Khshnoom. Other rites that have become mainstream for female devotees include the veneration of Anahita beside oceanfronts, riverbanks, and wells in Iran and India, because water symbolizes both female fertility generally and the fertility conferred by that female *yazata* upon women specifically.

Sexuality associated with fertility and domesticity continues to serve as a religious motif. One prominent example is the image of the *yazata* Ashi, or Ard, representing recompense and fortune. Ashi was anthropomorphized as a "slim-waisted, fair-bodied, long-fingered" woman who was so "beautiful in form as to delight beholders" (*Ashi Yasht* [Hymn to Ashi] 17:11). Male Zoroastrians who met her expectations could reap the benefits of beautiful wives, adorned with jewelry, lying on couches in homes located on large estates. Many contemporary Zoroastrians still set aside one day each month to honor Ashi, praying to her for the benefits of socioeconomic success. Yet, sexuality was linked to evil as well. One feminine spiritual embodiment of lust was the previously mentioned *daeva* known as Jahika. She was not merely a handmaiden of the devil but the mistress of Angra Mainyu. Sex, created by god for procreation, was thought to have been transformed by her on behalf of the devil into a means of polluting male Zoroastrians who would thereby be unfit for rituals and other duties until purification. So, once more, the magi generated prayers and rites to ensure spiritual safety and physical purification after sex.

Owing to the impurity associated with evil through the demoness Drukhsh Nasush, and because Zoroastrians regard earth, fire, and water as the holy creations of Ahura Mazda, human corpses could not be buried at land or sea nor cremated. Therefore, the magi ensured that corpses would be given final rites, including purification, and then exposed—during antiquity in remote areas and by the Middle Ages (476–1350) in funerary towers open to the sky—until the flesh had been desiccated or consumed by wild animals (as even recorded in the fifth century BCE by the Greek historian Herodotus). Exposure was segregated by gender within each funerary tower. The practice of exposure persisted in most Zoroastrian communities until the eighteenth century. By the early twenty-first century, as a consequence of being regarded as based on myth and superstition, exposure had been replaced for the most part by inhumation sans any separation of graves based on the gender of the deceased. Yet, exposure of corpses and segregation in death still persists among orthodox communities of Zoroastrians in major cities of the Indian subcontinent such as Mumbai (Bombay) and Karachi. Inexplicably, this funerary practice contradicts the situation in life when women are neither segregated nor veiled from men (other than among orthodox women who are separated in menses and childbirth as noted previously). Veiling as a social behavior was present among elite men and women during the ancient Iran empires, but as a marker of hierarchy rather than as a symbol of religiosity.

FAITH, GENDER, AND SOCIETAL CHANGE

Women were and, in many Zoroastrian communities, still are expected to remain virgins until marriage. Marriage involved obtaining the consent of a woman's parents and at least technically her own consent; now, each spouse's consent is mandatory. Marriage was and still is regarded by Zoroastrians as both a religious duty and a legal contract. In ancient and medieval times a wife's legal standing within her husband's household depended on her own social class prior to marriage, the stipulations of the marriage contract, and her giving birth to sons. Through marriage, women were expected to follow the positive features of Mashyana and to duplicate the holy attributes of Spenta Armaiti. Having children is encouraged, and so induced abortions are forbidden because children are regarded as new devotees of the faith.

Polygyny as a religiously sanctioned practice was attested among Zoroastrians from ancient times onward. The evidence for polyandry, on the other hand, is very meager. Polygyny was phased out by the faith's leaders during the early twentieth century when they concluded that the practice was not in conformity with modernity. Consanguineous marriage, justified as preserving ethnic, familial, and confessional bonds, was practiced by Zoroastrian royalty in Iran—as it had been among Egyptian pharaohs and their families—from approximately 600 BCE to 700 CE. Consanguinity, or incest, does not, however, appear to have been as routine or widespread among Zoroastrian commoners as it was among the general population of Roman Egypt. Its occurrence ended in the Middle Ages when the practice was deemed no longer socially acceptable.

Doctrinal, ritual, and attitudinal changes have occurred within Zoroastrian communities in Iran and India—and in other Asian countries and in the European and North American societies to which some of them immigrated—because of European and North American education and science bringing about secularization. Traditionally, girls had been educated at home by tutors; boys had attended schools. School-level education became widespread for both genders in India by the early twentieth century, then extended to the university level. English became the language of rapidly urbanizing and secularizing Parsi families. By 1931, 73 percent of Parsi women were literate. During the 1980s, 68 percent of Parsi women held university degrees. Educated Parsi women entered the public workforce, alongside Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians. Similar processes took place among Iranis during the twentieth century. Women began opting for professional careers, and by the 1980s approximately 25 percent of them were choosing to remain unmarried and childless.

Migration to Europe and North America began from India in the mid-twentieth century and from Iran in the 1980s for economic enhancement and religious freedom, respectively. As an urbane, highly educated, religious minority, Zoroastrian men and women intermingle freely across gender boundaries professionally and personally in the early twenty-first century. In the traditional homelands of Zoroastrianism, that is, Iran and India, and within the new diaspora communities of Europe and North America, studies indicate that women predominate as sustainers and transmitters of religion from one generation to the next. For instance, more

Zoroastrian women (75%) practice religious rites daily and teach them to their children than do men (60%). Even though not part of the clergy, women have taken on many prominent roles in the lay leadership of communal centers. Increasingly, women rather than men are directing attention to socioreligious issues impacting on both genders, such as female responsibilities in orthodox devotional settings and the status of children born to Zoroastrian mothers from non-Zoroastrian fathers, and in championing religious reform.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Jeh; Menstruation; Witchcraft.*

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